



CANADIANS AND ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY

Edited By
Brian MacDonald

Vimy Paper 2008

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Defence Associations
Institute

*CANADIANS AND
ASIA-PACIFIC SECURITY*

*LES CANADIENS ET
LA SÉCURITÉ EN ASIE-PACIFIQUE*

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Sous la direction de
Brian MacDonald

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Foreword

Paul Manson

In this, the third in the series of monographs presented annually by the Conference of Defence Associations Institute, we turn to the Asia-Pacific Region and the security challenges that face Canada with the remarkable changes taking place in that part of the world.

In the past, Canadians tended not to turn our strategic gaze westward with any particular intensity. We traditionally thought of Asia as “the Far East”, a mysterious land distantly beyond Great Britain and Europe, and therefore remote in cultural, economic, and strategic terms. To the west, the vast Pacific Ocean itself provided a degree of physical security that was comforting, even during the Second World War, but it also isolated us from Asia.

My own childhood impressions of Asia were of teeming millions living in abject poverty, of people vulnerable to colonial domination in spite of their rich cultures, and with very little democracy of the kind we know in our Western world.

All of that has changed dramatically over the intervening years. Asia-Pacific is burgeoning in economic and political terms. The image of modern skyscraper cities like Shanghai, Kuala Lumpur, and Singapore tells us a lot about how different the region is today, and where it appears to be going. The coming decades will see a continuation of growth and development that will surely impact upon Canada and Canadians in many ways, including national security.

The emergence of Asia as a major trading bloc began decades ago, with the appearance of miracle economies in Japan and South Korea. More recently we have witnessed explosive economic growth in China and India, and can foresee that other Asian nations have at least the potential to follow the pattern.

All of this is basically good news for the people of Asia and indeed of the West, but it brings with it some important side-effects that will inevitably touch on Canada’s future. Energy demand in Asia is increasing rapidly, with serious implications for fossil fuel consumption, reserve depletion, and environmental deterioration. The energy equation alone has important implications for Asia’s strategic relationships with Europe, the South Pacific, and the Americas.

Meanwhile, and largely related to the energy situation, new alliances are being formed which will change the global power balance.

In all of this, Canada’s traditional indifference towards Asia-Pacific is beginning to change, and it is at our peril that we ignore

the profound developments that we see as we look beyond our west coast. Already, our country is engaged in an Asian war, but – in keeping with our traditional outlook – Canadians tend to look eastward toward Afghanistan, not westward.

The time has come to examine our future involvement with the Asia-Pacific region and its implications for national security and national defence.

Under the skilled editorship of Brian MacDonald, this latest Vimy Paper presents a compelling picture of the region and what we as Canadians should be doing to ensure a productive and secure relationship with our neighbours to the west.

Colonel MacDonald, in bringing together the considered views of leading experts in the field from Canada, the United States and Australia, offers the reader a stimulating and useful foundation for the development of a coherent and timely national defence strategy vis-à-vis the Asia-Pacific region. To be sure, it is of necessity an incomplete picture, but it is a good beginning. If this little volume stimulates Canadian decision-makers and the general public alike to look westward with strategic insight, then Vimy Paper 08 will have achieved its objective.

Avant-propos

par Paul Manson

Dans la présente monographie, troisième de la série présentée chaque année par l'Institut de la Conférence des associations de la défense, nous nous tournons vers la région de l'Asie et du Pacifique et vers les défis que doit affronter le Canada en matière de sécurité avec les changements remarquables qui sont en train de se produire dans cette partie du monde.

Par le passé, les Canadiens avaient tendance à ne pas tourner leur regard stratégique vers l'ouest avec une acuité particulière. Traditionnellement, nous pensions à l'Asie comme étant 'l'Extrême Orient', une terre mystérieuse sise au-delà de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Europe, et par conséquent éloignée aux points de vue culturels, économiques et stratégiques. Vers l'ouest, l'immense océan Pacifique lui-même offrait un certain degré de sécurité physique qui était réconfortant, même pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, mais il nous isolait tout autant de l'Asie.

Les impressions que j'avais moi-même de l'Asie dans mon enfance étaient celles d'un fleuve fait de millions d'êtres vivant dans une pauvreté abjecte, de peuples vulnérables à la domination coloniale en dépit de la richesse de leurs cultures, et d'une quasi absence de la démocratie du genre de celle que nous connaissons dans le monde occidental.

Tout ça a changé de façon dramatique au cours des années qui se sont écoulées depuis. L'Asie-Pacifique est florissante en termes économiques et politiques. L'image de villes de gratte-ciel modernes comme Shanghai, Kuala Lumpur et Singapour nous dit en termes éloquentes à quel point la région est différente aujourd'hui et nous renseigne sur la direction qu'elle semble prendre. Les décennies à venir vont voir une poursuite de la croissance et du développement qui auront de plusieurs façons un impact incontestable sur le Canada et les Canadiens, y compris sur la sécurité nationale.

L'émergence de l'Asie comme bloc commercial majeur a commencé il y a des décennies, avec l'apparition d'économies miracle au Japon et en Corée du Sud. Plus récemment, nous avons été témoins d'une croissance économique explosive en Chine et en Inde, et nous pouvons prévoir que d'autres nations asiatiques ont au moins le potentiel de suivre ce schéma.

Toute cette évolution apporte essentiellement de bonnes nouvelles pour les populations de l'Asie et, bien sûr, de l'Occident, mais elle charrie avec elle quelques effets secondaires importants qui toucheront inévitablement à l'avenir du Canada. La demande

énergétique de l'Asie augmente rapidement, avec de sérieuses implications en matière de consommation de combustible fossile, d'épuisement des réserves et de détérioration de l'environnement. L'équation énergétique seule a d'importantes implications pour les relations stratégiques de l'Asie avec l'Europe, le Pacifique Sud et les Amériques.

Entre temps, et largement relié à la situation de l'énergie, de nouvelles alliances sont en train de se former qui vont modifier l'équilibre mondial du pouvoir.

Dans tout cela, l'indifférence traditionnelle du Canada envers l'Asie-Pacifique commence à changer, et c'est à notre péril que nous ignorons les profonds développements que nous voyons quand nous regardons au-delà de notre côte ouest. Déjà notre pays est engagé dans une guerre asiatique, mais – en accord avec notre perspective traditionnelle – les Canadiens ont tendance à regarder vers l'est, vers l'Afghanistan, plutôt que vers l'ouest.

Il est maintenant temps d'examiner notre participation future avec la région de l'Asie et du Pacifique et les implications de cette participation pour la sécurité nationale et la défense nationale.

Sous l'habile direction éditoriale de Brian MacDonald, ce *Vimy Paper* présente un tableau saisissant de la région et de ce que nous, en tant que Canadiens, devrions faire pour assurer une relation productive et sûre avec nos voisins de l'ouest.

Le Colonel MacDonald, en réunissant les points de vue mûrement réfléchis des principaux experts du Canada, des États-Unis et de l'Australie dans le domaine, offre au lecteur une assise stimulante et utile pour l'élaboration d'une stratégie nationale de défense qui soit cohérente et pertinente vis-à-vis la région de l'Asie et du Pacifique. Bien sûr, ce ne peut être qu'une image incomplète, mais c'est un bon point de départ. Si cet opuscule stimule les décideurs canadiens et aussi le grand public à regarder vers l'ouest avec une intelligence stratégique, le *Vimy Paper 08* aura atteint son objectif.

Introduction

Brian MacDonald

As Paul Chapin reminds us in the first chapter of this book, the preservation of Canadian security requires us to have both a "home game" to protect ourselves within North America and an "away game" to deal with contingencies originating in other continents which may impact Canadian security interests. This distinction between the "home game" and the "away game" is particularly apt with respect to the Asia-Pacific theatre, for it is in this theatre that Canada has deployed the largest "away game" force since we withdrew our "Canadian Forces Europe" contribution to that theatre at the end of the Cold War.

Following the destruction of the World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001 and the October 5 NATO invocation of Article 5 of the Treaty of Washington, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien announced on October 7, 2001 "that Canada would contribute air, land and sea forces to the international force being formed to conduct a campaign against terrorism."¹ Thus began the current Canadian contribution to Asia-Pacific security.

Prime Ministers Paul Martin and Stephen Harper subsequently supported extensions of that mission, and, more recently, on March 14, 2008 the House of Commons of Canada voted to further extend the Canadian commitment to Kandahar, Afghanistan to December of 2011, which will be some ten years and two months after the decision announced by Prime Minister Chrétien to commit the Canadian Forces to *Operation Apollo* in the first instance. Moreover, there is every likelihood that Canada will be involved in some way with the task of reconstituting that formerly "failed state" beyond that date.

Accordingly we have been conscious, in the framing of this book, of the need to include an analysis of the strategic factors which impact security in the Asia-Pacific environment, and, by extension, Canadian security interests. Here we have been struck by the complexity of the relationships among the three strategic theatres involved and among the major powers whose interests are at stake.

On the one hand is the land theatre centred on Afghanistan which was characterized by the epithet "The Great Game" when the principal actors were the British and Russian empires competing for control. On a second is the Indian Ocean theatre through which

¹ Canada. Department of National Defence. "Backgrounder: The Canadian Forces' Contribution to the International Campaign Against Terrorism." 7 January 2004. Online: http://www.dnd.ca/site/Newsroom/view_news_e.asp?id=490

critical energy resources flow from the Persian Gulf to consumers in China and Japan. And on the third is that of the Pacific Ocean itself, which sees the massive and increasing flows of trade in resources and goods between Asia and North and South America.

In framing the book, then, we have begun with Paul Chapin's overview of the current state of the evolving Canadian foreign and security policy in the region, and then have moved on to a series of papers designed to enhance our knowledge of the interests and policies of certain, though not all, major powers in the region.

Then we turn to Christian Constantin and Brian Job's consideration of China, a state which has vital interests in all three theatres, and which has amazed the world with its ability to achieve multi-year economic growth rates which have frequently been in double digits. Traditional strategic threat analysis views the world through the twin lenses of capabilities and intentions, and the extent to which economic capabilities can be transformed into military capabilities. What China's ultimate strategic intentions are remain uncertain, but there is no gainsaying the fact that China's increasing capabilities represent a new and crucial centre of gravity in all three strategic theatres.

Western focus has tended to view China from a Pacific direction, but an analysis of China's infrastructure building programmes also reveals a highly significant land transportation infrastructure programme devoted to the expansion of trading corridors into Central Asia. Indeed, one striking development in China's search for scarce resources has been its winning bid to develop one of the world's largest copper deposits in Aynak¹ in the province of Logar, south of Kabul, which will involve the development of a rail line to service the mine which will also run from Pakistan through Kabul to Tajikistan. Accordingly, we have felt the need to include Larry Black's analysis of the Shanghai Cooperation Association, which includes Russia as a member.

The two naval theatres are the focus of some of the most dynamic strategic changes for, as Jim Boutilier points out: "Both India and China, reliant on export-driven economies, have reoriented their national axes toward the sea. Both nations are building up their naval power and the United States Navy (USN), concerned about the dramatic growth of the Chinese navy, has repositioned the bulk of its carrier and submarine assets into the Pacific."

We look to Seth Cropsey to provide us with an understanding of the Pacific view of the United States and its foreign

¹ Ron Synovitz. "Afghanistan : China's Winning Bid for Copper Rights Includes Power Plant, Railroad." Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty, 24 November 2007. Online: <http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2007/11/EE7D8224-E2F9-4C79-A7BA-B144A26B190C.html>

policy objectives in Asia, which are “to prevent the rise of a hegemonic power that can challenge the U.S. militarily, or exercise political dominance in a region that is home to half the earth’s population.”

Canada and Australia have had, as John Blaxland points out, a remarkably long military relationship which is relatively unknown among the citizens of both Asia-Pacific middle powers. Accordingly, there is a great deal of value in deepening our relationship, since the independent perspectives of both can inform the knowledge of each other.

Having thus done the strategic context “grand tour d’horizon,” we turn finally to the Canadian side of the Pacific Ocean. We examine the “home game” results of the acceleration of maritime trade into North America, which is leading to a massive development of Prince Rupert as a container port, as well as increasing the throughput of the port of Vancouver. Simultaneously we find ourselves in the middle of the “Transformation” of the Canadian Forces, with the creation of Canada Command and its structure of regional Joint Task Forces which, in turn, execute a unified command of all naval, land, and air forces within their regions. Joint Task Force (Pacific) is a fascinating case study with unique characteristics including the need to act as a “Force Generator” of naval assets into the Western Arctic in support of JTF (Arctic), as well as dealing with events in its own area which contains no Regular Force land units within its Area of Responsibility. The “stand-up” commander of JTF(P), Rear-Admiral Girouard, is uniquely placed to walk us through the “teething troubles” of JTF(P).

Finally, we turn to the “away game” of intervention into the rescue of failed and/or failing states, which appears to have received a new interest on the part of the Canadian government. However, those interventions involving the “home game” as well, as expeditionary forces must be built upon the capabilities of the military “Force Generation” structure at “home” in Canada Command. Moreover, such interventions require more than purely military forces, and necessitate a “Whole of Government” approach, where other government departments also act as “Force Generators” to the expeditionary force. We are still early in our progress up this learning curve, and Rear-Admiral Summers takes us through a careful review of the inherent problems of organizing and equipping such expeditionary forces, based upon the “Transformation” concept of a Standing Contingency Task Force on the military side, plus appropriate contributions from other relevant government departments’ capabilities.

Introduction

par Brian MacDonald

Comme nous le rappelle Paul Chapin dans le premier chapitre de ce livre, la sauvegarde de la sécurité canadienne exige de nous que nous ayons à la fois une « stratégie intérieure » pour nous protéger au sein même de l'Amérique du Nord et une « stratégie extérieure » pour traiter des contingences émanant d'autres pays, qui peuvent avoir un impact sur les intérêts canadiens en matière de sécurité. Cette distinction entre la « stratégie intérieure » et la « stratégie extérieure » sied particulièrement bien quand on l'applique au théâtre de l'Asie-Pacifique, parce que c'est dans ce théâtre que le Canada a déployé la force de « stratégie extérieure » la plus importante depuis le retrait de notre contribution à ce théâtre, sous la forme des « Forces canadiennes Europe », à la fin de la Guerre Froide.

Suite à la destruction du World Trade Centre, le 11 septembre 2001, et à l'invocation par l'O.T.A.N. de l'Article 5 du Traité de Washington, le 5 octobre, le Premier ministre Jean Chrétien annonçait, le 7 octobre 2001, que « le Canada contribuer(ait) des forces aériennes, terrestres et navales à la force internationale en voie de formation pour mener une campagne contre le terrorisme ».¹ C'est ainsi que commença la contribution canadienne actuelle à la sécurité de l'Asie-Pacifique.

Les premiers ministres Paul Martin et Stephen Harper ont subséquemment appuyé des extensions de cette mission et, plus récemment, le 14 mars 2008, la Chambre des Communes du Canada a voté en faveur d'une prolongation additionnelle de l'engagement canadien envers Kandahar jusqu'en décembre 2011, ce nous mettra à quelque dix ans et deux mois après la décision annoncée par le Premier ministre Chrétien du premier engagement des Forces canadiennes à l'*Opération Apollo*. De plus, il est tout à fait probable que le Canada participe d'une façon quelconque, au-delà de cette date, à la tâche de reconstitution de cet ancien « état défaillant ».

En conséquence, dans la structure que nous avons donnée à ce livre, nous avons eu à l'esprit le besoin d'inclure une analyse des facteurs stratégiques qui ont un impact sur la sécurité dans l'environnement de l'Asie-Pacifique et, par extension, sur les intérêts du Canada en matière de sécurité. Ici, nous avons été

¹ Canada. Department of National Defence. "Backgrounder: The Canadian Forces' Contribution to the International Campaign Against Terrorism." 7 January 2004. Online: http://www.dnd.ca/site/Newsroom/view_news_e.asp?id=490

frappés par la complexité des relations entre les trois théâtres stratégiques en cause et entre les grandes puissances dont les intérêts sont en jeu.

Il y a, d'un côté, le théâtre terrestre qui a pour centre l'Afghanistan, qui avait été caractérisé par l'épithète « le grand jeu » à l'époque où les principaux acteurs étaient les empires britannique et russe qui se livraient concurrence pour le contrôle. En deuxième lieu se trouve le théâtre de l'océan Indien, à travers lequel passent les ressources énergétiques du golfe Persique en route vers les consommateurs du Japon, de la Chine et de l'Inde. Et le troisième, c'est celui de l'océan Pacifique lui-même, qui voit le flux massif et croissant d'échanges commerciaux de ressources et de biens entre l'Asie, l'Amérique du Nord et l'Amérique du Sud.

Donc, en concevant la structure du livre, nous avons commencé avec l'aperçu d'ensemble, présenté par Paul Chapin, de l'état actuel de la politique canadienne en matière d'affaires étrangères et de sécurité dans la région, pour ensuite passer à une série d'études conçues de façon à améliorer nos connaissances des intérêts et des politiques de quelques-unes, mais pas toutes, des grandes puissances dans la région.

Nous nous tournons ensuite vers l'étude de Christian Constantin et Brian Job sur la Chine, un État qui possède des intérêts vitaux dans les trois théâtres et qui a étonné le monde par sa capacité de réussir, plusieurs années de suite, des taux de croissance économique qui se sont souvent situés dans les deux chiffres. L'analyse traditionnelle de la menace stratégique examine le monde à travers la double lentille des capacités et des intentions et cherche à établir dans quelle mesure les capacités économiques peuvent être transformées en capacités militaires. Il est encore difficile de dire quelles sont les intentions stratégiques ultimes de la Chine, mais il n'y a pas de contradiction à constater le fait que les capacités croissantes de la Chine représentent un centre de gravité nouveau et crucial dans chacun des trois théâtres stratégiques.

Selon son point de vue, l'Ouest a eu tendance à voir la Chine depuis le Pacifique, mais une analyse des programmes de construction d'infrastructure de ce pays révèle également un très important programme d'infrastructure de transport par voie terrestre consacré à l'expansion des corridors d'échanges commerciaux vers l'Asie centrale. D'ailleurs, un des développements frappants dans la recherche de la Chine pour des ressources limitées, ce fut d'avoir remporté l'appel d'offres pour développer les dépôts de cuivre les plus importants du monde à Aynak¹, dans la province de Logar, au sud de Kaboul,

¹ Ron Synovitz. "Afghanistan : China's Winning Bid for Copper Rights Includes Power Plant, Railroad." Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty, 24 November 2007.

qui comportera le développement d'une voie de chemin de fer pour desservir la mine, mais qui ira également du Pakistan jusqu'au Tadjikistan en passant par Kaboul. Nous avons donc senti le besoin d'inclure l'analyse que fait Larry Black de la Shanghai Cooperation Association, qui compte la Russie parmi ses membres.

Les deux théâtres navals sont le foyer de quelques-uns des changements stratégiques les plus dynamiques parce que, comme le fait remarquer Jim Boutilier : « L'Inde et la Chine, qui s'appuient toutes deux sur des économies propulsées par l'exportation, ont réorienté leurs axes nationaux vers la mer. Les deux nations sont en train d'accroître leur puissance navale et la United States Navy (USN), préoccupée par la croissance dramatique de la marine chinoise, a repositionné dans le Pacifique le gros de ses porte-avions et de ses sous-marins ».

Nous nous tournons ensuite vers Seth Cropsey pour nous faire comprendre la vue sur le Pacifique qu'on les États-Unis et leurs objectifs de politique étrangère en Asie, qui sont « d'empêcher la montée d'une puissance hégémonique qui soit en mesure de s'opposer aux États-Unis par la force militaire ou d'exercer une domination politique dans une région où vit la moitié de la population de la Terre. »

Le Canada et l'Australie ont entretenu, comme le souligne John Blaxland, une relation militaire remarquablement longue qui est relativement peu connue chez les citoyens des deux puissances moyennes de l'Asie-Pacifique. Il est donc précieux d'approfondir notre relation, étant donné que les points de vue indépendants des deux pays peuvent donner forme aux connaissances qu'ils ont l'un et de l'autre.

Après avoir ainsi fait le « *grand tour d'horizon* » du contexte stratégique, nous nous tournons finalement vers le côté canadien de l'océan Pacifique pour examiner les résultats de la « stratégie intérieure » d'accélération du commerce maritime vers l'Amérique du Nord, ce qui mène vers le développement massif de Prince Rupert en tant que port à conteneurs, ainsi qu'à l'augmentation des volumes transbordés au port de Vancouver. Nous nous trouvons simultanément au milieu de la « Transformation » des Forces canadiennes, avec la création du Commandement Canada et de sa structure de forces opérationnelles interarmées (FOI), lesquelles, à leur tour, exécutent un commandement unifié des toutes les forces navales, militaires et aériennes à l'intérieur de leur région. La Force opérationnelle interarmées (Pacifique) donne lieu à une étude de cas fascinante comportant des caractéristiques uniques incluant la nécessité d'agir comme « mise sur pied d'une force » des

équipements navals dans l'Ouest de l'Arctique comme soutien de la FOI (Arctique), ainsi que pour intervenir dans des événements qui pourraient se produire dans son propre secteur, qui ne contient dans sa zone de responsabilité aucune unité des forces de terre régulières. Personne d'autre n'est mieux placé que le commandant « initiateur » de la FOI(P), le Contre-Amiral Girouard, pour nous faire parcourir les « difficultés de mise au point » cette organisation.

Pour finir, nous nous penchons sur la « stratégie extérieure » d'intervention à la rescousse d'États défailants et/ou en train de défailir, qui semble avoir reçu un nouvel intérêt de la part du gouvernement canadien. Toutefois, ces interventions supposent aussi la « stratégie intérieure », puisque les corps expéditionnaires doivent être constitués sur les capacités de la structure militaire de « mise sur pied d'une force » « intérieure » dans le Commandement Canada. De plus, de telles interventions ont besoin de quelque chose de plus que de forces purement militaires, et elles nécessitent une approche « faisant appel à l'ensemble du gouvernement », où d'autres ministères agissent également comme points de « mise sur pied d'une force » expéditionnaire. Nous en sommes encore au début de notre courbe d'apprentissage, et le Contre-Amiral Summers nous conduit à travers un examen attentif des problèmes inhérents qui se rattachent à l'organisation et à l'équipement de tels corps expéditionnaires, qui s'appuient sur le concept de « Transformation » d'une Force opérationnelle permanente de contingence du côté militaire, à laquelle viennent s'ajouter des contributions appropriées provenant de capacités d'autres ministères du gouvernement qui peuvent y avoir un rôle à jouer.

The Evolving Canadian Strategic Policy Framework

Paul H. Chapin

Abstract

There is a new security context to which Canadian public policy has not yet fully adjusted. It features old problems not settled by the collapse of the Soviet Union, a new global conflict as complex and potentially lethal as the Cold War, and a witches' brew of failed states, gangster regimes and black marketers in weapons of mass destruction. As is the case of other democratic states, Canada needs both a "home game" to protect itself within North America and an "away game" to contain and eventually dispose of the threats emanating from other continents. There has been progress on both, but not enough. After a decade of policy contrary to self-interest and the atrophy of Canada's international assets, the Martin government sought to re-root Canadian strategic policy in Canada's national interests. But old political habits and a recalcitrant bureaucracy combined to defeat the effort. The Harper government better understands the impact external developments have on Canada's national interests and is more determined to exercise international leadership on issues that matter for Canadians. The government may not have issued a comprehensive statement of its international policy, but its pronouncements leave no doubt as to the direction of its strategic policy.

Résumé

Il existe un nouveau contexte de sécurité auquel la politique publique canadienne ne s'est pas encore ajustée. Il fait ressortir les vieux problèmes qui n'ont pas été réglés par l'effondrement de l'Union soviétique, un nouveau conflit mondial aussi complexe et potentiellement létal que la guerre froide, et un brouet de sorcières d'États non viables, de régimes de gangsters et du marché noir d'armes de destruction massive. Comme c'est le cas d'autres États démocratiques, le Canada a besoin en même temps d'un 'plan intérieur' pour se protéger lui-même au sein de l'Amérique du Nord et d'un 'plan extérieur' pour contenir des menaces émanant d'autres continents et éventuellement en disposer. Il y a eu des progrès des deux côtés, mais ce n'est pas suffisant. Après des décennies de politique contraire à son intérêt propre et d'atrophie des actifs internationaux que possédait le Canada, le gouvernement Martin a cherché à réenraciner la politique stratégique canadienne dans les intérêts nationaux du Canada. Mais les vieilles habitudes politiques et une bureaucratie récalcitrante se sont combinées pour défaire cet

effort. Le gouvernement Harper comprend mieux l'impact que les développements extérieurs ont sur les intérêts nationaux du Canada et est plus déterminé à exercer un leadership international sur des questions qui ont de l'importance pour les Canadiens. Le gouvernement n'a peut-être pas émis un énoncé global de sa politique internationale, mais ses déclarations ne laissent aucun doute sur l'orientation de sa politique stratégique.

THE NEW SECURITY CONTEXT

Old Problems

Few who lived through the time will forget the policy confusion that accompanied the death of Soviet communism. For 70 stultifying years, statesmen and scholars had convinced themselves that the USSR was a permanent feature of the international landscape for which the only practical response was accommodation. Dissenting views were dismissed as eccentric¹ and strategists focused entirely on containment and deterrence. When the Cold War ended – miraculously, not with a bang but a whimper – the surprise was complete, as was the policy reversal that followed. Kissinger remarked:

The Cold War had begun at a time when America was expecting an era of peace. And the Cold War ended at a moment when America was girding itself for a new era of protracted conflict. The Soviet empire collapsed even more suddenly than it had erupted beyond its borders; with equal speed, America reversed its attitude towards Russia, shifting in a matter of months from hostility to friendship.²

There were certainly grounds for optimism. The source of the trouble, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), had been put out of business. The Red Army was rusting away. The Soviet empire was in pieces. And Russians were experimenting with free markets and democratic institutions. Clearly, hostility was no longer warranted. But friendship implied a relationship of trust founded on important interests held in common, and for this there was little factual basis.

As in the case of any major country, the ideas and schemes of its leaders have been important drivers of Russia's foreign policy. But sooner or later, czars, commissars, democrats and *chekists* have all had to pursue policies that reflected Russia's national interests. These, being largely a function of Russia's history and geography, did not change because the CPSU lost power. The size of a continent, subject to enormous centrifugal forces, with more neighbours to worry about than any other country, perennially lagging in economic growth, Russia since Old Muscovy has sought political conformity, control of far-flung territories, secure frontiers, malleable neighbours, and the respect of other great powers.

¹ Andrei Amalrik, *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?*, Perennial Library, Harper & Row, New York, 1970.

² Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1994, p. 762.

In Moscow today, these national interests are being pursued by leaders of the one Soviet-era institution that survived intact the collapse of the CPSU – the KGB, refashioned in 1995 as the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (FSB). Unrestrained by either ideology or law, the FSB has assumed the commanding heights of all the major public and private institutions of the country, recreating in large measure the control apparatus formerly wielded by the CPSU and KGB together. This is a development that should rightly alarm both democrats in Russia and the governments of Western countries, for it will be a major determinant of Russia's foreign and defence policy in the years to come. If there is a bright side, it is that the tool kit for dealing with totalitarian regimes is well known to us.

With Russia behaving more like the old Soviet Union, China drawing on its new-found wealth to finance a more assertive foreign and defence policy, and chronic unresolved inter-state rivalries in Asia and the Middle East that still hold the potential to threaten international peace and security, old problems have clearly not disappeared just because new ones have arisen.

The New Global Conflict

Nor are the new ones inconsequential. In fact, there is a new world war under way. It is unlike any of the global conflicts of the 20th century, each of which had distinctive features of its own.¹ But there can be no doubt that Islamic supremacists pose a grave threat to democratic values and security, and that the war against them is global in scope, is being fought on several fronts including at home, engages large military formations, has so far caused tens of thousands of casualties, and shows every indication of being prolonged.

There were antecedents, but it was 9/11 that dramatized the nature of the new problem. The attacks were carried out by a handful of *jihadists*, using trivial resources, and based in one of the poorest and most remote countries on earth. Yet they were able to assault the military headquarters of the world's greatest military power, reduce two 110-story landmark buildings to 1.5 million tons of rubble, and kill more people than the Japanese empire did at Pearl Harbor. And it could have been much worse.²

¹ Some have characterized the conflict as World War IV, including former heads of the CIA and the French intelligence service. Eliot Cohen has observed that: "The Cold War was World War III, which reminds us that not all global conflicts entail the movement of multi-million man armies or conventional front lines on a map."

² As Philip Bobbitt has observed: "For five centuries it has taken the resources of a state to destroy another state: only states could

The lessons were jolting:

- International security is no longer about alliances, spheres of influence and brokered truces between warring states.
- Open societies are extraordinarily vulnerable, regardless of the military forces at their disposal. Defences have become essential, even if we have little experience with them and no appetite to build them.
- But staying on the defensive would be a recipe for disaster. It would require spending vast sums to construct barriers in the vain hope they would be impenetrable, restricting civil liberties indefinitely, and living in perpetual fear of another perhaps more catastrophic attack.
- Defining the enemy, however, is a challenge. Some are states, others not. Some are foreign, others domestic. Some are self-declared, others merely objects of suspicion.
- No less a challenge is to design and execute a winning strategy. As we have already learned, it will take more than “splendid little wars” involving advanced technology and few casualties. More likely will be long grinding campaigns that will test our resolve and ingenuity.

What makes Islamic supremacists so dangerous is their employment of terrorism for war-fighting purposes. In the past, terrorism served as a form of coercive diplomacy to extract concessions from an opponent. The means selected tended to be proportional to the objectives sought. In the global conflict, terrorism’s objective is to maximize damage to the enemy, not excluding the destruction and loss of life that could result from the use of a chemical, biological, nuclear or radiological device. With some 30 failed and failing states providing the real estate, rogue states with nuclear ambitions willing to make common cause for their own purposes, and a thriving clandestine market in WMD, “war” is taking on a whole new meaning in the 21st century.

CANADIAN STRATEGY

The security strategy of any state should have as its principal goal the preservation of the people’s way of life. This includes freedom from physical attack or coercion, freedom from

muster the huge revenues, conscript the vast armies, and equip the divisions required to threaten the survival of other states ... We are entering a period, however, when very small numbers of persons operating with the enormous power of modern computers, biogenetics, air transport, and even nuclear weapons can deal lethal blows to any society." The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace and the Course of History, Random House, New York, 2002, p. xxi.

internal subversion, and freedom from the erosion of the political, economic and social values that are essential to the people's quality of life. Canadians have not been idle in the pursuit of these objectives since 9/11, but for the most part their responses focused on meeting immediate needs. The time has come for a strategy to guide Canadian decisions over the longer-term, incorporating a "home" game to deal with security vulnerabilities within Canada and an "away" game to address security problems as far from Canada's shores as possible.

The Home Game

The "home" game has to combine several elements beginning with the protection of Canadian communities, particularly Moslem communities vulnerable to exploitation by *jihadist* elements. Another element is the hardening of the physical and cyber infrastructure that links Canada's communities together and assures the security of food, water, energy, health and emergency response resources. Considerable progress is being made on each of these, but serious improvement is required in at least four other areas.

The first need is to enhance domain awareness, i.e. knowledge of what is happening on Canada's land mass and in its coastal waters. The Senate Standing Committee on National Security and Defence recently observed that Canada's coastlines constitute the "longest under-defended borders in the world ... They are vast, they are vulnerable, and unfortunately they are largely unattended". In today's security environment, allowing such conditions to persist poses risks not only for Canada but for the United States - which already sees its northern neighbour as a potential conduit for those wishing to strike at the heart of America.

The second requirement is to develop a common security perimeter with the United States. Since 9/11, enormous effort has been put into securing the Canada-United States border, i.e. *in protecting the two countries from each other*. Much better would be to remove border barriers and establish a common security perimeter around North America. The logic is compelling. The two countries face an enormous challenge in maintaining the free flow of people and goods across their border while still being able to restrict the movement of terrorists and the clandestine passage of WMD-related materials and equipment. Since they share virtually identical security interests, Canada and the United States could make better use of scarce resources by defending a common perimeter - and in the process focus more on identifying and eliminating threats as far from the continent as possible. The Schengen Agreement among EU countries provides evidence that the ability to cross international frontiers without having to undergo

personal inspections is entirely compatible with the preservation of national sovereignty and identity.¹

Thirdly, there is a need for a new North American defence architecture. For nearly half a century, the management of Canada-US defence relations rested with two institutions: the Permanent Joint Board on Defence (PJBD) which met twice a year to deal with common defence issues; and NORAD, a bi-national military command charged with the aerospace defence of the continent. The events of 9/11 transformed the North American threat environment and brought into being four new institutions with missions related to the security and defence of the continent.

In the United States, the new institutions were the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and US Northern Command (NORTHCOM). In Canada, they were Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada (PSEPC) and Canada Command. Their mandates are sufficiently similar to suggest comparisons between them (DHS/PSEPC, NORTHCOM/Canada Command) but sufficiently different to pose potentially serious problems for cooperation. DHS is an organizational behemoth that is struggling just to coordinate internally, let alone with PSEPC and its constituent elements. NORTHCOM embodies the "never again" spirit of a US military community determined not to allow a repetition of 9/11 and disinclined to leave any dimension of US security in the hands of others. Moreover, the institutions all arrived on the scene at different times, further complicating the development of effective work habits between them. But if they can be made to work together, North America will have the institutional architecture needed to deliver effective security and defence in the 21st century.

Also at issue is the role that NORAD will play in the common defence. The renewal of the NORAD agreement in May 2006, expanding its mandate to include maritime warning and extending the life of the organization indefinitely, suggested that the two governments intended NORAD to have a future. But designing NORAD's future relationship to NORTHCOM and Canada Command remains a work in progress.

Lastly, still unresolved is the issue of Canadian participation in missile defence. Beneath the overblown rhetoric that has confounded public debate in Canada over the question lies a simple truth: missiles represent a growing problem for all Western countries and all are actively exploring ways of defending against

¹ The Senate Standing Committee on National Security and Defence has urged that the Canada Border Services Agency cease the disruptive practice of collecting customs duties from travellers entering Canada - which in 2004 amounted to only \$95.8 million or a mere 0.047% of the government's total revenue - and to focus CBSA resources entirely on security screening.

them - except Canada. The threat is not imaginary: Carnegie Endowment lists 31 countries with ballistic missile programs, six of whom it characterizes as “countries of proliferation concern”. And the defensive measures being taken are real. At a summit meeting in Prague in November 2002, NATO leaders (including the Canadian PM) launched a study “to examine options for addressing the increasing missile threat to Alliance territory, forces and population centres in an effective and efficient way through an appropriate mix of political and defence efforts”. Two years later at Istanbul, they approved the Active Layered Theatre Ballistic Missile Defence program (ALT BMD) to defend against short and medium-range threats by 2010. Today, at least ten Western countries are building ballistic missile defence systems, three of whom are contributing directly to the US BMD system (UK, Denmark, and Japan).

Only in Canada, it seems, would people rather worry about the chimera of an “arms race in space” than about the actual regimes in Pyongyang and Tehran and their developing long-range missiles. They fear that expanding longstanding cooperation with the United States on missile *warning* to include missile *defence* represents the road to perdition; or claim to believe that - in this one case anyway - Canada’s national sovereignty is best preserved by leaving it to the US to defend us.

The Away Game

Like the home game, the “away” game is a whole-of-government undertaking with at least a dozen departments of government engaged in protecting and promoting Canadian security and defence interests abroad. Four areas in the future will require attention.

The first is organizing for war. No undertaking of such magnitude, with such risks of failure and such a potential price to pay, can hope to succeed in conditions of business-as-usual. It is not a question of alarming the population, suspending civil liberties, or bankrupting the country. But there is a need to define “victory”, clarify objectives, build a plan to achieve them, and mobilize national resources in support. The Canadian Forces (CF) has already advanced far in making the necessary changes in mission, strategy and structure. A guiding principle of CF transformation has been that operations and operational support should have primacy over all other activities and considerations. At Foreign Affairs, CIDA and elsewhere, the transformation has been much less far-reaching.

Second, “whole-of-government” has not yet been realized. Canada was among the first Western countries to come to the realization that successful peace operations would require a “3-D” approach, and departments and agencies have made considerable headway in achieving an integrated approach. But the approach

works better around the Cabinet table and in the field than it does in the tension-ridden meeting rooms throughout Ottawa where soldiers, RCMP officers, and public servants continue to struggle with their relationships. It is common to ascribe the problem to the cultural divides that historically have separated the military and civilian worlds, but the root of the problem is continued poor definition of the roles and responsibilities of entities with strong traditions of independence forced into intimacy because of common cause.

Resistance to change is evident in the agonizingly slow refocusing of Canada's international assistance resources on the global conflict. Public money directed at protecting and promoting Canadian interests abroad likely exceeds \$20 billion per year. Much of that money goes towards "non-discretionary" activities such as maintaining military capabilities, departmental and agency overhead, the operation of Canada's 160 diplomatic and consular missions, and paying Canada's share of the costs of the UN, NATO, and dozens of other organizations great and small. But a significant portion of the total is invested in good works abroad such as humanitarian relief, poverty alleviation, health, basic education, environmental sustainability, private sector development, governance, and gender equity. In FY 2006-07, CIDA alone had a budget of some \$3 billion – yet only a small percentage was devoted to alleviating conditions in countries on the frontline of the global conflict. For example, funds for Afghanistan total approximately \$100 million a year (the government recently announced an additional \$200 million over two years). CIDA has been a pioneer in the attention it has devoted to "non-traditional" development issues such as security sector reform, human security, and humanitarian de-mining. But the time is past due for the Agency to be spending less than 10% of its budget on an issue of such gravity and immediacy as World War IV.

Lastly, Canada remains the only G-8 country never to have established a national foreign intelligence service. In a time of global conflict, a foreign intelligence capability is a fundamental asset of international statecraft that no country aspiring to international leadership can afford to do without. All Canada's principal allies have benefited from information-sharing arrangements that have worked well over the years, but unlike Canada none have thought to rely on these to the exclusion of their own ability to collect intelligence on issues of particular national interest.

POLICY CONTRARY TO SELF-INTEREST

Understanding one's times and adjusting policy to new circumstances are perennial problems of statecraft. In *Modern*

Times, British historian Paul Johnson observed that “History shows us the truly amazing extent to which intelligent, well-informed and resolute men, in the pursuit of economy or in an altruistic passion for disarmament, will delude themselves about realities”.¹ He could have been writing about Canada in the 1990s.

Canadians have lived a privileged existence compared to almost every other nation, their security largely guaranteed by great oceans to the east and west, the Arctic in the north, and a powerful benign neighbour to the south. This history has induced a measure of detachment about events elsewhere, but when the stakes have been sufficiently high Canadians have never failed to support their friends and allies abroad. That is why 116,000 Canadian soldiers lie buried on the battlefields of Europe and the Pacific, why Canadians represent the second largest group of civilians working for the UN in trouble spots around the world, and why Prime Minister Harper told the UN General Assembly that “If we fail the Afghan people, we will be failing ourselves”.

During the 1990s, a government preoccupied with federal/provincial power struggles and catering to pacifist sentiment tried to convince Canadians the world held little menace for them. Fearful of foreign entanglements, the government fed Canadians a pabulum that the end of the Cold War meant peace was now the natural order, that multilateral institutions could manage any problems that arose, that the only rogue state was the United States, and that Canada could realize a “peace dividend” by reducing expenditures on defence. When crises erupted, the government worked hard to keep Canada out of the “contact groups” of countries assuming responsibility for finding solutions. When it could not avoid sending soldiers abroad, the government insisted their mission was “peacekeeping” no matter how elusive the peace – and tried to prevent the reporting of casualties.² Spending on development assistance declined to 0.27% of GDP and DFAIT’s personnel complement decreased by 980 positions.

With no national interests apparently at stake, Canadians came to view foreign policy as a discretionary activity, to be indulged in when there was a little extra in the federal budget or a foreign affairs minister had a particular vocation to pursue. The real challenges, Canadians were told, were to define the “role” Canada was to play “on the world stage” and to find ways to promote “Canadian values”. What the world needed was “more Canada”. So

¹ Paul Johnson, *Modern Times: A History of the World from the 1920s to the 1990s*, Orion Books Ltd., London 1992.

² Since 1992, 23 Canadian soldiers lost their lives serving in Bosnia-Herzegovina under either UN or NATO command. In the course of participating in 16 UN peace missions since Korea, 114 Canadian soldiers have lost their lives - second only to India which has taken 123.

the government advanced the cause of “human security” in remote regions of the globe while neglecting dangers closer to home. It pursued a “universal” ban on anti-personnel mines that ended up excluding countries essential to its effectiveness, i.e. the US, Russia, China, India and Pakistan, Egypt and Israel, and the two Koreas. It championed an international criminal court knowing it lacked democratic accountability and carried the potential for vexatious prosecutions of national leaders and service personnel. And it set out to “enshrine” Canadian values “throughout the international environment”, succeeding only in offending other democratic states and undermining Canada’s ability to influence their decisions.

The greatest cost was to Canada’s relations with the United States, not only the most powerful state the world has ever known but also one Canada can influence by virtue of the two countries’ longstanding friendship and mutual dependency. Instead of the respect and constancy expected of a neighbour and ally, the Canadian record featured adolescent rants and faithless decisions on matters of supreme importance to Americans. The government seems never to have understood or cared how wounding it was for Americans to hear Canadian leaders allude to “root causes” after three thousand innocents were killed on 9/11; how deceived Americans were by Canada’s dissembling over whether it would support the invasion of Iraq; or how astonished Americans were that the Canadian government launched discussions on jointly defending North America against ballistic missile attack only to be told later that Canada had “other”, i.e. higher, priorities.

Nor did the government ever pause to reflect that these decisions placed Canada, for the first time in its history, in opposition to its three closest partners – the United States, the UK and Australia. It was enough, apparently, that the US favoured certain courses for Ottawa to oppose them.

The attacks on 9/11 should have jolted the government back to reality. In Canada, the government’s response was to pretend life could continue much as before, to make adjustments only where absolutely necessary, and to try to keep costs down. Public pressure drove the government to develop new machinery to deal with security issues and to spend over \$10 billion on security enhancements, but serious deficiencies persisted – amply documented in parliamentary committee reports, think tank studies, and publications with such titles as *While Canada Slept*.

Canadian foreign policy began to change direction during the Martin interregnum. Appreciating how far the country’s international standing had fallen, the government promised a foreign policy of “pride and influence” in the world. It would rebuild Canadian military capabilities and accord priority to improving relations with the United States. This was a shift warmly welcomed in Washington, London, Brussels and elsewhere. But the

government's resolve was no match for the received wisdom at Foreign Affairs. In its *International Policy Statement*, the Martin government asserted the imperative of "a clear-eyed understanding of our core national interests", then proceeded to disparage "old conceptions of the national interest" in favour of a "new multilateralism ... by which nations with different cultures and capabilities can build mutually beneficial partnerships". By the end, there was little to distinguish the new approach from the old.

Five years after 9/11, there remains widespread public scepticism that Canadians have much at stake in what happens beyond their borders. Few believe Canada has much to fear from Islamist terrorists or WMD. The issue of Canadian participation in defending North America against missile attack continues to defy rational discussion. And opinion polls report rising nervousness over the one area where Canada's contribution to international security has been outstanding, i.e. Afghanistan. The legacy is one of policy contrary to self-interest, activity without strategy, a catastrophic decline in Canada's international power and influence, and a public that has been surprised and confused to learn the world is still a dangerous place.

CANADA UNDER NEW MANAGEMENT

The election of the Conservative government of Stephen Harper in January 2006 marked the first opportunity in over a decade to consider policy options unfettered by the need to ensure consistency with past positions or to protect the egos of those associated with them. Since the government's agenda for its first mandate was clearly focused on domestic priorities, many concluded the government was either disinterested in foreign policy or was reserving action until after a policy review of the kind traditionally conducted by incoming administrations. In fact, the new government arrived with firm views on the future direction of Canadian foreign policy expressed in its election manifesto, and the Prime Minister proceeded to outline the government's priorities in a series of speeches beginning in the fall of 2006.

On September 20, the PM told the Economic Club of New York the new government was working to strengthen the Canadian economy and to forge a stronger partnership with the US and Mexico. But there was a third priority: "We are determined that Canada's role in the world will extend beyond this continent. Just as we work for a more secure and prosperous North America, we need to work for a more stable and just world." Canada, he said, "intends to be a player".

Two weeks later, the PM explained what he had in mind. In a speech on October 5 entitled *Reviving Canadian Leadership in the World*, the PM told a meeting of the Woodrow Wilson Center in

Calgary he had been struck by “how critically important foreign affairs has become in everything we do”. Virtually every significant challenge Canada faced – economic, environmental, demographic, security, health, energy -- contained an important if not critical international dimension. His objective, he said, was to make Canada a leader in world affairs to ensure Canadians could preserve their identity and sovereignty, protect their key interests, and defend the values they hold most dear. Canadians had always wanted a government that played a role in international affairs, he said, but in a “shrinking, changing, dangerous world, our government *must* play a role in the world”. “Canadians don’t want a Canada that just goes along, they want a Canada that leads.”

On February 6, 2007 the PM returned to the theme in a speech to the Canadian Club of Ottawa. The escalation of regional conflicts and terrorism in the 1990s, culminating with the 9/11 attacks, had awakened Canadians to new dangers. Canada, the PM said, needed a stronger military and “an assertive foreign policy that serves Canadian values and interests”. The government would continue rebuilding the Canadian Forces, fighting the Taliban, and helping to reconstruct Afghanistan. But it also intended to work with the UN and allies to strengthen international stability and security, to speak “clearly and openly on the international scene to uphold the fundamental values of the Canadian people and of all civilized peoples”, to continue forging a relationship with the United States based on mutual respect, and to re-engage with partners in Mexico and the Americas.

The Agenda

The PM’s speeches, along with those of the ministers of foreign affairs and national defence, their patterns of international travel, and the new spending on defence, public security and international assistance outlined in Budget 2007, signal not only the government’s determination that Canada exercise greater leadership in the world, but also the foreign policy priorities the government intends to pursue. These priorities translate into an agenda with three pillars: restoring hemispheric relationships, selective involvement in regional conflicts, and enhancing the world’s capacity to deal with international security problems.

Relationships

As the PM has noted, a “healthy” relationship with the United States “based on mutual respect” is Canada’s highest foreign policy priority. The political, economic and security interests Canada has at stake are familiar and do not need to be repeated here. Less well understood is the potential payoff of even a modest agenda of

Canada-US cooperative ventures on international security issues. American appreciation for Canada's engagement in Afghanistan illustrates how one such venture has had beneficial effects across a range of Canada-US issues. Other areas worth exploring include nation-building in Iraq, counter-proliferation, and UN reform.

Close behind in priority are Mexico and the Americas, the rest of Canada's "neighbourhood" where there lies untapped potential for advancing Canadian interests and scope for trouble if problems are left unattended. Inconsistent attention to Haiti's problems has cost Canada alone over \$3 billion in the last 40 years. Anchoring Mexico more firmly in the North American community and "constructive engagement" with partners in South America such as Brazil, Argentina, Chile and others should figure prominently on the agenda for the medium term.

By definition, other regions of the world are of lesser priority - at least for now. This is not to suggest they will be neglected, for Canada has weighty interests in Europe, in Asia/Pacific, and in Africa and the Middle East. But if the first two priorities are to be properly resourced in order to realize their benefits, it does mean that Canada's relations with other regions will receive less attention for the time being. At the very least, strong arguments will be required before support is given to any new initiatives in these regions likely to require a significant commitment of resources.

Regional conflicts

Canada went into Afghanistan because of 9/11 and has been a major contributor to the collective effort to assist the elected government of that country lay the groundwork for sustainable peace and economic growth. A great deal has been accomplished over the last five years, but Afghanistan is one of the poorest countries in the world and it will take a generation before it can manage without substantial outside assistance. The challenge over the five-year mandate of the Afghanistan Compact agreed to in February 2006 will be to stand up Afghan military and police forces able to operate effectively on their own. Until then, Afghanistan will remain Canada's single most important foreign engagement.

Canada cannot afford to absent itself from involvement in other fragile states with the potential to undermine regional peace and security or to harbour terrorist groups with global reach. But such involvement is likely to focus on situations where Canadian interests are most directly engaged. Undoubtedly, the government will also want Canada to make a material contribution to stopping the worst examples of man's inhumanity to man, as in Darfur.

International security capacity

The number of armed conflicts around the globe has declined steadily since the early 1990s, in part because the UN has never been more actively engaged in peace operations with 18 missions currently on the go involving 91,000 military, police and civilians. But while doctrines such as the Responsibility to Protect are gaining increased acceptance, international capacity to intervene in a timely and effective manner remains inadequate to the task. Meanwhile, the regime of treaties and agreements built up over a generation to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is showing severe signs of erosion.

In the circumstances, it will be a Canadian priority to work with other Western states to enhance the ability of the UN, NATO and regional organizations to prevent conflicts and put a stop to severe human rights violations, to react with the right mix of political, economic and military strategies, and to rebuild war-torn societies. Canada can also be expected to play a lead in international efforts to strengthen controls on WMD materials, technology and delivery systems.

CONCLUSION

In 2000, Sir John Coles, former Permanent Undersecretary at the Foreign Office, published *Making Foreign Policy: A Certain Idea of Britain*, in which he argued that successful foreign policy required a country to have a strong sense of self.¹ Following the collapse of the British Empire and the rise of the European Union, Britain's international influence had declined as the country struggled to come to terms with its changed circumstances. Conversely, Britain's influence has grown as British opinion coalesced around a "certain idea of Britain" in the 21st century.

Canada's circumstances are somewhat analogous. After years of groping to "define" itself and to find the right "role" to play in the world, Canadians are coming to the realization that the country has an identity and a value that is distinctively Canadian which does not depend on its being different in every respect from its neighbour. And that protecting and promoting the interests of Canada requires active engagement abroad on issues where those interests may be vulnerable or opportunities for advancing them may exist.

With a popular consensus growing around "a certain idea of Canada", Canadian strategic policy can be expected to restore the balance Canadians want between the protection and promotion of

¹ John Coles, *Making Foreign Policy: A Certain Idea of Britain*, John Murray, London, 1999.

their national interests and the pursuit of international peace and security.

China's Strategic Vision

Christian Constantin and Brian Job

Abstract

China's strategic vision in the new millennium aims at achieving three objectives: safeguarding a peaceful international environment conducive to its domestic economic development, ensuring the protection of its sovereignty (including its reunification with Taiwan), and playing a 'responsible' role at the great powers table. These goals do not amount to a "Grand Strategy" designed to upset the international order. Yet, China's economic and military rise has been viewed with concern. We argue that this suspicion comes from an understanding of international relations based on capabilities and on the "Power Transition Theory" which may lead to dangerous self-fulfilling prophecies.

Resumé

En ce nouveau millénaire, la vision stratégique de la Chine vise à atteindre trois objectifs : la sauvegarde d'un environnement international pacifique propice au développement économique national; l'assurance de la protection de sa souveraineté (y compris sa réunification avec Taiwan); et la possibilité de jouer un rôle « responsable » à la table des grandes puissances. Ces objectifs n'ont rien d'une « grande stratégie » conçue pour bousculer l'ordre international et pourtant l'ascension économique et militaire de la Chine a été perçue avec inquiétude. Nous faisons valoir que cette attitude soupçonneuse provient d'une compréhension des relations internationales basée sur les capacités et sur la « théorie de la transition de puissance » ; cette attitude risque de mener à de dangereuses anticipations qui pourraient se réaliser.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) is no exception to the dictum "Si vis pacem, para bellum". While Chinese leaders proclaim, on the one hand, that China's goal is to rise or develop peacefully, on the other, Beijing has grown its military budget at a double-digit rate every year of the last two decades. Are Chinese leaders trying to hide aggressive intentions and expansion plans behind lofty rhetoric? If Beijing wishes to develop peacefully, what motivates China's investment in its military might? What are the effects of this military build-up on the regional and international systems?

This paper will explore these questions by first analyzing the goals and objectives that the Chinese leadership has set for the future development of China and which may or may not amount to a "grand strategy". It will then assess the military and diplomatic means that Beijing has used to reach these goals. Finally, it will describe the effects that China's recent military and diplomatic efforts have had on the international system, as well as the future risks and opportunities these entail.

We argue that the goals and objectives that China has set for itself do not amount to a grand strategy of expansion despite both the country's increasing reliance on international resources to supply its economy and the rapid modernization of its military. Two factors have been driving China's military and diplomatic posture: scenarios of conflict over Taiwan, and the development of an identity as a "responsible" great power focused on domestic development and the maintenance of a peaceful environment. These factors are likely to restrain the country's international ambitions for the foreseeable future.

Yet, these objective limitations to China's expansion may still not prove to be enough to guarantee a peaceful environment. Indeed, the risk of miscalculations between China and the United States will grow at the same pace as China's influence. Both countries' analysts and key decision-makers continue to see the world through the lens of "power transition theory", a theory that rests on the assumption that conflict between existing and rising powers is inevitable. This frame of reference leads planners on both sides to discount statements of the other side's intentions and to focus on their rival's material capabilities.

China's "Grand Strategy"?

The studied vagueness of its leaders' statements only serves to fuel speculation about China's ultimate intentions.¹ At one end of

¹ A good example is Deng Xiaoping's 24 character axiom to "observe calmly; secure our position; cope with affairs calmly; hide our capacities and bide our time; be good at maintaining a low profile; and never claim leadership". Indeed,

the spectrum are scholars who see in Beijing's use of military, economic, and diplomatic tools a creeping progression toward regional domination and superpower status¹. At the other end are scholars who view China's goals as contradictory, doubt its coordination abilities, and point to its relative, rather than absolute, capacities². In the middle are those who believe that China's "grand strategy", however articulated, is to ensure the development of the country's economy and thus to guarantee the Communist Party's (CCP) survival³.

Little, if anything, in the official pronouncements by Chinese leaders since Deng Xiaoping would support the first assessment. In the mid-1990s, the Jiang Zemin administration came to characterize China's security posture as based on a "New Security Concept" (*Xin anquan guan*), the core of the concept being "mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and cooperation". Since his coming to power as the head of the PRC's fourth generation of leaders, Hu Jintao has added non-alignment, non-confrontation, and non-targeting as core features of the New Security Concept⁴. However, in conceptual and rhetorical terms the most important contribution of the new generation of leaders so far has been the advocacy of the notions of "Harmonious World" (*Hexie shijie*) and of "Peaceful Development" (*Heping fazhan*)⁵. It posits that China will look to develop peacefully by using its domestic strengths and resources while participating responsibly in the international economy and affairs. The second notion, expounded by President Hu Jintao on the 60th Anniversary of the founding of the United Nations⁶, builds upon the idea of creating a "Harmonious Society" (*Hexie shehui*) domestically. In its

the US Department of Defense uses this statement to introduce its annual report on China's military power.

¹ Aaron L. Friedberg. "Going Out": China's Pursuit of Natural Resources and Implications for the PRC's Grand Strategy," *NBR Analysis*. Vol. 17, No. 3 (2006); Ralph D. Sawyer. "Chinese Strategic Power: Myths, Intent, and Projections," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*. Vol. 9, No. 2 (2006/2007).

² Jonathan D. Pollack. "Chinese Military Power: What Vexes the United States and Why?" *Orbis*. Vol. 51, No. 4 (2007).

³ Phillip C. Saunders. "China's Global Activism: Strategy, Drivers, and Tools," *Institute for National Strategic Studies Occasional Paper*. No. 4 (2006).

⁴ "China's Development Is an Opportunity for Asia." Hu Jintao, Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the Boao Forum for Asia 2004 Annual Conference (2004/04/23).

⁵ The latter is a replacement for the previously used "Peaceful Rise", see Bonnie S. Glaser and Evan S. Medeiros. "The Changing Ecology of Foreign Policy-Making in China: The Ascension and Demise of the Theory of "Peaceful Rise"," *The China Quarterly*. No. 190 (2007), pp. 291-310.

⁶ 'Strive To Build a Harmonious World Where There Are Permanent Peace and Common Prosperity,' Hu Jintao, Speech delivered at the 2005 World Summit on the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the United Nations, New York (2005/09/15).

international dimension, “harmony” means common and collective security achieved through the multilateral peaceful settlement of disputes and conflict, together with mutually beneficial economic development through globalization with the goal of achieving common prosperity, and inclusiveness through the respect of diversity in “civilization” and national choices.

Three broad orientations and goals can be distilled from these public foreign policy concepts and associated policy documents¹.

First, China’s priority remains domestic economic development and successfully dealing with the economic, social and political challenges resulting from reform. In order to deal with these domestic challenges, PRC leaders expect that the international environment will remain stable and conducive to economic interactions.

Second, China will defend agreed-upon international norms based on the fundamental norm of sovereignty and the national right to choose one’s path of development. In other words, Beijing remains dedicated to the reunification of territory—read Taiwan—and will remain cautious about international interventions unless authorized by the U.N.

Third, China is already a great power and expects to be treated as such; nonetheless it will behave responsibly by exercising caution and self-restraint in order not to threaten its partners while it develops.

Military Strategy: Limited Goals, Limited Means

If these orientations dominate China’s military modernization and its diplomatic outlook, the question remains, “Why does China need to raise its military budget so dramatically each year?”

Indeed, the growth of China’s military spending has exceeded the remarkable growth rate of its economy. Moreover, delegates at the most recent National People’s Congress in March 2008 agreed to raise the defense budget by nearly 18%, to 417.8 billion yuan (USD 59B)²—the twentieth consecutive year of double-digit increases—making China the world’s second largest military spender (see Figure 1.)

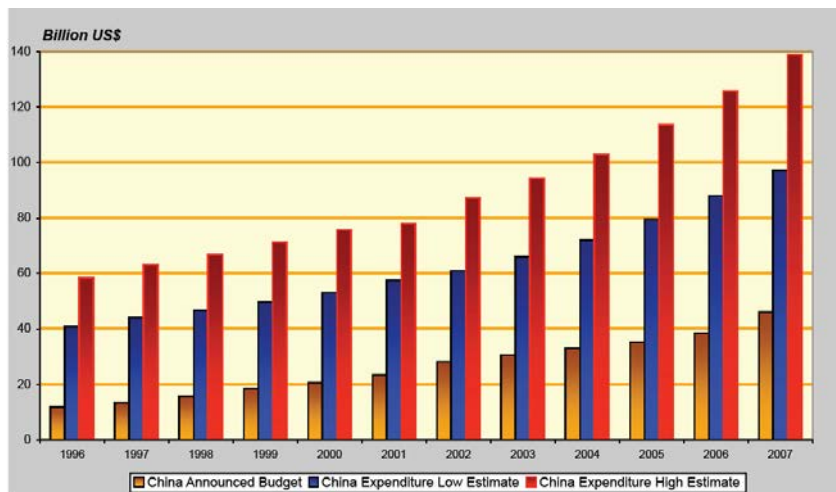
However, as Figure 2 indicates, this official budget is regarded by most analysts as woefully understated, omitting important elements of China’s military resources such as its

¹ See, for instance, the biannual White Papers on China’s National Defense and annual year-ender reports by China’s Foreign Ministry’s officials.

² “China to Raise Military Spending,” *BBC News*. (2008/03/04).

strategic forces, foreign acquisitions, research and development, and the budget for the People's Armed Police (PAP).¹

Figure 1: Defense Expenditures of the PRC: 1996-2007²



From the People's Liberation Army's (PLA) view, this rapid increase is necessary to compensate for prior decades of low levels of attention, and to keep up with inflation, to increase salaries, for investment in equipment and infrastructure, to improve training, and to address non-traditional security challenges³. Ground forces have been trimmed, professionalized, and mechanized. However, it is clear that a sizable share of the budget has been devoted to enhancing the country's overall military capabilities, including: large surface naval vessels, diesel and nuclear submarines, modern mine-warfare capabilities, fourth generation fighters, early-warning and

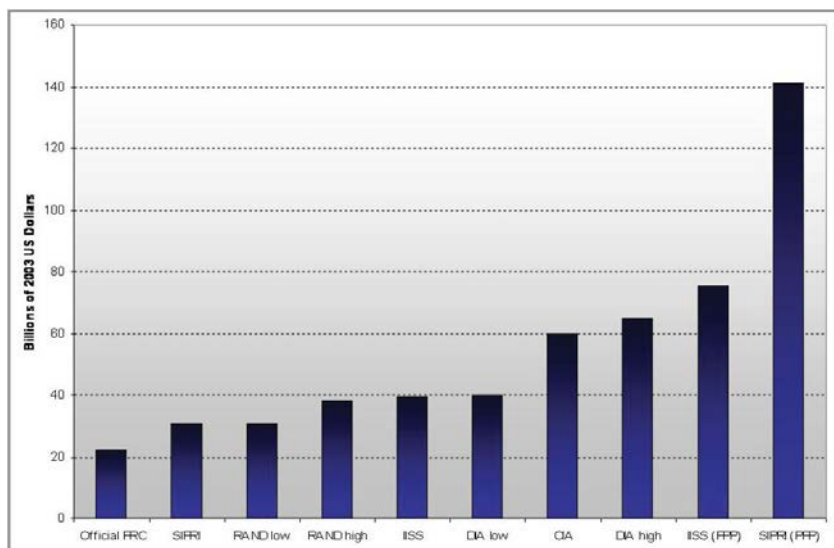
¹ An oft-overlooked factor of the growing PLA budgets is that the discrepancy between the *real* financial resources of the army and the official budget may actually be decreasing. A major source of extra-budget financing was removed when, in 1998, the PLA was forced to relinquish its civilian commercial and industrial assets. The revenues from these commercial activities had allowed the PLA to pay for salaries and basic maintenance costs under Deng Xiaoping. In addition, administrative and budgetary reforms in the PRC that brought state accounting standards more in line with international practices lead analysts to believe that the defense budget is now more realistic than it was before. See Richard A. Bitzinger. "Is What You See Really What You Get? A Different Take on China's Defence Budget," *RSIS Commentaries*. No. 14 (2007). Available at <http://www.ntu.edu.sg/RSIS/publications/Perspective/RSIS0142007.pdf>.

² Source: Office of the Secretary of Defense. Annual Report to Congress. *Military Power of the People's Republic of China*. Washington (DC), 2008.

³ White Paper – China's National Defense (2006).

refuelling aircraft, and modernized tactical and strategic ballistic forces¹.

Figure 2: Comparison of Outside Estimates of PRC Military Spending².



Moreover, China’s military has sought to transform the structure of its forces and their expected mission. First, the focus of Chinese military thinking has shifted from its inland borders to the defense of the maritime borders of its powerhouse coastal economic zones. Second, PLA strategists have had to confront three major military events, each demonstrating the superiority of US forces: the Gulf War, the dispatch of two carrier groups to the Taiwan Strait in reaction to the Chinese live missile “exercises” around the island in 1995-1996, and NATO’s campaign against Serbia over Kosovo.

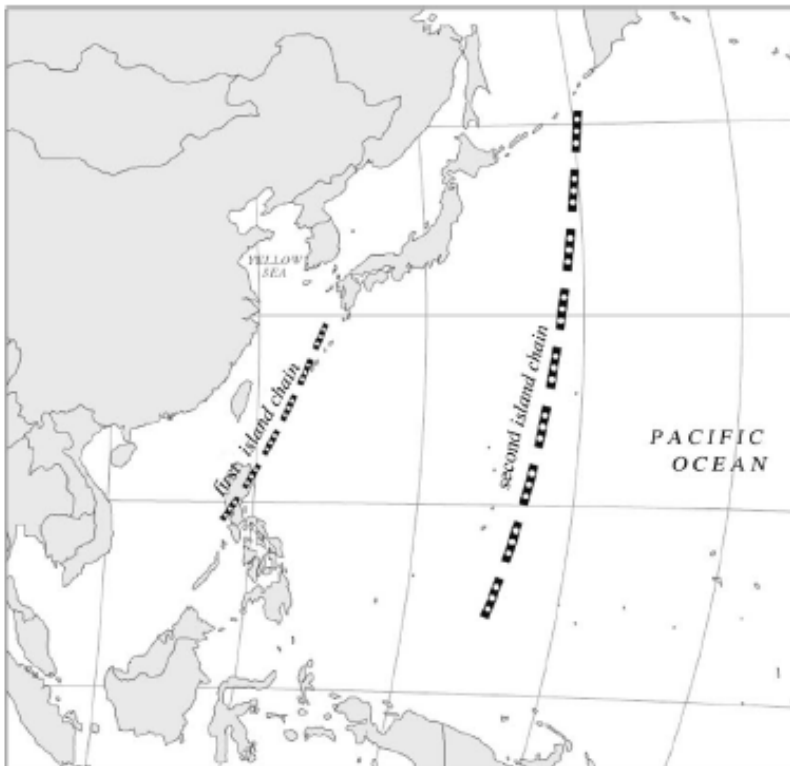
¹ Office of the Secretary of Defense. Annual Report to Congress. *Military Power of the People’s Republic of China*. Washington (DC), 2007; Richard A. Bitzinger. “China’s “Revolution in Military Affairs”: Rhetoric Versus Reality,” *China Brief*. Vol. 8, No. 5 (2008), p. 8.

² Source: Office of the Secretary of Defense. Annual Report to Congress. *Military Power of the People’s Republic of China*. Washington (DC), 2007. Governments and research institutes have developed various—but often incompatible—methods to account for the PLA’s off budget expenditures and sources of income, and other factors. Two different exchange rate models—official exchange rate and purchasing power parity indices—further complicate estimates of China’s defence spending. Estimates above are in 2003 U.S. dollars based on official exchange rates unless otherwise indicated.

PLA planners have reacted by adjusting the country's military strategy in three important ways. First, at the doctrinal level, they have adopted the more forward-looking notion of *active defense*, which envisions that the defense of China's coast will necessitate rapid, pre-emptive actions over short distances against incoming military threats.¹ This will require the coordination of all services through improved command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, and strategic reconnaissance (C4ISR)².

Second, the PLA-Navy is to extend its effective range to achieve an *access denial* capacity extending to the "first chain of islands" – most specifically Taiwan (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: China's First and Second Island Chains³



¹ Michael D. Swaine. "China's Regional Military Posture," in David Shambaugh, ed. *Power Shift: China and Asia's New Dynamics*. Berkeley (Ca.): University of California Press, 2005, p. 268.

² White Paper – China's National Defense (2006).

³ Toshi Yoshihara and James Holmes. "Command of the Sea with Chinese Characteristics," *Orbis*. Vol. 49, No. 4 (2005), p. 681.

However, achieving symmetric naval capability is not a realistic option given China's level of capability relative to the US Navy. Nor is it a requirement for active defense. The PLA, instead, is emphasizing two related aspects of its modernization: *informatization* and *asymmetric warfare*. Consequently, one of the key missions for the future PLA will be to win a local conflict under conditions of *informatization*, with the most common scenario involving Taiwan. Yet, given that the PLA is still decades away from a net-centric, highly-informatized army, the short-term focus has been to develop key capacities to weaken such a highly informatized enemy through asymmetric means. As a result, the so-called "assassin's mace" (*shashou jian*) has been developed to blind the enemy by destroying its satellites and early-warning capabilities, to disrupt its communications over the electromagnetic battleground, and to weaken its coordination and information-processing aptitudes over the Internet.

Thus the effort to transform the PLA from a bloated, land-based infantry force to a professional, modern force able to conduct limited access-denial missions in an information-intensive context goes a long way to explaining increasing military expenditures. However, Beijing also may be questioning the efficiency of such a large allocation of resources.¹

A recurring source of foreign concern about China's military development is the possibility of its development of a longer-range power-projection capacity. Even though the development of such a capacity does not appear to be a priority of the Chinese government, some analysts have argued that China's increasing dependence on far-reaching sea lanes of communication (SLOC) for access to energy and basic commodities will spur the development of the PLA Navy's capacity to defend these vital sea arteries². However, it is difficult to see an actual development of power-projection capabilities with this rationale. China's reliance on foreign sources of energy, in *relative terms*, is not great (see Figure 4).

Beijing's main contingency remains Taiwan and addressing it does not require more than minimal power projection.³ This logic may be behind the apparent shelving of the project to acquire or

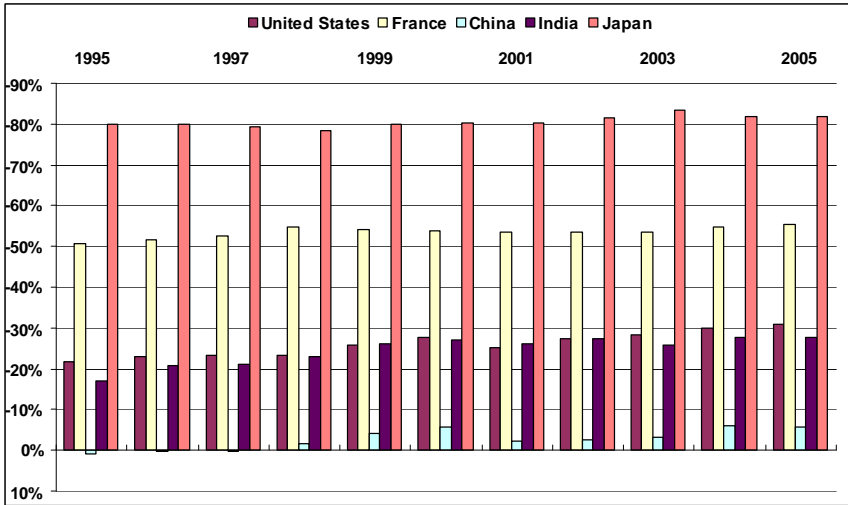
¹ After spending much on imported high-technology platforms (USD 2.8B in 2005 against USD 150M in 2007) Beijing has redirected its attention away from these costly platforms and toward training and education.

² Office of the Secretary of Defense (2007), *op. cit.*, p. 1; Kent E. Calder. "Coping with Energy Insecurity: China's Response in Global Perspective," *East Asia*. Vol. 23, No. 3 (2006).

³ David Lei. "China's New Multi-Faceted Maritime Strategy," *Orbis*. Vol. 52, No. 1 (2008).

build an aircraft carrier.¹ Furthermore, Beijing realizes that the diplomatic costs of developing an overseas power-projection capability would be significant, raising latent concerns over the “China threat” among both Northeast and Southeast Asian states.

Figure 4: Dependence on Foreign Sources of Energy as Part of Total Energy Consumption, Selected Countries 1995-2005.



Diplomacy: Responsibility and Globalization

To guarantee sustained economic development and the recognition of its great power status, Beijing has had to rely mostly on diplomatic means, and will have to continue to do so in the foreseeable future. Two ideas have come to dominate its approach to reach these core objectives: *globalization* and *responsibility*. China’s promotion of a new image of responsibility was adopted first as a strategic device to improve the country’s diplomatic and political environment, but it is also increasingly defining the country’s approach, as a “responsible power,” to great power diplomacy, multilateralism, and regionalism².

¹ For a broader discussion on China’s aircraft carrier plans, see Ian Storey and You Ji. “China’s Aircraft Carrier Ambitions: Seeking Truth From Rumours,” *Air Power Journal*. Vol. 1, No. 2 (2004), pp.125-146.

²Xiao Huanrong. “Zhongguo de daguo zeren yu diqu zhuyi zhanlue” (China’s Duty as a Big Power and the Strategy of Regionalism), *Shijie jingji yu zhengzhi* (World Economics and International Politics). No. 1 (2003), p. 46 and Jiang Yuncang. “Dongya jingji hezuo zhong de shenfen jiangou” (The Identity Construction in

Since China requires a stable international environment and a cooperative relationship with the United States, Beijing has gradually toned down its rhetoric against hegemony in favour of multipolarity¹. Moreover its efforts to avoid confrontation with Washington have been manifest in China's participation in anti-terrorism measures, its muted stance over the Iraq invasion, its support in bringing North Korea back to the six-party negotiating table, and its readiness to have open and frank dialogue with US officials on economic, foreign policy and defense issues.

Nonetheless, China has also hedged against perceived American moves toward a "soft containment." One way to achieve this goal has been the promulgation of strategic partnerships, which are viewed as a new approach to diplomacy, replacing Cold War era alliances and "great power" mentality. Indeed, by the end of 2006 China had signed "strategic partnerships" with 24 countries.² Although the content of these partnerships varies greatly, they serve as political declarations of mutual importance and goodwill and generally involve regular meetings between leaders and civil servants in order to iron out difficulties in bilateral relations.³

China's has also adopted a more proactive stance in multilateral organizations. At the global level, China is increasingly taking a role in the working of multilateral institutions through participation in UN peacekeeping operations (it has the largest contingent among the permanent members of the UN Security Council) and by bridging the gap between developed and developing nations in fora such as the World Trade Organization and the G8 (as an observer). Beijing has also radically changed its approach to regional security and economic organizations in Asia, not only becoming a more positive contributor but also an initiator of multilateralism.⁴ China was the leading figure behind the creation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. It offered a free trade agreement to ASEAN, and was the first non-ASEAN state to sign the

East Asia Economic Cooperation), *Guoji guancha* (International Survey). No. 4 (2004), p. 63.

¹ Alastair Iain Johnston. "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security*, Vol. 27, No.4 (2003).

² See www.chinabalancesheet.org.

³ Phillip C. Saunders. "China's Global Activism: Strategy, Drivers, and Tools," *Institute for National Strategic Studies Occasional Paper*. No. 4 (2006), p. 15; Joseph Y.S. Cheng and Zhang Wankun. "Patterns and Dynamics of China's International Strategic Behavior," in Suisheng Zhao, ed. *Chinese Foreign Policy: Pragmatism and Strategic Behavior*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2004, pp. 179-206.

⁴ Alastair Iain Johnston and Paul Evans, "China's Engagement in International Security Institutions," in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross eds. *Engaging China: The Management of an Emerging Power* London: Routledge Press, 1999, pp. 235-272.

Treaty of Amity and Cooperation. It initiated the Boao Forum for Asia, and proposed the creation of an annual security policy conference within the framework of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)¹.

Increasingly, China's political elites have embraced *globalism* as the main source of economic policy and reform². Besides taking part in the work of international economic organizations, China has developed an "economic diplomacy" (*jingji waijiao*) which has two central objectives: (1) to ensure a stable supply of resources needed to fuel its economy, and (2) to keep international markets open to its products. However, as we have seen, China lacks the means and willingness to protect its energy and raw material requirements through military means. Consequently, these needs are seen as being more efficiently guaranteed through the development of diplomatic ties with producer states and by investments by state-owned enterprises. Recently, however, some analysts have been increasingly concerned about the unquestioned diplomatic support granted by Beijing to unpalatable resource-rich regimes (for example, Sudan and Zimbabwe). In light of the diplomatic costs incurred, especially as Beijing finds itself in the spotlight of the 2008 Olympics, there are signs that Chinese leaders may be re-thinking China's non-interventionist, "no questions asked" approach to its foreign economic policies.³

Short Term Confidence and Long Term Risks

In the short to medium term, China's leaders will remain focused on the development of the national economy, on domestic stability, and on the maintenance of a stable international environment. While relying mainly on diplomatic instruments, they

¹ David Shambaugh. "Return to the Middle Kingdom? China and Asia in the Early Twenty-First Century," in Shambaugh (2005), *op. cit.*, pp. 39-41. In a somewhat paradoxical twist, arguments that were used in the West to justify China's participation in multilateral institutions—that it would entangle China in a web of institutions and bring its behaviour in line with international standards—are now used by some in China who see multilateralism as a way to check U.S. reckless unilateralism. See Zhang Yunling and Tang Shiping. "China's Regional Strategy," in *ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

² Yongnian Zheng. *Globalization and State Transformation in China*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2004.

³ Stephanie Kleine-Ahlbrandt and Andrew Small. "China's New Dictatorship Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 87, No. 1 (2008), pp. 38-56; Zha Daojiong. "Cong guoji guanxi jiaodu kan Zhongguo de nengyuan anquan" (China's Energy Security from an International Relations Perspective), *Guoji jingji pinglun* (International Economic Forum). No. 6 (2005), p. 31.

will sustain a military posture geared mainly towards dealing with a Taiwan-related contingency.

This priority of maintaining stability over pursuing expansionist goals can be seen in the recent willingness for compromise on what normally have been seen as core principles of the regime¹. Consequently, China has negotiated over almost all of its long-standing territorial claims. On the South China Sea, for example, Beijing has signed onto the Declaration of Conduct in the South China Sea and has established joint development programs with the Philippines and Vietnam, thus renouncing the use of force to settle these disputes. Concerning its land borders, China has also resolved its territorial claims with the Soviet successor states and established comprehensive confidence building measures at their borders. Similarly, China has made substantial progress in demarcating its border with India.

Even on the issue of reunification with Taiwan, Beijing has shown patience and restraint in the face of the increasingly assertive and controversial political strategies of some of Taiwan's leaders. Its reactions, in the words of the U.S. Department of Defence, have been seen as "responsible".² While the PRC's military build-up across the Taiwan Strait continues unabated, under Hu Jintao Beijing seems to be comfortable in giving priority to domestic concerns over reunification and has also become more proficient at letting Washington put restraints on Taipei's ambitions.

Finally, China's crucial relationship with the United States has been fairly stable overall, despite complaints from Washington over China's exchange rate policy, its support of "pariah" regimes, and its military buildup. In fact, the last few years have seen the development of a "cooperative relationship" marked by more frequent interactions, the institutionalization of meetings involving an enlarged number of officials at all levels of the chain of authority, and involving a greater variety of departments than before³.

Thus, for the time being, China is gaining more from the current international system than it would if it were to challenge it. Its behaviour is much closer to the behaviour we could expect from a status quo power than from a contender for the position of *primus inter pares*. Yet, many in China do not share a sanguine assessment of the international context, believing that if the U.S. were not busy fighting its war against terrorism, Washington would be trying to slow or stop China's rise. Their distrust stems, first, from the mixed

¹ Fei-Ling Wang. "Preservation, Prosperity and Power: What Motivates China's Foreign Policy?" *Journal of Contemporary China*. Vol. 14, No. 45 (2005), p. 693.

² Office of the Secretary of Defense (2007), *op. cit.*, p. 5.

³ Chong-Pin Lin. "Beijing's New Grand Strategy: An Offensive with Extra-Military Instruments," *China Brief*. Vol. 6, No. 24 (2006), p. 4.

signals coming from the U.S., and, second, from a perception of the international system's functioning based on material capabilities.

These Chinese analysts tend to see behind the U.S.' every move a coherent plan for global domination. Washington's high military spending, its willingness to use its military might, its disregard of international institutions and norms of sovereignty, its development of a web of military alliances, and its aggressive pushing of a liberal-democratic agenda abroad are all seen as part of a broad plan to bring the world in line with American values and interests¹. Public declarations by U.S. leaders serve to reinforce the sense that Washington is preparing to confront China in the not-so-distant future,² and lead Chinese theorists to conclude that American hegemony will not be a source of stability. Instead, they believe that the U.S. will continue to be opposed to China's rise, peaceful or not, and that a long-run confrontation will be unavoidable regardless of China's decisions and development path.

The danger is that such a hostile trajectory will become a self-fulfilling prophecy. On the one hand, China sees the United States as a hegemon seeking to preserve its preeminent status through the containment of China, the development of its own military capabilities, and the use of unilateral actions. Conversely, the foreign policy elite in Washington sees China as a growing power developing its military forces, making ready to support states which oppose America's foreign policy, and gearing up for a conflict over Taiwan. U.S. analysts are quick to dismiss Chinese leaders' declarations about its objectives of peace and about responsibility as empty rhetoric hiding secret schemes aimed at undermining America's power and influence in Asia.

In this paradoxical, and possibly tragic, way the United States and China distrust each other for opposite reasons that are nevertheless based on similar evaluations of capabilities and the premises of realist power transition theories. Avoiding a spiralling security dilemma may need more than simply an open Western international system and the threat of nuclear weapons that scholars such as John Ikenberry see as the key to a peaceful transition³. Indeed, what is needed are ways to better convey the true intentions of both countries to each other and to make these intentions stick

¹ Yong Deng. "Hegemon on the Offensive: Chinese Perspectives on U. S. Global Strategy," *Political Science Quarterly*. Vol. 116, No. 3 (2001), pp. 349-352.

² For example, Condoleezza Rice's assertion that "China is not a "status quo" power but one that would like to alter Asia's balance of power in its own favour," in her article "Campaign 2000: Promoting the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 79, No. 1 (2000), and the more recent *QDR 2006* report that China has the greatest potential to compete militarily with the United States (Department of Defense. *Quadrennial Defense Review Report*. (2006), p. 29.

³ G. John Ikenberry. "The Rise of China and the Future of the West," *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 87, No. 1 (2008), pp. 23-37.

over time. The continuing institutionalization of a multi-dimensional dialogue involving many levels and departments between the two powers will be a step in the right direction. Other countries, too, will have a crucial role to play in ensuring that the two countries can identify common interests such that communication continues uninterrupted.

New Alliances: Russia And The Shanghai Cooperation Organization *

J.L. Black

Abstract

Russia's diplomatic and economic relationships with individual European and North American countries, as well as with institutions such as the EU and NATO, have reached a certain impasse. Moscow has had much greater success with Central Asian, Southeast Asian, and Asian countries. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (ShCO) and associated bodies, such as the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and the Eurasian Economic Community (EurEC) are the leading lights of a renewed pattern of Russian integration eastward. The six-member ShCO is especially important because it includes China as co-leader, and welcomes Iran, Pakistan, India and Mongolia as official observers. Member-states are discussing seriously the formation of an Energy Club and a customs union. They adopt common positions on international affairs and have created joint anti-terrorist mechanisms. In the last six months of 2007, existing collective security infrastructures and militarizing agencies have been enhanced. So as not to be taken by surprise, we need to take heed of these developments.

Resumé

Les relations diplomatiques et économiques de la Russie avec les pays individuels de l'Europe et de l'Amérique du Nord, ainsi qu'avec des institutions comme l'U.E. et l'OTAN, sont rendues à une certaine impasse. Moscou a eu beaucoup plus de succès avec les pays de l'Asie Centrale, de l'Asie du Sud-Est et de l'Asie. L'Organisation de coopération de Shanghai (ShCO) et ses organismes associés, comme l'Organisation du traité de sécurité collective (CSTO) et la Communauté économique eurasiennne (EurEC) sont les organismes phares d'un schéma renouvelé de l'intégration de la Russie vers l'est. La ShCO à six membres est particulièrement importante parce qu'elle inclut la Chine comme co-leader, et qu'elle accueille l'Iran, le Pakistan, l'Inde et la Mongolie comme observateurs officiels. Les États-membres discutent sérieusement de la formation d'un Club de l'énergie et d'une union douanière. Ils adoptent des positions communes sur

* This chapter is a significantly revised and updated version of "Russia's Drive to the East" a paper prepared in 2006 for the CSIS publication *Commentary*, No. 90, January 2007. Research for this piece was completed on 1 December 2007.

les affaires internationales et ils ont créé des mécanismes anti-terroristes conjoints. Au cours des six derniers mois de 2007, les infrastructures de sécurité et les agences collectives de militarisation ont été améliorées. Pour ne pas être pris par surprise, nous avons besoin de prendre ces développements au sérieux.

Introduction

There is much talk today, and even some worry, about Russia's new "aggressive" deportment in the international arena. Russia's current posture is, to be sure, considerably more assured than it was in the chaotic and humiliating Yeltsin days. For the most part, however, its actions still lag far behind its rhetoric and its stance on most issues cannot fairly be said to be more aggressive than that of other major actors on the world stage. With one striking exception: Russia's quietly aggressive integrative policies in Eurasia.¹ Serving as testimony to Moscow's successful forays eastward are recent enhancements of Eurasian and Central Asian multi-state organizations that have made Moscow once again the leading player in the region. Of all of these organizations, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (ShCO) is the most compelling, primarily because it includes China.

The ShCO was established in 1996 as the Shanghai Five, i.e., Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Uzbekistan joined in 2001. On adopting a formal charter in 2003, the ShCO took on its current name and was recognized as a regional organization by the United Nations. The organization has a permanent Secretariat in Beijing and a Regional Anti-Terrorist Centre in Tashkent. Russian and Chinese are its official languages. Mongolia has been an observer since 2004. At a meeting in Astana in July 2005, India, Pakistan, and Iran were also were granted official observer status. In 2006 Belarus applied for observer status, which, if granted, will bring the ShCO to NATO's own expanding frontier.²

Although a wide cross-section of Russia-China bilateral agreements and associations remain active, the two largest countries in the ShCO agreed in March 2006 that the organization would serve as the main liaison mechanism between them.³

In October 2005, rumours began to circulate that the ShCO could become the basis of a military alliance⁴, mainly to serve as a stabilizing force in the increasingly volatile region. Improbable as such an alliance may be, the ShCO's publicly-stated purpose insofar as military matters are concerned is to provide stability for existing governments in the region and, though left unsaid, to forestall the

¹ On the early stages of this phenomenon, see J.L. Black, *Vladimir Putin and the New World Order. Looking East, Looking West?* (Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, MD, 2004). Chapters 10 & 11.

² This is not likely to happen. RF Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov said in April that Belarus "is not an Asian country, unlike Russia which is both European and Asian," *Kommercaant* (28 April 2007).

³ "Joint Declaration," Beijing Xinhua (21 March 2006) and RF Ministry of Foreign Affairs Website (22 March 2006).

⁴ Interfax (26 October 2005).

US and NATO from attempting to do so. The first formal meeting of ShCO defence ministers was conducted in Beijing in April 2006. In the flurry of press statements released before and after that meeting, the central themes were that “terrorism, separatism and extremism” were threats to the entire world, and that the ShCO Secretariat should integrate its work with the Regional Anti-Terrorist Centre, to help combat these three “evils.” The Russian Federation (RF) foreign ministry used the term “synchronizing watches” in this connection.

Subsequent ShCO summits in June (Shanghai) and September (Dushanbe) 2006, saw general agreement reached on the creation of an ShCO Energy Club, and discussion opened on an Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline, with the involvement of Russia’s vast Gazprom complex. A declaration signed in June confirmed the group’s commitment to war against the “three evil forces of terrorism, separatism and extremism”. In addition to representatives from member and observer countries, a summit of prime ministers in Dushanbe, 15 September 2006, was attended by the vice president of Afghanistan and the secretary general of the Eurasian Economic Community, another Russia-dominated organization of former Soviet republics. Although details for the collective energy initiatives remain to be worked out, the concept has obvious implications for the world’s energy cartels (e.g., OPEC) and individual producers (e.g., Canada), and equally significant political and strategic connotations for the world arena.

In addition to an official link with the UN, the ShCO has formal ties with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and its Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), and with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It has a special Afghanistan working group as well.

The CSTO strengthens and broadens Russia’s link to the ShCO considerably. Launched as a Collective Security Pact of nine CIS states in 1994, the CSTO was renewed by six of them in 1999, and took its final name in May 2002. Membership by that time included Russia, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. Uzbekistan applied to rejoin in August 2005 and was formally admitted the next year. The organization has a permanent secretariat and Joint Staff Headquarters.

The Eurasian Economic Community (EurEC) merged as a (not very effective) customs union in 1995 and grew to include Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. Uzbekistan signed on in 2006. India is a regular observer.

One should not ignore another forum in which Russia plays a significant role in coordinating Eurasian and Central Asian affairs. Yevgenii Primakov, RF foreign minister and, briefly, prime minister, put the idea of a formal Moscow-New Delhi-Beijing Axis forward in the 1990s. The idea was resurrected again many times, but only in

2005 was a timetable for regular meetings between heads of the three states and between their foreign and defence ministers finally negotiated. In March 2006, the three foreign ministers met in Moscow for the express purpose of coordinating their stances in international affairs. Regional security was at the top of their agenda. The catchword used by RF foreign ministry officials to describe the trilateral talks was again “synchronizing watches.”

Putin Steps In

Although the ShCO has an eleven-year history, general recognition of its status as an important organization in Central Asia is very recent. Less than a decade ago, the US presence in Central Asia was growing exponentially, especially after 9/11 and the onset of US-led coalition action in Afghanistan. For the most part, Russia stood back and watched. In 1999, Boris Yeltsin’s ministry of defence cautiously offered to help both Tajikistan and Uzbekistan drive Taliban and other rebels from their countries. Given the 10-year Soviet experience in Afghanistan, this was a chore the Kremlin hoped to avoid. So Putin looked on with some relief as western forces did the job for him.

The Russian nationalist, military, and even mainstream press was not so sanguine. They fumed as the Pentagon opened up military bases in Kyrgyzstan (Manas) and Uzbekistan (Karshi-Khanabad), built an airbase for refueling purposes near Dushanbe in Tajikistan, and purchased contingency access to an airfield in Almaty, Kazakhstan. These military projects were facilitated by huge sums of money, covering the costs of construction, leasing, and other forms of financial compensation to local governments. Regional leaders talked of upgrading their participation in NATO’s Partnership for Peace programmes and began to look westward for security and other forms of assistance¹.

Russia’s Cassandras need not have worried. Over the last three years the once blossoming US presence has been overwhelmed by a spurt of Russian bilateral and multilateral agreements designed to restore its predominance in the region. Although it was abetted by two unforeseen incidents, to be discussed below, this trend was not sudden.

President Vladimir Putin began his presidency in 2000 faced with utter chaos in the country’s military and security sectors. In surprising short order, his team produced a new Security Doctrine (January), a Military Doctrine (April), and a Foreign Policy Concept (July). In each of these documents, the North Caucasus (where the second Chechnya war had been underway since August 1999) and

¹ See, e.g., Annual Partnership Work Programmes. NATO Partnership for Peace Documents. www.NATO.Int

Central Asia held pride of place as geopolitical sources of both strength and vulnerability for the Russian state¹.

Putin himself saw value in the ShCO and its predecessor very early in his career as an international player. In July-September 2000, he toured the Russian Far East, Central Asia and Asia on his way to Okinawa, Japan for the G-8, where he would meet US President Clinton. On the way, he talked with Shanghai Five leaders in Dushanbe, sat down again with the president of China a few days later in Beijing, and with the North Korean leader in Pyongyang, showing up in Okinawa with the full support of Central Asian and China's leaders in hand. Subsequently, whenever possible, Putin made a point of travelling to the West via the East, arriving for meetings with President Bush several times with full support on international issues from members of the ShCO -- and India.

A sudden and successful political uprising in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan ("Tulip Revolution"), in March 2005, caused the government of Askar Akaev to fall, and him to flee to Moscow. Surprisingly, the new president of that country, Kurmanbek Bakiev, sought support in Moscow as well, which he was given in April. In Bakiev's case, the turn to Russia was facilitated by political recognition and substantial assistance to Kyrgyzstan's struggling agricultural sector.

In May, Uzbekistan also moved quickly into the Russian camp. Western outrage when Uzbek military forces opened fire on a crowd of protesters in Andijan ended President Karimov's flirting with Washington, and left only Moscow for him to turn to. This was an important moment for Putin's eastern policy. Uzbekistan lies at the very nexus of Russian geopolitical interest in the region. As a neighbour of all the Central Asian states and Afghanistan, geographically close to Iran, China, Pakistan, India and the Caspian Sea - and a potential source of inexpensive gas - friendship with Uzbekistan is vital to Russia's struggle for predominance in Central Asia².

The turnaround of Russia's fortunes in Central Asia was signalled by a ShCO summit in Astana, Kazakhstan, in July 2005. With the presidents of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan leading the way, the summit demanded that members of the "antiterrorist coalition", meaning the US and NATO, "set a time frame for the end of their temporary use of the infrastructure facilities and of the presence of military contingents on the territory

¹ See J.L. Black, "Vladimir Putin and the New World Order. Debating Security and Defence in Year One." CRCR Occasional Paper, No. 9 (March 2001). This paper includes the doctrines in translation.

² On this see, Alisher Ilkhamov, "Russia Lures Uzbekistan as its Strategic Satellite in Central Asia," *Russian Analytical Digest*, No. 29 (16 October 2007).

of ShCO countries”¹. That same summit welcomed envoys from Iran, India, Pakistan and Mongolia as official observers. President after president spoke of the potential of the ShCO as the voice of Central Asia in the world: heady thinking if one considers that the organization and its official observers encompass half of the world’s population, i.e., about 3 billion people. Their combined territory also holds about 20% of the world’s energy resources, and its bookends are Russia and China.

Later in 2005 the same leaders agreed with Putin that the struggle against terrorism and the question of security should be the ShCO’s highest priority. As this particular meeting in Moscow was followed only a few weeks later by Russia-China and Russia-India military exercises, and was attended by high level observer representatives (vice president of Iran, prime ministers of Pakistan and Mongolia, and the foreign minister of India), it generated further talk inside and outside Russia about the ShCO as a “NATO of the East”².

Russia’s interest in Central Asia was explained frankly in 2005 by Sergei Karaganov, chair of the RF Council for Foreign and Defence Policy, that is: stabilization in “our entire soft southern underbelly”³. This is why Russia began raising its profile in Central Asian security matters almost immediately after the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 drew Western attention temporarily away from Afghanistan.

The public side of a new Russian diplomatic offensive in Central Asia began in October 2003 when Putin attended the official opening of a Russian airbase at Kant, near Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, and less than 50 km from the US base. The opening was conducted with great fanfare. A 15-year lease agreement was signed, with the right to renew every 5 years after that. It was claimed at the time that Kant would serve as an operational base for the ShCO’s planned rapid deployment force. Uzbekistan and Russia conducted their first joint military manoeuvre (called an “anti-terrorist exercise”) in September 2005. A few weeks later, US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice toured Central Asia and pointedly skipped over Uzbekistan. Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov followed in her wake a week later and picked up the pieces. Not only did he go to Tashkent and closed important deals with the Uzbek leader, he travelled to Ashgabat, Turkmenistan, and carried on lengthy talks with leaders of that “neutral” state, mostly on energy issues, with unusual success. He was even able to persuade Saparmurat Niazov, then the despotic head of that theocratic republic, to attend a

¹ *Izvestiia*, 6 July 2005.

² See, e.g. “The Shanghai Cooperation Organization Acquiring Military Character,” *Kommersant* (27 April 2006).

³ *Rossiiskaia gazeta* (21 December 2005).

forthcoming ShCO summit and, for the first time in several years, the subsequent CIS gathering of heads of state.

Russia had already integrated parts of its armed forces with Armenia and Belarus, so there was precedence for doing the same thing in Central Asia. For some years now, 14 - 17,000 Russian troops (201st Motorized Rifle Div.) have been based in Tajikistan along the border with Afghanistan. Legal foundations for the Russian base to be made permanent were signed in 2005. The expanding airbase at Kant, and an about-to-be formed (on paper, anyway) Rapid Deployment Force for the CSTO, make the Russian military presence in Central Asia far more permanent-looking than anything the West has to offer, and provides the CSTO members with Russia-backed defences on all sides.

That the oft-mentioned Great Game in Central Asia has gone Russia's way should have come as no surprise. Moscow's edge in the region is determined by proximity, mutual economic needs, a large Islamic population¹, a suspicion of "coloured revolutions", and strategic visions shared with leaderships that are considerably more centralized and authoritarian than the Kremlin².

Integration Intensified In 2007

Concomitant with growing tensions between Russia and the West, typified by Moscow's repeated objections to America's plans to site interceptor and alert systems in Poland and the Czech Republic, arguments over the Conventional Forces Treaty (CFE), the status of Kosovo, and objections from the US and the EU to Russia's apparent dalliance with Iran³, Russia's integrative practices in Eurasia generally and Central Asia specifically have become even more concentrated.

There has been a lot of action between members of Russia's various Eurasian and Central Asian link-ups over the year 2007, epitomized by continued meetings between the foreign ministers of the Moscow-Delhi-Beijing "axis". Their first gathering of the year came in February when they re-affirmed the practice of regular consultation on world affairs. That meeting was sandwiched between a series of middle to upper level negotiations between officials from these three countries on a wide variety of matters, military and diplomatic cooperation foremost among them. The

¹ The US State Department data for 2005 sets the number of followers of Islam in Russia at 15-20%, or 25-28 million. It is the size of this population that made it possible for Russia to join the Organization of the Islamic Conference in 2003.

² For a more detailed explication of Russia's advantages in dealing with Central Asia, see "Russia's Drive to the East", *op. cit.*

³ This latter issue was exasperated by Putin's participation in the summit of Caspian Sea littoral states that met in Teheran in October.

latest trilateral meeting was held in Harbin, China, on 24 October, where the ShCO was highlighted and the foreign ministers decided to set up a permanent “consultative mechanism” at the director/division-head level to deal with regional matters¹.

Links between the three countries are exhaustive. China and India rank first and second as the largest markets for Russian weapons. Russia and China conducted a massive joint military manoeuvre with the Russian armed forces in March. The volume of Russia’s trade with both of them has doubled since 2005, and working visits at all official levels are frequent.

Integration appears to be growing exponentially. The ShCO began working out a common communications security system and widening its anti-terrorist institutions after extensive deliberations in March. In June the ShCO defence ministers met in Bishkek to finalize details for the proposed military drill and at the same time prepared a document on military cooperation to bring to the forthcoming ShCO summit. That document was eventually to become a basis for ShCO and CSTO cooperation when the two organizations committed themselves to a memorandum of understanding on 6 October 2007.

The exercise itself took place on Russian territory at Garrison Chebarkul, Chelyabinsk Oblast, with some 4,000 Russian, Chinese and Kazakh troops participating. Peace-Mission-2007 was billed as an anti-terrorist drill and was the largest such training session in ShCO history. The ensuing summit, the organization’s sixth, opened in Bishkek on 16 August with all heads of state represented. They spent one full day observing the military manoeuvres and then discussed at length such matters as an Energy Club, counterterrorism and mutually agreeable positions on international affairs. Iran’s Ahmadinejad attended as an observer, as did high level officials from India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Mongolia. The new Turkmen leader, Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow, was there as a guest. Joint anti-terrorism and anti-drug-trafficking statements were issued. Poppy farming in Afghanistan, which provides about 90 percent of the world’s illegal opium production and is used to produce heroin, was a feature topic, and President Karzai urged the ShCO to create an anti-opium structure. Putin conducted a series of bilateral meetings as well, with Ahmadinejad, Kyrgyzstan’s Bakiev, and China’s Hu. An unstated, but oft-mentioned by Russian and Chinese journalists, feature of the summit was still the determination of Russia and China to keep the US out of, or at bay in, Central Asia.

In his address to the council of heads of state, which included the observers, Putin urged member states to develop

¹ For a full text of the lengthy communiqué in English from this meeting, see Beijing Xinhua (24 October 2007).

further ties with the CSTO and the CIS Anti-terrorism Centre, and maintained that the ASEAN Security Forum was ready to engage in dialogue with the ShCO on security and terrorism. He supported the much talked-about Energy Club, a joint transportation infrastructure programme, and even a ShCO university; that is, a network of institutions from each member state with coordinated curricula¹. These are extremely integrative propositions.

Many documents were signed by ShCO members, but two were generally regarded as the most important: the Bishkek Declaration, which laid out common approaches to international problems, and the Long-Term Good Neighbourly Relations, Friendship and Cooperation Treaty. The first document refuted the usefulness of unilateral actions against terrorism, called on the United Nations to lead conflict resolution in the international arena, and insisted that there be no deployment of weapons in outer space. It also supported a nuclear-free zone in Central Asia. The second document set an agenda for long-term relations between members, providing the ShCO with an upgraded sense of permanence.

Still, energy cooperation was the most substantive accomplishment of the summit, and the one that should concern Canada and its allies far more than any military consortium might. Nazarbaev led the way in making energy the common currency of the ShCO. He pointed out that existing and proposed pipelines already provide a network to hold the group together and that a consortium of energy ministers from the ShCO and its observer members would create an Energy Club for handling cooperative databases and marketing strategies.

Pointing to the rhetoric used at summits such as these, Western writers have a tendency to see the ShCO as an anti-NATO, anti-American agency. There is still some concern that the ShCO is being converted into a military organization to oppose NATO and, indeed, some Russian media analysts have made claims to that effect. On examination, however, it soon is clear that attention paid by its members to energy, economic, social and other issues prevails over military matters. Moreover, even the inclusion of Iran could hardly turn a group that also welcomes India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Mongolia into an anti-US, anti-NATO alliance. The military dimension of Russia's alliance-building in Central Asia still should not go unheeded, especially since the ShCO has taken on a new military persona itself.

Security is important to the ShCO, because without it there can be no progress on the other paths of development. Russia intensified its game in Central Asia in part because the US and the

¹ Vladimir Putin, "Speech at the Expanded Session of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Council of Heads of State, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, 16 August 2007."

EU have shown an interest in the region. Whereas the American interest tends to be strategic, Europe looks eastward because there is opportunity there to diminish its energy dependency on Russia. That makes the proposed Energy Club more ominous to Europe than it is to North America; and more inviting to Russia.

But there is greater potential for disintegration in the ShCO than there is in the EU or NATO. Officials in the Kremlin are always on alert that China might try to dislodge Russia as the main player in Central Asia¹. This concern was highlighted by a state visit by the Chinese president to Kazakhstan following the ShCO summit in Bishkek. Hu and Nazarbaev signed multiple agreements, among them energy deals in which Russia was not invited to participate. Kazakhstan clearly has ambitions to serve as a bridge between Europe and Asia, and may be using the ShCO to play Russia and China off against each other.

Well aware of this, Putin was in Astana in early May for talks with Nazarbaev on Central Asian energy relations. He then proceeded to Ashgabat to meet with Turkmenistan's new president, Berdimuhamedow. Nazarbaev joined them for a three-day informal summit at Turkmenbashi, a port city on the Caspian (formerly Krasnovodsk), to begin negotiations over access to that country's huge gas reserves. No doubt the week-long sessions in Central Asia were driven in part by the fact that American and European delegations had been flocking to Ashgabat since former President Niiazov died in December 2006. Niiazov had closed Turkmen's gas exploitation to foreigners; his successor has proven more amenable. Putin and Nazarbaev want to get there first.

The integrative trend proceeds hand-in-hand with bilateral deliberations. On the military side, for example, Kyrgyzstan hosted a ShCO command and staff exercise in May, and Russia gave notice in July that it would deploy combat aircraft to the Ayni air base, close to Dushanbe, Tajikistan, in 2008, thereby augmenting its permanent military presence in neighbouring Kyrgyzstan. China and Russia conducted a joint three-day anti-terrorist strategic police exercise ("Cooperation 2007") on 4-6 September. This was a follow-up to the ShCO manoeuvres of August. The drill, which was held in the Moscow region, marked the first time that Chinese Special Forces have participated in such an event outside China's borders. Less than two weeks later, a combined Russian-Uzbek joint anti terror tactical exercise was held at the Forish training grounds in Uzbekistan. Press releases issued on 23 September after Russian Defence Minister Ivanov discussed the results of this event with Uzbek President Karimov emphasized joint tasks related to "the

¹ See, e.g., A. Zhelenin, N. Melikova, "Kitai vytesniaet Rossiuu iz Azii" (China is Pushing Russia Out of Asia), *Nezavisimaia gazeta* (16 August 2007).

fight against terrorism, extremism, organized crime and drug trafficking”.

The CSTO foreign ministers also held meetings in Dushanbe, on 4 October, two days prior to a CSTO Collective Security Council session. According to statements issued by the RF ministry of foreign affairs, military building and foreign policy coordination were central to their deliberations. Their purpose was to set the stage for upcoming summits. The next day, leaders of the CSTO and ShCO, Nikolai Bordyuzha and Bolat Nurzaliev, agreed to link their organizations in security matters¹.

Simultaneous summits in Dushanbe and St. Petersburg over the next few days saw the CIS, the CSTO and the EurEC achieve multiple agreements. Plainly, the interests of the ShCO were served at the same time. To name but a few of the important consequences of these deliberations: in Dushanbe, Nazarbaev proposed a separate union of Central Asian states and its joint active cooperation with Russia; in the same venue Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus agreed, finally, to draft protocols to achieve a customs union for the “troika” within three years; and eleven CIS presidents signed a long-term mutual Development Concept, which belies somewhat the oft-written obituaries for the CIS². The CIS was lent further credence when Under-Secretary of the United Nations Antonio Costa attended the opening ceremony and spoke to the gathering.

The CSTO gained similar attention from the OSCE, whose Secretary-General Marc Perrin de Brichambaut attended and delivered an address on behalf of his organization. There was substance to the OSCE participation, for a specific agreement was reached to the effect that the CSTO and the OSCE would widen their existing multilateral cooperation. Indeed, there is concern in some circles that the CSTO members now represent a Russia-led bloc in the OSCE. They point to the collective CSTO support for Kazakhstan to take the OSCE chair in 2009.

CSTO presidents signed 20 documents in Dushanbe, among them agreements on joint activities in post-conflict Afghanistan³. Significantly, the CSTO members were again told that they could purchase weaponry from the official arms export agency, Rosoboronexport, and special hardware at the domestic Russian prices.

¹ “Security Alliances Led by Russia, China Link Up,” *Pakistan Daily Times* (6 October 2007).

² The President of Georgia, Sakaashvili, participated, but did not sign the Development Concept.

³ A CSTO Working Group spent a week in Kabul in March 2007. It offered to help the country rebuild its military security agencies and border protection units. Russia added its willingness to help re-organize the Afghan government, taking care to insist that such would be done only under the auspices of the CSTO.

Mainstream Russian commentators claimed that the CSTO decisions were part of an effort to turn the organization into “a powerful military and political structure to maintain order in former Soviet republics”¹. After some five years of negotiation, a blueprint for peacekeeping forces was finally signed, with accompanying NATO-like rhetoric about possible “out of zone” deployments. The fact is, “peace-keeping” and conflict resolution activities in the region will necessarily be undertaken primarily by Russia’s armed forces, and they will be able to conduct operations on the territory of the CSTO member-states without a mandate from the UN². Left unsaid, but obviously important to Moscow, is the fact that China is not part of the CSTO³.

As of early 2007, Uzbekistan has a posting at the CSTO Joint Staff HQ, and 126 Uzbek servicemen are studying in various Russian defence educational institutions. This connection was broadened in late October when new Russian Defence Minister Serdyukov met the Uzbek president in Tashkent and confirmed that the military establishments of the two countries were “allies” in status and scale⁴.

In order to facilitate the CIS’s ability to make economic decisions, the EurEC presidents voted to establish a supranational commission to deal with customs regulation and, by 2011, a full customs union of member states. In the meantime EurEC parliamentarians meeting in St. Petersburg agreed to setup, by the spring of 2008, a legal framework for a common energy space⁵. In light of the failure to date of EU-Russia talks on an Energy Charter, the EurEC energy plan takes on greater significance. The draft agreements are expected to include clauses on energy security, investments, and an oil and gas common market. Joint management

¹ See, e.g., “Gendarme of Eurasia,” *Kommersant* (8 October 2007), and Roger McDermott, “CSTO: Safe Choice in Central Asia,” *Eurasia Daily Monitor* (16 October 2007).

² It is conceivable that the CSTO will take over the UNSC mandated Russian peacekeeping role in Abkhazia, Georgia. Some analysts interpret a current CSTO plan for a military exercise on Armenian territory as a contingency related to Georgia’s hopes to get into NATO.

³ On the other hand, the Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation (CAREC) programme includes four of the Central Asian countries plus Azerbaijan, Afghanistan and China, but neither Russia nor Turkmenistan. CAREC funds projects in transportation, energy, and trade. This body met twice recently in Dushanbe, 24 October and 3 November.

⁴ Agentstvo voennykh novostei (Military News Agency – Interfax), 30 October 2007. A bilateral agreement for the provision and operation of surface-to-air missile systems was signed in Moscow in May 2007.

⁵ The St. Petersburg meeting on 5 October was of the EurEC’s Interparliamentary Assembly on Trade Policy, International Cooperation, Customs Regulation and Border Policy.

of water resources is also on the table. The free transit of oil, gas and electricity is a priority of the EurEC group. Given that Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are now flexing their own oil and gas muscles, proposals such as these have considerable implications for the EU, North America and the OPEC.

Uzbekistan's strategic and energy potential has made it the new darling of Moscow. When the ShCO held its final summit of 2007, in November, Russian Prime Minister Zubkov spent several extra days in Tashkent, the host city, signing bilateral trade deals with the Uzbek president¹. The summit itself, of heads of government (premiers) from member states, and high-ranking officials from India, Pakistan, Iran, Mongolia and Afghanistan, saw enhancements of the ShCO Business Council, Interbank Consortium, and a program of Multilateral Trade and Cooperation. Feasibility studies were ordered on a development fund, water use, electronic cooperation, highway and bridge construction and planning, rail transport integration, and even tourism².

To be sure, this abundance of cooperative economic and strategic 'agreements' does not yet represent hard alliance-formation, and some analysts are likely to shrug off Russia's evolving status in the East generally, and the ShCO specifically. They may be swayed either because few of the agreements have been very binding in the past, or because China is of greater concern to them than Russia. These are reasonable considerations. But we ignore the realities of Russia's integration with Central Asia at our peril.

Russia's tilt towards Central Asia and Asia, driven in part by NATO's own aggressive tilt eastward and the EU's growing inward focus, has implications for all of us, including Canada. Concomitant but diverse developments, such as the "Arctic Bridge", with a potential for linking Canada to the 'Old Silk Road' via Churchill, Manitoba, the emerging ShCO Energy Club, and the upgrading of the CSTO and its direct links with ShCO, warrant full attention. Even a reverse trend, for example the dissolution of the ShCO as Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and especially Kazakhstan learn to exploit their huge energy and strategic capability, would send ripple effects our way³. Indeed, there is now a certain urgency driving

¹ One agreement included a long term Russian order for some 80 major aircraft modifications, and new planes, to be completed at the Chkalov Tashkent Aircraft Production Corporation, the largest aircraft manufacturing industry in Central Asia, employing some 30,000 workers. Huge Russian investments in Uzbek infrastructure and research were also promised.

² Joint Communiqué of the Meetings of the Council of Heads of Government (Premiers) of ShCO Member States, Tashkent, Beijing Xinhua (3 November 2007).

³ Kazakhstan has growing cooperation with NATO, is strengthening its presence on the Caspian Sea (even with a fleet), is central to CAREC, and is in a position to play Russia and China off against each other in the energy game. With Nazarbaev

Moscow's negotiators to get the ShCO Energy Club established and regularized before China and Kazakhstan work out many more bilateral energy arrangements¹.

At any rate, a territorial-administrative organization with Russia and China as its dominant partners deserves careful notice. The UN and the OSCE appear to be paying close attention; so should we.

as president, however, links with Russia will stay strong. On the Arctic Bridge, see Michael Berk, "The Arctic Bridge," *National Post* (27 November 2007).

¹ For details, see "Russia Urges Formation of Central Asian Energy Club," Eurasianet.org. Business and Economics Department (7 November 2007).

Ships, SLOCs, and Security at Sea

James Boutillier

Abstract

We are currently in the midst of what is, arguably, the most dynamic maritime era in living memory. By virtually any metric – shipbuilding tempo, energy flows, megaport development, container traffic, trans-oceanic commerce, the growth of navies, the creation of coast guards and the likelihood of piracy or terrorism – this is a period *sans pareille*, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region. Both India and China, reliant on export-driven economies, have reoriented their national axes toward the sea. Both nations are building up their naval power and the United States Navy (USN), concerned about the dramatic growth of the Chinese navy, has repositioned the bulk of its carrier and submarine assets into the Pacific. At the same time, the USN has sought to enlist the support of like-minded navies – in keeping with the 1,000-ship navy concept – and to build a navy-to-navy relationship with the Indian Navy (IN); a move buttressed by closer relations between the IN and the Japanese Maritime Self-Defence Force. These tectonic shifts in naval power and the problem of reconciling national foreign policy objectives with operational priorities constitute a series of significant challenges for the Canadian Navy operating in the Pacific.

Résumé

Nous sommes présentement au milieu de ce qui est, pourrait-on dire, l'ère maritime la plus dynamique de mémoire récente. Selon virtuellement tous les types de mesures – cadence de la construction navale, flux énergétiques, développement de mégaports, trafic des conteneurs, commerce trans-océanique, croissance des forces navales, création de garde-côtes et probabilité de piratage ou de terrorisme – c'est une période sans pareille, particulièrement dans la région de l'Asie du Pacifique. L'Inde et la Chine, qui dépendent d'économies axées sur l'exportation, ont réorienté leurs axes nationaux vers la mer. Ces deux nations sont en train d'effectuer une concentration de leur puissance navale et, inquiète de la croissance dramatique de la marine chinoise, la United States Navy (USN) a repositionné dans le Pacifique la masse de ses actifs de porte-avions et de sous-marins. Au même moment, la USN a cherché à s'assurer de l'appui de forces navales aux vues similaires – dans le sens du concept d'une marine à 1 000 navires – et à établir une relation de marine à marine avec la Indian Navy (IN) ; un geste dont les contreforts sont les relations plus étroites entre la IN et la Force

d'autodéfense maritime du Japon. Ces mouvements tectoniques dans la puissance navale et le problème de la réconciliation des objectifs nationaux des politiques étrangères avec les priorités opérationnelles constituent une série de défis significatifs pour la Marine canadienne en opérations dans le Pacifique.

We are in the midst of what is, arguably, the most dynamic maritime era in living memory. By virtually any metric – shipbuilding tempos, energy flows, megaport development, container traffic, trans-oceanic commerce, the growth of navies, the creation of coast guards, and the likelihood of piracy or maritime terrorism – this is a period *sans pareille*. At its simplest, these phenomena are a product of and contribute to rapid globalization and, more narrowly, the rise of China and India. They, in turn, are illustrative of the relentless industrialization of East Asia; the rise of oil-fired economies that are hugely consumptive of energy and whose export-driven economies have placed a new premium on the safe, timely, and untrammelled passage of goods along the so-called Sea Lanes of Communication, or SLOCs.

While China lies at the heart of these developments, we need to turn our attention to the United States first. The United States is the world's greatest exponent of power projection by sea, a naval power with an unparalleled global presence. However, like the Royal Navy (RN), the United States Navy (USN) is a navy in a state of profound numerical decline.

There were 6,700 ships in the USN at the end of the Second World War. That number fell to approximately 575 by the mid-1980s and currently stands at about 273. While one can argue that individual warships are far more sophisticated and lethal today than they were twenty or sixty years ago, the fact of the matter remains that the USN's decline is not only relative, but absolute as well. Like the RN in the decade before the First World War, the USN is faced with growing competition. It would be an exaggeration, *par excellence*, to suggest that the Chinese and Indian navies are any match for the USN, but the correlation of forces, as the Soviets used to say, is moving in ways that are not favourable to American seapower in the long term.

Faced with this reality, the USN has sought to adjust its doctrine and dispositions. Since the end of the Cold War, the USN has shifted its forces from deep ocean operations to littoral operations principally in the Indian and Pacific Ocean areas; that is to say it foresees American warships operating close to Asian shores. Technology, of course, has enabled naval vessels to project power ashore, in many cases far ashore. It was one thing for the World War II-era battleship, the *USS Missouri*, to bombard the Bekaa Valley in Lebanon from a range of sixteen miles in the 1980s. It was quite another thing for US warships to launch cruise missiles against Khost in the heart of Afghanistan in 1998 in the hope of killing Osama bin Laden. But operating close to an enemy shore is not without its risks because missiles, like Iranian C-802s, are quite capable of reaching well out to sea.

There is another deeply disturbing constraint on US and other naval forces operating in the littoral, namely the threat from

the burgeoning array of submarines – some 140 by current estimates – operating in the Indo-Pacific region. In general terms, Asian navies are going up-market, which is to say that not only are they modernizing, but they are also expanding and adding bigger and bigger combatants. Thus, the Republic of Singapore Navy (RSN), for example, has moved from corvettes to frigates, while the Royal Bruneian Navy has sought to move from offshore patrol boats to corvettes. A subset of these processes is the appearance of more and more submarines in regional navies. The Chinese are now building submarines at three times the rate of the Americans. Many of the regional boats are quiet, conventional craft, manoeuvrable and difficult to detect. There is, indeed, an irony in all this in the sense that in the 1990s, the USN, relieved of the burden of hunting Soviet boomers and hunter-killer submarines in the deep ocean, articulated doctrines calling for a shift in focus towards enemy coasts. In so doing, the Americans committed their naval assets to operating in submarine-rich environments that are extremely challenging from an anti-submarine warfare (ASW) perspective – all that at a time when they had begun to lose sight of the stern imperatives of ASW.

At the same time, in recognition of the fact that the world centre of political, military, and economic gravity has shifted into the Indo-Pacific region, the Americans have decided that they must redistribute their naval assets. Following the publication of the Quadrennial Defence Review (QDR) in March 2006, the USN moved six of its eleven aircraft carriers into the Pacific and stationed 60 percent of its submarines in the same ocean. Naval operations in World War II had an indelible impact on the USN's psyche. They drove home the tyranny of distance in the Pacific and the need to be close up to Asia if one wishes to continue exercising command of the sea. This is particularly the case by virtue of Washington's ambiguous security relationship with Taipei and American security alliances with Japan and South Korea.

Thus, what we see is the most powerful navy on earth cut in two, numerically, in the space of two decades; a navy that has fundamentally reordered its doctrine; and a navy that has embarked on a historic redistribution of its assets to reflect contemporary geo-strategic realities. The USN has been, and will continue to be, the principal agent for maintaining peace and good order at sea in the new Asia of the twenty-first century. That said, the USN finds itself faced with those contradictory forces that have afflicted a variety of armed forces in the post-Cold War period, namely strained finances (and a shipbuilding industry beset with difficulties) and rising global commitments.

The answer to these challenges has been the 1,000-ship navy concept. This concept recognizes two vital realities: the gulf between naval ends and means and the need for the international

maritime community to cooperate in defence of the last great global frontier – the largely unregulated “ocean commons” of the high seas. Clearly, the 1,000-ship moniker is a rhetorical flourish, or at least it is for the moment. However, it is not inconceivable that, downstream, the navies of the world could find themselves functioning as a global maritime force for good order at sea. Certainly, a planet where 90 percent of all commerce moves by sea argues powerfully in favour of such a visionary collaborative effort. Furthermore, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, that were secondary or tertiary concerns for the USN, have achieved a new prominence in US naval doctrine. While there are those who express anxieties about the potential for a new Cold War at sea between the United States and China, there seems little likelihood that there will be any further Jutlands or Midways. Instead, the grim lessons of the Aceh tsunami of December 2004, coupled with sobering predictions about more devastating tropical storms as a result of global warming, have highlighted the importance of utilizing naval assets at the other end of the spectrum – away from war fighting towards constabulary endeavours.

Traditionally, the Chinese paid relatively little attention to the sea. Their priorities related to the maintenance of domestic stability and the defence of the nation from threats emanating out of the heartland of Asia. However, they have reoriented their axis of national interest dramatically in the past quarter century. The locus of economic development has been the coast (and more specifically, the Yangtze and Pearl River deltas) and stellar economic growth has meant that the Chinese have no alternative but to focus mightily on their SLOCs.

SLOC dependency has been further reinforced by China’s insatiable appetite for energy, most of which comes in by sea. In fact, China has undergone what can only be described as a maritime revolution; a revolution that has transformed Beijing’s vision of naval power and has fuelled powerful maritime ambitions relative to port development and shipbuilding capacity. In short, the Chinese have embraced Mahan. At its simplest, the Chinese have succumbed to the dictum that great nations have great navies and great navies are the hallmark of great nations. But Mahan’s vision was not confined to grey hulls alone. Instead, a nation needs a sense of the importance of the sea, a sense that reflects and reinforces the critical importance of merchant shipping and related maritime infrastructure.

In the past few years, writers and commentators have reflected on the monumental achievements of the great eunuch admiral of early fifteenth century China, Zheng Ho. But Ho’s accomplishments were ephemeral and out of keeping with the Middle Kingdom’s territorial roots. After the Chinese Communist victory in 1949, Beijing began to contemplate a national navy, but

Mao's vision of seapower was extraordinarily limited. Disciples of Soviet naval doctrine, the Chinese used their naval assets for coastal and riverine patrols in support of land operations. Thus, the People's Liberation Army, Navy (PLAN) was not a navy in the true sense of the word. It was a maritime flanking force consisting of increasingly elderly and obsolete patrol craft.

The change began to occur in the 1980s when Admiral Liu Huaqing started to emulate the great Russian admiral, Gorshkov, to the extent that the full, autonomous potential of the PLAN came to be recognized. However, for many years the navy remained a relatively low priority, nationally. What mattered was fostering the economy, but as the economy grew it fed back in a closed loop to the navy. Greater prosperity meant bigger defence budgets, and growing exports and imports meant that a more powerful and sophisticated navy was needed to ensure the integrity of China's SLOCs.

If that argument was not sufficiently compelling in and of itself, there was always the question of how to reincorporate that Chinese *terra irridenta*, Taiwan. Seapower, in its various forms, was clearly one of the keys to ensuring that the "lost province" was merged with the mainland. Seapower would permit a cross-straits invasion, would enable China to interdict Taiwanese ocean-going commerce, and would set the stage for holding American naval forces at arms length. Thus, temporary sea denial would rob the Taiwanese of any US naval support.

Accordingly, the Chinese set about to do what they had never done before, build and operate a blue water navy. They have been resolute in their endeavours, capitalizing on an indigenous shipbuilding industry and exploiting Russian technical support and arms sales, particularly in the realm of submarines and supersonic ship-killing missiles; the latter intended to be powerful deterrents to US carriers operating in the approaches to Taiwan and off the Chinese coast. As suggested above, the Chinese still have a considerable way to go, but their continued dedication to the design and construction of fresh generations of frigates and destroyers is uncharacteristic, to say the least.

The ahistoric growth of the PLAN, not to mention a significant number of long-range deployments to such far-flung destinations as St. Petersburg and Peru, have fuelled speculation about the possibility of a Chinese aircraft carrier or carriers. This speculation has waxed and waned since the early 1990s. Currently, the ex-Soviet carrier *Varyag* lies alongside in the northern Chinese port of Dalian. It is only slightly more than a hulk, but the Chinese have painted her in naval livery and are known to have operated aircraft from land-based, simulated flight decks for quite some time now. One can only imagine that there is a titanic debate unfolding

within the Chinese naval community about the wisdom of going down the carrier road.

On the one hand, the Chinese are nothing if not pragmatic and it is impossible for them to ignore the fact that the Americans have been involved in high intensity, global carrier operations for more than three-quarters of a century. How can the PLAN ever hope to rival that breathtaking aggregation of experience, let alone cope with the equally breathtaking price tag associated with air wings, carrier logistics, and so forth? However, rising Chinese self-satisfaction at their economic achievements and the siren-like seductions of Mahanianism, argue compellingly in favour of aircraft carriers. After all, the British, the French, the Italians, and, more tellingly, the Indians, have carriers; why not China?

The Chinese, not surprisingly, seem genuinely torn over this issue. For the moment they appear committed to building up those surface elements that would support full-blown carrier operations in the future. Bereft of organic airpower, the PLAN will content itself with reliance on submarine and surface-launched anti-ship missiles, but there seems every likelihood that they will make a historic leap of faith in the realm of carrier operations in the next half-decade. They will no doubt be encouraged to do so, despite their justifiable anxieties, by the declaration by Admiral Mansorin, the Russian chief of navy, to the effect that Russia hopes to have at least half a dozen carriers at sea in the next twenty-five years.

Chinese naval ambitions must be seen and understood within the context of explosive maritime changes ashore. The top six ports in the world (in terms of the throughput of TEUs, or standard twenty-foot containers) are located in East Asia. They are Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Shenzhen, Busan and Kaohsiung. In 2005, Singapore handled 23,192,000 TEUs. By way of contrast, the port of Vancouver (which, in its defence, is also a bulk port) handled 1.7 million containers. Five million containers behind Singapore was the port of Shanghai. A year later, in 2006, Shanghai handled just under 22 million TEUs and seems destined, very shortly, to become the world's largest port in terms of container traffic. It is telling to note that Shenzhen handles more TEUs every year than all of the ports in the United States combined.

What we see, therefore, is the world's greatest aggregation of ports in the 1200-mile arc from Hong Kong to Busan. This is "ground zero" in the world of global commerce. If we look at this phenomenon in a slightly different way, we see that Shanghai has been growing, year on year, by roughly 28 percent, a staggering achievement. This growth reflects the fact that trans-Pacific trade is 3.5 times as great as trans-Atlantic trade, and intra-Asian trade is growing even faster. Accordingly, even if a self-confident and nationalistic China felt that it could forego having a navy, the

imperatives of commerce protection would make arguments in favour of a navy irresistible.

An absolutely critical dimension of China's seagoing commerce is its enormous reliance on imported energy. In the past decade, Beijing has embarked on a concerted campaign to diversify its energy sources. The result is oil and gas flowing from such places as Venezuela, Western Canada, the Sudan, the Middle East, and Indonesia. These energy SLOCs lead outwards from the Chinese coast across the Pacific and Indian Oceans. In the case of the latter, tankers bound for China pass close by India and through the narrow confines of the Strait of Malacca. Recently, Chinese leaders have expressed anxiety about the possibility that the Strait of Malacca might be closed by accident or design, thereby interrupting crucial energy imports. Consequently, Beijing has embarked on a complementary strategy, one that sees China importing energy overland from Russia and the Central Asian republics.

China's appetite for energy is huge. Asia's consumption is growing much faster than the world's and China's consumption is growing much faster than Asia's. China consumes more energy than Africa and the Middle East combined. China produces eight million barrels per day but consumes 24 million barrels per day and the levels of dependency are rising steadily, particularly as China introduces more and more vehicles on the nation's roads. The sales of heavy-duty trucks - now standing at ten million - have risen six fold since 2000, while car sales have risen eightfold.

To cope with this mounting demand, China has begun to expand its shipbuilding capacity dramatically. China has been the world's third-largest shipbuilder for some years and in the period from 2000 to 2005 it accounted for 29 percent of global production; all this at a time when 90 percent of the world's merchant ships are built in Asia. China's expected output will be 40 million dead weight tons in 2010 and Beijing anticipates that China will be the world's largest shipbuilder by 2015, overtaking South Korea and Japan in all but the most sophisticated construction realms.

The Japanese have grown increasingly concerned about the relentless rise of Chinese naval power. This is ironic in the sense that Beijing railed for many years about Japanese remilitarization and it is now China that has racked up almost two decades of double-digit growth in military budgets.

Concerns about China's military might have contributed to a profound reassessment of Japan's place within the northeast Asian security environment. The trigger, if one can identify a single cause, was North Korea's decision to launch a three-stage Taepodong missile over Japan and into the North Pacific in late August 1998. This event was Japan's 9/11. It brought home to Tokyo - a capital

otherwise captured by the problem of Japanese anaemic economy – the nation’s parlous security condition.

The Japanese, after all, live in a tough neighbourhood. They have fought the Russians repeatedly (and, indeed, are still technically at war with them since the Russo-Japanese conflict in World War II has never been concluded with a peace treaty), occupied the Korean peninsula for over a third of a century, and fought the Chinese in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. What the Japanese see now is a Russia re-emerging from the turmoil of the 1990s, a nuclear-armed North Korea, a South Korea challenging Japanese territorial claims at sea, and a China emerging as the military and economic great power of East Asia.

If the North Korean missile launch was a wake-up call for the Japanese, 9/11 was the galvanizing moment in terms of national priorities. In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, the Japanese Prime Minister, Junichiro Koizumi, promised assistance to the United States despite the fact that there was no enabling legislation on the books empowering him to do so. The Diet addressed this deficit with remarkable speed and by the late autumn of 2001, Tokyo began dispatching Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF) vessels to the Indian Ocean in support of Coalition Task Force 150, the allied naval formation that was operating in the North Arabian Sea over and against al-Qaeda. This was history in the making. What had been completely unthinkable suddenly became thinkable, and the Japanese started deploying warships to the Indian Ocean for the first time since 1945.

These historic deployments (terminated, no doubt briefly, in late 2007 as a result of political manoeuvring within the Diet) were part of a much larger reassessment of Japan’s security needs. That reassessment resulted, over the years, in the defence agency being elevated to ministerial status and serious, though attenuated, attention being paid to the possibility of deleting or revising Article 9, the so-called “no war” clause in the Japanese constitution. Those changes occurred over and against an increasingly brittle security environment, particularly at sea.

Unlike the Atlantic, which is largely free of contentious jurisdictional disputes, the Pacific is plagued by jurisdictional problems. Any visitor to the office of the South Korean Chief of Naval Operations will be struck by the fact that, sitting on the coffee table in his office, is a large plaster model of Dokdo Islet, a rocky outcrop that stands roughly halfway between South Korea and Japan and is disputed by both powers.

Similarly, far to the south, in the approaches to the northern coast of Taiwan, is the Chunxiao oil and gas field. Beijing and Tokyo have come head-to-head over where the maritime boundary lies between the two nations and whether the Chinese are trying to tap into the field by drilling diagonally from just inside their

territory in order to gain access to the reserves. Beijing is employing a continental shelf interpretation derived from the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, while Tokyo is employing a median line argument (an argument that Beijing has employed with respect to disputed claims elsewhere in the region!).

Whatever the case, this is only one of an array of maritime irritations or provocations involving the Chinese and Japanese. These have led to Tokyo lodging a series of formal complaints about the unauthorized penetration of Japanese water space by Chinese surface vessels and submarines. The Chinese, for their part, are almost certainly engaged in detailed hydrographic work in an effort to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the oceanic domain off China's coasts; the arena in which they see the possibility of hostile naval activity involving the USN and, potentially, the JMSDF.

In keeping with this familiarization strategy, the PLAN has been deploying more and more of its submarines into the waters of the Western Pacific and beyond in order to test American awareness of their activities. The high profile surfacing of a Chinese *Song*-class submarine within five miles of a US carrier battle group (seemingly undetected by the Americans) in 2006 is an illustration of this phenomenon. One can only presume that the USN is equally active, but these Cold War-style deployments by both sides raise the stakes in the Western Pacific demonstrably.

The Americans have sought to address the relative decline of their global naval presence by forging new maritime ties in the region. The most obvious of these relates to the Washington-New Delhi axis. While both capitals would be quick to dismiss arguments that Indo-American naval collaboration is aimed at containing China, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that that is exactly what it is intended to do. Indeed, if you look at the world through Chinese eyes, you see American forces in South Korea, Japan, Okinawa, Guam, the Philippines, Australia, Singapore, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Mongolia. In a number of cases, the American presence is minimal – contingents dedicated to communications, intelligence, or Special Forces operations. But the perception of “containment” is inescapable.

Nonetheless, the Chinese are not above implementing their own containment strategies. The Chinese are almost the only friends that the beleaguered and thuggish junta in Burma have. In fact, Beijing is particularly interested in the geo-strategic potential of Burma. The Chinese have established listening stations on the Burmese coast, a metaphoric stone's throw from Port Blair in the Andaman Islands, the home of India's East Fleet headquarters. Those same stations are able to monitor missile telemetry from India's east coast launch site. Burma is also a convenient source of energy, timber, and minerals destined for China, and, *in extremis*, the Chinese could bring Middle Eastern oil across Burma to Yunnan

in the event of some disruption of tanker traffic through the Strait of Malacca.

The Chinese also have a military presence in an area of the Himalayas contested by Beijing and New Delhi and have sought to reinforce their long-standing relationship with Pakistan by investing USD \$400 million in the development of the new Pakistani port of Gwadar on the Baluchi coast west of Karachi and close up to the Strait of Hormuz. There has been a good deal of speculation among analysts as to whether the Chinese will utilize Gwadar in the future as a port from which PLAN vessels can sortie.

Certainly, Chinese interests in Indian Ocean maritime commerce have continued to grow steadily as a consequence of Beijing's greater and greater dependence on Iranian and Middle Eastern energy, as well as China's contemporary strategic offensive into Africa in search of oil, gas, and critical raw materials.

These developments are occurring at a time when India has become increasingly unambiguous about its naval primacy in the Indian Ocean. Not only are the Indians concerned about China's growing maritime and naval interest in what New Delhi considers to be its ocean, they are also concerned about the evolution and security of their own SLOCs. India is highly dependent on imported energy and bland reassurances, notwithstanding, New Delhi sees China as the enemy of the future.

This is yet another example of the hedging strategies that have become a hallmark of the region. Put simply, what you see – or hear – is not necessarily what you get. While there is a good deal of anti-Americanism in the region (based, in part, on justifiable critiques of the shortcomings in American foreign policy), no one wants the Americans to absent themselves from the region.

The overarching regional concern is what China's endgame is. Despite rhetoric from Beijing about the "peaceful rise" of China and despite the more polished and nuanced performances of Chinese spokespeople abroad, there are deep reservations across the region as to what the world will look like when Chinese hegemony (a term that horrifies the Chinese who have always wanted to reserve that word as a code for thinly veiled criticisms of the United States) becomes more evident.

Thus, what we find are overt and covert security arrangements being put in place side-by-side with burgeoning, "business as usual" commerce with China. India is a part of this phenomenon. Trade between Indian and China continues to grow at an impressive pace, but New Delhi remains clearly undecided about just how benign the world will be when China's military and political power becomes more profound.

The Indian and Pacific Oceans are the quintessential maritime arenas and it is perhaps no surprise that New Delhi has sought to exploit the inherent flexibility, mobility, and versatility of

seapower in order to develop one of the premier elements of India's hedging strategy. More specifically, this has taken the form of a dramatic expansion of naval ties between the Indian Navy (IN) and the USN.

It is important to note, however, that New Delhi has not confined itself to the American axis alone. Instead, the IN has begun to engage in an active outreach programme to other navies in the region, like the Indonesian Navy and the Republic of Singapore Navy (RSN). This multinational strategy was illustrated graphically in September 2007, when the IN played host to the USN, the RSN, the Royal Australian Navy (RAN), and, tellingly, the JMSDF, in the big Malabar 02-07 exercise in the Bay of Bengal. Japanese participation was particularly noteworthy because the Japanese have long invoked the alleged prohibition of "collective security" to justify confining their naval exercises to the USN alone. Are we witnessing the waning of this long held, but dubious, construct? Is Japanese involvement a measure of Japan's desire to be recognized as a full participant in and contributor to global security?

Whatever the case, naval diplomacy has become a critical element in the language of regional security. This fact was highlighted by the recent visit of the PLAN's destroyer *Shenzhen* to Tokyo and the corresponding refusal by the Chinese authorities to allow the American carrier *USS Kitty Hawk* to enter Hong Kong. Similarly, the USN's recent utilization of naval vessels to provide relief to storm-ravaged Bangladesh builds on a global trend (sparked in large part by naval support for tsunami victims in Aceh in 2004-05) toward the inclusion of humanitarian relief (HR) and disaster assistance (DA) as a frontline naval responsibility. This trend has been reinforced by increasingly cogent arguments that global warming will contribute to greater and greater levels of storm damage in an area of the world already prone to flooding, landslides, and earthquakes.

The focus on the HR and DA, as they have come to be called, is a promising sign. There are probably more flashpoints at sea in the Indian and Pacific Oceans than anywhere else in the world. Concerns over fisheries, illegal fishing, contested maritime boundaries, the movement of illegals by sea, terrorism, the ownership of islets, and the unauthorized penetration of water space have contributed to levels of tension across the Indo-Pacific region.

At the same time, however, there is mounting evidence of a willingness on the part of navies and nations to cooperate at sea. One of the foremost examples related to the security mechanism, formalized in September 2007, among the Indonesian, Singaporean, and Malaysian governments, whereby they agreed to maintain trilateral naval patrols (commenced in July 2005) for the purpose of preventing piratical attacks in the Strait of Malacca.

These countries are also members of the region-wide Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS) which brings together all of the regional heads of navies to discuss common concerns and foster cooperation. We have also witnessed the willingness of a number of navies – the USN, IN, RSN, and RAN – to work together to provide relief for tsunami victims in Indonesia and elsewhere in the Indian Ocean, and, more recently, the commitment of two Chinese vessels from Qingdao to assist South Korean authorities in their efforts to cope with a major oil spill on beaches southwest of Seoul.

What does all this mean for Canada and, more specifically, the Canadian Navy (CN)? The former is more and more dependent on trans-Pacific commerce and has sought to accommodate the avalanche of Asian imports by expanding the Port of Vancouver and by opening the Port of Prince Rupert. Both ports are connected by rail to eastern Canada and to the American heartland. Prince Rupert, located well to the north of Vancouver on the coast of British Columbia, is particularly well situated because it is several days steaming closer to the megaports of Asia than Los Angeles-Long Beach.

That said, the inauguration of Prince Rupert in the autumn of 2007 does relatively little to address the pending shortfall in North American port capacity. Current projections suggest that Canada and the United States will need to open one new “Port of Vancouver” (with an annual capacity of about two million TEUs) on the west coast of North America every year for the foreseeable future. While significant port development is in the offing, it falls far short of such projections.

For the latter, that is to say the CN, developments in the Indo-Pacific region constitute a particular challenge. To begin with, there is no NATO framework in the region, no security architecture into which the CN can plug. Instead, the CN must continue to build upon its intimate operational relationship with the USN. But while the USN has shifted assets into the Pacific in recognition of the geo-strategic primacy of that ocean, no comparable redeployment of CN assets has occurred. Instead, roughly 60 percent of the CN’s assets are based in Halifax, facing into the Atlantic, and 40 percent are based in Esquimalt on Canada’s west coast. Thus, the smallest component of the CN is dedicated to an ocean more than three times the size of the Atlantic and infinitely more complex and contentious.

These problems are compounded, in turn, by tensions between Canada’s foreign policy priorities in the Pacific and the CN’s own operational priorities. Ottawa, for example, is dedicated to enhancing Canada’s ties with South America, and one of the South American navies that is sophisticated enough to provide the CN with real exercise potential is the Chilean Navy. Unfortunately, a naval deployment from Esquimalt to Chile involves almost 12,000

nautical miles of steaming, a costly and time-consuming undertaking in order to advance both national and naval interests. Similarly, India is a priority nation in terms of Canadian foreign policy, but the distances involved are even greater.

How, then, is a small but highly professional navy like the CN to prioritize its efforts to the best effect? The Pacific is the ocean of today and tomorrow and the CN must safeguard Canadian maritime commerce while leveraging its links with the USN, the RAN, and the JMSDF, among others, to telegraph Canada's commitment to regional stability. The CN is ideally suited to this task, but, faced with fleet refits and recapitalization, it will be challenged to develop and sustain its ties with the leading navies of the Indo-Pacific region, to ensure the integrity of regional SLOCs, and to contribute to oceanic security.

A View from Washington

Seth Cropsey

Abstract

US foreign policy objectives in Asia are to prevent the rise of a hegemonic power that can challenge the U.S. militarily, or exercise political dominance in a region that is home to half the earth's population. US concern about China's rapidly growing economy—and America's relationship with it—is understandable. There is today no other single state which is more important to the future of U.S. international relations than China. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) Navy is in the midst of a modernization program that will extend its blue water and amphibious capabilities and substantially complicate the U.S. Navy's ability to conduct operations in portions of the western Pacific. U.S. actions and words aimed at China need to become more straightforward and assertive if U.S. policy is to succeed in its declared objective of bringing China into an international system based on respect for human rights, support for peace, free markets, non-proliferation, and the recognition of sovereignty. Above all, U.S. policy must keep forward-based military forces visible and powerful in the region.

Résumé

Les objectifs de la politique étrangère des États-Unis en Asie visent à empêcher la montée d'une puissance hégémonique qui puisse poser un défi aux États-Unis au niveau militaire ou exercer une domination politique dans une région habitée par la moitié de la population mondiale. La préoccupation des États-Unis vis-à-vis la croissance rapide de l'économie de la Chine — et la relation de l'Amérique avec celle-ci — est toute naturelle. Il n'y a aujourd'hui aucun autre État que la Chine qui est à lui seul plus important pour l'avenir des relations internationales des États-Unis. La marine de l'Armée de libération du peuple est en plein milieu d'un programme de modernisation qui va étendre ses capacités hauturières et amphibies et compliquer substantiellement la capacité de la U.S. Navy de mener des opérations dans des portions du Pacifique occidental. Les actions et les mots qui visent la Chine vont devoir devenir plus directs et assertifs si la politique américaine doit réussir dans son objectif déclaré d'amener la Chine dans un système international basé sur le respect des droits de la personne, le soutien de la paix, les marchés libres, la non-prolifération et la reconnaissance de la souveraineté. Par-dessus tout, la politique des États-Unis doit garder visibles et puissantes ses forces militaires basées à l'avant dans la région.

Introduction

At the beginning of the 20th century, the European continent's political institutions were mostly monarchic in character. Vigorous seeds of self-government were in clear evidence, however. Two World Wars and one Cold War later, democracy was firmly rooted in most of the states from the Atlantic to Russia's western border. On the premise that checking the rise of – or containing or destroying – a hegemonic power would not only head off a potentially dangerous competitor from transforming into a greater threat and would allow for the development of free political institutions in neighbouring states, American foreign policy concentrated on preventing that continent from being dominated by a single power.

The U.S. has a similar foreign policy objective in Asia: preventing the rise of a hegemonic power that can challenge the U.S. militarily and dictate trading terms, exercise political dominance, and establish alliance structures in a region that is home to half the earth's population. If successful, this policy will nourish democracies and democratic political institutions in Japan, India, the Republic of Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia, and Malaysia and demonstrate to China's leaders that their desire to retain power is not always synonymous with their people's interest in wielding it themselves. On the additional premise that preventing hegemonic control can also forestall regional arms races, nuclear proliferation and more dire consequences, the U.S. hopes that a successful policy toward China will preserve America's position as a great power and allow it to achieve its fundamental goal of peace and prosperity throughout the Pacific.

Complicating this task is the likelihood that America's leadership in the contest with radical Islamists will continue for at least a generation. The U.S. military's overriding strategic challenge today is to do two different things well: waging effective irregular warfare and at the same time maintaining its lead in the conduct of conventional combat operations. This precisely mirrors the nation's strategic challenge: prevailing in a protracted conflict against jihadists, without becoming distracted by the shift in economic and military power toward Asia, by Russia's re-emergence as a power to be reckoned with, by the crumbling of long-held hopes to prevent nuclear proliferation, and by the uncomfortable position of being the world's great power.

Adapting to the New

Adapting to this strategic change has proved hard. In the nearly two decades since the fall of the Soviet Union, the U.S. has looked for "peace dividends" and "a new world order"; imagined that

economic competition would replace the traditional sort; scattered its institutional ability to craft and broadcast communications with foreign populations; addressed the jihadist challenge as a purely criminal matter; and allowed the principal means of projecting power in the western Pacific—its Navy—to continue the decline in ship numbers that began in the second Reagan administration.

These strategic fits and starts oddly parallel the bitter fight over George H. W. Bush's choice of Senator John Tower as America's first post-Cold War Secretary of Defense. As the nomination foundered in the Senate in early 1989, the *New York Times* described floor manager Senator Robert Dole's efforts to secure Senate approval. "(Dole) has the strategy", an unnamed White House official was quoted as saying, "and it's changing minute to minute" ("4 More Democrats to Oppose Tower: Dole Expects Loss", *NYT*, March 9, 1989).

The current administration's strategy toward China is less volatile than the ones that failed to confirm Senator Tower, but America's declared strategy has changed substantially during George W. Bush's presidency. In its first national security strategy statement published after the attacks of 2001, the Bush administration warned that China, together with India and Russia, possessed the potential to renew "old patterns" of global competition, but speaking hopefully, it added "that a truly global consensus about basic principles is taking shape". The administration in 2002 saw the Sino-American relationship as important to its goal of a stable, prosperous Asia-Pacific region, and focused specifically on exhorting democratic change as key to this objective.

Four years later, the strategy balanced democratic enjoiners with very practical desiderata. It zeroed in on China's role in persuading North Korea to abandon its nuclear ambition, on encouraging regional environmental initiatives, and on a peaceful resolution of the dispute with Taiwan. But the strategy's primary focus was economic. It encouraged China to protect intellectual property rights; to eschew mercantilism; to institute a market-based, flexible exchange rate for its currency; and to stimulate its growth domestically rather than by compounding global trade imbalances.

How Big is China?

The Bush administration's concern about China's economy—and America's relationship with it—is understandable. According to China's central bank, its holding of foreign currency reserves passed \$1 trillion dollars in 2007, and is growing at about \$18 billion dollars per month. If the value of the goods that the U.S. bought from China in 2007 increases from the preceding year at the average it has maintained since 1995—18.3 percent—Americans will

have rung up more than a \$300 billion dollar bill last year. Since George W. Bush took office, Americans have more than tripled their purchase of Chinese goods. And most of the dollars that cross the Pacific going west to pay for lower-priced goods in American malls turn right around and head back as China's central bankers buy U.S. Treasury bonds and help keep U.S. interest rates down and encourage American consumers to continue their buying ways. It is an economic relationship of dubious moral standing: Chinese leaders' willingness to allow their largely impoverished people to live below their means helps Americans to live beyond their means. What cannot be questioned is that the arrangement locks the two nations together in an embrace that it is in neither party's interest to abandon.

The rest of the Sino-American relationship looks as muddy from one side of the ocean that separates the two nations as it does from the other. American policy seeks a China that embraces transparent economic practices and institutions, open markets, the international system in general, and, of course, peace. U.S. policymakers, however, have placed much of their trust in the assumption that the economic and security trends that have shaped relations between two states for the past 25 years will continue into the future without interruption. Chinese leaders concur. They have put their trust in continued economic growth—purchased in significant measure by very limited investment in domestic infrastructure—as the principal instrument of preserving the legitimacy of their rule. There is every good reason to question how long the Chinese people will accept the trade-off, or the other costs of living in the world's largest dictatorship. In December of 2007 China's Minister of Public Security, Zhou Yongkang, said that “actively preventing and properly handling mass incidents” was his greatest challenge for the year just ending (*Radio Free Asia*, December 12, 2007). Chinese government statistics show a more than seven-fold increase in protests—from 10,000 to 74,000—between 1994 and 2005 (*ibid.*). Corrupt officials, bribery, re-zoning and hidden agreements combine to nullify existing contracts and produce an increasing sense of injustice, as economic expansion raises land values and the stakes for development—with resulting unrest.

The exercise of arbitrary power is not limited to property. Harassment of human rights lawyers, political activists, and Internet journalists continues apace as Chinese rulers force millions to move in preparation for the 2008 summer Olympic Games. The U.S.-based independent research institute Freedom House called China “not free” in early 2008, ranking it just above the lowest circle of repressive states such as Cuba, Myanmar, and North Korea. Increasing violations of human rights against the backdrop of the

Chinese people's growing awareness of their rulers' repression is no reassurance of future stability.

Nor is China's economic picture as bright as consumers on this side of the Pacific might think. China's hundreds of thousands of state-owned enterprises (SOE) employ millions of workers—inefficiently, often unprofitably, at great cost to the economy, and at substantial risk to policy-makers who might be tempted to close them. Disparities between rural and urban workers' incomes are measured in orders of magnitude. The economy's expansion is based more on unabated foreign investment and the state's constant transfers of huge sums to its SOEs than on increased productivity or the rise of a large class of entrepreneurs. The growth of the past two decades, like any boom, will either end or falter with large effects on China's demand for energy, its holdings of foreign currency reserves and its ability to export cheap goods: if not a globalization disaster, at least a major event with economic, political, and perhaps military consequences that are difficult to predict.

There is today no other single state which is more important to the future of U.S. international relations than China. Current U.S. policymakers' assumptions of a continued status quo with gradual economic and political liberalization undercut the serious examination of policies needed to encourage genuine reform, minimize the likelihood of China's emergence as a peer competitor to the U.S., and assure a balance of power in Asia.

The Military Calculus

In the meantime, abundant resources exist for such priorities of China's rulers as building the military. Here, Beijing is largely focussed on countering the principal means of projecting U.S. power in the Pacific, the US Navy, as well as developing a critical instrument of its own if China decides to use force to resolve its dispute with Taiwan. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) Navy is in the midst of a modernization program that will extend its blue water and amphibious capabilities along with related support structures that include command and control, information warfare, and accompanying doctrine, education, training, and logistics. From 1995 to 2007, the PLAN added more than 40 new submarines to (including both attack and ballistic missile boats) to their fleet, many of which operate with air-independent propulsion systems that make them extremely difficult to detect. This infusion of submarines to China's fleet substantially increases its ability to deploy strategic forces at increasing distance from its shores as well as to conduct blockades and deny foreign navies access to the Western Pacific.

Logically and operationally parallel to the attention paid to subsurface warfare, China is augmenting its surface warfare

capabilities. Purchases from Russia over the previous decade and a half include four *Sovremenny*-class destroyers and the deployment of nine new classes of frigates and destroyers laid down and built in Chinese yards. With new hull designs, more advanced propulsion systems and weapons, the growing surface fleet adds to the PLAN's ability to conduct anti-air as well as anti-surface warfare. The additions, and the resulting advances in operational skills, also set the stage for more substantial future increases in the PLAN's ability to extend its effective maritime reach deeper and deeper into the Pacific.

The PLAN is also developing its amphibious capability with the addition of the *Type 071* class. Expected to enter service in 2008, these vessels will displace approximately 17,600 tons (slightly larger than the U.S. Navy's *Whidbey Island (LSD-41)* class of amphibious ship) and will be capable of carrying 800 troops and scores of armoured vehicles as well as four air-cushion vehicles—used to convey troops and equipment from ship to shore—in their ample well decks. Reports in professional journals state that a larger amphibious vessel—a flat-top helicopter-capable ship—is also in the works. These would complement the three new classes consisting of 20 amphibious ships and 10 amphibious landing craft that workers in at least three shipyards turned out between 2003 and 2005. The lack of amphibious capability doomed Napoleon's and Hitler's ambitions to conquer England. China's growing amphibious capability increases the odds that no such deficiency will stand in the way if Beijing decides to cross the 100 miles between the mainland and Taiwan.

The PLAN's growing fleet of surface and submarine combatants could help clear a safe path to Taiwan for amphibious vessels, establish a naval blockade and substantially complicate the U.S. Navy's ability to conduct operations in portions of the western Pacific. These are not the only means by which Chinese military planning seeks to deny the USN access to the region. By mid-2006 China had deployed approximately 900 CSS-6 and CSS-7 short-range ballistic missiles to points on the mainland closest to Taiwan; the build-up continues at a pace of approximately 100 missiles per year. (U.S. Dept. of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress, Military Power of the People's Republic of China, 2007*, published 25 May 2007, pp.3 and 42, as quoted in Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, *China Naval Modernization*, updated 18 October 2007).

As large a factor in any strategic equation as ballistic weapons already are, China is building on their potency, adding manoeuvrable warheads which could threaten U.S. carriers at sea with devastating firepower delivered at unprecedented speed (Annual Threat Assessment of the Director of National Intelligence, 11 January 2007). Serious attention to cyber warfare and high power microwave weapons underline China's decision to counter

U.S. naval strength by probing its reliance on information technology and electronic circuits. Similarly, China's destruction of one of its own ageing weather satellites a year ago demonstrates the threat it poses to a keystone of current U.S. naval capability - a network-centric warfare that depends heavily on satellite communications.

China lacks many elements that a peer competitor needs to challenge the U.S. military successfully, such as major recent combat experience, advanced command and control capability, practiced logistics, and familiarity with operating its forces at a distance around the clock in all weather conditions. The PLAN still relies heavily on foreign weapons sales, and the quick transformation into a more technologically-capable force leaves the existing one an odd and often unwieldy mélange of new and old equipment. These disadvantages and others such as the absence of expert and capable non-commissioned officers, advanced joint capabilities, as well as significant deficiencies in air defense and anti-submarine warfare capabilities, suggest that the PLAN has not yet reached the level of modernization that Japan's Meiji-built navy did in its early 20th century confrontation with Russia. The PLAN aspires to giant status, but has not yet achieved it.

Kow-towing

It would be hard to tell this from current American policy toward China, which is longer on admonition and friendly encouragement to become a "stakeholder" in the international system, than on either concrete action or reflection on whether stakeholdership translates into common interest. Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte's speech in New York to the National Committee on U.S. China Relations, fall 2007, is a good demonstration of this difficulty. Negroponte is one of America's most distinguished and experienced diplomats. He served as ambassador to Honduras, Mexico, and the Philippines, and most recently as the first Director of National Intelligence. His discussion of America's China policy was framed in terms of five "global challenges" that the U.S. and China face, and began with noting that Chinese citizens also died in the attacks of September 11, 2001. This is not so much putting the "cart before the horse" as it is separating the two altogether. Terrorism is a small footnote in the relationship between the U.S. and China when compared with the future of Taiwan, for example.

Reflecting U.S. diffidence about speaking openly and directly to China, the next on the Deputy Secretary's list of global challenges was weak and failing states; and, in particular, praise for China's support of a U.N. resolution that called for a regional military force under U.N. command in the Sudan. China's interest in Sudanese oil

remains a major obstacle to effective international action that could mitigate the continuing humanitarian disaster in Darfur. Their U.N. action was a shadow play. The Chinese media recently blamed democracy for the violence that followed the December 2007 elections in Kenya. *Xinhua* claimed that efforts to democratize Kenya over the years had produced corruption and economic decay, while more authoritarian rule generated growth. If U.S. policy, as Deputy Secretary Negroponte said, genuinely means to “look to Beijing, now and in the future, not only to help the people of Darfur, but to prevent political instability and civil violence in other parts of the world”, Washington must prepare itself for disappointment.

China’s arms sales to Iran, its policies toward Tibet and Taiwan, its more-than-raised-eyebrow interest in Japan’s Senkaku Island chain, as well as territorial claims throughout the west Pacific’s strings of islands and likely seabed oil fields, are not the signs of a great power with a strong interest in what American foreign policy has traditionally understood as political stability. These are, rather, the signs of typical—by 19th century standards—political/military manoeuvring by which states on the make seek to enlarge their influence and expand their power with no other restraint than the calculus of prospective gain weighed against possible loss.

What Is To Be Done?

U.S. actions and words aimed at China need to become more straightforward and assertive if U.S. policy is to succeed in its declared objective of bringing China into an international system based on respect for human rights, support for peace, free markets, non-proliferation, and the recognition of sovereignty. Slacking away from earlier, tougher positions on these and other issues—as President Bush did in his 2003 meetings with Chinese leader Hu Jintao—will not advance the day when China acts more like a member of the 21st century international community than as a typical 19th century great power rival. Nor will State Department pronouncements that see Taiwan’s independence as a prospect “that must be stopped”, and do not include similar proscriptions against China’s threats to use military force against the island (Overview of U.S. Policy toward Taiwan, testimony of Ass’t Sec. State James A. Kelly before House International Relations Committee, 21 April 2004). Washington’s expectations that China will conform to international norms is reasonable. Achieving this goal without using the normal carrots and sticks of international discourse and action is unreasonable.

The Bush administration’s successor must resist the temptation to confuse diplomatic or security concessions with improving America’s image. American politicians who worry about

the nation's negative international perceptions should consider how those perceptions would change if the U.S. began to appear as a weak or declining power. U.S. policy in the Asia-Pacific region must draw Japan, South Korea, and India closer, reminding them of our shared interest in democracy, open markets, and a peaceful region that is dominated by no one. The tone of our discourse with China should not hesitate to reflect forcefully our interests in human rights, a peaceful resolution of relations with Taiwan, and such other disputed issues as China's assistance to Iran. American policy can also help by de-emphasizing Beijing as the center of our diplomatic effort by opening more consulates around the nation, thereby encouraging a focus away from the centralized authority that is critical to continued Chinese authoritarian rule.

Above all, U.S. policy must keep forward-based military forces visible and powerful in the region. The U.S. must reverse, or at an absolute minimum, stop the decline in the size of its combat fleet that began two decades ago. Key to this is not only an intelligent strategy that ensures the appropriate balance between war-fighting, presence, and crisis response, but one that also provides the leadership required to discipline ship-building costs and construct vessels suited to ensuring access to the western Pacific. The U.S. military as a whole also must take seriously the challenge offered by China's anti-access strategy, and base appropriate training and war-gaming exercise scenarios on the assumption that China may succeed in targeting satellites, information networks, and signal communications. America's future as a world power, and its security, rest on a broad foundation, and a large part of this structure is our status as a Pacific power. Losing access to the western part of this ocean would have serious consequences that would reach far beyond military ones.

The uncertainty in the world that is likely to continue for the foreseeable future challenges the U.S. in ways to which the nation is not accustomed. Globalization, climate change, competition for energy, hesitancy about how we present ourselves to the world, and threats that appear to have materialized from both medieval times and the 19th century but which are armed with proliferating weapons of unmistakably contemporary ferocity, darken the strategic terrain. Our military is confronted with conventional and unconventional forms of warfare. One critical constant that is unaffected by all this flux is the effect of powerful forces, effective strategy, and measured words. Remaining a strong, robust, agile military power in the Pacific will not eliminate the unknowns, but it will reduce their ability to whipsaw U.S. national policy. Whatever else happens, this should remain America's unchanging goal.

Developing Canadian and Australian Security Cooperation

John Blaxland

Abstract

Canada and Australia are working more closely together on operations than they have since the Korean War. Their low-profile but substantial ties have drawn them, in parallel, to work alongside the United States and other like-minded coalition partners. The three services of the Canadian Forces and the Australian Defence Force have a remarkable range of similarities that merit ongoing cross examination and collaboration. As Canada considers its role in the Asia-Pacific, there is no country more worthwhile considering closely than Australia.

Résumé

Le Canada et l'Australie travaillent présentement sur des opérations d'une façon plus étroite qu'ils ne l'ont fait depuis la Guerre de Corée. Leur profil bas, mais avec des liens substantiels, les a attirés, en parallèle, à travailler de concert avec les États-Unis et d'autres partenaires de coalition animés des mêmes idées. Les trois services des Forces canadiennes et la Australian Defence Force présentent une gamme remarquable de similitudes qui méritent l'examen croisé et la collaboration actuels. Au moment où le Canada considère le rôle qu'il veut assumer dans l'Asie du Pacifique, il n'y a pas de pays, plus que l'Australie, qui mérite d'être considéré d'aussi près

Canada and Australia have had a remarkably close yet low-key relationship for over a hundred years, first as fellow dominions as part of the British Empire, then as allies with the United States in the Cold War stand-off and thereafter during the post-Cold War years. Yet that relationship is not formalised through an international security treaty comparable to the Australia-New Zealand-United States (ANZUS) Treaty of 1951, the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) Agreement or the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) that formally binds Canada and Australia together through separate arrangements with the United States.

In *Strategic Cousins*¹, I argued that while the paths of Canada and Australia diverged during the Cold war, their paths have largely converged since the end of the Cold War. As a result, closer collaboration could increase their influence and effectiveness and also benefit their allies. Since then, the so-called 'war on terror' has continued unabated and, in Australia, following eleven years of conservative rule under Prime Minister John Howard, a new government was elected under the Australian Labor Party headed by Prime Minister Kevin Rudd in November 2007. In light of these circumstances, it is worthwhile to take a fresh look at the nature and extent of collaboration between Canada and Australia as well as the enduring constraints on closer collaboration before considering the scope for further development of security cooperation.

For Australia the Asia-Pacific has always featured more prominently in terms of security affairs than for Canada. Yet Canada and Australia are equidistant from potential flashpoints in North East Asia and Canada has long felt an obligation to participate in Asia-Pacific security affairs, albeit usually in a more low key way than Australia. Canada deployed forces to Vladivostok, for instance, in 1919. During World War II Canada deployed forces to Hong Kong, India, Burma, the Aleutians and Australia. Like Australia, Canadians fought as part of the US-led UN force during the Korean War with troops stationed in Korea from 1950 to 1957. Canadians were in West Irian (now West Papua) as observers from 1962 to 1963, in Cambodia as peacekeepers in 1993 and as part of the Australian-led force in East Timor from 1999 to 2000. In addition, whereas Australians in 1958 joined the ill-fated South-East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and from 1962 to 1972 sent forces to Vietnam, Canadians contributed to the international monitoring activities in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam from 1954 to 1965 and again in 1973. Canada clearly has had a long interest in Asia-Pacific security affairs and if the 21st century is to be an 'Asian century'

¹ *John C. Blaxland, Strategic Cousins: Australian and Canadian Expeditionary Forces And the British And American Empires, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, c2006.Sep. 30, 2006).*

then Canada may be drawn into working more closely with Australia even more so than during the last century.

Security issues in the Asia-Pacific feature prominently for Australia, with concerns about the so-called 'arc of instability' stretching from the archipelago to Australia's north through to the Pacific islands to Australia's North East. For Australia, East Timor has presented enduring concerns and demanded considerable attention from the ADF. Similarly, the instability of the Solomon Islands has drawn the Australian Defence Force (ADF) into a prolonged engagement there. In the meantime, Australia watches with close interest developments in Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Tonga and other Pacific island states. Australia also has a vested interest in the ongoing consolidation of democracy and stability in Indonesia, having signed the Lombok Treaty with Indonesia in November 2006 in recognition of the importance of Indonesia to Australia's security. Beyond Indonesia, other states of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) also demand considerable Australian attention. With ongoing insurgencies in the southern Philippines and southern Thailand and concerns about terrorist groups operating in Indonesia, Australia is eager to provide low-key support to the security and other governmental apparatus of these states. When combined with the enduring significance of Australia's engagement in the Middle East, these regional concerns result in Canada maintaining a relatively low profile in Australia's security consciousness.

Australia and Canada, nonetheless, have derived considerable benefit through the many low-profile links between the Australian Department of Defence and the Canadian Department of National Defence. Perhaps the strongest links are evident in the intelligence arena. Long-established links through US-led mechanisms of Cold-War origin have found new life since the events of September 11, 2001 and Australia and Canada have seen the benefit of reinforcing these ties.

The ADF has seen several Canadian Forces (CF) officers transfer to the Royal Australian Navy (RAN), Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) and the Australian Army. Transferees fit in seamlessly into the ADF because of the strong similarities between the two countries' communities and because of the advances Australia has made in terms of capability enhancements and force development which has allowed people to complete the job they have trained for. Their presence in the ADF has demonstrated the uncanny parallels between the ADF and CF and has reaffirmed the sense of closeness and commonality between the two countries' forces.

For their respective armies, the America, Britain, Canada, Australia (ABCA) Armies Standardisation Program has proven of enduring utility. With the increased operational tempo, lessons learned on operations as well as tactical and technical innovations

developed in the field have been shared and ideas exchanged. Exchange has been of mutual benefit for each others' efforts to stay a step ahead of an adaptive and determined adversary in Afghanistan and beyond. Indeed, the tempo of visits and information exchanges has increased significantly in recent years as both Canada and Australia have increasingly recognised the utility in reviewing each others' practices and perspectives rather than focusing exclusively on those of each others' principal ally, the United States, particularly given its differences in scale and remit.

The Australian Army has benefited greatly from operating the Canadian built Light Armoured Vehicles (LAVs) in East Timor as well as in Afghanistan and Iraq. Indeed, the Australian Army, in some ways, has come to more closely resemble the Canadian Army, with the Australian Army's Hardened and Networked Army (HNA) initiative designed to increase the hitting power and armoured protection available as part of the land force. The LAV features prominently in the HNA plan. But one vehicle which has clearly demonstrated its surprising utility in an era of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) is the Australian designed and built Bushmaster 4 X 4 Infantry Mobility Vehicle. This vehicle is similar to but in some ways superior to the Nyala RG31 acquired by the CF and deployed to Afghanistan in 2006. With its 'V' shaped hull and armour protection, many Australian lives have been saved from serious injury or death in both Iraq and Afghanistan thanks to the protection provided from the blast of IEDs by the Bushmaster. Indeed, Dutch forces operating alongside Australians in Tarin Kowt have purchased Bushmasters as well, in recognition of the indisputable benefits offered by the vehicle. Australia's experience points to the benefits that would accrue for Canada in closely examining Australia's experience with the Bushmaster.

Conceptual development in the ADF has also progressed, reflecting the trends in military technology associated with increased precision and heightened demand for communications and information technology as part of 'Network Centric Warfare'. For the Australian Army, the concept of 'Complex Warfighting' has matured, informed by developments in counter-insurgency tactics and the lessons learned from the innovative use of new equipment on operations including enhanced electronic countermeasures and improved intelligence surveillance and reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities. For both Canada and Australia, drawing out the appropriate lessons from American and British as well as other allied experiences has been a high priority task. That work benefits greatly from cross examination of each others' perspectives.

The air forces of Canada and Australia have also benefited from operating similar aircraft fleets and experiencing similar challenges with operational tempo and obsolescence. Indeed, both operate C-130 Hercules fleets working alongside each other in the

Persian Gulf. With Canada having announced the purchase of C130 J model Hercules aircraft, there is scope for Canada to consider closely Australia's experience with introducing its C130Js. In addition, both countries have acquired four C-17 Strategic air lift transport aircraft and have sought to upgrade the P3-based surveillance aircraft (Orions and Auroras). Both countries are considering the P-8 as the P-3's eventual replacement and the ADF has provided some background information as to why it is looking in detail at the P-8. Upgrading the CF-18 or F/A-18 Hornet aircraft has also featured. Canada and Australia have shared long term fatigue testing of the FA-18 and as a result both countries are undergoing a centre barrel replacement program at Mirabel in Canada. Australia is likely to have twelve FA-18 centre barrels replaced before completing further aircraft in Australia. As both countries consider how to manage the transition to the next generation fighter aircraft there is further scope for the respective air forces to closely examine each others' practices and future plans.

Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) have also featured prominently for both the CF and ADF in recent years. The ADF and CF have shared considerable information on UAV trials. Not only are requirements similar in operational theatres such as Afghanistan, but the increasing need to secure the Arctic for Canada and the northern regions for Australia require a surveillance system capable of operating over similarly remote and vast areas. Not many other countries in the world share this requirement. Thus, as both forces seek to institutionalise the use of UAVs, there remains merit in cross examination of each others' experiences in this field as well.

Their navies continue working closely together operating in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf as well as on US-led exercises in the Pacific such as the US Pacific Command's Exercise 'RIMPAC'. In the Gulf, they share new insights on dealing with brown-water operations against small and fleeting security challenges as well as the more conventional naval threats of the region. Both navies have also seen efforts made to reinvigorate the ability to project forces offshore. In Australia's case, this has led to the decision to acquire two new amphibious ships based on a Spanish LHD design. Australia has also decided to acquire three Air Warfare Destroyers (AWD) based on the Spanish F-100 design. Australia's modernisation program, drawing on the capabilities on offer from the United States but adapted for Australia's smaller requirements, provides an ongoing useful benchmark for the Canadian Navy as a reference, with its scale and the nature of its operations resembling those of Australia. Canada, for instance, is undergoing a frigate upgrade program and has taken considerable interest in how Australia is completing its frigate upgrade program.

The most prominent development in the last couple of years in terms of the prospects for closer security cooperation is Australia's move closer to NATO through its involvement in the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. Australian forces are conducting operations in Oruzgan province, immediately north of Kandahar province, where Canadian forces are concentrated in ISAF's Regional Command (South) or RC(S). A commitment to Afghanistan is expected to continue for some time to come for both countries. Australia's presence has increased recently to include a force of over 1000 troops in RC (S), including a Chinook Helicopter detachment (due to return to Afghanistan in April 2008) and an Air Force Control and Reporting Centre based at Kandahar as well as a Special Operations Task Group and an engineer Reconstruction Task Force based in Tarin Kowt, Oruzgan. Australia has no plans to become a formal member of NATO and NATO has given no indication that it plans to formally extend such an offer. But in reality, such an offer is not required for Australia to operate effectively as part of an integrated ISAF partner alongside its old friends and partners such as the Canadians. The many established links ensure that Australian procedures are compatible with those of Canada and the other key ISAF partners operating in the southern provinces of Afghanistan.

The experience of working side by side in Afghanistan will no doubt serve to further improve the prospects for similar close collaboration in the Asia-Pacific region in the years ahead. Indeed, the Australian Government, under Prime Minister Kevin Rudd and Defence Minister Joel Fitzgibbon, is placing a renewed emphasis on its obligations in the Asia-Pacific region. This is not surprising given the ongoing concerns about failed or failing Pacific Island states as well as the enduring challenges posed in relation to North Korea, the Taiwan Straits, the ongoing dispute over Kashmir and, of particular concern, the rise of militant Islam in the South East Asian states of the Philippines, Indonesia and Thailand. For Australia, its strategic concerns in the Asia-Pacific inform the long term capability sets of the ADF. Canada may benefit, therefore, from closely examining the Australian experience as it weighs its responsibilities in the Asia-Pacific region. Indeed, any increase in Canada's focus on the security affairs of the region would be warmly welcomed by Australia.

Certainly, as Australia and Canada look to grapple with the complexities of modern war fighting, while managing the heightened operational tempo, there remains no closer facsimile for comparison and contrast. Closer linkages between the Canadian Manoeuvre Training Centre and the Australian Army Combat Training Centre are occurring, for instance, with the aim of leveraging from each others' experiences on operations to better prepare soldiers for deployment. There has also been an increase in

formal ties in the fields of capability development and procurement reform. Indeed, the scale of their armed forces has always been similar and always in marked contrast to its other close cousins, Britain and the United States.

To date, there has been little momentum for an increase in formal ties between the armed forces of Canada and Australia, although the first formal staff talks took place in November 2006 in Canberra. On balance, however, Canada and Australia already share a wide range of ties that bind them together and help ensure that both countries benefit from each others' lesson learned. The most significant of these ties is the parallel bilateral alliance links with the United States. These alliance links have facilitated a range of informal contacts and information exchanges that have been of considerable mutual benefit. Both Australia and Canada have enduring and compelling imperatives to structure their forces for coalition operations remote from their own shores while similarly maintaining sovereignty-related capabilities in defence of their respective lightly populated northern regions. As Canada looks to consider its place in the Asia-Pacific, there is no country's experience of greater utility for cross-examination than that of Australia.

Joint Force Requirements: JTF Pacific

Roger Girouard

Abstract

Admiral Girouard presents an overview of Joint Task Force (Pacific) and the challenges facing Canada's western domain. He sets the scene by providing a succinct yet comprehensive review of Indo-Pacific economic, demographic and security issues at play on Canada's doorstep. He then turns to the creation of CANADA COMMAND and Joint Task Force (Pacific) by first offering commentary on the force mix in place when these two elements were stood up; considers the gaps in domestic security and disaster management which exist in the Province of British Columbia; and concludes by offering recommendations for future force development.

Résumé

L'Amiral Girouard présente un aperçu de la Force opérationnelle interarmées (Pacifique) et des défis que doit affronter la région occidentale du Canada. Au départ, ils dressent un portrait à la fois succinct et très complet des questions économiques, démographiques et de sécurité qui sont en jeu dans la région indopacifique. Ils se tournent ensuite vers une description du nouveau régime formé par la création de COMMANDEMENT CANADA et de la Force opérationnelle interarmées (Pacifique) FOI (P) en offrant un commentaire sur les éléments militaires en place quand ces éléments ont été constitués; considèrent les lacunes ayant rapport à la sécurité intérieure et à la gestion des situations en cas de catastrophes dans la province de la Colombie-britannique; et terminent en offrant des recommandations pour le développement futur de la force.

A Primer On The Indo-Pacific's Impact On Canada's West Coast - At The Dawn Of 2008

The emergence of China and India as trade and industry powers has resulted in renewed emphasis on the Indian and Pacific Oceans as a single commercial, economic and demographic transportation system. Containers, oil, people, and currency all transcend any distinction between the two oceans, just as the North and South Atlantic Oceans form parts of a similar economic network. This is not mere globalism, but rather a description of a systemic reality that is making the Atlantic a comparative transportation backwater. Indeed, some [for example Melanie Phillips in *Londonistan*; or Mark Steyn in *America Alone*] would say it is taking Europe along with it. While this overstates the case, to be sure, it clearly indicates a trend line to which the peoples of Europe and the eastern seaboard of the Americas are not accustomed. Delivering Saudi oil to China and Japan--along with Islamist ideology to the Philippines and Indonesia--a great gyre of activity is emerging in the Indo-Pacific, from Port Suez to Santiago. Two thirds of the human race lives within the region. With the Indian, Chinese and the United States economies driving economic growth, the centre of gravity of human affairs is shifting to this region.

China and India represent the dense core of the region in both territory and population. China's population of approximately 1.3 billion is set to plateau in a generation, however, thanks in part to the admittedly unevenly enforced one-child policy that remains law. Some say China will get old before it gets rich; a prediction that disappoints a largely impoverished rural population longing for a better quality of life. A much younger India, with a track record of democratic governance, is set to overtake China by mid-century.

If the Chinese and the Indian landmasses serve as the energetic hub of the region, it is the sea which affords the freedom of movement upon which their economies depend and where their vulnerabilities may be most acute. Growing industries demand more and more imported resources, and it becomes more and more evident that neither China nor India is self-sufficient in the resources required for this growth, and both are particularly vulnerable with respect to oil. To satisfy this demand, a growing flow of resources is en route to the great consuming maw of China, the world's leading consumer of lumber, steel, cement, grain, aluminium, copper and, soon, oil.

As always, security of trade equals security and prosperity of the State. In a region with no formal alliance structure and no political amalgam (NATO and the EU come to mind), self-reliance is the default approach to defence matters and has been the historical norm for a majority of nations whose WWII and colonial era baggage has contributed to that reality.

The sea has facilitated the spread of religion and the creation of the world's two most populous Muslim nations, Indonesia and India. Radical Islam is exploiting this maritime route as effectively as they are the Opium Trail.

The Indo-Pacific region consists of a continental element wrapped in a littoral complexity awash in the fluid dynamics of two of the world's great oceans. It is a region that is important to Canada in ways few Canadians, even those in Government, recognize. For over a century, the Diasporas of South Asia and China have had an impact on the demographic, political and economic landscape in Canada in general, and in British Columbia in particular, as waves of workers, investment, culture and intellect have landed on Canada's shores. China-towns, head taxes, the National railway, Air India Flight 182, pre-1997 jitters in Hong Kong, Sri Lanka and the Tamil Tigers, Snakeheads and human smuggling have touched Canadian politics, law, banking and society. The pace and scale of this impact is set to intensify. By any human measure, this is a domain of fragility, unpredictability, and potential turmoil, with an inevitable impact on Canada and, in particular, on British Columbia.

The fastest changing economic centre in the West may well be Prince Rupert, a port city that wallowed for a generation in an economic slump, where saw mills and canneries closed, the fishery declined, and port facilities for coal, grain, and lumber operated at 60 per cent of capacity in the good years. Now, with millions in Federal and private investment, much of it from offshore including China, the transportation hub is running at capacity and investing heavily in meeting the demands of trans-oceanic trade with the Asian economies.

This growth will so drive the Port of Prince Rupert's (see www.rupertport.com) expansion in container-handling capacity that it will overtake the container capacity of Vancouver in the near to medium term and will, in a decade, be the equal of the Los Angeles/Long Beach complex. The Port is handling 500,000 TEUs (twenty-foot equivalent units) today, and the Phase 2 expansion, set to be completed in 2010, will allow it to process 2 million TEUs a year. This is more than a Shanghai-to-Chicago WALMART phenomenon, and is bound to include the transport of raw materials including oil, food goods, and perhaps bulk water, once the combined ravages of environmental degradation and warming trends have their way on the region.

The Region's Alliance Construct, Or Current Lack Thereof

The single greatest defining element differentiating the Atlantic and Pacific, from a defence perspective at least, is the

presence of NATO in the Atlantic region and its absence as a construct within the Indo-Pacific basin. To be sure, there are historical alliances including that of the Commonwealth. With roots in WWII, the Navy and Air Force have AUSCANNZUKUS, and the Army has ABCA, but both are much less about commitment than about co-operation. It can be fairly said that Canada's participation in the 1999 mission in East Timor, under a UN Resolution and Australian leadership, was at least somewhat influenced by these relationships. However, nothing in the region comes close to being able to replicate the very clear and formal multi-national Article 5 response invoked by NATO on the heels of 9/11.

One historic alliance that might surprise most Canadians is the one related to our responsibilities as a belligerent under the remaining, and singularly authorized, UN Security Council-approved police action in Korea. As no peace exists there, the cease-fire is sustained at least notionally by the fact that should conflict between North and South re-ignite, parties supportive of South Korea in 1953, including Canada, will, by treaty obligation, return to its help - or at least that's the theory. The United States has paid, with the South Koreans, the price of this ongoing, if tenuous, state of peace though an immense presence of arms and men, and the enormous cost of an effective security cordon, as well as the lion's share of the initial reconstruction costs for South Korea together with ongoing diplomatic bribes to the North.

A number of political and economic structures exist across south Asia and the Pacific. The more generally inclusive of these are APEC and ASEAN, though neither has the wide membership nor broad agenda to suggest a regional forum of power or of unity. More localized structures include the Strait of Malacca's tri-partite regime comprising Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore. Each of these has specific charters and goals, and varies in success as far as meeting those goals. Again, no NATO or European Union-type structure is to be found. Nor is there any work towards a Regional constitution. ASEAN is seen by some as the most coherent organization in the domain, but it has as many detractors as it does advocates. It is not all-inclusive, has exceedingly limited defence and security capabilities, let alone expectations, and has displayed little political influence when and where diplomatic pressure is viewed as necessary.

A case in point was the recent turmoil in Myanmar/Burma, where concerns existed about the oppressive nature of the regime in that nation, as well as potential Chinese acquiescence to, if not complicity in, ongoing internal tensions. ASEAN, during the Burma crisis, simply did not demonstrate the clout that the Commonwealth had with Pakistan in the wake of constrictions on freedoms in that country in the fall of 2007, prior to General Musharraf's departure from the military and the setting of the date for elections. One can

argue about the extent of Commonwealth influence over Pakistani affairs in comparison to that of the United States, the United Nations or even NATO but, in comparison to ASEAN, its capacity for unity of thought and action was profound.

The norm for relationships in the region remains the bilateral association, which comes in many forms. The United States have been masters of this approach through the decades. Its solid partnerships with Korea, Japan, and Singapore are examples of the depth and sustainability of the range of treaties and partnerships at play. To be sure, ebbs have been felt as well, as the Viet Nam era can attest, along with the departure from strategic bases in the Philippines in the 1980s, but fresh relationships with Viet Nam and now India speak to a healthy and dynamic engine of international engagement and diplomacy - no isolationist agenda here. Where once the Americans sought solely to contain Communism writ large, the new jargon speaks of an effort to "congage", to simultaneously contain and engage the renewed confidence and mercantilism of an industrializing China. In short, the idea is to hope for and enhance the best--including a nascent democratic process--but be prepared for the worst. The worst might involve economic conflict ranging from tariffs to trade wars to meddling in economies through currency markets. Or it might involve military clashes which would make the occasional hot tensions of the Cold War seem appealing in retrospect.

China, of course, has every right to resist being contained and has through diplomatic charm and economic clout worked steadily to guarantee its access to the various global links it deems in its interest. From the Sudan to Venezuela, it has sought first to secure access to energy. Chilean copper exports, once destined largely to European markets, are now flowing mainly to China. A new port in Pakistan, economic deals with Malaysia, and an interest in engineering the parallel canal across the Isthmus of Panama illustrate the power and scope of Chinese influence initiatives across the region. There has been a renewal of co-operation between China and Russia, with oil as the currency, but with a border war in their past and the growing Chinese appetite for land, water, and oil, Premier Putin and his recently re-elected regime may have as much to fear as to profit from on this vector. With some climate predictions suggesting that Russia will be one of the world's two remaining breadbaskets (Canada being the other), it is difficult to envisage 1.5 billion Chinese being held hostage to Russian market pricing forty years from now.

From the Canadian perspective, bilateral relationships exist aplenty. Through the NORAD agreement and treaties remaining from WWII defensive arrangements, the CAN/US relationship is mandated in writing. Many of these arrangements are evolving as a result of structural changes such as the creation of the US

Department of Homeland Security, NORTHCOM, and our own CANADA Command. An extensive environmental, customs, transportation, emergency management, constabulary and crime-fighting matrix of arrangements is in place, in addition to the military accords. These linkages run the gamut of jurisdiction from the municipal to the federal level. The expectations and outcomes of these various linkages can be debated, as can the rhetoric of the agenda of anti-Americanism. What cannot be denied, however, is the fact that our two nations are joined at the hip, including from a military point of view.

Canadian Interests and Linkages

On the whole, Canadians are not in the habit of looking west and pondering the Asian world. Our European heritage, beginning with our French and English cultural roots, offers a disincentive to doing so. Even the demographic changes underway in Canada, driven by massive immigration from East and South Asia, have not altered the reluctance of the national psyche to gaze west. The EU and NATO continue to hold us in greater thrall than the Asian alternative.

The same habit characterizes our knowledge of our military history in the Pacific Rim. Hong Kong and the Winnipeg Rifles hold not a candle to Dieppe. No one knows of the exploits of HMCS UGANDA, or speaks with authority of the Aleutian Campaign. Compared to Europe, it all seems to matter less, sadly.

Official Ottawa's track record is no different. Though some recent foreign policy initiatives have focused on Asia in general and China in particular, the region still is seen as a place to market Canadian business and industry on the Team Canada model--a place to trade, but otherwise of little interest. Canada is seen in the region as flighty, inconsistent if not disinterested, and largely unaware of the complex issues at play in the neighbourhood. Except for the Embassies and High Commissions in the area, all of which were subjected to cuts in the 1990's, the Canadian Navy has been one of the few institutions to showcase the Maple Leaf in the region. Lack of resources has constrained best efforts, and consistency and long-term relationships have largely not been achieved.

In these early years of the 21st century, it is time to recognize what Canada's interests are as a Pacific nation. We must come to grips with the fact that the region has already had an impact on Canada and that we can chose to do nothing or use our potential to shape the events that will inevitably influence those interests to our advantage.

Canadians do have an interest in this region that harbours two thirds of the world's population, its three largest economies, its largest consumers of raw materials and consumer goods, and its

major polluters. We have a stake in the stability of the governments in this region, in the free movement of goods, and in the freedom of the seas which allows the lion's share of containers, goods and raw material to reach their destinations. It may not be Canadian goods that are moving to export, nor our raw materials that are dependent on safe passage, but those of our neighbours and economic partners. Globalism may or may not make us all rich. What is certain is that it has already made us interdependent and vulnerable to instability.

A non-isolationist Canada has a stake in everything at play on the global stage, irrespective of alliance or contractual issues. The "butterfly effect" is an undeniable reality in a world where the next flu strain has direct access to non-stop flights, and *YouTube* and *Al Jazeera* have greater and more rapid influence on public opinion than do many legitimate governments.

Threat Issues For Canada At The Pacific Gateway

Canada's Pacific Coast is no stranger to the activities of foreign powers in modern times. The presence of Soviet intelligence gatherers at the mouth of Juan de Fuca in 1985, the attack by proxy that was the Air India Flight 182 bombing, also in 1985, and the arrival on BC's shores of the Snakeheads and their illegal human cargo in 1999 each speaks to probes and attacks on our sovereignty, and our citizens.

The issues currently at play in considering the perils to the coast of British Columbia include the use of the western threat vector through British Columbia against the United States. This can take place through smuggling agents or goods dangerous to our neighbours, through direct action in the form of terrorism, or through the use of cruise missile or ship borne explosives as threats to coastal populations. Ultimately, it might involve the use of nuclear missiles from North Korea or, in the ugliest of scenarios, from China.

Pundits disagree as to whether a new Cold War has commenced between the United States and China. Certainly each is jockeying to contain, restrain and simply out-manoeuvre the other in the competition for political and diplomatic influence in and around the Indo-Pacific basin. The realities of the inter-dependence which the global economy has created, by chance or by design, demand a more cooperative tone than Russia and the West chose to employ through the heart of the Cold War, the absence of which led to the Cuban missile crisis. The fundamental question for the time is: can an empire that is losing its lustre come to grips with an emerging empire without allowing or encouraging greed, ego or hubris on the part of either player to lead to grave consequences?

The call for a more cooperative Sino-US arrangement goes far beyond economics or quality of life considerations. Tumultuous times, exemplified by hot-spots in Pakistan, Burma, Iraq, let alone resource competition for oil, water and, in due course, food, demand a measured pace that emphasizes stability, predictability, and patience. The issue of food supply provides the worst nightmare scenario in a range of complex and potentially volatile consequences emanating from some of the climate change predictions being pondered internationally.

Less significant and less lethal threats exist as well. They range from industrial espionage, and spying on military exercises and instillations such as the underwater range at Nanoose, to organized crime (drug trafficking, people smuggling and the like). The town of Prince Rupert is acutely aware of the negative side of the volume of traffic to which it has recently become exposed. But it is stretched thin in its capacity to cope with the pace of change its commercial success has generated.

Much ado has been made of an Israeli military incursion into Syria on 6 September 2007¹. Though information remains murky, some have speculated that nuclear material may have been secretly delivered by North Korean vessels. One wonders how such a cargo could have passed through so many chokepoints on a journey from North Asia to the Middle East without being detected, and whether a similar vessel could make its way to the northern BC coast. In short, the key here-and-now issues involve our capacity to deal with terrorism, maintain container security and deliver and sustain an effective and visible Canadian measure of control over our coastal waters. Failure to do so will mean one of two things: the establishment of an American security regime along our coast in order to ensure their own security; or the rejection of goods from Canadian ports at US border crossings. Neither is comforting for a nation concerned with the sanctity of its own sovereignty.

JTF(P) – The Little Formation That Could

The Canadian Forces' bay window on the periphery of the Indo-Pacific region is Maritime Forces Pacific/Joint Task Force (Pacific) (JTF(P)), a hybrid naval and joint headquarters located in Victoria, BC. The naval headquarters has its roots in the original British exploration of the coast. Through the years it has grown to become the west coast home of Canada's navy. JTF(P) became an official entity of the Canadian Forces in February of 2006--one of six new Regions within the Chief of Defence Staff's transformative CANADA COMMAND umbrella. Intertwined as they are in so many

¹ (see <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/09/20/AR2007092002701.html>)

ways, the two components of the single hybrid headquarters (the ratio is closer to the 90/10 range) must deal with two demanding bosses, competing priorities, insufficient staff, and unimaginative funding.

These, of course, are familiar themes in the Canadian Forces. To date, JTF(P) has responded to fire, flood, drug operations and the like, to the satisfaction of its Federal partners and the Provincial Government and its emergency managers. This has been achieved with the investment of only two-dozen additional staff members who were assigned in an effort to provide the expertise and experience lacking in the predominantly naval team. "Truckers and movers" and land logisticians filled in, albeit one deep, to help the Commander better understand a shore domain the size of Alberta and whose topographical complexity is unmatched in Canada. Not only does it include the third largest urban centre in the country, it sits astride the most potentially violent geological faults north of California. This is a fascinating neighbourhood indeed, one with a daunting Area of Responsibility (AOR) and, in the contexts of both security and Search and Rescue, an even greater Area of Interest (AOI).

Joint Task Force (Pacific) consists of more than the headquarters element. The joint (multi-service) Canadian Forces element located in British Columbia is composed of a naval contingent concentrated in Esquimalt, an Air Force component with hubs in both Comox and Sidney, and the Army's *39 Brigade*—in all some 7500 military and civilian personnel.

The navy's destroyer, frigates, tanker and submarine – and all of their crews – provide a spectrum of flexible assets primarily focused on deployable operations overseas. Domestic patrols are a common employment for units and ships' companies, and the support elements of Base Esquimalt are readily capable of redirecting their presence and energies to events ashore, but this later effort is neither their prime role nor are their training and skill-sets directly adaptable to such activities.

Similarly, the Air Force, with its SEA KING helicopters, AURORA patrol aircraft and array of Search and Rescue helicopters and planes loses some impact when it leaves the flight line and shifts to the more basic tasks of domestic operations. It is not that they are incapable of the adjustment, but rather that it may not be the most meaningful or effective role for the unique skills possessed by technicians and flyers. Consequently, the Commander is loath to lose access to airframes in exchange for boots on the ground. This illustrates the value of a land element, represented in BC by the Reserve Militia of 39 Brigade, whose personnel are expert in field-craft and capable of sustaining themselves in austere conditions

invariably present in the JTF(P) operational context. This demonstrates the necessary compromise which exists in British Columbia--a domestic Region without Regular Force land elements.



JTFP AOR/AOI

It is important to recognize that this reasonably large and seemingly coherent force is only notional as a construct under JTF(P) Headquarters, for day to day force generation activities are the subject of three distinct service-related chains of command. The priority of the situation at hand, force availability and the negotiating/arbitrating skills of Commander CANADA COMMAND will determine what forces are assigned to JTF(P). In the meantime, the west coast “family” of forces sustains a cooperative relationship, even exercising together when parent Commands and exercise agendas permit. JTF(P) Headquarters has taken the lead role in

developing a range of cooperative measures and gentleman's agreements in order to achieve progress. The need for clarification of structure, areas of responsibility and the chain of command some eighteen months after standing up the system charged with the domestic security of the nation points to the fact that CANADA COMMAND and its subordinate elements are very much a work in progress.

The current forces-in-being are not a result of a coherent exercise in force planning. Rather, they consist of the forces that remain following the cuts of the 1990's when deficit reduction trumped defence. British Columbia bore a disproportionate share of those cuts which included the closing of Royal Roads Military College, reductions in the number of airframes and hulls, and the disappearance of Regular Force Army units from the province, including Canadian Forces Base Chilliwack and its engineering school-perhaps the greatest single blow. It should be noted that though Commander MARPAC was double-hated and assigned the responsibilities (some would suggest liabilities) associated with JTF(P), no additional units were assigned to the force resident in the province.

That 7,500 personnel ought to be sufficient for domestic emergencies may suit the accountant's logic, but the reality is that the aircrews and their technicians are no better trained for nor suited to field work than ships' companies and their technicians. Hundred-person teams can be brought to bear from Esquimalt or Comox for basic *yomping* (the charming term given by some to tromping through the woods with a full pack) and basic fire-fighting, but the airfields and the ships cease operating as a result. More importantly, neither group can represent a self-sufficient force in the field; a fact that is as much a reality of service culture as that of specialized logistics. Once again we find that air forces and navies are better at air force and navy work than at life in the field, and that armies are large and self-reliant entities for good reason.

The Canadian Army of British Columbia is *39 Brigade*, an eclectic grouping of militia made up of infantry, artillery, reconnaissance, and support units spread across southern British Columbia from Victoria to Kamloops, but largely concentrated in Vancouver. Like all of Canada's Reserves, *39 Brigade* is made up of citizen soldiers who have found both adventure and service through life in uniform on the armoury floor. They represent some of the most loyal of Canadians, truly making sacrifices in their personal lives for the chance to give. They are very often professionals in civilian life who are able to bring to bear a profound package of knowledge, experience and contacts when in uniformed service. What gives pause to any emergency planner, however, is the fact that at the unit level, *39 Brigade* is an unpredictable reality. To be

sure, if it is worth it they will come, but both coherence and confidence pay the price.

Of the six Task Forces that stood up in 2006, two (Joint Task Force (Pacific) and Joint Task Force (North)) were created without elements of the standing Regular Army. In truth, every Region was based on a compromise. West, Central, and East lacked naval personnel. Air units were varied, with no region being considered self-sufficient in air assets. Headquarters facilities varied widely, with the two naval centres and their designation as Maritime Security Operations Centres, both joint and inter-departmental, proving to be the most advanced and best equipped. Still, a case can be made that the dearth of “boots on the ground” -- of resident, engaged, and situationally aware Regular Force Army personnel in the Province and its relationships – represents a serious capability gap for a Province with major urban centres, a range of real and serious risks for disaster, and a set of demographic, economic, and security issues resident on the Pacific stage.

A Headquarters Unlike Any Other In Canada

JTF(P) Headquarters itself bears discussion. The requirement to establish and stand up CANADIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE COMMAND and CANADA COMMAND while the Deputy Chief of the Defence Staff's organization was still operating made the distribution of available personnel, let alone of organizational billets, a tremendously frustrating process. Seeing the writing on the wall, MARPACHQ submitted a request for an absolute minimum of billets, the smallest demand of all of the Regions which has yet to be filled through two posting cycles. As a hybrid entity (roughly 80% MARPAC and 20% JTF(P)), it makes do on the backs of people who work across a spectrum broader than that to which they are accustomed and often in areas well outside their expertise. And it has worked so far.

While the demands of a complex Province and the challenges of force development continue to emerge, it can be fairly argued that the most meaningful contribution which JTF(P) makes to Canada on any given day is the nurturing and expansion of relationships with the broad spectrum of partners, clients and stakeholders engaged with Pacific issues. The stand-up of JTF(P) as a Formation permitted a renewal with the British Columbia Government of the relationship that had not been in place since the departure of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI) battalion. While the Navy had sustained a relationship in the intervening years, the maritime focus by default lay on the relationship with Federal partners such as Fisheries, RCMP and the Coast Guard and not on the concerns of the Premier or Solicitor General. This balance shifted in an instant when the weight of

responsibility for the Canadian Forces' domestic emergency management was directed to the Headquarters in Victoria. The change was symbolized by the Province being given a local phone number for discussing these issues, as opposed to a phone number in Alberta.

At the Regional level, MARPAC/JTF(P) HQ have north-south linkages external to the Province. These include relationships with US Navy Northwest in Puget Sound, home of the Bangor submarine Base, and Everett, home-port to an operational aircraft carrier and portions of its Battlegroup. The long-standing linkage with Third Fleet Headquarters in San Diego continues, enhancing force development opportunities and the inclusion of Canadian warships in deploying USN Battlegroups. Also not often recognized is the relationship with the U.S.N. Pacific Fleet in Hawaii where a Canadian Captain (N) is on staff. These liaisons had traditionally been purely naval and focused almost exclusively offshore. 9/11 and the creation of NORTHCOM and Homeland Security adjusted the spectrum of issues at play. The creation of CANADA COMMAND served as the vehicle for enhancing the Regional links which, if permitted to continue and mature, will underpin the national-level relationships.

In recent decades, given that the third hat worn by Canada's Pacific Commander is that of SAR Commander for BC and Yukon, the relationship with the US Coast Guard has been based mainly on cooperation in Search and Rescue. Now, linkages, exercises and information flow with US Coast Guard District 13 in Seattle, District 11 in Alameda, and District 17 in Juneau to cover defence of North America concerns along with those of Canadian domestic or US Homeland security. Again, post-9/11 changes to regimes and responsibility have brought about modifications to standing relationships which can serve to enhance and support those mandated at the national level, presuming that DIRLAUTH – or direct liaison authorized – remains the guiding principle at the Regional level.

Over the years, and most meaningfully since 9/11, keys to the north-south relationship have consisted of cooperative arrangements linking coastal operations centres and providing the exchange of information needed to build and sustain the recognized maritime picture (RMP) – which is the maritime equivalent to the NORAD effort to maintain a coherent image of the air lanes. While a slower pace of activity suggests this might be easy, the sheer volume of the underwater dimension is a reminder of the complexity and technology related to the RMP. It was, indeed, in the days of tracking the Soviet submarine threat that the exchange of personnel and information was elevated to an art form still symbolized by a Canadian detachment working within an American unit at US Naval Station Whidbey Island, a segment of the integrated underwater

surveillance system (IUSS). More than anything else, it will be Chinese naval developments that will determine the future and the vitality of this facility, its Canadian members, and the linkages with MARPAC/JTF(P).

In each instance, the heart of the Headquarters has proven to be the 24/7 capacity resident in the navy's Maritime Operations Centre, now transforming into a multi-agency Marine Security Operations Centre. Operators, intelligence specialists (where the law permits), technicians, and communicators from Defence, RCMP, Transport, Coast Guard, Customs and others work together as scenarios demand to create a coherent cross-disciplined approach to Canadian law and sovereignty.

JTF(P) Potential – And Risks – As A Force Development Driver

As already noted, the order of battle extant in British Columbia is the result more of fiscal expediency and budget cuts than of 21st Century force development. The transformative agenda of the current Government of Canada and the change agenda of the Chief of the Defence Staff offer an opportunity to re-examine the Pacific asset mix in concert with the changes in train on Canada's western shore. Prudence and fiscal reality suggest that this cannot be done except through an all-of-Canada lens regardless of any preferences for a status quo distribution of forces because it is something that we are comfortable with.

In fact, when the domestic defence of Canada role is separated from the larger Pacific dynamic and potential offshore operations in the Region, we find that large-scale shifts of military assets to British Columbia are difficult to support. The consolidation of the "Army of the West" in northern Alberta still makes sense from a force generator's perspective, whether in terms of cost or the cohesion of the training effort. The paucity of exercise and range areas in the Province serves as a liability to basing large manoeuvre units in British Columbia. What makes sense for the Province are assets that address the gaps in mobility, engineering and logistics, that deliver a more timely response to the need for Special Forces currently held exclusively in Ontario, despite the dynamism of Vancouver as a urban centre; and, that make inroads into addressing the nearly complete absence of a Canadian Forces presence in the middle and northern tiers of British Columbia where a major port, rail-line and oil pipeline will all be major economic drivers likely doubling in importance in under a decade.

Two near-run emergency events since the stand-up of JTF(P) serve to illustrate the need for mobility, land logistics capability and engineers. *Ad hoc* assignment of such units has met demands to date, but their availability is not assured in a period of growing

demands on finite resources. Similarly, a lack of familiarity with the ground will someday exact a cost, whether in time or judgement, which would not need to be paid if a resident engineering unit were in place to liaise with authorities and plan for the range of emergencies which keep challenging authorities across the Province. At the risk of exhuming ghosts, we might recommend the creation of a small mountain training centre with robust engineering and transport components based in Chilliwack or at an appropriate site in the interior. This would be a responsible way of addressing the first set of gaps described.

Special Forces represent an expensive and rapidly evolving capability in the Canadian Forces' matrix. Originating in the revulsion triggered by the Munich Olympics massacre, today's force is much more than a domestic only, Ottawa-centric VIP protection and anti-hijacking squad. Today, the skill and professionalism of those teams is known to those who have had the rare opportunity to witness their work in theatre or on exercise. What is missing is the acceptance that an Ontario-based response time, with an optimistic notional alert-to-arrival sequence of up to twelve hours, will not always serve the west coast adequately. The predictability of a Vancouver 2010 Olympics is a luxury Canada may not always have. Work to refine the definition of a standing contingency force, perhaps a group blended with naval assets representing current boarding capabilities and beyond, is underway. Success on this initiative would mean a cost-effective but in-house capacity to enable the Commander to react to worst-case scenarios domestically. It would also provide useful forces for cooperation with RCMP, CSIS, CBS, or even US authorities, should the complexities of our shared border, and the desire to make policy action decisions that are sovereign, as opposed to those which are acquiesced to, be the case.

What remains, then, is the mid and northern tier issue, where both surveillance and presence serve as part of the solution. Air surveillance has been sorely lacking along the coast as a whole, in large measure as a result of the restricted number of flying hours made available to the Commander in recent years, particularly for maritime patrol aircraft. Flexible use of Coast Guard and Fisheries assets, often out-sourced civilian airframes, has helped in some measure, and certainly along coastal fishing grounds, but these have not been adequate to sustain a picture of the maritime domain and coastal approaches that gives us full confidence in our ability to know what is going on in our own waters. One can but applaud the recent Government commitment to sustain the AURORA fleet into the medium term along with the prospect of a replacement airframe.

While naval patrols and Search and Rescue coverage are for the moment proving adequate, the former almost doubling as a result of growing traffic around Prince Rupert, the periodicity of

waterside presence and the paucity of land-based capability demonstrates a vulnerability in need of a solution. The 2006 sinking of the *Queen of the North* has re-ignited the debate of how much is enough in isolated areas, with the use of the term “isolated” predominant in the discussion. No longer is this area a realm exclusively of rocks and trees, with sparse communities made up of self-sufficient pioneers. The northern corridor is a direct line from Shanghai to Chicago and is set to grow exponentially in terms of container traffic, and potentially in oil and natural gas tankers, along with wheat, lumber, and coal.

The current Canadian Forces footprint is made up exclusively of Canadian Forces Ranger Patrols--First Nations volunteers who know the area and serve quite effectively as liaison in many circumstances, but they have little depth or sustainability in major security or disaster management scenarios. Coastal Ranger Patrols are of the Haida First Nation, seafaring peoples by heritage and of great potential within a coastal watch regime. What is lacking is a system of nodes for situational awareness and a presence of a more permanent nature than Ranger Patrols can provide. Cost effectiveness argues against Regular Force formations in northern BC, but a Militia/Reserve construct offers a solution. Expanding the Rocky Mountain Rangers in Prince George and establishing a Naval Reserve Division in Prince Rupert would meet the aim. The latter might offer the opportunity for a Federal complex, unifying the Forces, RCMP, Coast Guard, CBSA, and Fisheries under one roof, with one very necessary inter-departmental crisis management centre serving the Region.

JTF(P) Explored

CANADA COMMAND and JTF(P) are barely two years old, yet much has been achieved in providing coherent local liaison with Provincial agencies concerned with security, disaster management and law enforcement. Much potential remains to be explored, just as the dynamic evolution of the Indo-Pacific reality is being recognized. What remains to be decided is whether the latitude for decision-making delegated to the Pacific Commander, and the assets which the force development calculations has assigned to the coast, together offer an opportunity for taking the initiative or relegate the Canadian Forces in British Columbia to after-the-fact reactivity. Time will tell.

Expeditionary Command: Developing A Rubik's Cube Response Capability

Ken Summers

Abstract

The 21st Century will bring global economic and security challenges to Canada, but none will be more complex than those of the Asia-Pacific region. Increasingly defined by the regional powers, and particularly by China and India, these regional challenges may range from natural disasters to national conflicts over resources, to failed/failing states, and to economic competitions that potentially involve the region's ever expanding militaries. Canada must look west across the Pacific to meet these challenges. Recent government policy indicates a greater willingness to intervene in order to defuse and stabilize tensions and conflicts with responses ranging from strong diplomatic initiatives, to disaster assistance, to military interdiction by stability, peace support, or even intervention operations. However, the Canadian government's crisis response track record has been marginal at best, suffering from tardy decision-making and an inability to deliver a timely and effective response. Two changes are required. First, the government must establish a "whole of government" crisis response organization to follow developing situations, keep officials briefed, know departmental capabilities and plan prudent and timely responses. Second, the government must become capable of implementing responses by acquiring the Standing Contingency Task Force capabilities outlined and approved in Canada's International Policy Statement for Defence.

Résumé

Le 21^e siècle amènera au Canada des défis mondiaux à son économie et à sa sécurité, mais aucun de ceux-ci ne sera plus complexe que ceux qui émaneront de la région de l'Asie-Pacifique. Définis de plus en plus par les puissances régionales, et particulièrement par la Chine et l'Inde, ces défis régionaux peuvent aller des catastrophes naturelles aux conflits nationaux sur les ressources, aux États défailants ou en train de le devenir, et aux concurrences économiques qui impliquent les forces militaires sans cesse en expansion dans la région. Pour relever ces défis, le Canada doit davantage se tourner vers le Pacifique. Les politiques gouvernementales récentes (initiative diplomatique intense, aide en cas de sinistre, et intervention militaire) indiquent une plus grande volonté à désamorcer et stabiliser les tensions et les conflits. Cependant, en matière de réaction aux

situations de crise, le gouvernement canadien souffre d'un mécanisme de prise de décision incapable de mener une intervention efficace en temps opportun. Deux changements sont nécessaires. Premièrement, le gouvernement doit mettre sur pied un organisme d'intervention en situation de crise composé de représentants de « l'ensemble du gouvernement » et qui: peut suivre les situations en cours de développement; qui en informe les décideurs; qui connaît les capacités des ministères; et qui planifie des interventions prudentes et ponctuelles. Deuxièmement, le gouvernement doit acquérir les capacités de Force opérationnelle permanente de contingence telle que décrites et approuvées dans l'Énoncé de politique internationale pour la Défense.

Introduction

As we enter the 21st century, Canadians are faced with an increasingly complex and interrelated array of international and national challenges. None of these is more fundamental to any nation's survival than security, at home and abroad. This is all the more the case as we see the global environment being dominated by continuing shortages of energy, increased competition for the natural resources needed for national economic growth, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, an unbalanced division of wealth, population expansion and migration, environmental and climate change, and by the resurgence of regional military powers. In addition, the failed, failing and non-effectively functioning states that increasingly dominate the international scene and create more humanitarian problems and regional instability also act as breeding grounds for terrorism and non-state based ethnic and religious strife. In such an environment, Canadians will be challenged to preserve and protect our fundamental values and way of life by responding quickly and effectively to national and global threats to them.

Realities In The Asia Pacific Region

Heretofore, the term Asia-Pacific referred to the region immediately adjacent to the Pacific Ocean. The Ocean itself is vast and is the dominant feature of planet Earth. It is the largest and deepest of the world's oceans, covers 70 million square miles, has 20,000 islands, comprises one-third of the world's surface, and is greater than all the land-masses combined. The economic emergence of India as well as China and Japan, the importance of oil to their economies, and the oil routes from the Gulf now make us look at the Asia Pacific region as encompassing both the Pacific and Indian oceans. Equally important is the fact that two-thirds of the world's population lives in the region. As a result, the region will increasingly be the focus of global issues, drawing the attention of Canadians more and more to the west, across the Ocean, and less eastward to Europe, our traditional focus.

Geography has given the Asia Pacific region challenges found nowhere else on earth. Volcanic activity and fault lines make natural disasters inevitable. The "Ring of Fire" encompasses the entire perimeter of the Pacific Ocean. It extends from Alaska down the western coast of North and South America, over to New Zealand, and up the islands to Japan, China and Russia. It is the most concentrated and active volcanic region on earth. Added to this are the earth fault lines that result from tectonic plate movement. They extend north and south on each continent and frequently and unexpectedly shift, causing destruction and panic, and spawning

deadly tsunamis such as the one that devastated Thailand recently. Canadians must, of course, be capable of dealing with our own natural disasters, but we will want to be capable of responding with appropriate assistance and support in the event of disasters in the Asia Pacific region as well.

Perhaps the most striking and important dynamic in the Asia Pacific region is the rise of the economic power of the major nations of the Indo-Pacific. While the United States and Europe have for many decades dominated the world economy, it is widely believed that the economic fundamentals and aspirations of China, Japan, and India will dominate the region in the future. This change will not occur without problems, however. All three nations have the manpower, the technology, the desire and national aims to be economic powers in the world. The global nature of markets and the interdependency of nations today compel them to go abroad and compete. They know that they can successfully compete with Europe and North America, but increasingly have found their greatest difficulty lies within. All three suffer from the same fundamental weakness – a lack of resources, oil most especially. With no national oil deposits, they must import ever-increasing amounts of oil to feed their expanding industries, and consequently the pursuit of assured oil supplies is a national priority.

Other natural resources are also a source of competition and conflict between regional powers. Known and potential sea-bed resources have been in dispute for many years, for example, and claims have been hotly contested in international fora. Traditional fishing areas and zones continue to be a source of conflict between Japan, China, and Russia, and a resurgent oil-rich Russia is seeking to regain its former world leader status in all fields. Moreover, population increases in many of the nations create aspirations for expansion, particularly into territories that are resource rich. Canadians must recognize these new economic realities of the Asia Pacific region and adapt our trade and economic relationships accordingly. We must also be aware that conflicts, big and small, will arise from these national economic pursuits.

In the last decade, Canadians, and indeed the world, have been concerned with the global impact of failed and failing states. When national governments cannot provide good governance, essential services, and security to their citizens, chaos ensues. Poverty and misery set the conditions for population and refugee migrations, wide spread disease, criminal activities, and the potential rise of terrorist activities. The Asia Pacific region has not been immune to this. Serious internal conflicts are common in North Korea, Bali, the Philippines, Thailand, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, and Afghanistan. If left unassisted, a failing state can become a fertile breeding ground for ethnic, Islamic, and other religious extremists. It is therefore important for stable and developed nations like

Canada to render assistance and support to failing states before extremism develops and is exported to nations such as ours. National security begins abroad--not at our borders, seaports and airports.

The final significant reality in the region is the rise in military (particularly naval) capabilities. Russia is again flexing its muscle. Military capabilities that went fallow a few years ago at the end of the Cold War are now being brought back to life and used to show the presence, capability, and national interest of a regional and global power capable of defending its traditional claims, including disputed islands, against countries such as Japan and China.

But it is China that will lay claim to being the new naval power. Now that a land confrontation with Russia is seen as unlikely, China is rapidly building up its naval capability. Why? The mix of capabilities provides the answer. Three aircraft carriers are under construction and will become operational within the decade. Complemented by 70 destroyers and frigates, 50 dock-landing ships, 45 coastal warships and numerous fleet support ships, the People's Liberation Army's Navy will have an impressive three-carrier battle group surface fleet. Moreover, the PLA Navy has added 20 nuclear submarines to its fleet in the past 5 years, bringing its total number of submarines to 55. While capability is not intent, the Chinese have noted the role of naval power in support of national economic interests. Such sea capability enables them to be masters of the waters in their region, challenging the Russian and the American fleets. They could isolate Taiwan or lay claim to the Spratley Islands at will. They certainly could affect sea control in key international straits and commercial sea lanes. Not surprisingly, India, too, is rebuilding its military, and its Navy in particular.

What does this mean to Canada? Quite simply, much of our economic future is tied to trans-Pacific sea-lanes. The fastest and least expensive route from the Far East to the American heartland is by container shipping through the ports of Vancouver and Prince Rupert. Those ports will soon be handling almost 4 million containers annually. The freedom of the seas is fundamental to our commerce. Canada therefore needs to be able to rapidly deploy joint forces at sea or on land anywhere in the region to provide presence and stability and thereby contribute to de-escalating and defusing potentially volatile situations.

Understanding the realities of the Asia Pacific region is extremely important to Canadians. While not forgetting our traditional allies, we must look west across the Pacific to the countries that will affect us more and more in the future. We must come to understand and appreciate that their future will be our future, for we are interdependent.

While we can only speculate about the events that might occur in the region, the potential exists for any one or all of the following to require Canada's attention:

- a. National or international natural or humanitarian disasters;
- b. Conflicts, big or small, as a result of economic competition for resources or territory;
- c. Crises in failed and failing states; and,
- d. Military conflicts resulting from national military programs in support of national goals and aspirations.

Canadian Defence And Foreign Policy

The former and current Canadian governments have espoused the idea that Canada should play a greater role in world affairs. This sense that "the world needs more Canada" was translated into a wish for greater involvement in international organizations and through participation in alliances and coalitions to deal with global crises. Canada, seeking a seat at the decision making table, realized that being there meant joining other like-minded nations in addressing crises and other problems around the globe. Moreover, the events of 9/11 demonstrated that a nation could no longer be assured of national security simply by controlling its borders. National security begins well beyond a nation's borders, often on the other side of the world.

The Liberal Government's *International Policy Statement* of 2005 embraced these thoughts. The Defence section of the *Statement* was particularly innovative in defining the future vision and role of the Canadian Forces (CF) at home and abroad. At home, the CF has transformed its command structure so as to be able to rapidly and effectively respond to any national crisis. *Canada Command* was created to be the single operational command with responsibility to protect Canadians at home. A fully integrated command with maritime, land, air, and special operations capabilities at its disposal, it exercises its responsibilities through regional commands across the country. The Commander of *Canada Command* can move his assigned forces and capabilities wherever national emergencies or threats occur without having to first gain approval from National Defence HQ. This new approach has matured; Command forces have exercised as a team; and the result of this co-operation has been a success with an effect greater than the sum of individual capabilities.

An equivalent vision was postulated for operations abroad. A *Canadian Expeditionary Force Command* (CEFCOM) was created and assigned responsibility for the preparation, deployment and co-

ordination of all CF operations outside Canada. To date, it has been primarily occupied with the Afghanistan mission and has exercised command of the Canadian multi-service force deployed there. The 2005 Vision Statement was progressive in its outlook. It called for a re-organization of the CF that would include the creation of a *Special Operations Group* (SOG), a *Standing Contingency Task Force* (SCTF), and other *Mission Specific Task Forces* (MSTF). The SOG, based on the *Joint Task Force 2* (JTF 2) capability, has been augmented with personnel and equipment so that it can operate effectively as a special operations counter-terrorism unit, or contribute to and integrate with air, land and maritime forces within an SCTF or MSTF. Regrettably, the Standing Contingency and Mission Specific Task Forces have not progressed as initially envisioned. A successful trial of the SCTF was completed in late 2006 and is still under review. One could argue that Afghanistan is an MSTF mission. The lessons learned from this operation will be invaluable in developing the concept.

The Conservative government has yet to table a new *Defence Policy*, although it is understood that one is in preparation and should be released in early 2008. The Government's actions have spoken volumes, however. They have committed to furthering Canada's diplomatic role abroad, and the CF's ability to be successful in international commitments such as Afghanistan. Procurement has been initiated to buy C-17 Strategic Lift aircraft, Hercules tactical airlift aircraft and medium to heavy lift helicopters; for the construction of Joint Support Ships for fleet sustainment operations and a modest sea lift capability; and to acquire modern tanks, etc. In light of this, the Government's much anticipated *Defence Policy* should support the continued transition and vision of the CF and further its progression to reality.

However, there are two major shortfalls in the planning process, especially when considering the Asia-Pacific theatre.

Firstly, defence policy is an essential part of foreign policy. Thus, the SCTF could act as a particularly effective foreign policy instrument should the government wish to intervene to stabilize or defuse an international crisis, humanitarian or military in nature. But it is important to realize that such an intervention would be effective only if it were made in an expeditious manner. Unfortunately, Canada's responses to crises or disasters have suffered from a lack of inter-departmental coordination. This has led to *ad hoc* approaches, conflicting aims and a lack of focus. The Tsunami relief operations in the Pacific, the East Timor crisis, and the crisis in Haiti, for example, show that while Canada did react, it did so in a less than timely and satisfactory manner. The reason? The government's inability to quickly decide what Canada's response should be, which government departments would be involved, and who would take the lead.

During the Tsunami crisis, other nations were on the scene providing valuable assistance and relief while Canada was sending multi-departmental high level teams to the area to determine where and with which capability we would respond. The CF's *Disaster Assistance Response Team* (DART) waited for over a week for a decision to deploy, and took a further week to deploy to the region. A review of this operation has revealed that the most effective assistance provided to victims came from other nation's sea-based units, given their ability to project assistance ashore and sustain it for a lengthy period of time. The bottom line is that for an SCTF deployment to be timely and effective, the government must insist on interdepartmental co-operation and co-ordination. In other words, the government must bring together in a timely manner the considerable capabilities and expertise of all government departments in the same manner the SCTF integrates and focuses all the capabilities at its disposal.

A second shortfall in the planning process is the lack of progress in providing the SCTF with the means to deploy and carry out its assigned missions.

The SCTF is tasked with rapidly deploying a Canadian Battle Group of approximately 1500 personnel in order to stabilize and control a developing situation. Unfortunately, the planned acquisition of the Joint Support Ships (JSS) as replacements for the ageing AORs (whose main role is that of sustaining the fleet at sea) will not provide the SCTF with the maritime capabilities needed to pre-position or deploy the force, support it during the conduct of its land operation, nor provide it with a sea-based national or multi-national command facility; capabilities that can be provided by a ship similar to a naval LPD or a modified commercial container or Ro-Ro carrier.

The Spectrum Of Potential Government Tasks

If we truly believe that Canada's future economic prosperity is tied to the Asia-Pacific region, our government must take measures to exercise as much influence as possible in shaping the outcome of events there by learning of and understanding the nature of the existing relationships between major players in the region; becoming fully aware of their, in some cases competing, national aspirations and goals; by establishing relationships with these major players; and contributing to peace and security in the region which will be, more often than not, a *sine qua non* condition of friendly and beneficial economic relations.

Clearly, such an undertaking involves the majority of (if not all) government departments and agencies and the Canadian Forces. In addition, the tasks that might accrue to government departments and the CF in the peace and security portion of such an undertaking

are substantial in number and cover the entire spectrum from disaster assistance to armed conflict. They would doubtless include as a priority: crisis prevention, containment, reversal, and other stabilizing measures. In the event of crisis escalation, it might well be in Canada's interest to be able to rapidly and effectively respond in any of the following ways:

Disaster Assistance. Arguably, the Asia-Pacific region is the most likely region in the world to suffer tsunamis, hurricanes, typhoons, earthquakes, or forest fires. Canada will wish to act rapidly and effectively with an all-of-government response (the deployment of a DART, followed by sustained and focused relief assistance, for example).

Presence. A worsening situation could escalate out of control. Often the mere presence, off-shore, of a military force of substantial inherent capability is sufficient to calm the situation. A force that can be rapidly deployed to an unstable region is an effective arrow in a nation's foreign policy quiver.

National Evacuation Operations (NEO). There have been recent examples (Lebanon and Haiti) where the government has had to conduct an evacuation of Canadian citizens from a foreign country engulfed in chaos. A national capability trained to conduct such complex operations, often in conjunction with other nations, should be mandatory. It is not sufficient to cobble together resources to try to conduct these dangerous undertakings. A requirement will likely exist for NEO operations to be carried out in the future.

Maritime Interdiction Operations. Since the first Gulf War in 1990, Canada has been involved almost continuously in interdiction operations in support of UN sanctions and has shown leadership in coordinating multinational efforts of this sort that have proven effective in the prevention of illegal shipments and in the campaign against terrorism.

Stability Operations. Modern day regional and limited conflicts can quickly escalate into violent confrontations. A requirement exists for a force to create a stable environment that will foster peace and allow for the resolution of the causes of conflict. This

process requires 'boots on the ground.' The size and composition of the stabilization force will vary with each situation.

Peace Support Operations. To prevent a stabilized conflict situation from re-igniting and to allow for good governance to develop and reconstruction to occur, it is sometimes necessary to conduct peace support operations. Such operations can last for months or years. Recent operations in Bosnia provide an example of this.

Combat Operations. It is, of course, necessary to achieve a peaceful resolution of a conflict before one can keep the peace. Combat operations may therefore be necessary. UN sanctioned and NATO combat operations in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan illustrate the point.

International/Coalition Operations. Canada is a G8 nation, a member of both NATO and the UN, and therefore reaps the benefits and accepts the responsibilities of such membership. More and more, global problems are being addressed through the actions of "Coalitions of the Willing." Canada, as a major player in the world, can exercise its influence through involvement in these types of operations.

Common Requirements

When the Canadian government is faced with any of the above situations, the key to a timely and effective response is top-down Cabinet direction and effective inter-departmental coordination. This will not occur, however, until there is a government-wide agreement on concepts, processes and procedures whose fundamental aim is to mesh and synchronize departmental capabilities tasked to be part of the response. Today, regrettably, inter-departmental coordination is inadequate and therefore less efficient and effective than it can and must be. The problem is of course not a simple one. It is not easy to determine at the outset of a crisis what Canada's response should be. To react with too little would be ineffective, and to react with too much would be wasteful.

In order for government departments and agencies to be in a position to contribute effectively to the resolution of a crisis, the resources/capabilities they would most likely be called upon to

contribute should have the following characteristics (not an exhaustive listing by any means):

- a. **Readiness and Availability.** The vast majority of the capabilities resident in departments and agencies that may be called upon to respond are well known. Those capabilities must be in a high degree of readiness and availability to deploy.
- b. **Rapid Deployment.** Time is always of the essence in responding to a crisis, and even more so if the location of the crisis is distant from our shores. Quite simply, a delay, bureaucratic or otherwise, is counterproductive and unacceptable.
- c. **Modular Approach.** Capabilities from all departments must be self contained and able to be packaged as part of the overall response. The correct set of capabilities can then be combined to achieve the greatest effect.
- d. **Tailored Reaction.** Each crisis situation is different. An optimal response is a tailored response. Departments and agencies must not over or under-respond when asked to contribute.
- e. **Flexibility in Response.** As important as it is to respond rapidly, it is also very important for departments and agencies to be able to increase or decrease deployed capability as the situation on the ground dictates.
- f. **Sustainability.** It is always difficult to establish timelines or determine when an end-state will be achieved. It is therefore prudent to be in a position to sustain a deployment for a minimum of 6 months. This rule of thumb, based on experience in such matters, provides sufficient time to mobilize replacement or follow on teams.
- g. **Joint Integrated Training.** To achieve effective department and agency responses to a crisis situation, departments, agencies and the government must champion regular programs and exercises aimed at rapidly and efficiently deploying a variety of capabilities. Such programs and exercises will have

the additional benefit of identifying personnel, training and capability shortfalls in need of resolution.

- h. **Related Missions.** We must, at the national level, be capable of engaging in and coordinating two or more distinct but related crisis responses.
- i. **Coalition Operations.** Responses to serious crises in the Asia-Pacific region will come from many of the region's nations. Canada must be prepared to contribute to a coalition solution to the problem. To do so, human and technical interoperability issues must be addressed.

A Canadian Response Concept – A Rubik's Cube

When a national, regional, or global crisis occurs, it is the responsibility of the Canadian Government to take the lead in determining our nation's response. Given that time is often the critical factor, a need exists for a national crisis command centre equipped and staffed so as to allow for rapid gathering, collating and disseminating of the information necessary for decision makers to react quickly and with confidence.

Further, on direction from the government, and as part of its integrated and coordinated top-down crisis response training and exercise program, all departments would be required to review, catalogue, and package those capabilities they may be called upon to contribute to the government's response.

This is where the Rubik's Cube analogy comes to mind. Essentially, each face of a "governmental" Rubik's cube represents a particular government department. Each of the squares of that face represents a distinct departmental capability package. Aware of the crisis or disaster to which it intends to respond, the government can rotate the cube to achieve on a single face the optimal combination of capability packages from all the departments involved, and then determine which department should be the lead department for that mission.

For example, let us assume the cube contains capability packages for DFAIT, DND, CIDA, Solicitor-General, Fisheries & Oceans/Transport, and Public Safety Canada. To respond to a tsunami disaster on an island in the south Pacific, the Canadian national response might include a DFAIT team with regional diplomatic expertise, the DART, and a small scale SCTF from DND with engineering, communications, and mobility embarked, as well as a humanitarian aid and development capability team package from CIDA, civilian police from Solicitor-General, and a disaster aid coordination team from Public Safety Canada. As an additional

consideration the government could consider the inclusion of the capabilities of NGOs and other agencies. If the departments had trained together as envisioned earlier and if the Canadian response were deployed rapidly, this would represent an example of a coordinated and timely national response.

Similarly, when considering the Department of National Defence, the obvious and most useful tool for the government when considering how to respond to a situation would be based on the capability of the Standing Contingency Task Force--if it were funded and became reality. It would be the core “enabler” for virtually all crises or disasters one could envision. The actions of the present government lead one to conclude that this is the direction it would prefer to pursue if Canada were not faced with a minority government situation. When the government comes forward with its defence policy or update, the hope is that the SCTF will feature prominently in the government’s international approach for the CF.

The “departmental” Rubik’s Cube for DND would feature faces that represent the expertise associated with the Maritime, Aerospace, Land, Combat Force Support, Special Operations, and National Command capability functions. Within each of those areas one would find the following capabilities (which are not an exhaustive listing):

a. Maritime.

- Area presence
- Sea control/denial
- Power projection
- Maritime surveillance
- Sea-based command
- Maritime security
- Strategic sea-lift
- Force sustainment
- Trans-littoral manoeuvre

b. Aerospace

- Strategic Air-lift
- Tactical medium lift helicopters
- Tactical airlift
- Close air support
- Aerospace surveillance
- Long range A/C surveillance
- UAV
- Air support/airfield engineers

c. Land

- Combat Battle Group

- Land transport
- Land reconnaissance
- Close Air Support Forward Observers
- Force Protection
- Land-based Command
- Land sustainment
- Provost/Military police

d. **Special Ops**

- Command element
- Special Protective capabilities
- Special Boat Squad
- Airborne Paratroopers
- NEO
- Covert Injection capabilities
- Sharpshooters

e. **Force Support/Sustainment**

- Tactical communications
- Movement control
- Logistics sustainment
- Force HQ/Administration
- Personnel Support
- Mail/Tel/Internet

f. **National Command**

- Strategic Communications
- Strategic Intelligence
- Joint/National Command
- Joint/National Coordination
- Coalition Liaison
- CIMIC

*it is emphasized that the above capabilities do not include all the capabilities resident in those functional areas.

When tasked by the government to contribute to reaching a desired end-state for a crisis or disaster, DND would tailor its contribution by first considering all the capabilities resident in the department, then choosing only those capabilities considered necessary to integrate with the other government department packages to achieve the optimal response and, finally, moving the capability blocks on the 'cube' such that the resultant 'face' would contain the required capabilities, no more--no less, to achieve the government's desired response.

Resultant National Capability

As noted in the introductory paragraphs of this chapter, the realities of the Asia Pacific region promise Canada a bright future as well as significant challenges. Much of our country's economic future is tied to the region. Canada should therefore seek to play a significant leadership role in it. Unfortunately, a review of Canadian foreign policy reveals that while Canada wishes to become more involved, serious planning and resource shortfalls make it difficult to "Walk the Talk." In the face of an Asia-Pacific crisis or disaster, for example, Canada does not yet have a fully integrated all-of-government rapid response capability. As outlined in the previous section, however, Canada could choose to develop one and to improve its chances significantly of becoming a leader and of influencing events in the region. The keys to doing so are organizational and practical in nature.

The Prime Minister must mandate the creation of an organization, permanent in nature, responsible for designing, staffing, equipping, exercising, and overseeing the deployment and employment of an all-of-government crisis response capability. A government 'Rubik's Cube' approach could serve as a means of identifying and combining various departmental capabilities.

Rapid and effective deployment of capabilities to the target area requires special equipment. Given that 70% of the world's population is within 100 km of a coastline, and that Canada borders on three oceans and has the longest coastline in the world, a sea-based expeditionary capability should be viewed as an essential national requirement. The United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Australia, Spain, and Italy have invested in such a concept through the purchase of commercially built amphibious ships that are far less expensive than modern warships; are manned with but a fraction of a warship's complement; and are readily available. Canada must develop an amphibious expeditionary capability. Without it, we will not be able to rapidly deploy our crisis response capabilities to the Asia-Pacific region or to littoral sectors of our own territory.

Government must act now.

Conclusions

Paul Manson

There you have it. Our authors have presented an intriguing picture of the Asia/Pacific region, as seen from the national security perspective here in Canada.

What have we learned?

In his opening chapter, Paul Chapin gives a comprehensive overview of our nation's strategic policy framework as it has evolved since the end of the Cold War. Looking at today's broad international scene and its ramifications for Canadians, he concludes that the rapidly changing world presents a substantial policy challenge which, by and large, has not been effectively addressed by successive governments. The developing jihadist-terrorist threat, to which the West remains vulnerable, calls for new strategic concepts and defensive measures covering what Chapin calls the "home" and "away" games, to cope with domestic and external realities.

Unfortunately, as he sees it, Canadians have become detached from these realities, being preoccupied with minority politics, latent anti-Americanism and domestic social issues, to the point where a security policy vacuum has emerged and misdirection has become prevalent. Nowhere is this more evident than in Canada's preparedness for dealing with the remarkable changes that are occurring in the Asia/Pacific region.

The nature and scope of those changes are described in considerable detail in succeeding chapters, and it is a remarkable story.

Understandably, much of the focus is on China, which has developed into an economic superpower, with all that that implies in terms of trade, energy supply and demand, shipping, pollution, international relations and, ultimately, security. The energy equation, as James Boutillier points out in Chapter 4, imposes upon China some tough problems related to what he calls "the tyranny of distance", exacerbated by that nation's voracious reliance on hydrocarbon fuels from overseas sources. Secure "Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOCs)" are vitally important to China, to the extent that it is rapidly building a blue-water navy, breaking away from its traditional coastal and riverine naval focus. Seth Cropsey, in his view from Washington (Chapter 5), elaborates on the growth of the curiously-named People's Liberation Army Navy, with particular reference to the addition of forty modern submarines and the

development of an amphibious capability, the latter being particularly significant in the context of China's position on Taiwan.

Nor is China alone in having a growing interest in commercial shipping and naval development. Japan and the Republic of Korea, two countries whose dramatic economic growth preceded China's by decades, both rely upon unfettered access to Pacific shipping lanes. And then there is India, currently experiencing an economic surge that rivals China's, which likewise needs safe sea lanes east and west from the Indian Ocean. Some surprising facts emerge from all this. Trans-Pacific trade, for example, is three and a half times greater than trans-Atlantic. Huge seaports are being developed all around the Pacific Rim; it is instructive to learn that the top six container ports in the world are all in East Asia, leaving Canada rather far behind. Our two West Coast superports - Vancouver and Prince Rupert - fall well short of the capacity needed to handle the burgeoning Pacific commercial traffic, thereby failing to capitalize on their strategic great-circle locations.

As Dr. Boutilier and others point out, the growth in sea-borne trade brings with it some interesting challenges for Canada's national security interests in the Pacific Basin and beyond. One has only to look at a globe to realize the vastness of the area and to understand what defence planners in this country face in identifying our strategic national interests, assessing existing capabilities, and then prescribing an effective and affordable system of defence. The "tyranny of distance" influences strategic planning in this country. Unlike its U.S. counterpart, the Canadian Navy remains focused on the East Coast, and has not yet redeployed westward in any significant way to meet the shifting strategic scene, an important point that is brought out by both Admirals Girouard and Summers in their detailed examination of what Canada needs to do to meet the demands of the changing strategic scene in the Asia/Pacific region.

Another interesting element of the strategic equation, as J.L. Black points out in his chapter on the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (ShCO), is Russia's participation in this emerging regional alliance. Canadians may not be inclined to think of Russia as an Asian nation, but of course it is. By aligning itself so closely with China, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan in the ShCO, Russia exercises geopolitical influence in an area whose oil and gas reserves become increasingly important as traditional reserves begin to deplete. Furthermore, indications that the alliance is taking on a military dimension give notice to Canadians that we cannot ignore the ShCO and Russia's involvement in it. To be sure, as Dr. Black points out, the organization claims for itself a stabilization role, in an area fraught with instability caused by what it terms the "three evil forces of terrorism, separatism and extremism". It is interesting to note, also, the ShCO's bilateral links

with other regional groupings in Asia, thereby affording Russia a conduit for its expanding involvement in the Asia/Pacific region.

Canada, itself being so deeply committed to the restoration of stability in Afghanistan, cannot ignore such developments in a part of the world that is important to our own future.

Looking far to the south, Colonel John Blaxland presents a comprehensive review of the growing links between the armed forces of Canada and Australia. He reminds us that, prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the military relationship, although cordial, was not particularly close. Since then, the strategic paths of the two countries have converged, largely as a result of common interests in combating terrorism and meeting the demands of the changing geopolitical scene in the Asia/Pacific region. It is a comfortable relationship, favourably influenced by our common language and heritage and, one suspects, a desire by both Canada and Australia not to be overly dependent on the American security umbrella. To be sure, Australia is a long way from Canada, but Colonel Blaxland points out that many of the potential flashpoints in the region are equidistant from both countries.

The growing closeness of the Canada/Australia security relationship is evident in such areas as intelligence, the officer exchange program, standardization, equipment procurement and commonality, concept development, and joint military exercises. The relationship is of course strengthened by our common participation in the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan.

Australia's security policy for the Asia/Pacific region is offered as a model for Canada. Extending Blaxland's point a notch, given the strength of both nations' close ties with the United States, one might ask whether, in the absence of a Pacific "NATO", an informal Pacific "Anglosphere" comprising Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States merits consideration for the future.

More and more, as several of our authors point out, India is an important player in the region, with its surging economy and its strategic location athwart the sea links between the world's major oil and gas producers and their markets to the east, notably China, Japan and Korea. India stands out in one key respect: it is a thriving democracy. Like China, however, India has to cope with massive overpopulation and dismal poverty, problems which will take decades to overcome. It furthermore remains to be seen if global politics will permit India to have a seat on the UN Security Council in the shorter term.

Japan remains a major player in Asia/Pacific. A strong ally of the U.S. and an important trading partner of the West, it represents a relatively stable element in the region, while facing geopolitical

and military challenges of its own, given its proximity to China and North Korea and its heavy reliance on imported energy.

With the changing nature and complexity of the vast Asia/Pacific region in the early years of the 21st century, it is not surprising that -- as we have seen -- several of our authors examine the question of strategic alliances. There is no NATO equivalent in this part of the world, nor have earlier attempts at formal alliances been particularly productive. Dr. Black's detailed examination of the ShCO suggests that new alignments, formal or informal, will emerge in the region as various political, economic and military interests come into play.

Coming back to China, we need to take notice of that nation's growing involvement in major infrastructure projects in places like Afghanistan (where it has been selected to develop the world's largest untapped copper deposit), Pakistan (where it is building a huge seaport at Gwadar, near the Iranian border), and construction of railways across various strategic areas in the region. And then, as several authors point out, there is China's increasing diplomatic and economic involvement in Africa, notably in the Sudan and Zimbabwe.

It is not surprising that our authors are compelled to turn time and again to China. In its evolving path to superpower status, that country has demonstrated double-digit annual growth in its defence budget for years, as Constantin and Job indicate in their comprehensive chapter. They make the point that China, for all of its emergence as a naval power, cannot be seen as an aggressive threat to regional security, at least in the short term. Indeed, China's preoccupation with domestic economic development, and its formidable employment of diplomacy, with earnest declarations of international responsibility, mitigate against adventurism. Underlying this relatively benign posture, however, as Constantin and Job remind us, is an abiding distrust by the Chinese leadership of the motives and actions of the United States, especially over the status of Taiwan. That issue will not be resolved soon, and Taiwan remains a dangerous flashpoint for the longer term.

All of this brings us to the principal question: What must Canada do to protect its own national interests and security in the light of present and future circumstances in the Asia Pacific Region?

The concluding chapters, written by two retired senior naval officers with extensive experience with Canada's west coast naval forces, give detailed recommendations about the way ahead in regard to two important aspects of military operations looking westward. Rear-Admiral Girouard, makes a strong case for strengthening the newly-formed Joint Task Force Pacific, and closely bonding it with the west coast navy in a joint headquarters bringing together elements of the navy, army and air force. An obstacle in achieving this is the current unfortunate absence of any regular

force unit of the Canadian Army in Canada's westernmost province, British Columbia.

Rear-Admiral Summers, acknowledging the Asia/Pacific region's proneness to natural disasters, examines the organizational and functional requirements of an effective Canadian disaster response capability. His detailed top-down analysis concludes that, in order to provide the rapid response that is so vital in humanitarian relief and disaster assistance operations, Canada needs to create a new national command capability and acquire facilities and equipment that are not currently available.

Summary

It is freely acknowledged that a booklet as brief as this one, in spite of the comprehensive and thoughtful views presented by our contributors, can barely touch the surface of what is after all an enormous area, both in geographical and geopolitical terms. Nevertheless, certain conclusions emerge with considerable clarity. Here are the principal ones:

As our cover illustrates, Canada is already heavily engaged in Asia through its role in Afghanistan – an Asian nation.

The Asia/Pacific region, geographically enormous and geostrategically complex, is increasingly important to Canada as a Pacific nation having significant and growing economic ties and strategic interests in this part of the world.

The recent emergence of China and India as major trading nations has greatly influenced the global scene, in a way that is characterized by a massive increase in sea-borne commerce on the region's oceans.

More and more, the combination of a rapid growth in regional demand for fossil fuels concurrent with declining world reserves of oil and gas will induce political stresses in the region. Environmental issues will be of increasing concern.

Other potential flashpoints exist, such as territorial disputes linked to energy reserves (e.g. the Spratley Islands). Taiwan remains a major source of friction between China and the United States. Human rights abuse in China continues to harm that nation's external relations and possibly even its internal stability. Meanwhile, Asia is not immune from terrorist threats, mostly from Islamists, as recent events have demonstrated.

China's emergence as a major economic, political and military power is affecting the strategic balance. Likewise, Russia's growing diplomatic involvement in Asia is a development of considerable interest. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, although a powerful indicator of emerging new alliances in the region, raises an interesting question: how long can Russia and

China maintain the facade of friendship, given the bitterness of past disputes over territory and politics?

Canada needs to create strong partnerships with like-minded Pacific nations, notably the United States and Australia, with a particular focus on joint operations of naval forces.

The Asia/Pacific area, more than any other region, is prone to natural disasters. As in the past, Canada has the resources and the moral obligation to respond in a humanitarian and organized way.

Succeeding federal governments have failed to produce a coherent strategy for meeting the security challenges facing Canada in the region. This is a serious void which must be filled quickly and rationally.

The Canadian Forces need to be organized, equipped, based and expanded in such a way as to enforce our nation's strategic security interests in the Asia/Pacific region.

There you have it. These conclusions and the papers on which they are based are offered as a starting point for the infinitely more detailed analysis, decision-making and implementation that Canada must undertake if it is to serve its own very real interests in the Asia/Pacific region.

It is a matter of necessity.

Conclusions

Paul Manson

Et voilà. Nos auteurs ont brossé un tableau frappant de la région Asie-Pacifique telle qu'on la perçoit ici, au Canada, sous l'angle de la sécurité nationale.

Qu'avons-nous appris ?

En guise d'entrée en matière, Paul Chapin nous donne un aperçu du cadre de politiques stratégique de notre pays dans l'évolution qu'il a connue depuis la fin de la Guerre Froide. Son examen de la scène internationale d'aujourd'hui le porte à conclure que ce monde en mutation présente un défi substantiel aux Canadiens et que, dans l'ensemble, nos gouvernements successifs n'ont pas réussi à traiter ce défi de façon efficace. La menace croissante du jihadisme-terrorisme à laquelle l'Ouest demeure vulnérable fait appel à de nouveaux concepts stratégiques et à de nouvelles mesures défensives qui recouvrent ce que Chapin appelle les « stratégies intérieures » et les « stratégies extérieures », pour tenir compte des deux types de réalités en cause.

Malheureusement, tel qu'il voit la chose, les Canadiens se sont détachés de ces réalités, préoccupés qu'ils sont par les jeux politiques engendrés par la situation d'un gouvernement minoritaire, par un sentiment anti-américain latent et par les enjeux sociaux intérieurs, jusqu'au point où il s'est produit un vide dans les politiques de sécurité et où une orientation douteuse est devenue monnaie courante. Nulle part ce fait est-il plus évident que dans l'état de préparation du Canada lorsqu'il s'agit de faire face aux changements remarquables qui sont en train de se produire dans la région de l'Asie-Pacifique. La nature et la portée de ces changements sont décrites de façon très détaillée dans les chapitres qui suivent, et c'est là une histoire remarquable.

Tout naturellement, une grande part de cet intérêt vise la Chine, qui s'est développée au point de devenir une superpuissance économique, avec tout ce que ce statut implique en termes d'échanges commerciaux, d'offre et de demande énergétiques, d'expédition maritime commerciale, de pollution, de relations internationales et, au bout du compte, de sécurité. L'équation énergétique, comme le fait remarquer James Boutillier au chapitre 4, pose à la Chine quelques problèmes difficiles par rapport à ce qu'il appelle « la tyrannie de la distance », qui sont exacerbés par la dépendance vorace de ce pays à l'endroit des combustibles aux hydrocarbures provenant de sources étrangères. Des « lignes de communication maritimes (LCM) » sûres ont une importance vitale pour la Chine, à tel point que celle-ci se construit rapidement une marine océanique, rompant par là avec son intérêt naval traditionnel

qui était tourné vers la navigation côtière et fluviale. Dans son point de vue depuis Washington, Seth Cropsey élabore au chapitre 5, une idée sur la croissance de ce qui porte le curieux nom de Marine de l'armée de libération du peuple, l'addition de quarante sous-marins modernes et le développement d'une capacité amphibie, cette dernière étant particulièrement significative dans le contexte de la position de la Chine concernant Taiwan.

Et la Chine n'est pas toute seule à s'intéresser de plus en plus à l'expédition maritime commerciale et au développement naval. Le Japon et la République de Corée, deux pays dont la croissance économique dramatique a précédé celle de la Chine de plusieurs décennies, sont tous deux tributaires d'un accès sans entraves aux voies d'expédition maritime commerciale du Pacifique. Et puis il y a l'Inde, qui connaît actuellement une poussée économique qui rivalise avec celle de la Chine, et qui a pareillement besoin de voies maritimes sûres à l'est et à l'ouest de l'océan Indien. Quelques faits surprenants émergent de tout ça. Le commerce transpacifique, par exemple, est trois fois et demie plus intense que le commerce transatlantique. D'énormes ports maritimes sont en voie de développement tout autour des côtes du Pacifique ; il est instructif d'apprendre que les six plus importants ports de conteneurs du monde se trouvent tous dans l'Est asiatique, ce qui laisse le Canada plutôt loin derrière. Nos deux superports de l'Ouest - Vancouver et Prince Rupert - sont bien loin de la capacité nécessaire pour absorber le trafic commercial florissant du Pacifique, et à cause de cette lacune, ils sont incapables de capitaliser sur les emplacements stratégiques qu'ils occupent sur leurs méridiens.

Comme le font remarquer M. Boutillier et d'autres, la croissance du commerce par bateau amène avec elle quelques défis intéressants pour les intérêts nationaux du Canada en matière de sécurité dans le bassin du Pacifique et au-delà. Il suffit de regarder un globe terrestre pour réaliser l'immensité de cette région et pour comprendre ce à quoi font face les planificateurs de la défense de notre pays lorsqu'il s'agit d'identifier les intérêts stratégiques nationaux, d'évaluer les capacités actuelles, pour ensuite prescrire un système de défense efficace et abordable. Chez nous, la « tyrannie de la distance » influence la planification stratégique. Contrairement à son vis-à-vis des É.-U., la Marine canadienne reste tournée vers la côte Est, et elle ne s'est encore redéployée vers l'Ouest d'aucune façon significative pour répondre au déplacement de la scène stratégique, un point important que font ressortir les Amiraux Girouard et Summers dans leur examen détaillé de ce que le Canada a besoin de faire pour répondre aux demandes qu'imposent les changements de la scène stratégique dans la région de l'Asie-Pacifique.

Un autre élément de l'équation stratégique, comme le souligne J.L. Black dans son chapitre sur la « Shanghai Cooperation Organization (ShCO) », c'est la participation de la Russie à cette alliance régionale émergente. Les Canadiens ne sont peut-être pas enclins à penser à la Russie comme une nation asiatique, mais bien sûr qu'elle l'est. En s'alignant étroitement avec la Chine, le Kazakhstan, le Tadjikistan, le Kirgizistan et l'Ouzbékistan, dans la ShCO, la Russie exerce une influence géopolitique dans une région dont les réserves de pétrole et de gaz prennent une importance croissante à mesure que les réserves traditionnelles s'épuisent. De plus, les indications qui montrent que l'alliance prend une dimension militaire servent d'avertissement aux Canadiens et nous signalent que nous ne pouvons pas ignorer la part qu'y prennent la ShCO et la Russie. Bien sûr, comme le fait remarquer M. Black, l'organisation réclame pour elle-même un rôle de stabilisation dans une région imbuë d'une instabilité causée par ce qu'elle appelle les « trois forces diaboliques du terrorisme, du séparatisme et de l'extrémisme ». Il est intéressant de noter également les liens bilatéraux de la ShCO avec d'autres groupements régionaux en Asie, ce qui offre à la Russie une voie d'accès pour son implication en voie d'expansion dans la région de l'Asie-Pacifique. Le Canada, actuellement très engagé dans la restauration de la stabilité en Afghanistan, ne peut ignorer de tels développements.

En regardant loin vers le sud, le Colonel John Blaxland présente un examen d'ensemble des liens croissants entre les forces armées du Canada et de l'Australie. Il nous rappelle que, avant l'écroulement de l'Union soviétique et la fin de la Guerre froide, notre relation militaire, bien que cordiale, n'était pas particulièrement étroite. Depuis lors, les cheminements stratégiques des deux pays ont convergé, en grande partie comme le résultat d'intérêts communs dans le combat contre le terrorisme et dans la réponse aux demandes de la scène géopolitique changeante de la région de l'Asie-Pacifique. C'est une relation confortable, favorablement influencée par notre langue et notre héritage communs et, on s'en doute, par un désir de la part du Canada comme de l'Australie de ne pas devoir trop s'en remettre au parapluie de sécurité des États-Unis. Bien sûr, l'Australie est bien loin du Canada, mais le Colonel Blaxland souligne que beaucoup des points d'inflammation potentiels de la région sont équidistants des deux pays.

La proximité croissante de la relation Canada-Australie en matière de sécurité ressort dans des domaines comme les renseignements, le programme d'échange d'officiers, la normalisation, l'acquisition et la communauté d'équipement, le développement de concepts et les exercices militaires conjoints. La relation est bien sûr renforcée par notre participation commune à la Force internationale d'assistance à la sécurité en Afghanistan.

La politique de sécurité de l'Australie pour la région de l'Asie-Pacifique est présentée comme un modèle pour le Canada. En poursuivant d'un cran le point de M. Blaxland, étant donné la force des liens étroits entre les deux nations et les États-Unis, on pourrait se demander si, en l'absence d'un « OTAN » du Pacifique, une « Anglosphère » informelle du Pacifique, composée de l'Australie, du Canada, de la Nouvelle-Zélande et des États-Unis, mériterait d'être considérée pour l'avenir.

De plus en plus, comme plusieurs auteurs le font remarquer, l'Inde est un acteur important dans la région, avec son économie prospère et sa situation stratégique au travers des liens maritimes entre les plus grands producteurs de pétrole et de gaz du monde et leurs marchés à l'est, particulièrement la Chine, le Japon et la Corée. L'Inde ressort d'une façon capitale : c'est une démocratie florissante. Comme la Chine, toutefois, l'Inde doit vivre avec une surpopulation massive et une pauvreté abjecte, des problèmes qu'il faudra des décennies à résoudre. Il reste de plus à voir si les jeux politiques mondiaux permettront à l'Inde d'avoir à court terme un siège au Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU.

Le Japon demeure un acteur de premier plan dans l'Asie-Pacifique. Solide allié des États-Unis et important partenaire commercial de l'Ouest, il représente un élément relativement stable dans la région, tout en faisant face à des défis géopolitiques et militaires qui lui sont propres, étant donné sa proximité avec la Chine et la Corée du Nord et sa lourde dépendance à l'égard de l'énergie importée.

Avec le changement de nature et de complexité de la vaste région de l'Asie-Pacifique dans les premières années du 21^e siècle, il n'est pas surprenant que — comme nous l'avons vu — plusieurs de nos auteurs examinent la question des alliances stratégiques. Il n'y a pas d'équivalent de l'OTAN dans cette partie du monde, et les tentatives précédentes d'alliances formelles n'ont pas non plus été productives. L'examen détaillé de la ShCO auquel s'est livré M. Black suggère que de nouveaux alignements, formels et informels, vont émerger dans la région à mesure que divers intérêts politiques, économiques et militaires entreront en jeu.

Pour revenir à la Chine, nous devons prendre note de l'implication croissante de ce pays dans des projets d'infrastructure majeurs dans des endroits comme l'Afghanistan (où elle a été choisie pour développer le plus grand dépôt de cuivre non exploité au monde), le Pakistan (où elle construit un énorme port de mer à Gwadar, près de la frontière iranienne) et dans la construction de chemins de fer à travers diverses zones stratégiques de la région. Ensuite, comme plusieurs auteurs le font remarquer, il y a le renforcement de la présence diplomatique et économique de la Chine en Afrique, et particulièrement au Soudan et au Zimbabwe.

Il n'est pas surprenant que nos auteurs soient poussés à se tourner tant et plus vers la Chine. Dans son cheminement en évolution vers le statut de superpuissance, ce pays a montré pendant des années une croissance à deux chiffres de son budget de la défense, comme l'indiquent Constantin et Job dans leur chapitre approfondi. Ils soulignent que, malgré son émergence comme puissance navale, la Chine ne peut pas être perçue comme une menace agressive à la sécurité régionale, au moins à court terme. En effet la préoccupation de la Chine en matière de développement économique intérieur, et son formidable emploi de la diplomatie, avec des déclarations solennelles de responsabilité internationale, limitent les craintes qu'on pourrait avoir à l'endroit de l'aventurisme. Toutefois, tout en soulignant cette posture relativement bénigne, Constantin et Job nous rappellent que les leaders chinois entretiennent une méfiance tenace envers les motifs et les actions des États-Unis, particulièrement à l'égard du statut de Taiwan. Cette question ne sera pas résolue de si tôt, et Taiwan demeurera pour longtemps encore un point d'inflammabilité.

Tout cela nous amène à la question de fond : Que doit faire le Canada pour protéger ses propres intérêts nationaux et sa sécurité nationale à la lumière des circonstances présentes et futures dans la région de l'Asie-Pacifique ?

Les chapitres de conclusion, rédigés par deux officiers navals à la retraite qui possèdent une expérience approfondie des forces navales de la Côte ouest du Canada, proposent des recommandations détaillées concernant la voie qui s'ouvre devant nous vis-à-vis deux importants aspects des opérations militaires orientées vers l'ouest. Le Contre-amiral Girouard établit solidement le bien-fondé du renforcement de la Force opérationnelle interarmées (Pacifique), de formation récente, et son lien étroit avec la marine de la Côte ouest dans des quartiers généraux conjoints qui réuniraient des éléments de la marine, de l'armée et de l'aviation. Un des obstacles qui entravent la réalisation de cette suggestion, c'est la malencontreuse absence actuelle de la moindre unité des forces régulières de l'armée canadienne dans la province la plus occidentale du Canada, la Colombie-Britannique.

Le Vice-Amiral Summers, reconnaissant les propensions de la région aux catastrophes naturelles, examine les besoin organisationnels et fonctionnels d'une capacité canadienne efficace d'intervention en cas de catastrophe. Son analyse détaillée de haut en bas conclut que, pour dispenser une intervention rapide si vitale dans les opérations de secours humanitaire et d'aide en cas de catastrophe, le Canada a besoin de créer une nouvelle capacité de commandement national et de faire l'acquisition d'installations et d'équipements qui lui font présentement défaut.

Sommaire

On reconnaît bien qu'un opuscule aussi succinct que celui-ci, malgré les points de vue complets et réfléchis présentés par nos collaborateurs, peut à peine toucher la surface de ce qui est, après tout, une région énorme, en termes à la fois géographiques et géopolitiques. Néanmoins, certaines conclusions ressortent avec beaucoup de clarté. Voici les principales :

Comme l'illustre notre couverture, le Canada est déjà profondément engagé en Asie par le truchement de son rôle en Afghanistan — un pays asiatique.

La région de l'Asie-Pacifique, géographiquement énorme et géostratégiquement complexe, est de plus en plus importante pour le Canada en tant que pays du Pacifique qui a des liens économiques et des intérêts stratégiques significatifs croissants dans cette partie du monde.

La récente émergence de la Chine et de l'Inde comme très importants pays commerciaux a eu une grande influence sur la scène mondiale qui est caractérisée par une augmentation massive des marchandises commerciales transportées par bateau sur les océans de la région.

De plus en plus, la combinaison d'une croissance rapide de la demande de combustibles fossiles, parallèlement au déclin des réserves mondiales de pétrole et de gaz, produira des tensions politiques dans la région. Les enjeux environnementaux seront une préoccupation de plus en plus vive.

D'autres points d'inflammation potentiels existent, comme les disputes territoriales liées aux réserves énergétiques (par ex., les îles Spratley). Taiwan demeure une source majeure de friction entre la Chine et les États-Unis. Les traitements abusifs contraires aux droits de la personne qui se pratiquent en Chine continuent à ternir les relations extérieures de ce pays et, peut-être même sa stabilité intérieure. Pendant ce temps, l'Asie n'est pas immunisée contre les menaces terroristes, venant pour la plupart d'éléments islamistes, comme l'ont montré des événements récents.

L'émergence de la Chine comme puissance économique, politique et militaire affecte l'équilibre stratégique. Pareillement, l'implication diplomatique croissante de la Russie en Asie est un développement qui soulève un intérêt considérable. La Shanghai Cooperation Organization, bien qu'elle soit un indicateur puissant de l'émergence de nouvelles alliances dans la région, soulève une question intéressante : à savoir combien de temps la Russie et la Chine pourront-elles maintenir leur façade d'amitié, étant donné l'amertume des disputes passées sur les questions territoriales et politiques ?

Le Canada a besoin de créer de solides partenariats avec des pays qui ont le même esprit, surtout avec les États-Unis et

l'Australie, dans une perspective particulière d'opérations conjointes des forces navales.

La région de l'Asie-Pacifique, plus que toute autre région, a des prédispositions envers les catastrophes naturelles. Comme par le passé, le Canada a les ressources et l'obligation morale d'intervenir d'une façon humanitaire et organisée.

Les gouvernements fédéraux successifs n'ont pas réussi à produire une stratégie cohérente pour répondre aux défis de sécurité auxquels le Canada fait face dans la région. C'est une lacune grave qui doit être comblée rapidement et de façon rationnelle.

Les Forces canadiennes doivent être organisées, équipées, établies sur des bases et agrandies de telle façon qu'elles puissent renforcer les intérêts stratégiques de notre pays en matière de sécurité dans la région de l'Asie-Pacifique.

Et voilà. Ces conclusions et les études sur lesquelles elles sont fondées sont ici offertes comme point de départ pour une analyse infiniment plus détaillée, une prise de décisions et une mise en oeuvre que le Canada doit entreprendre s'il doit servir ses propres intérêts dans la région de l'Asie-Pacifique.

C'est une question de nécessité.

Notes on Contributors

Dr. J.L. (Larry) Black was born in New Brunswick. He has degrees from Mount Allison, Boston University and McGill, and has written, edited, or co-edited over 30 books on Russian and Soviet history, and Canadian-Soviet relations. He has taught at Laurentian University, Carleton University, and elsewhere. At Carleton he was director of the Institute for Soviet and East European Studies, and founding director of the Centre for Research on Canadian-Russian Relations (CRCR). He has served as a researcher for NATO and has prepared briefs for federal government departments. "Retired" in 2004, he is still the editor of the Russia and Eurasia Documents Annual series published since 1988 in Florida, a sessional lecturer for Laurentian University at Georgian College, Barrie, and director of the CRCR, now also sited at Georgian.

Colonel John C. Blaxland is a serving officer in the Australian Army. He is a graduate of the Royal Military College, Duntroon; the Royal Thai Army Command and Staff College; the University of New South Wales (BA Honours); the Australian National University (MA in History); and the Royal Military College of Canada (PhD in War Studies). He has served in staff, instructional and intelligence postings, including as the 3rd Brigade Intelligence Officer in East Timor in 1999. His publications include *Strategic Cousins: Canadian and Australian Expeditionary Forces and the British and American Empires* (2006)

Dr. James Boutilier is the Asia-Pacific Policy Advisor at Canada's Maritime Forces Pacific Headquarters in Esquimalt, British Columbia. Dr. Boutilier attended Dalhousie University (BA History, 1960), McMaster University (MA History, 1962), and the University of London (PhD History, 1969). Dr. Boutilier has held posts at various universities throughout his career, including the University of the South Pacific in Suva, Fiji, Royal Roads Military College in Victoria, British Columbia and the University of Victoria. Dr. Boutilier's field of expertise is Asia-Pacific defence and security. He published *RCN in Retrospect* in 1982 and has written extensively on maritime and security concerns. He lectures nationally and internationally on political, economic and security developments in the Asia-Pacific region.

Christian Constantin is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of British Columbia. He studies the Chinese state and its policymaking process. From 2005 to 2007, he was a Senior Visiting Scholar at Tsinghua University researching his

dissertation on China's energy policy making. He has been awarded the 2007 Léon Dion Prize by the Société québécoise de science politique and has obtained a fellowship from the Canadian International Council for 2008-2009. In January 2009, he will take on an associate teacher position on China's politics and foreign policy at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs of the University of Ottawa.

Seth Cropsey is an Adjunct Fellow at the Hudson Institute in Washington, DC, and served as Deputy Undersecretary of the Navy in the Reagan and George H. W. Bush administrations.

Paul H. Chapin is Vice President (Programs) at the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre in Ottawa. Between 2003 and 2006, he served as Director General for International Security at Foreign Affairs where he was responsible for Canada-US defence relations, international arms control issues, and Canada's involvement in international peace operations. He was the lead negotiator in the Canada-US discussions on ballistic missile defence and on the renewal of the NORAD agreement. He also worked closely with his colleagues at DND and CIDA on Afghanistan, Haiti and Sudan. A career diplomat until leaving government earlier this year, he was posted to Tel Aviv, Moscow, the Canadian delegation to NATO, and the Canadian embassy in Washington where he managed the political section.

Roger Girouard (Rear Admiral, retired) began his naval service at HMCS CARLTON in Ottawa as an Ordinary Seaman Bos'n in 1973. After commissioning, his leadership appointments included command of HMC Ships CHALEUR, MIRAMICHI, and IROQUOIS, Maritime Operations Group Four in Esquimalt BC, and Canadian Fleet Pacific. His last appointment was that of Commander Joint Task Force Pacific and Maritime Forces Pacific in Victoria, where he was responsible for naval readiness in the Pacific, served as the Search and Rescue Commander and held responsibilities for security and domestic emergency issues in BC, including support planning for the 2010 Olympics and contingency planning for potential flooding of the BC lower mainland. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the CDA Institute.

Dr. Brian L. Job is Professor of Political Science, Director of the Centre of International Relations and the current Interim Director of the Liu Institute for Global Issues at the University of British Columbia. His teaching and research interests are in international security studies, focusing upon the evolving security order of the Asia Pacific, on intrastate conflict, and on Canadian

foreign and defence policy. In recent years, his publications have focused upon the UN and regional conflict, Asia Pacific security developments, and on Canadian interests and policies vis-à-vis the Asia Pacific. In the Asia Pacific region, Job is involved in regional "Track 2" activities, particularly with the Council of Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP), serving as Co-Chair of CSCAP Canada and from 2002-04 as Co-Chair of the region-wide CSCAP organization. He is one of Canada's designated "Expert and Eminent Persons" for the ASEAN Regional Forum. Job was a member of the Foreign Minister's Advisory Board (1995-97) and is currently a member of the Board of Visitors of the Canadian Forces College.

Brian MacDonald (Colonel, retired) is a graduate of the Royal Military College and York University. He is a prominent media commentator on security and defence issues, counting hundreds of television, radio, and speaking appearances. His international conference papers have included: Kings and Emmanuel Colleges of Cambridge University; the German Armed Forces University, Munich; the Beijing Institute for International Strategic Studies; the Shanghai Institute for International Studies; and the Atlantic Treaty Association in Budapest, Copenhagen, Edinburgh, Paris, Slovenia, Washington, and Ottawa. He has edited eighteen books and authored one, *Military Spending in Developing Countries: How Much Is Too Much?* (Carleton University Press, 1997). He is a member of the Board of Directors of the CDA Institute.

Paul Manson (General, retired) served in the RCAF and Canadian Forces for 38 years. A fighter pilot, he commanded at all levels of the Air Force. He was Chief of the Defence Staff from 1986 to 1989. Following retirement from the military General Manson was president of a large aerospace company for eight years. During this period he served a term as the Chairman of the Aerospace Industries Association of Canada. He is also a past Chairman of Canada's Aviation Hall of Fame. As a Trustee of the Canadian Museum of Civilization from 2000 to 2006, he chaired the Canadian War Museum Committee. The author of numerous articles on defence issues, he is the immediate Past President of the CDA Institute, in which capacity he frequently appeared as a commentator on national television and radio. General Manson is a Commander of the Order of Military Merit and Commander of the U.S. Legion of Merit. In 2002 he became an Officer of the Order of Canada.

Ken Summers, a retired Rear Admiral, served 37 years in the Canadian military with much of the last half of his career in positions of Command, most notably as Commander CF Middle East during the 1990 Gulf War. Since retirement he has remained current

with Canadian and NATO military issues and frequently appears as a military analyst with the CBC. Ken has made frequent trips to Afghanistan and has written and spoken on that conflict. He remains very active in several organizations including the Board of Directors of the CDA Institute, the National Executive of the Naval Officers' Association of Canada and is President of its Vancouver Island Branch, and is Vice President of the Victoria Branch of the Canadian International Council (formerly the CIIA).

Nos collaborateurs

J.L. (Larry) Black, Ph.D., est originaire du Nouveau-Brunswick. Il est diplômé de Mount Allison, du Boston University et de McGill, et il a écrit, édité ou co-édité plus de 30 livres sur l'histoire russe et soviétique et sur les relations canado-soviétiques. Il a enseigné à l'Université Laurentienne, à l'Université Carleton et ailleurs. À Carleton, il a été directeur de l'*Institute for Soviet and East European Studies*, et directeur fondateur du *Centre for Research on Canadian-Russian Relations (CRCR)*. Il a servi comme chercheur pour l'OTAN et a préparé des mémoires pour des ministères fédéraux. « Retraité » en 2004, il est l'actuel rédacteur de la série annuelle *Russia and Eurasia Documents*, publiée depuis 1988 en Floride, chargé de cours à temps partiel à l'Université Laurentienne au Georgian College de Barrie et directeur du CRCR.

Le Colonel John C. Blaxland est un officier de l'armée australienne. Il est diplômé du Royal Military College de Duntroon, du Royal Thai Army Command and Staff College, de l'University of New South Wales (B.A. avec spécialisation) et du Collège militaire royal du Canada (Ph.D. en études sur la guerre). Il a servi dans des postes d'état-major, d'enseignement et de renseignements, dont celui de 3rd Brigade Intelligence Officer au Timor oriental, en 1999. Il est l'auteur de *Strategic Cousins: Canadian and Australian Expeditionary Forces and the British and American Empires (2006)*.

M. James Boutillier, Ph.D., est le conseiller en matière de politiques pour l'Asie-Pacifique au Quartier général des Forces maritimes du Pacifique du Canada, à Esquimalt (Colombie-Britannique). Il a fréquenté l'Université de Dalhousie (BA en histoire, 1960), l'Université McMaster (MA en histoire, 1962) et l'Université de London (Ph.D. en histoire, 1969). Il a occupé des postes dans diverses universités tout au long de sa carrière, dont à la University of the South Pacific, à Suva (Fiji), au Royal Roads Military College, à Victoria (Colombie-Britannique), et à l'Université de Victoria. Le champ d'expertise de M. Boutillier est celui de la défense et de la sécurité de l'Asie-Pacifique. Il a publié *RCN in Retrospect* en 1982 et il a beaucoup écrit sur les préoccupations en matière d'affaires maritimes et de sécurité. Il donne des conférences, au pays et sur la scène internationale, sur les développements qui se produisent dans la région Asie-Pacifique dans les domaines de la politique, de l'économie et de la sécurité.

Paul H. Chapin est vice-président (programmes) du Centre Pearson pour le maintien de la paix, à Ottawa. De 2003 à 2006, il a été directeur général de la Sécurité internationale, aux Affaires étrangères, où il était responsable des relations Canada-US en

matière de défense, des questions de contrôle international des armes, et de la participation du Canada dans les opérations de paix internationales. Il fut chef négociateur dans les discussions Canada-US en matière de défense antimissiles balistiques et sur le renouvellement de l'entente du NORAD. Il a également travaillé en étroite collaboration avec ses collègues du MDN et de l'ACDI sur l'Afghanistan, Haïti et le Soudan. Diplomate de carrière jusqu'au moment où il a quitté le gouvernement, plus tôt cette année, il a occupé des postes à Tel-Aviv, Moscou, à la délégation canadienne à l'OTAN et à l'ambassade canadienne à Washington où il a été chef de la section politique.

Christian Constantin est candidat au doctorat à l'Université de la Colombie-Britannique où il étudie l'État chinois et son processus de formulation des politiques. De 2005 à 2007, il a comblé le poste de « Senior Visiting Scholar » à l'Université Tsinghua où il a entrepris des recherches pour son mémoire sur l'établissement des politiques énergétiques de la Chine. Il a reçu le prix Léon Dion 2007 de la Société québécoise de science politique, et une bourse de recherche du Conseil international du Canada (CIC) pour 2008-2009. En janvier 2009, il assumera un poste d'enseignant associé sur la politique chinoise et la politique étrangère à l'École supérieure d'affaires publiques et internationales de l'Université d'Ottawa.

Seth Cropsey est un adjoint boursier au Hudson Institute de Washington, DC, et a servi comme secrétaire adjoint de la marine sous Ronald Reagan et George H. W. Bush.

Roger Girouard (contre-amiral, ret.) a commencé son service naval au NCSM CARLTON, à Ottawa, en tant que matelot de 3e classe manoeuvrier, en 1973. Après sa mise en service, ses nominations à des postes de leadership ont compris des postes de commandant des navires NCSM CHALEUR, MIRAMICHI, et IROQUOIS, Commandant des opérations maritimes Groupe quatre à Esquimalt (C.-B.) et Commandant de la flotte canadienne du Pacifique. Sa dernière nomination a été celle de Commandant de la Force opérationnelle interarmées (Pacifique) et des Forces navales du Pacifique, à Victoria, où il a été responsable de l'état de préparation naval pour le Pacifique, et il a également servi comme commandant de recherche et sauvetage et a eu des responsabilités concernant les questions de sécurité et d'urgences intérieures en Colombie-Britannique, y compris la planification du soutien pour les Olympiques de 2010 et la planification d'urgence pour les inondations possibles des terres basses de la Colombie-Britannique. Il est Membre du conseil d'administration de l'Institut de la CAD.

Brian L. Job, Ph.D., est professeur de sciences politiques, directeur du Centre de relations internationales et l'actuel directeur intérimaire du Liu Institute for Global Issues, à l'Université de la Colombie-Britannique. Son enseignement et sa recherche traitent de sécurité internationale et de l'état de la sécurité dans la région de l'Asie-Pacifique; des conflits internes aux États; et des politiques canadiennes en matière d'affaires étrangères et de défense. Ses récentes publications ont porté sur l'O.N.U., sur les conflits régionaux et sur la sécurité dans l'Asie-Pacifique. M. Job participe de près aux activités régionales « Track 2 » dans le cadre du Conseil de coopération pour la sécurité dans l'Asie-Pacifique (MASC) où il siège comme co-président du MASC Canada et, depuis 2002-04, comme co-président de l'organisation MASC de l'ensemble de la région. Il est l'un des 'experts et personnalités éminentes' du Canada au sein du Forum régional de l'ANASE. De 1995 à 1997, il siégeait sur le Conseil consultatif du Ministre des Affaires étrangères. Il est actuellement membre du 'Programme de professeur émérite invité' du Collège des Forces canadiennes.

Brian MacDonald (colonel, retraité) est diplômé du Collège militaire royal et de l'Université York et commentateur bien connu sur les questions de sécurité et de défense dans les médias. Il a prononcé de nombreuses conférences, notamment aux Collèges Kings et Emmanuel de l'Université de Cambridge, à l'Université des Forces armées allemandes, à Munich, à l'Institut d'études stratégiques internationales de Beijing, l'Institut d'études internationales de Shanghai et, dans le cadre des réunions de l'Association du traité de l'Atlantique, à Budapest, Copenhague, Édimbourg, Paris, en Slovaquie, à Washington et à Ottawa. Il est le rédacteur de dix-huit livres et auteur de *Military Spending in Developing Countries: How Much Is Too Much?* (Carleton University Press, 1997). Il est Membre du conseil d'administration de l'Institut de la CAD.

Paul Manson (général retraité) a servi 38 ans dans l'ARC et les Forces canadiennes. Pilote de chasse, il a occupé tous les postes de commandement de la Force aérienne. De 1986 à 1989, il a été Chef d'état-major de la Défense. Après sa retraite de la vie militaire, il a exercé pendant huit ans les fonctions de président d'une importante entreprise aérospatiale. Durant cette période, il a servi un mandat de président du conseil de l'Association des industries aérospatiales du Canada. Il est également ancien président du conseil du Panthéon de l'aviation du Canada. En tant qu'administrateur de 2000 à 2006 du Musée canadien des civilisations, il a présidé le Comité du Musée canadien de la guerre.

Auteur de nombreux articles sur le sujet de la défense, il est ancien président de l'Institut de la Conférence des associations de la défense, fonctions qui lui permettent de paraître souvent comme commentateur à la télévision et à la radio nationales. Le général Manson est commandeur de l'Ordre du mérite militaire et commandeur de la Légion du Mérite aux États-Unis. En 2002, il a été nommé Officier de l'Ordre du Canada

Ken Summers, contre-amiral à la retraite, a servi 37 ans dans les forces armées canadiennes où il a consacré une grande partie de la dernière moitié de sa carrière dans des postes de commandement, notamment comme commandant des FC du Moyen-Orient pendant la Guerre du golfe de 1990. Depuis sa retraite, il est resté au fait des enjeux militaires du Canada et de l'OTAN et il paraît fréquemment à la CBC comme analyste militaire. Ken a fait de nombreux voyages en Afghanistan et il a écrit et parlé sur ce conflit. Il reste très actif dans plusieurs organisations, dont le conseil d'administration de l'Institut de la CAD, l'exécutif national des Associations des officiers de marine du Canada, dont il est président de la branche de l'île de Vancouver, et il est vice-président de la branche de Victoria du Conseil international du Canada (anciennement CIIA).

LES CANADIENS ET LA SÉCURITÉ EN ASIE-PACIFIQUE

Sous la direction de
Brian MacDonald

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