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Canada's Asia-Pacific Security Dilemma

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farther apart, thus increasing the difficulty and cost of their eventual integration. Eberstadt believes that Korea's situation will ultimately be better after unification, after which, he speculates in the last chapter, it will be peaceable, politically free, and market oriented. However, the author provides no warrant for this rosy prediction, and he does not consider alternative scenarios.

Can North Korean politics survive economic disintegration? This is a major question, because U.S. and South Korean policies seem to assume that the problem needs to be managed only until North Korea's imminent political collapse. Unfortunately, on this subject Eberstadt waffles, implying in the first five chapters that economic collapse does not necessarily cause political collapse but suggesting in the last chapter that it does. True, Eberstadt cannot consider reunification without presupposing collapse; however, without explicitly grappling with this question, he cannot address the title of his book. If states can endure economic collapse, Eberstadt has not made the case that the end of North Korea is in sight. Rather, we might expect that so long as the praetorians remain loyal, the economy will continue to muddle through, people will die of starvation, and the regime will remain in power. Failing a Gorbachev-like

miscalculation about political and economic reform by Kim Jong Il or his successors, North Korea may be exporting insecurity and importing tribute for years to come. Contrary to the title, the end of North Korea may not yet be at hand.

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Varner, Joe. *Canada's Asia-Pacific Security Dilemma*. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Maritime Affairs. NIOBE Papers, vol. 10, 1999. 80pp. (no price given)

Haydon, Peter T. *Navies in the Post-Cold War Era*. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Dalhousie Univ. Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1998. 97pp. \$10.50

Varner's *Canada's Asia-Pacific Security Dilemma* is a series of essays that discuss Canada's position in the rapidly developing post-Cold War order. It is also a call to the Canadian government to commit itself, through defense spending and diplomacy, to providing security for its interests in the Asia-Pacific region. Varner begins by presenting a snapshot of world powers as a new order evolves, marked by dwindling Russian influence and shifting U.S. interests. Painting a bleak picture of escalating instability and growing military spending among smaller

powers throughout the Asia-Pacific region, Varner offers a new concept of international struggle. He presents a convincing argument that as global oil, waste, and toxin spills threaten vital supplies of fresh water and fisheries, disputes over possession and rights may lead to armed conflict. Additionally, he contends that ethnic divergence, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and the illicit drug trade will also significantly contribute to global instability, resulting in a fundamental shift from hegemonic expansionism to homeland defense. Based on these concepts, Varner reasons that the Canadian government must reaffirm its commitment to the 1994 Defence White Paper, which outlined military spending and its growth plans to provide combat-capable land, sea, and air forces in the twenty-first century. Recognizing current trends, insufficiencies due to aging weapons systems, incompatibility with the rapidly improving neighboring Nato systems, and airlift deficiencies, Varner fears that Canada will prove more of a liability than an asset in future combined peacekeeping task forces.

Varner's work is brief and to the point, yet very well supported. As a senior advisor for the Senate in Ottawa specializing in Canadian international security issues, Varner writes with credibility. He has military experience, and he is well

educated in international affairs, with a master's degree in political science as well as a fellowship in the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society. At the time he wrote this book, he was an intern at the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada/Department of National Defence, sponsored by the Maritime Affairs Division of the Naval Officers' Association of Canada.

This book will be important for two reasons to government officials, military leaders, and professionals concerned about international security interests and trade. First, it succinctly outlines the history behind the political outlooks of the most influential and prevailing small and middle powers of the Asia-Pacific region. These are powers that could mature into formidable threats to global resources and regional interests. Second, it serves as a warning to prepare for a new nature of war. In a region of instability, which Varner compares to the Balkan unrest at the opening stage of World War I, with pressure from the guardian superpowers thinning and arms easy to procure, terrorism and weapons of mass destruction are becoming the venom of an unrestrained adolescent rattlesnake.

Haydon's *Navies in the Post-Cold War Era* is a collection of essays on the emerging role of maritime forces in the changing global environment. The collection is tailored

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to address specific concerns within the Canadian government over the size, structure, and responsibilities of Canada's maritime forces in the twenty-first century. Haydon contends that the fundamental role of "acting as an extension of state policy over the seas" still applies to naval operations but that changes will manifest themselves in the way navies perform that function. Beginning with a general synopsis of customary naval tasking—to include support to the United Nations, gunboat diplomacy, implementation of diplomatic initiatives, and humanitarian relief—Haydon recommends a redefinition of the navy's mandate rather than force reduction. Rapid action and crisis management, he judges, will be characteristic of future operations; he points out the maritime strategic application of the UN secretary-general's *Agenda for Peace* of 1992.

Navies are ideal in this capacity because of their seaborne logistical support, flexibility, and symbolic value. Naval operations—having three broad dimensions, the diplomatic, military, and constabulary—will expand into multinational naval forces. These forces will need to train together so that they may prepare for global peacekeeping missions and beyond. But who will lead such a force? What nations have navies that are organized and trained well enough to participate? How would administrative and

logistical support be handled? Is the UN willing to make the investment of time, effort, money, and other resources to support an endeavor of this magnitude? These are all questions that Haydon develops for the politicians to answer.

Haydon writes in a candid, straightforward manner that is easy to read and understand. His credentials are impressive, including thirty years of service in the Canadian navy and as a research fellow with the Center for Foreign Policy Studies at Dalhousie University. He has published several books on Canadian naval history and policy.

Although Haydon states in his introduction that the essays within have been made homogeneous, several concepts are restated verbatim, which can be a bit distracting. Nevertheless, his work strikes at the very heart of what is potentially the most complex future battlefield, that from the sea. His basic aim of crisis management in a maritime strategic application should be a primary concern of every littoral nation. Responsibility for maintaining global peace and reacting to aggression will become the primary concern for the international community as a new equilibrium is reached in the wake of the Cold War.

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