An Integrated Neoclassical Realist and Constructivist Approach to the Study of Canadian Foreign Policy:

Canada's Response to the 2011 Intervention in Libya

by

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts

at

Dalhousie University

Halifax, Nova Scotia

August 2014

Dedications

First and foremost, I would like to thank Brian Bow, David Black, Ruben Zaiotti, and Frank Harvey for their help throughout this process. I would also like to thank my fellow graduate cohort at Dalhousie as they have provided a great amount of support. Finally, I would like to give a special thanks to my family and friends. Mom, Dad, Jenna, Jill, Meg, and Heather: Thank you for your encouragement!

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Abstract

The following project is an examination of Canadian foreign and defence policy. Specifically, it is argued that growing trends in Canadian foreign policy necessitate a theoretical framework that is able to accurately examine the variables that factor into the decision making process, both domestically and internationally. A combination of both neoclassical realism and constructivism make this possible, as it is crucial to understand how power and ideas intersect when conducting foreign policy. In order to test this framework, the Canadian involvement in the 2011 intervention in Libya led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is examined. The case study examines the international, domestic, and ideational factors which led to Canada's enthusiastic response to the opportunity to become involved. It is argued that including strategic culture arguments into a neoclassical realist framework best describes Canada's involvement in the intervention, and is indicative of growing trends in Canadian foreign and defence policy.

List of Abbreviations Used

HMCS	Her Majesty's Canadian Ship
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDP	New Democratic Party
NTC	National Transitional Council
OUP	Operation Unified Protector
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SC	Security Council
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
US	United States

Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

The Canadian military involvement in the 2011 intervention in Libya is typically

presented as a humanitarian and military success. Indeed, following the intervention

Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper stated that the intervention was the North

Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) "most successful mission ever."[1] The Canadian

involvement in the mission was substantial considering its concurrent military operations

in Afghanistan and various assistance forces deployed at the time. Canada's military

contributed over 2000 personnel, marine vessels, and an air contingent to the NATO-led

Operation Unified Protector (OUP). However, the initial government reaction to the crisis

in Libya was lacklustre in Canada; while there was an interest expressed in the conflict,

no plans were made to become involved. What explains Canada's enthusiasm to become

so heavily involved in Operation Unified protector, given its capabilities and limitations

relative to other states? Are these specific motivations indicative of a larger trend in

Canadian foreign policy? The way in which the mission is understood by Canadians is

through a humanitarian lens, yet this analysis will show that there were other, more

influential factors at play. The purpose of this case study is to examine the specific

motivations and trends in Canadian defence and security policy which led to the

Canadian involvement in the intervention of Libya in early 2011.

To examine these trends and motivations, this case study will be conducted

through a neoclassical realist framework that examines the various international,

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[1] "Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada at the Chief of Defence Staff Change of
Command Ceremony," *Government of Canada,* (October 29, 2012),
http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/node/25039.

domestic, and elite variables which led to the Canadian foreign and defence policies concerning Libya in 2011. The outcome of this examination is that Canadian foreign and defence policy is based on a realpolitik perception of needs and material factors rather than the specific ideological trends that have been credited in Canada's past foreign policy history. These ideological factors still play a role in Canadian foreign policy, but they are first subject to calculations of power and international constraints. Canadian strategic culture thus plays an important role in that it has set a pattern of action that has influenced Canadian foreign policy in the past decade.

The inclusion of the role of ideas into a neoclassical realist analysis is not without precedent, as this study will show. This is a useful tool, as it explains the variables that are left behind by other theoretical approaches. Libya provides an opportunity for the application of this theory, as the Canadian involvement there is not completely explained by the common justifications such as humanitarianism or pure realist motivations. Therefore, there will be a discussion on how realism and constructivism can be compatible despite the common perception that they are fundamentally different approaches. There is value in doing so when conducting examinations of specific foreign policy decisions. For Canada especially, this methodology is useful considering its relative power and longstanding traditions based on ideas about where it stands in the international system. The situation in Libya provides a useful application of this theoretical framework for Canadian foreign policy.

The extent to which the intervention in Libya can be classified as a primarily humanitarian mission is called into question due to the widening of objectives and the aftermath of the mission itself. While many believe that regime change was a

humanitarian effort regardless of the initial motives of the intervention, it is argued here that the extension of the mission to include this objective negates the humanitarian aspects of the operation. While it cannot be denied that the Canadian government is interested in protecting human rights, this study argues that this was not central to the decision to become involved in Libya. Namely, the lack of action after the conflict itself is telling, as is the lack of action once the situation on the ground in Libya began to deteriorate for the second time in two years. As with the first conflict, it is unlikely that Canada will take action until others indicate their desire to do so.

Context

The intervention in Libya is viewed as a potential for a growing rapprochement within the international system with regards to multilateralism. Following the outbreak of conflict in Libya concerning Muammar Qaddafi's rule in early February of 2011, the international community quickly responded to the crisis. As early as March key actors in the international system announced their intent to intervene, with NATO leading the intervention under Operation Unified Protector (OUP). United Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 1970 and 1973 provided NATO with the mandate to carry out the intervention. Resolution 1973 presents a crucial development in the use of humanitarian force, as it was the first time that the Security Council (SC) authorized the use of force without permission from the state involved.[2] The swift execution of the no-fly zone over Libyan airspace and the commencement of an arms embargo by the NATO member states involved is viewed as a great success, both militarily and humanitarian.

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[2] Alex J. Bellamy, "Libya and the Responsibility to Protect: The Exception and the Norm," *Ethics and International Affairs* 25, no. 3 (2011): 263, doi: 10.1017/S0892679411000219.

The NATO campaign in Libya lasted seven months, a relatively short operation. The Canadian military assisted in thousands of operations throughout OUP, providing air and marine support. Canadian Lieutenant-General Charles Bouchard was in overall command of OUP, a fact which was celebrated and reiterated by Canadian leadership throughout the Libyan intervention. At home, federal elections were underway and the Conservatives were under fire about defence procurement costs; the mission in Libya provided the Harper government with the ability to show that it was projecting leadership internationally.

By the summer of 2011, key regime targets had been eliminated, and opposition forces were making headway daily with NATO forces aiding in air strikes and enforcing the arms embargo. By October, Qaddafi had fallen and was eventually killed. Libya officially declared liberation shortly afterwards; OUP officially ended on the 31st of October.[3] Following the intervention, only a small UN contingent was left behind, with NATO having little involvement after the mission itself was complete. The same is true for Canada; after the mission itself little was done in follow up beyond reinstating its diplomatic relations. The mission was hailed as a success, proving the utility of the Canadian military and the ability of humanitarian interventions to be timely and efficient.

Canada's involvement in the intervention is indicative of specific trends in foreign and defence policy under Harper; this marks a shift away from traditional conceptualizations of how Canada should behave on the international stage. These traditional ideas revolve around multilateralism and a commitment to the UN,

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[3] North Atlantic Treaty Organization, "Operation Unified Protector Final Mission Stats," *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (November 2, 2011).

cosmopolitanism, and the application of Canadian values abroad. Canada's actions concerning Libya reflect a version of Canadian foreign policy that is distinct from the way in which it has been conducted for decades. Using neoclassical realism and constructivism illustrates this point, as there are specific realpolitik and ideational factors which influenced Canadian foreign policy concerning the crisis in Libya that extend beyond the intervention in 2011. These varied levels of analyses provide an explanation that is more whole than the alternative theories used to describe Canadian foreign policy.

Summary

This project follows a mixed methods research methodology which is covered briefly here and elaborated on in the next chapter. Specifically, a literature review is conducted in Chapter Three in order to establish the theoretical background that frames this project. The ways in which Canadian foreign policy has been theorized in the past will be examined in order to establish the new framework that is suggested here. An examination of liberal internationalism, realism, and constructivism as they apply to Canadian scholarship is thus carried out. Following this, a discussion of how neoclassical realist and constructivist hybrid approach is useful in investigating Canadian foreign and defence policy decisions is carried out. Emphasis is placed on the suggestion that the elite perceptions that neoclassical realism values can also involve discussions concerning ideas and how they influence elite behaviour.

For the case study and discussion chapters, a mixed methods research methodology is carried out using primarily qualitative methods. Specifically, both primary and secondary sources are examined in order to derive conclusions from their content. However, evidence is also collected through the use of a content analysis.

Speeches and official announcements by Prime Minister Harper and key members of his cabinet were collected and analysed using coding software in order to identify how exactly the Libyan intervention was framed. Although most consider it to be a primarily humanitarian mission, it was hypothesised that the way in which it was actually discussed by elites would reflect the realpolitik version of Canadian foreign and defence policy that is elaborated on in the literature review. Key terms were identified and ascribed value according to their usage in context. The findings from the content analysis support this hypothesis and will be discussed at greater length in chapters four and five.

The case study takes place in Chapter four, wherein the specific events that led to the revolution in Libya are covered in detail. The specifics of the NATO operation and other international responses are covered. An examination of the events taking place concurrently in Canada follows in order to provide context for the decision that took place. Here data from the content analysis is used to frame how exactly the Harper government made its decisions. The final chapter is used to compile the evidence presented in the previous chapters and discuss the implications for Canadian foreign and defence policy.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter will offer an examination of how Canadian foreign policy has been theorized in the past. First, an overview of the key theories used to describe Canadian foreign policy will be conducted, focusing on liberal internationalism, realism, and constructivism. Each of these theories also represent ways in which the 2011 intervention in Libya has been viewed by academics and policymakers. Specifically, there are three salient discourses which seek to justify Canada's enthusiastic involvement. Each of these explanations can be seen as a theoretical 'lens' through which the intervention is studied. The first, and perhaps most recognizable amongst Canadians, is that the intervention was fundamentally motivated by humanitarian concerns. This is how the intervention was primarily justified to both international and domestic audiences at the time of the Libyan revolution. The second explanation is that the intervention was fundamentally motivated by Western security concerns. This explanation focuses more on the security interests of the Western states involved (including Canada) and their role in motivating the intervention, rather than humanitarianism. The third explanation looks at Canadian strategic culture and the role of identity within Canada. From this perspective, the decision to participate in the international intervention in Libya was motivated by ingrained beliefs of Canada's role in international security. Each of these explanations are formulated through a particular theoretical lens.

Contrary to those who believe that constructivism and realism have inherently incompatible ontologies, the latter sections of this chapter will discuss the ability of constructivist analyses to fit into a neoclassical realist framework. Literature concerning

this approach will be discussed with respect to its application to Canadian foreign policy. Specifically, the ability of a hybrid neoclassical realist and constructivist approach will be discussed in order to show that these theories are not incompatible and are in fact a valuable tool for understanding the foreign policies of states. This discussion will set up a framework for the examination Canadian foreign and defence policy concerning Libya in 2011.

Liberal Internationalism

The most salient theory once used to describe Canadian foreign policy was liberal internationalism. Liberal internationalism is traditionally understood as a style of Canadian foreign policy that highlights Canada's role in an international community of states. The avoidance of war is paramount to a liberal internationalist brand of foreign policy. This is not to say, however, that other theories inherently support war; rather, the idea is that liberal internationalist methods of conducting foreign policy are different from others who also wish to avoid war.[4] With the notion that an active involvement in the management of conflict is within Canada's capabilities and responsibilities, the interests of the international community are seen as parallel to Canada's interests. For example, as Kim Richard Nossal has written, "Canadian defence policy can only be understood when it is conceived as a policy designed to defend something more than just Canadian territorial integrity and the security and well-being of Canadians."[5] Liberal internationalist literature examining Canadian foreign policy focuses on how grand

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[4] Andrew Lui, *Why Canada Cares* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2012), 125.
[5] Kim Richard Nossal, "Defending the Realm: Canadian Strategic Culture Revisited," *International Journal* 59, no. 3 (2004): 504. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40203952.

strategy revolves around a broader political community than "just Canada."[6] This is how liberal internationalists explain the Canadian support for multilateralism, international institutions like the United Nations, as well as self-subscribed roles such as helpful fixer, honest broker, peacekeeper, and so on.[7] This particular brand of foreign policy was popular given Canada's capabilities; focusing on niche areas such as these gave Canada a role to play amongst larger, more powerful states.[8]

In the past, liberal internationalism in Canada was characterized by an adherence to so-called Canadian values through foreign and defence policy actions. Thus, the pursuit of certain policy objectives are seen as valuable to both the state and the international system. While to a liberal internationalist reading of Canadian foreign policy the national interest is indeed pursued internationally, the distinction between this and a realist point of view lies in the idea to a liberal internationalist, the interests of the international community are equally important. As Lloyd Axworthy notes, "the security of the state is not an end in itself."[9] The idea here is that some concepts such as human security or the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) complement national security and the international community. Thus when Canada became involved in a conflict or intervention abroad, to liberal internationalists it did so due to a number of expectations

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[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Kim Richard Nossal, quoted in Lui, *Why Canada Cares,* 125; See also Srdjan Vucetic, "Why did Canada Sit Out of the Iraq War? One Constructivist Analysis," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 13, no. 1 (2006): 142. doi:10.1080/11926422.2006.9673423

[8] See Chapnick, "The Canadian Middle Power Myth," *International Journal* 55, no. 2 (2000): 201. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40203476. Chapnick discusses niche diplomacy and the functional principle, stating that niche diplomacy allows states to fashion an international identity that promotes its self-image. Doing so, according to Chapnick, produces "national pride and unity" amongst that state's citizens.

[9] Lloyd Axworthy, "Human Security: Safety for People in a Changing World," in *Crosscurrents: International Relations in the Post Cold War Era,* ed. Mark Charlton (Thompson Nelson, 2003): 93.

about its role in the international system. With its own interests tied to the interests of the international community, multilateral operations became the norm for Canada.[10] Thus unilateral action can be seen as counterproductive, as the action itself will not always be in the best interests of other states in the international system. Further, unilateral action does not necessarily follow the rule of international law; this has been highlighted by Canadian politicians in the past as an explanation for not participating in conflicts abroad.

As Tim Dunne and Matt McDonald note, internationalism is also used by practitioners to refer to strategies of global order and as a basis for security strategies based on ethics and foreign policy.[11] This is especially true in the Canadian case; for as Dunne and McDonald observe, liberal internationalist literature often focuses on "…critically important issues to do with the contemporary global order, such as the structural limitations acting upon small and middle powers who try to act as 'local agents of a world common good.'"[12] Here the idea is that changing the normative framework of international society is beyond the capacity of smaller, less wealthy states and so the responsibility falls to other states to do so.[13] The UN became a tool through which Canada conducted foreign policy, and with it came peacekeeping. Peacekeeping quickly became a hallmark of Canadian action abroad, at least to its citizens. In the 1990s,

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[10] Heather A. Smith, "Forget the Fine Tuning: Internationalism, the Arctic, and Climate Change," in *Canada in the World: Internationalism in Canadian Foreign Policy,* eds. Heather A. Smith and Claire Turenne Sjolander, (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2013), 203.
[11] Tim Dunne and Matt McDonald, "The Politics of Liberal Internationalism," *International Politics* 50, no. 1 (2011): 7.
[12] *Ibid,* 4.
[13] *Ibid,* 5.

Canada represented approximately 10% of the UN's total peacekeeping forces abroad.[14] Peacekeeping became a part of a Canadian national identity, regardless of its salience in Canadian foreign policy in the past decade.

As with any theory of foreign policy, liberal internationalists see a variety of conditions that must be met before Canada becomes involved in a conflict or intervention. In a case like Libya, liberal internationalists would focus on a number of pre-existing conditions before considering a military intervention. The human rights abuses carried out by the Qaddafi regime directly conflict with the way in which Canada and other like states operate, justifying a response in defense of those citizens. The intervention was a sanctioned multilateral operation, with the UNSC and NATO taking the lead rather than a lone nation like the United States. The intervention itself does not directly conflict with the interests of the international community, which is negatively affected by strife given that it can spread to other states. If a liberal internationalist approach was used to study Canada's role in Libya, then there would be an emphasis on how Canada's actions meet the above conditions. However, it is argued here that this approach would fail to call attention to other, more pressing motivations as discussed in the following sections. A focus on how the structure of the international system itself dictates state choices along with relative power is missing from this style of analysis.

Constructivism

Constructivist literature focuses on the idea that there are certain aspects of international relations that are socially constructed. Rather than relying on first, second, or third image theories, Jeffery Checkel describes constructivism as a method of

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[14] Tom Keating, *Canada and World Order: The Multilateralist Tradition in Canadian Foreign Policy,* (Don Mills, Oxford University Press, 2013): 158.

understanding world politics that challenges materialism and methodological individualism:

> Constructivism is concerned not with levels per se but with underlying conceptions of how the social and political world works. It is not a theory but an approach to social inquiry based on two assumptions: (1) the environment in which agents/ states take action is social as well as material; and (2) this setting can provide agents/ states with understandings of their interests.[15]

To constructivists, social context plays an important role in examining agent and state behaviour. A key ontological difference between constructivism and theories such as realism and liberalism is that the various units of analysis used are not viewed as more or less important than the other; rather, they represent a mutually constitutive relationship.[16] This leads to an increased amount of focus on intersubjective understandings and the way in which they influence behaviour.

Additionally, constructivists point to rule governed action and 'logics of appropriateness' when describing state/ agent action.[17] These practices are influenced by norms, which help states and agents understand their interests and provides them with the tools to manage them. Coined as collective understandings that inform as to what is appropriate and what is not, to constructivists norms make behavioural claims on actors.[18]

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[15] Jeffrey T. Checkel, "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics* 50, no. 2 (1998): 325. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v050/50.2er_finnemore.html.

[16] *Ibid,* 326.

[17] *Ibid*.

[18] Finnemore and Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 891. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2601361; Checkel, "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," 327.

Interests and identity formation is a byproduct of these dynamics, and eventually constitute norms of behaviour unique to each actor.

For constructivist studies of Canadian foreign policy specifically, there is more often than not a focus on the role of identity in foreign policy decision making. While there is constant anxiety about the exact definition of a Canadian national identity, the characteristics of liberal internationalism are often described by constructivists as being a part of a whole Canadian identity.[19] According to a constructivist understanding of Canadian foreign policy, the perception and influence of these ideas can lead to trends in foreign policy decision making. What amounts to a style of foreign policy for liberal internationalists becomes a part of an identity for constructivists- or at least an understanding that shapes behaviour. Decision makers are influenced by constructed identities or understandings and their actions are guided in part by these ideas.

An example of this method is Srdjan Vucetic's analysis of Canada's decision to sit out of the Iraq war in 2003. Given that realists have labelled this decision as "inconsistent" or "in stark contrast" with Canadian interests, there are a multitude of studies on what caused Ottawa to stay out of Iraq.[20] Vucetic offers a constructivist explanation of Canada's foreign policy decision making process that focuses on national identity and the way in which it influenced Ottawa's decision not to participate in the Iraq

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[19] Lui, *Why Canada Cares,* 119; See also Vucetic, "Why did Canada Sit Out of the Iraq War? One Constructivist Analysis," 142.

[20] Many realists, for example, note that there were a number of economic and security interests in the Gulf that Ottawa ignored by sitting out of the Iraq war in 2003. See Joel L. Sokolsky, "Realism Canadian Style: National Security and the Chretien Legacy," *Policy Matters* 5, no. 2 (2005): 8, http://irpp.org/wp-content/uploads/assets/pmvol5no2.pdf; as well as Justin Massie, "Making Sense of Canada's "Irrational" International Security Policy: A Tale of Three Strategic Cultures," *International Journal* 64, no. 3 (2009): 626, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40542193.

war. Using an approach that highlights the interaction between and within states, Vucetic states that "Canadian identity is thus established not only through Canada's interactions with its significant "others" in the international system of states, but also through state-society relations within Canada."[21] The domestic politics that constrain state behaviour are seen as ideational rather than material.[22] The prevailing discourse at the time of the Iraq war according to Vucetic was a "liberal" one; one that "…implies a foreign policy committed to the maintenance of multilateral international institutions and international law, even if it means shunning the superpower neighbor and the biggest trading partner over Iraq."[23] Thus, Vucetic argues through the use of a discourse analysis that Canada's non-participation in the US-led Iraq war can be explained by national identity.

Based on this logic, it follows that most analyses of Canadian foreign and defence policy done through a constructivist lens would follow a set framework that emphasizes the role of national identity and decision making. In the case of Libya, such an analysis would focus on how Canada's preoccupations and identity intersect with its international interests. The focus is that there are social as well as material factors at play which influence behaviour. These factors can reinforce or guide actors with their perspective on a particular issue, providing them with the ability to prioritize interests. Thus to constructivists, the prevailing identity discourses that took place in Canada at the time of the conflict in Libya would therefore have a significant effect on Canada's policies. Circumstance dictates what action an actor will take.

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[21] Vucetic, "Why did Canada Sit Out of the Iraq War," 134.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid*.

Realism

In Canada, liberal internationalism seen as an alternative to realism, which focuses more on the primacy of the 'national interest' and defines those interests differently than liberal internationalists. Focusing more broadly on material interests and relative power distributions rather than ideas and an international community of states, realism in Canada tends to be of the structural variant. National interests such as narrower strategic or economic advantages are prioritized regardless of whether or not they align with those of other states in the international system. If the pursuit of a human security agenda placed one of these core interests in jeopardy, then a trade-off might occur to the detriment of the international community.[24] The concept of security is based on several assumptions. First is the notion that the international system is best described as a state of anarchy and thus states must pursue their own interests, even if these interests conflict with the more broad collective interest of the international system. Second is the constant danger of other states in the international system and the threat that they pose. In order to manage these threats, the proper management and maintenance of military force is crucial. Finally, the security of the state will subsume other interests.[25]

This leads to the next 'stage' in theoretical debates about Canadian foreign policy which focus on more realist interpretations. Rather than going along with the interests of the international community and follow consensus, a realist expectation for Canadian foreign policy is one that focuses more on how Canada's interests are affected by foreign policy decisions. This side of the debate latches onto the notion that Canadian

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[24] Lui, *Why Canada Cares,* 49.
[25] Mark Charlton, *Crosscurrents: International Relations in the Post Cold War Era,* (Thompson Nelson, 2003): 88.

peacekeeping is now a myth supported by Canadians through memory only, and that the

modern reality reveals a decidedly realist foreign policy.[26] Here, theorists point to the

massive drop in UN peacekeeping operations and subsequent increase in other

operations.[27] While the idea of a realist Canadian foreign policy framework is not a new

concept, it has become much more salient in the past decade, notably since the election of

Stephen Harper. As noted in the previous section, Canada's high involvement in the UN,

most notably the SC, is often celebrated and used as support for liberal internationalist

interpretations of foreign and defence policy. Recent interpretations focus not only on

the lack of peacekeeping missions in the last decade, but also on the failure of Canada in

2010 to obtain a non-permanent seat on the SC, losing to Germany and Portugal.[28]

Looking at Canada's involvement in the 1999 Kosovo War provides some insight

into the idea that NATO is becoming more of a priority than the UN. As the above

section on liberal internationalism describes, the conventional idea in Canadian foreign

policy literature is that decisions about intervention revolve in around a commitment to

the United Nations and multilateralism. However, as Legault observes, in the case of

Kosovo the Chrétien government aligned with NATO. Through intervening in Kosovo,

NATO not follow Article 53 of the UN Charter which states that "no enforcement action

shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the

authorization of the Security Council."[29] Canada's involvement in the NATO air

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[26] *Ibid.*
[27] *Ibid*, 242.
[28] Duane Bratt, "Warriors or Boy Scouts? Canada and Peace Support Operations," in *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas,* eds. Duane Bratt and Christopher J. Kukucha, (Don Mills, Oxford University Press, 2007): 238.
[29] Albert Legault, "NATO Intervention in Kosovo: The Legal Context," *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 1 (2000): 64. http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vo1/no1/doc/63-66-

campaign in this case raises questions concerning its commitment to the UN, and also marks a shift to NATO-led operations. Kosovo is similar to Libya in this way, where the emphasis was placed on NATO allies by the Canadian government.

Realist interpretations of Canadian foreign policy focus on Canada's relative capabilities in the international system. In a way this is similar to the liberal internationalist focus on Canada's position as a middle power in the international system, but there are distinct differences in how each theory interprets it. Liberal internationalists argue that ethics and interests often overlap as Canada's interest in international order and stability corresponds with Canadian ethics.[30] This leads to the support of international institutions within which it can pursue objectives. Contrary to the bottom-up approach of liberal internationalism, realists focus on top-down interpretations and argue that Canada's foreign and defence policy is motivated primarily by the nature of the international system.

In this way, realists argue that Canada is constrained by the international system and the decisions it makes are based on what it is capable of doing within that system. The focus on middlepowermanship and Canadian foreign and defence policy captures this conceptualization: it is argued that Canadian actions abroad are taken because of the ability to do so, and the inability to engage in other areas.[31] Taking into account a state's

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eng.pdf; United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 1 UNTS XVI, 24 October 1945. http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter8.shtml.

[30] Kim Richard Nossal, Stéphane Roussel, and Stéphane Paquiun, quoted in Smith, "Forget the Fine Tuning," 203.

[31] See Adam Chapnick, "The Canadian Middle Power Myth." Chapnick argues that the rhetoric of middlepowermanship in Canada reflects a conscious move by Canadian policymakers "to justify the attainment of disproportionate influence in international affairs."

position in the international system and the resources available to it is according to Stairs,

crucial to understanding its movements within that system. While values may inspire

some of Canada's foreign and defence policy, it is its circumstance that realists believe

motivates its decisions.[32] While liberal internationalists also focus on Canada's place in

the international system, they do so in a different fashion, focusing instead on the

international community and how Canada's interests align with it.

An additional area which highlights the divide between liberal internationalist and

realist interpretations of Canadian foreign and defence policy concerns the motivation for

involvement in conflicts abroad. A traditional liberal internationalist interpretation would

likely point to the need for humanitarian intervention due to the moral concerns involved

and the need to maintain international order and stability. Conversely, a realist

interpretation of the same conflict might acknowledge these realities, but be motivated

primarily by security or other national interests. Conflict in a particular region might

harm Canadian interests there, as would the spread of that conflict. As Catherine Gegout

notes in a study that examines realist explanations for humanitarian intervention in the

Democratic Republic of Congo, however, "realism…at first glance, does not seem to

consider military intervention in an African state as plausible."[33] However, as Gegout

points out, there are a number of reasons why realists would consider humanitarian

military operations to be in the best interests of the intervening states involved.

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[32] Denis Stairs, "Myths, Morals, and Reality in Canadian Foreign Policy," *International Journal* 58, no. 2 (2003): 255. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40203840.
[33] Catherine Gegout, "Causes and Consequences of the Europe's Military Intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Realist Explanation," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10, no. 3 (2005): 429. http://www.ies.be/files/documents/JMCdepository/Gegout,%20Catherine,%20Causes%20and%20Consequences%20of%20the%20EU's%20Military%20Intervention%20in%20the%20Democratic%20Republic%20of%20Congo,%20A%20Realist%20Explanation.pdf.

For example, Barry Posen and Andrew Ross note that for the US specifically, "most conflicts in what was once referred to as the Third World will be of little concern."[34] However, Posen and Ross explain that some operations do contain security rationale, if the conflict in question threatens US interests or "offers opportunities to demonstrate and assert U.S. power and leadership," then a humanitarian intervention becomes more likely and appropriate.[35] Similarly, Robert Art argues that intervening militarily to spread democracy is not always in the best interest of the US. However, Art presents four conditions under which humanitarian intervention is possible given US interests abroad: that the nation is small and militarily weak, that the population of the state in question welcomes the intervention, that there is a low cost of casualties, and that the success of the mission has a high probability.[36] These conditions apply when US interests are at stake.

These interpretations of US foreign policy can be applied to realist explanations of why Canada engages in humanitarian conflicts abroad. Canada aligns itself with the US and NATO when participating in mandated military operations abroad, and the same logic for their decisions to intervene applies in Canada. Jean-Christophe Boucher discusses how in Canada, there are realist interpretations of internationalism that follow this logic. Boucher analyses foreign policy decisions made under Stephen Harper since 2006. Boucher suggests that Canadian foreign policy has followed a decidedly realist

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[34] Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* 21, no. 3, (1996): 38. http://www.comw.org/pda/14dec/fulltext/97posen.pdf.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] Robert J. Art, "A Defensible Defense: America's Grand Strategy after the Cold War," *International Security* 15, no. 4 (1991): 43. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539010.

interpretation of internationalism.[37] Specifically, Boucher argues that the liberal

internationalist "foreign policy attitude" in Canada that supports action through

multilateral frameworks based on the responsibility to maintain international rule of law

is overshadowed by "realist internationalism" which highlights national interests on a

"case-by-case basis."[38] Boucher argues that in many cases, the type of foreign policy

conducted under Stephen Harper has an inclination toward a more realist interpretation.[39]

Boucher comes to this conclusion through examining key foreign policy decisions as well

as relevant documentation. The division between liberal internationalism and realist

internationalism outlined by Boucher in "The Responsibility to Think Clearly about

Interests" is helpful to this analysis as a discussion of the motivations for intervention and

non-intervention in various conflicts can be framed within this debate. This theoretical

divide remains prevalent in the limited literature on this topic, as the way in which the

intervention in Libya was framed by the Harper government marks a clear divide

between these competing theories.

Neoclassical Realism

A derivative of classical and structural realism, neoclassical realism focuses on

different levels of analyses in order to ascertain what motivates the foreign policies of

states. The term was coined by Gideon Rose in a 1998 review article. Rose reviews

several articles that use both internal and external variables in their methodologies. In this

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[37] Jean-Christophe Boucher, "The Responsibility to Think Clearly about Interests: Stephen Harper's Realist Internationalism, 2006-2011," in *Canada in the World: Internationalism in Canadian Foreign Policy,* eds. Heather A. Smith and Claire Turenne Sjolander (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2013), 66.
[38] *Ibid*, 59.
[39] *Ibid,* 66.

way, Rose argues that they are "updating and systematizing" classical realist thought.[40]

Keeping with classical realist thought, adherents of neoclassical realism note that a state's

place in the international system is the primary influence on state behaviour. The

"update," as Rose writes, is that neoclassical realists also argue that intervening variables

at the unit level impact how systemic pressures will be acted upon.[41] Relative power

capabilities set a framework for how a state can behave in the international system. The

value of neoclassical realism lies in its focus on the foreign policies of states rather than

broad international political outcomes. As Taliaferro et al. explain, the underlying causal

logic of neoclassical realism is that a state's relative power distributions are affected by

domestic constraints and elite perceptions, which in turn influence foreign policy

decisions.[42]

The inclusion of these intervening variables as additional factors that are taken

into consideration when examining foreign policy outcomes adds to a holistic view of

foreign policy. Bringing the state "back in" allows for a better understanding of specific

foreign policy decisions; for example, recognizing and accounting for the ability of

internal processes to affect external policies offers a more complete study of specific

actions. Examining how a state's relative power affects its foreign policy offers a general

understanding of its grand strategy; the inclusion of these intervening variables offers an

explanation of how relative power is affected by unit level factors.

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[40] Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics 51,* no. 1 (1998): 146, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25054068
[41] Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," 146; See also Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, Steven E. Lobell,and Norrin M. Ripsman, "Introduction," in *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy* eds. Lobell et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
[42] Taliaferro, Lobell, and Ripsmen, "Introduction," 20.

In explaining the foreign policies of states in this way, neoclassical realist analyses offer a unique contribution in that they can offer insight into seemingly counterproductive actions.[43] Thus while a "top-down" or systemic conception of influences on state behaviour might point toward one particular outcome, domestic constraints might prevent that outcome from taking place. Here the theoretical value of a neoclassical realist rather than a neorealist analysis of state behaviour becomes more apparent. For example, consider the state of realist theory in Canada following Chrétien's 2003 decision to remain uninvolved in Iraq. As noted previously, Massie observes that following Chrétien's controversial decision to stay of out Iraq, Canadian realism struggled to understand Canada's defence policies.[44] However, there were undoubtedly domestic political factors that affected this decision; when weighed against the 'national interests' at stake by declining a role in Iraq, it becomes apparent that these factors were more influential than previous realist analyses reveal. As Vucetic's argues, these domestic factors were ideational rather than material. The following subsection highlights that immaterial domestic influences such as the role of ideas are also a useful inclusion to a realist analysis of Canadian foreign policy. While a typical neoclassical realist analysis does not typically account for the role of ideational factors, this project argues that the inclusion of these variables is particularly insightful.

When considering the case of military intervention specifically, Colin Dueck has made some interesting observations on how neoclassical realism can offer more insight than a traditional realist analysis. This is particularly valuable when considering how a

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[43] Colin Dueck, "Neoclassical Realism and the National Interest: Presidents, Domestic Politics, and Major Military interventions," in *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy* eds. Lobell et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 141.
[44] Massie, "Making Sense of Canada's "Irrational" International Security Policy," 625.

neoclassical realist analysis of the intervention in Libya can be applied. As Dueck states, a neoclassical realist model "begins by positing that state officials have some conception of the national interest in the face of potential external threats. These conceptions may be misguided but they are nevertheless genuine." Further, Dueck notes that neoclassical realists would add to their analysis of systemic constraints the notion that "…domestic political or second image causes can have a powerful impact on patterns of military intervention, shaping or skewing foreign policy choices in ways that are surprising from a neorealist perspective."[45] Thus when looking at Canada's role in Libya, using a neoclassical realist model allows for the inclusion of additional explanatory variables which better explain foreign policy choices.

A neorealist model would look at structural factors that affected Canada's decisions. While this is valuable for a broader analysis, it is a limited approach in that this explanation would lack specificity when analysing a particular event. This is due in part to the ultimate objectives of neorealism and neoclassical realism respectively, for they differ in the outcomes they seek to explain. While neorealism seeks to explain international political outcomes, neoclassical realism focuses instead on the foreign policies of states. It is more appropriate in this case to use a neoclassical realist framework; as the following subsection highlights, it is also useful to include the role of ideational variables into this framework.

Before continuing, it is important to address critiques of neoclassical realism. A popular critique is that by including additional variables such as elite preferences or domestic constraints, neoclassical realist analyses are theoretically weaker than their

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[45] Dueck, "Neoclassical Realism and the National Interest," 146.

classical realist and neorealist roots.[46] For example, Legro and Moravcsik argue that the inclusion of unit level attributes makes defensive and neoclassical realism "…theoretically less determinate, less coherent, and less distinctive to realism."[47] The authors refer to new forms of realism as "minimal realism" and they claim they focus more of unit level attributes.[48] However, there are a number of factors that Legro and Moravcsik do not address in their appraisal of neoclassical realism. Relative power distributions remain the key indicator of a state's foreign policy, as Taliaferro et al. observe.[49] Further, as Kitchen highlights, neoclassical realists maintain that before the focus on a positivist epistemology in political science emerged, classical realists were willing to "admit the impact" of domestic and ideational factors in foreign policy.[50]

Neoclassical Realism and Ideational Variables

Expanding realism to include unit level variables does not necessarily undermine its origins. Theorists such as E.H. Carr and Morgenthau recognized the impact of domestic political institutions; as James points out, "… it is hard to imagine…that any remotely respectable Realist does not understand that policy is the outcome of a complex political process."[51] As Barkin elaborates, classical realists noted that without the study of

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[46] Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?," *International Security* 24, no. 2 (1999): 6, https://www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/library/anybody.pdf.
[47] *Ibid*.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] Taliaferro, Lobell, and Ripsmen, "Introduction," 20
[50] Nicholas Kitchen, "Systemic Pressures and Domestic Ideas: A Neoclassical Realist Model of Grand Strategy Formation," *Review of International Studies* 36, no. 1 (2010): 119. doi: 10.1017/S0260210509990532.
[51] Alan James, "The Realism of Realism: The State and the Study of International Relations," *Review of International Studies* 15, no. 3 (1989): 221, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20097183.

the role of moral ideals, the study of international politics is both "sterile and pointless."[52]

For those theories that focus solely on the outcomes of state interactions- Waltz's

neorealism, for example- treating the state as a black box aided their investigations into

world politics. Reductionism, to Waltz, was not helpful for his purposes; specifically,

Waltz states that "It is not possible to understand world politics simply by looking inside

states."[53] It was not denied, however, that domestic politics matter. Rather, it was

emphasized that for a grand theory of world politics, long term patterns are more telling

than short term discrepancies. As the dependent variable in neoclassical realism is the

foreign policies of states rather than a grand theory of the outcomes of world politics,

domestic variables are an appropriate factor to consider.

However, as various scholars have observed, there is room for alternative

variables in neoclassical realist examinations of foreign policy. Additional intervening

variables enhance the theoretical validity of neoclassical realism. Consider Kitchen, who

argues that the role of strategic ideas can also describe how the international system

affects actors within the state.[54] Traditionally relegated to the realm of social

constructivists, studying the effect of ideas in world politics aids in the understanding of

state foreign policy decisions. However, it is typically assumed that realism and

constructivism have inherently incompatible epistemologies. As Barkin argues, a "realist

constructivism" is "epistemologically, methodologically, and paradigmatically viable."[55]

This would bridge the gap between each approach and would provide a better

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[52] Samuel Barkin, "Realist Constructivism," *International Studies Review* 5, no. 3 (2003) 336, doi: 0.1046/j.1079-1760.2003.00503002.x.
[53] Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics,* (New York: Random House, 1979), 65.
[54] Kitchen, "Systemic Pressures and Domestic Ideas," 119.
[55] J. Samuel Barkin, "Realist Constructivism,"326.

understanding power and ideas in international politics.[56] Barkin stresses that the focus

on materialism in realism is misleading which leads to its perceived incompatibility with

constructivist methodologies.[57] Barkin's suggested realist constructivism would "…look

at the way in which power structures affects patterns of normative change in international

relations and, conversely, the way in which a particular sat of norms affect power

structures."[58] In this way, the role of power and ideas is emphasized and included; this

project seeks to include both of these variables in its execution.

Kitchen argues that there is therefore space for the inclusion of ideas in

neoclassical realism. As classical realists accepted the inclusion of morals and ideals into

their examinations of foreign policy, a neoclassical realist approach that recognizes their

value is appropriate. Such an approach, argues Kitchen, would have to require an

epistemology that examines and material capabilities alongside one another:

"Neoclassical realism thus places the impact of ideas alongside the imperatives of

material power in the making of foreign policy, rejecting the notion that either ideas or

material factors are somehow 'most fundamental' and therefore deserving of analytic

focus to the exclusion of the other."[59] This requires, however, noting that ideas, interests,

and beliefs are distinct from one another. Separating them "allows us to isolate three very

specific types of ideas involved in policy formation."[60] Kitchen describes three different

types of ideas that may influence behaviour. The first, a scientific idea, relates to how the

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[56] *Ibid*.

[57] To elaborate, Barkin argues that the focus on materialism with respect to power, human nature, and positivism is not sustainable under scrutiny. See Barkin, "Realist Constructivism," pp. 329-332.

[58] Barkin, "Realist Constructivism," 337.

[59] Kitchen, "Systemic Pressures and Domestic Ideas," 127.

[60] *Ibid,* 129.

world works. The second, an intentional idea, can take the form of "normative suggestions" that set out goals for foreign policy. The third, operational ideas, can take the form of "scientific or normative statements" that suggest how something may be achieved. Kitchen notes that a neoclassical realist approach to studying foreign policy might therefore refer to different operational ideas.[61] The suggested framework for this examination is one that looks at Canadian strategic culture and how this formation of ideas about security policy influenced Canada's involvement in the intervention in Libya.

Strategic Culture

Strategic culture is a formation of ideas that affects the behaviour of a state and its security policies. Specifically, strategic culture "refers to the distinctive, dominant, and persistent system of ideas and practises regarding international security held by a sociopolitical community."[62] Using this approach allows examinations of foreign policy to include both material and immaterial interests. As Massie argues, the inclusion of strategic culture arguments can help to "…refine and circumscribe Canadian realism by highlighting the importance of constructivist, or cultural, factors that underpin interpretations of national interest."[63] The role of state identity, or a perceived notion of state identity, is important in understanding how state foreign and defence policy decisions are made. Both internal and external identities influence state action. Internally, Canada can be described in certain ways: democratic, capitalist, multicultural, post-

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[61] *Ibid*.
[62] Justin Massie, "Making Sense of Canada's "Irrational" International Security Policy: A Tale of Three Strategic Cultures," *International Journal* 64, no. 3 (2009): 628. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40542193.
[63] *Ibid,* 626-627.

colonial, and so on. Externally, Canada can be described in other ways: multilateral, mediator, middle power, ally, and so on.[64]

Strategic culture is a useful concept in the study of Canadian foreign policy as the role of ideas in security strategy is an influential one. Studying this nexus allows for a better understanding of how various material interests intersect with ideational ones. As David McDonough argues, "any explanation of Canada's strategic behaviour therefore needs to go beyond strictly parsimonious structural-material models to incorporate domestic-level analysis."[65] While a neoclassical realist analysis does this, it does not typically include the role of strategic ideas or intersubjective understandings in its model. A strategic culture approach is, according to McDonough, rooted in constructivist understandings of the role of state preferences and the role of identity in shaping these interests.[66]

Excluding these ideas from an analysis of Canadian foreign policy as a traditional realist approach would sacrifices precision. For example, without the inclusion of strategic culture, a conventional neoclassical realist analysis of the intervention in Libya would focus solely on the material reasons for Canada's involvement. While such an analysis is valuable, the inclusion of ideational variables offers a supplemental understanding of how long-standing notions of a state's position and role in the world affects how its leaders weigh foreign policy choices. Instead of pure materialist

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[64] *Ibid,* 629. Massie refers to Kalevi Holsti's work in national role conceptions and how this can affect state behaviour. See K.J. Holsti, "National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy," *International Studies Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1970), 233-309. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3013584.

[65] David S. McDonough, "Getting it Just Right: Strategic Culture, Cybernetics, and Canada's Goldilocks Grand Strategy," *Comparative Strategy* 32, no. 3 (2013): 226. doi: 10.1080/01495933.2013.805999.

[66] *Ibid.*

explanations of how leaders weigh their options, a strategic culture approach also takes

into consideration how context and ideas influence state choice. While some argue that

there needs to be more intellectual clarity when using a strategic culture approach

(namely, through drawing a distinction between descriptive and explicative

understanding), this project argues that when included within a neoclassical realist model

strategic culture offers an overarching degree of clarity to the analysis.[67] The value of a

strategic culture approach is that supplements discussions of relative power, and

describes how ideas about power affect the way in which foreign policy choices are

made.

This investigation frames Canadian strategic culture in the following way. First,

Canada's focus on multilateralism across time and leaders creates a framework for

foreign policy that emphasizes cooperation. Not only is Canada incapable of acting

unilaterally in conflicts abroad given its military capabilities, its longstanding

commitment to multilateralism presents a pattern that it has thus far been unwilling to

break. The second factor to be considered in Canadian strategic culture relates to its

relationship with the United States. More often than not, the interests of the US are at

stake more so than the interests of Canada. As Sokolsky argues, a key defence problem

for Canada is convincing Washington and the world that it is not weak.[68] Thus,

convincing the US and others that Canada is a reliable ally capable of aiding others is in

Canada's best interests. Not only will this enhance Canadian political autonomy, a long-

standing source of anxiety, it will also boost Canada's ability to defend itself both

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[67] *Ibid,* 227.

[68] Joel L. Sokolsky, "Realism Canadian Style: National Security and the Chretien
Legacy," *Policy Matters* 5, no. 2 (2005): 8, http://irpp.org/wp-
content/uploads/assets/pmvol5no2.pdf

internally and externally. By spending money on bodies such as the Canadian Border

Security Agency, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the Canadian Armed Forces

in order to convince the US and its allies that Canada itself is not a threat, Canada's own

physical security is also reinforced.[69]

Finally, the role of NATO in Canadian strategic culture is emphasized. Being a

part of the pluralistic security community that forms NATO is described as an essential

part of Canadian foreign and defence policy.[70] For example, Domansky, Jensen, and

Bryson argue that Canada's involvement in the Libya coalition was a result of the

progression of Canadian defence policy that relies on a secure Western Europe in order to

counter-balance threats to the US, and subsequently, Canada.[71] This is consistent with a

long-term commitment to multilateralism, and highlights the shift from UN peacekeeping

missions to NATO-led military interventions. As noted previously, the Canadian

involvement in the Kosovo air campaign also marks this shift. Long-standing liberal

internationalist ideas have permeated Canadian strategic culture. As Boucher and others

argue, the Harper government still embraces internationalism, albeit in a more pragmatic

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[69] *Ibid,* 10.

[70] Karl Deutsch describes pluralistic security communities as collections of units that form a security community yet retain their sovereignty and legal authority. NATO member states retain their individual sovereignty, and work together in order to ensure that any conflict between them is resolved through peaceful means. Wendt elaborates on this, arguing that the members of a security community are unified non-rivals that possess coercive agency. See Karl W. Deutsch et al., "Political Community and the North Atlantic Area," in *International Political Communities: An Anthology* ed. Karl W. Deutsch (New York: Anchor Books, 1966); Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[71] Katie Domansky, Rebecca Jensen, and Rachael Bryson, "Canada and the Libya Coalition," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 14, no. 3 (2012): 9,

and realist way.[72] Liberal internationalist values still play a role in Canadian foreign and defence policy, but they are pursued in a more realist fashion. This includes Canada's commitment to NATO and coalition operations.

This framework emphasizes the role of both power and ideas in Canadian foreign policy decision making. Ideally, an analysis of a particular foreign policy decision using this framework will show that decisions are influenced first and foremost by Canada's relative power and position in an anarchic system of states. Once the parameters for strategies are set given the above considerations, domestic constraints and the role of ideas would subsequently guide the decision making process. If the above description of Canadian strategic culture is incorrect, and traditional liberal internationalist values were the heaviest influence, then we might see decisions being made that reflect a decidedly cosmopolitan foreign policy. However, this framework suggests that there is a more realpolitik calculation of Canada's interests taking place which affects the decision making process. This is especially evident when different leaders are taken into consideration. Using discourse analyses, Chapter four demonstrates this point through examining Boucher's work on Afghanistan and through this project's examination of how the Harper government framed Canada's role in Libya.

These state identities that persist over time can be integrated into a strategic culture approach for Canada. How Canada's identity as an internationalist –or realist internationalist, under Harper- society affected its decision to respond to the crisis in

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[72] Boucher, "The Responsibility to Think Clearly about Interests," 54; Kim Richard Nossal, "The Liberal Past in the Conservative Future: Internationalism in the Harper Era," in *Canada in the World: Internationalism in Canadian Foreign Policy,* eds. Heather A. Smith and Claire Turenne Sjolander (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2013), 31; Smith, "Forget the Fine Tuning," 203.

Libya the fashion that it did is the subject of this investigation. This will be done through incorporating a discussion of strategic culture into a neoclassical realist case study as described in the previous sections. It will be argued in the following sections that Canada's position in the international system has affected the way in which it conducts itself on the international stage. Relative power distributions first and foremost dictate how Canada can respond. This is in turn affected by domestic constraints and elite perceptions. The role of strategic culture affects Canada's leaders in that it sets a guideline for ideas concerning how Canada should conduct itself.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter will discuss the methodology used while conducting this case study. In order to explain Canada's enthusiasm to become so heavily involved in Libya and ascertain whether or not those explanations correspond with a larger trend in Canadian foreign and defence policy, a specific methodology is used. To elaborate, an embedded single case study is conducted, complimented by a small content analysis of government statements on the situation in Libya. The literature review in the previous chapter provides the basis for the development of theory, which is applied to the results of the case study in the final chapter.

Case Study Methodology

In order to conduct an inquiry into the specific factors at play during Canada's decision-making process concerning the intervention in Libya, an embedded single case study takes place. Robert K. Yin describes a case study as an "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the "case") in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident."[73] This definition lays out the scope of the case. For the purposes of this project, the phenomenon being examined is the NATO-led intervention in Libya and Canada's decision to become involved in it. Further, Yin notes that a case study inquiry "…copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence…another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions

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[73] Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods,* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2014), 16.

to guide data collection and analysis."[74] This definition covers the features of a case study. Yin's definitions are useful as they clearly delineate the role a case study plays in guiding research into particular phenomenon.

Rationale

The rationale for choosing a single-case design is due to the fact that the intervention in Libya provides a critical test for the theoretical framework being explored in this project. Yin describes the rationale for a 'critical' single case study as being an opportunity to "determine whether the propositions [of theory] are correct or whether some alternative set of explanations might be more relevant…the single case can represent a significant contribution to knowledge and theory building by confirming, challenging, or extending the theory."[75] As the literature review in the previous chapter highlights, there are a multitude of theories about Canadian foreign and defence policy, especially those which concern Canadian foreign policy under Prime Minister Harper. However, the intervention in Libya was the first major conflict that the Canadian military deployed to under Stephen Harper. While there are other examples of Canadian military deployments since Harper came into power in 2006, none of them meet the scale of the intervention in Libya. The decision to extend the mission in Afghanistan in 2008 is also indicative of a trend, yet Libya is the only major conflict that Harper oversaw from start to finish as Prime Minister. This offers an opportunity to test the applicability of the theoretical framework being offered in this project.

Further, it is argued that in order for a case study to be considered crucial for a discussion of theory, the case itself must provide a good test for that theory. According to

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[74] *Ibid.*
[75] *Ibid,* 51.

Alexander George and Andrew Bennett, in order for a case study to be valuable in testing theory, the case must represent a least likely scenario for that theory.[76] Indeed, as the following chapters will highlight, other prominent theories used to analyse Canadian foreign policy at first seem to be the best tools with which to examine Canada's role in Libya. However, this investigation argues that this is not the case, and that despite their popularity rival theories fail to best explain Canada's actions.

Evidence Collection

In order to do so, the single case study being conducted here does through with multiple embedded units of analysis. Using a neoclassical realist framework, the embedded units (or levels) of analysis being examined here are the international, domestic, and elite variables which influence Canadian foreign and defence policy. This adds to the holistic nature of the case study itself and enhances the insights gathered.[77] Thus, the conflict in Libya and the events leading up to it are examined. Following this, the domestic and elite variables at play in Canada are examined in order to highlight which factors were most influential in the decision to become so invested in the intervention. These variables are then examined and applied to a neoclassical realist analysis.

The collection of the data needed in order to conduct this case study is done in two different ways. For the theoretical aspects of this project, the previous chapter reviews the established literature on Canadian foreign policy and international relations theory. Each theory is examined in order to identify its strength and weaknesses, both

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[76] Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, Belfer Centre for Science and International Affairs, 2005), 121.
[77] *Ibid,* 56.

theoretically and through applying their methods to the evidence presented. In doing so, the theoretical framework that this project utilises is identified and established. For the specific case study, a variety of materials are reviewed. A variety of reports written in the post-conflict stage of the revolution in Libya are consulted, as are relevant documents from various national governments. Reports and legal information from institutions such as NATO and the UN are also examined and referred to. Media sources are also examined and used for reference.

The additional way in which data is collected for this case study is through content analysis. While the majority of the project focuses on analysing theoretical literature and applying it to a case, the content analysis conducted here compliments the former by adding additional insights. Using Nvivo, a qualitative data analysis program, press releases and statements from the Prime Minister of Canada and key members of his cabinet from February 2011 to July 2014 are analysed in order to provide additional insights into how exactly the Libyan intervention was framed by the Harper government. Only documents that pertained directly to Libya are examined so as to avoid false results. Specifically, these documents are uploaded to the program and analysed for certain characteristics. Simple word frequency searches are conducted first, in order to highlight the key terms and themes before, during, and after the intervention. Those terms that are significant are referred to as nodes, which represent a code, theme, or idea within the data.

These nodes are identified by examining the expected terms, word frequencies, and their contexts in order to identify which terms are actually most significant. Certain words or terms can be discarded upon examining their context. For example, the word

"force" is deemed significant due to continued references to the "use of force" in Libya by elites in the Canadian government. However, the word "forces" has to be eliminated due to a large number of results stemming from "Canadian Armed Forces" which would skew results. Likewise with country names, figures, etc. For example, terms such as "process" are not relevant to the analysis and are dismissed in order to pull out significant trends. To avoid mistakenly removing significant terms, the specific context of each term is available for examination. Through this process of elimination, nodes are created and the texts are coded for references. Additionally, various expected nodes are also coded ahead of time in order to test specific hypotheses about the content. The data is then collected, compared, and compiled in order to be presented in the study.

Following the case study, a general discussion of the evidence presented in the previous chapters is conducted. The theoretical framework discussed in Chapter Two is applied to the evidence provided in Chapter Four to arrive at appropriate conclusions concerning the research questions. The final sections provide a summary of the conclusions made, and discuss the limitations and scope of this study. Finally, areas of future research are offered.

Chapter Four: Case Study

Introduction

The following chapter is a case study of the conflict in Libya. The specific events

that took place in Libya are examined in order to provide context for the involvement of

NATO and subsequently Canada. Specifically, events in Libya prior to and during the

intervention are highlighted. Following this, a discussion of the various factors involved

in Canada's decision to become involved in the crisis are also covered. Additionally, a

brief content analysis of statements concerning Libya by elites in the Conservative

government is conducted in order to show the way in which the intervention was framed.

This is then followed by a brief account of what has taken place in Libya in the years

after OUP.

Timeline of Events in Libya

The 2011 intervention in Libya (referred to as Operation Unified Protector) is a

case which presents a curious situation considering international multilateral operations.

The decade prior to the revolution was actually one of relative peace, with Muammar

Qaddafi's regime solidified, Western investment, and a booming oil industry.[78] While the

Arab Spring certainly spurred the revolution in Libya, unrest in the North African country

had been brewing for some time. Resentment of the Qaddafi regime was not a new

concept; since the revolution in 1969 Libyans lived without genuine political

participation and an inability to effectively criticize the government. Despite the relative

lack of open opposition to the regime, there remained a large population of Libyans who

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[78] Dirk Vandewalle, *A History of Modern Libya,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 201.

were opposed to Qaddafi's authoritarian leadership. As Vandewalle notes, Qaddafi's regime was

> …self-reverential, beyond criticism, focused exclusively around Qadhafi and his supporters, and protected by its highly effective coercive institutions. It had been able to suppress all opposition of organized social, political, or economic interests. It had successfully maintained the fiction of popular participation while its political system made any real participation impossible.[79]

While most observers noted that in order for beneficial change to occur Qaddafi would have to be removed from power, many citizens were swayed by benefits of authoritarian rule.[80] Economic benefits and patronage provided many with the ability to ignore the more deleterious aspects of Qaddafi's rule.[81] Despite this, however, there was not a real sense of unification amongst Libyans. Deep tribal divisions kept Qaddafi's vision of a united country at bay, despite the discovery of oil and the modernization of Libya's major cities. The "low sense of political community" the country held left Libyans as bystanders to social and political processes.[82]

The Green Book, Qaddafi's manifesto that was required reading for all Libyan citizens, laid out a complex framework for his vision of a united Libya with active citizen involvement. Qaddafi referred to this utopian vision of the Libyan state as a Jamahiriyya, which refers to a "political community marked by consultation, rather than

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[79] *Ibid,* 203.
[80] *Ibid.*
[81] *Ibid.*
[82] *Ibid,* 211.

representation."[83] Under this philosophy, Qaddafi's regime especially weakened Cyrenaican tribes that had previously been privileged under the monarchy. Opposition groups failed to materialize, which was a byproduct of security sector institutions and the fact that the state had become the "sole economic provider" for the Libyan people.[84] While *The Green Book* called for active citizen participation in the country's political and economic affairs, the reality remained quite different. Political silence and economic handouts became "an ingrained part of politics" in Libya, and hopes for reform while Qaddafi remained in power were slim.[85]

Oil revenues provided the Qaddafi regime with the political capital that was needed in order to maintain his rule. Economic reform became an unreachable goal if Qaddafi was to remain in power, and thus it did not take place to the extent that was desired by Libyan citizens.[86] Brief periods of economic expansion and reform took place in the decade leading up to the revolution. These periods of reform were followed by government pushes for private sector expansion in order to encourage foreign investment, to the detriment of the middle class who held public sector jobs in the oil industry.[87] Any liberalization of the economy was followed by a resurgence back to tight control by the regime. Discontent continued, and going into the Arab Spring movement the Qaddafi regime further cracked down on any opposition. In January of 2011, Qaddafi continued to

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[83] *Ibid,* 101.
[84] *Ibid,* 126.
[85] *Ibid,* 127.
[86] Dirk Vandewalle, quoted in Anthony Bell and David Witter, "The Libyan Revolution: Roots of Rebellion," *Institute for the Study of War,* September 2011, 23, http://www.understandingwar.org/report/libyan-revolution-part-i-roots-rebellion.
[87] Anthony Bell and David Witter, "The Libyan Revolution: Roots of Rebellion," *Institute for the Study of War,* September 2011, 24, http://www.understandingwar.org/report/libyan-revolution-part-i-roots-rebellion.

support ousted Tunisian leader Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, stating that "You have suffered a great loss… there is none better than Zine to govern Tunisia."[88] Also continuing to support Egypt's Mubarak, Qaddafi quickly became a focal point for opposition within Libya.

Open conflict in Libya began in early February of 2011, when protests began in the city of Benghazi. Demonstrations were met with a severe response by the Qaddafi regime, and violence continued to escalate. Following the arrest of Jamal al-Hajji, prominent government critic and Fathi Tarbil, a lawyer and human rights activist, a protest movement was launched by the National Conference for the Libyan Opposition.[89] Scheduled for February 17, the protests to be held throughout Libya were referred to as the 'Day of Rage,' an homage to the anniversary of past mass demonstrations against Qaddafi and his regime.[90] The protests were initially centred in Benghazi, the country's second largest city and unofficial capital of Cyrenaica. Regime security forces opened fire on demonstrators, leaving over 150 dead in the following days.[91]

Violence quickly erupted and rebels continued to stage protests which eventually spread to the capital city of Tripoli on the 20th of February. Two days later, the League of Arab States suspended Libya's participation until the regime halted its violence toward its citizens.[92] On the 23rd of February, reports that Benghazi had fallen to the rebels reached

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[88] "Libya Leader Regrets Ben Ali's Fall," *Al Jazeera,* January 2011, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/01/2011117244693773.html.
[89] *Ibid.*
[90] "'Day of Rage' Kicks off in Libya," *Al Jazeera*, February 17 2011, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/02/201121755057219793.html.
[91] Bell and Witter, 24.
[92] Paul D. Williams, "The Road to Humanitarian War in Libya," *Global Responsibility to Protect* 3, no. 2 (2011): 251. doi: 10.1163/18759841IX575702

Western media sources; over the next two days violence worsened and the uprising escalated in Tripoli.[93] Throughout the previous week of violence and protests, Qaddafi made efforts to stop the spread of protests and violence, encouraging his forces to use all means necessary to do so. Loyal government forces engaged protestors, resulting in more violence and condemnation from the international community for attacks on members of his own state. On the 26 of February in an "unprecedented show of unanimity" the UNSC voted in Resolution 1970 to refer Qaddafi to the International Criminal Court (ICC) and called for him to step down.[94] Expressing "grave concern at the situation in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and condemning the violence and use of force against civilians," Resolution 1970 also commenced an arms embargo against Libya and called for humanitarian action by all member states.[95]

Over the following weeks, Qaddafi's regime escalated its response, with targeted strikes on opposition forces. Finally on March 17th the decision was made by the UNSC to impose a no-fly zone over Libyan airspace under Resolution 1973, in which they deplored "…the failure of the Libyan authorities to comply with Resolution 1970."[96] NATO began strategic airstrikes on March 18th, with the goal of ensuring "…the protection of civilians and civilian populated areas and the rapid and unimpeded passage

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[93] Gary Blight, Sheila Pulham, and Paul Torpey, "Arab Spring: An Interactive Timeline of Middle East Protests," *The Guardian,* January 5, 2012, http://www.theguardian.com/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline.
[94] Ian Black, "World's Message to Libyan Gaddafi: Time to End your Regime," *The Guardian,* February 28, 2011, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/27/libya-gaddafi-pressure-russia-china.
[95] United Nations Security Council, *Resolution 1970 (2011)* (New York, 2011), 1-3.
[96] United Nations Security Council, *Resolution 1973 (2011)* (New York, 2011), 1.

of humanitarian assistance and the safety of humanitarian personnel."[97] The US launched

Operation Odyssey Dawn on March 19th, stating that the United Kingdom, France, Italy,

and Canada were taking part in the coalition with the expectation that Arab states would

announce their participation.[98] The White House stated clearly that regime change was

not a part of its mission in Libya, noting that their goal was supporting the democratic

aspirations of the Libyan people upon criticisms that their goals were not strictly

humanitarian.[99] On March 24th, the UNSC resolutions were finally put into effect by the

US-led coalition in Operation Odyssey Dawn. NATO took responsibility for

enforcement, and the embargo and no-fly zones were established.[100] Operation Unified

Protector officially began three days later on the 31st of March when NATO took control

of all military operations for UNSCRs 1970, 1973 and 2009.[101]

Operation Unified Protector

Mandated under Chapter Seven of the UN Charter and UNSCRs 1970, 1973, and

2009 Operation Unified Protector ultimately consisted of an arms embargo, a no-fly zone,

and "…actions to protect civilians from attack or the threat of attack."[102] The type of

intervention that was requested by Libyan opposition leaders and regional organizations

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[97] Blight, Pulham, and Torpey, "Arab Spring: An Interactive Timeline of Middle East Protests"; United Nations Security Council, *Resolution 1973 (2011),* 1.
[98] American Forces Press Service, "Coalition Launches 'Operation Odyssey Dawn,'" *U.S. Department of Defense* (March 19, 2011).
[99] Sam Youngman and Jordan Fabian, "White House Denires Regime Change is Part of Libya Misson," *The Hill,* March 22, 2011, http://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/151191-white-house-suggests-regime-change-is-goal-of-libya-mission.
[100] Scott Bishop, "Libya and the Lessons of Naval Power," *Canadian Naval Review* 8, no. 4 (2013): 14, http://www.navalreview.ca/wp-content/uploads/public/vol8num4/vol8num4art4.pdf.
[101] North Atlantic Treaty Organization, "Operation Unified Protector Final Mission Stats."
[102] *Ibid.*

did not require many 'boots on the ground' during the actual conflict. Establishing a no-fly zone and carrying out an air campaign in a state that had limited retaliatory capabilities assured NATO member states that the costs of intervention would be low. Canadian Lieutenant-General Charles Bouchard took control of the Allied Joint Force Command, with NATO vessels enforcing the mandates set out in the resolutions.

The Canadian contribution itself was substantial considering Canada's capabilities, with the contribution of over 2000 Canadian Armed Forces personnel, an air contingent, and two frigates.[103] Canadian task forces were initially deployed under Operation Mobile, which then became converted to Operation Unified Protector under NATO leadership. At its peak, the combined task forces were comprised of 655 Canadian Forces members.[104] HMCS Charlottetown began operational patrols on the 22nd of March, and continued to operate until the 18th of August when it handed over duties to the HMCS Vancouver. Combined, both frigates contributed to 13% of OUP vessel hails and boardings. The Canadian air contingent accounted for 10% of NATO strike sorties, and operated from March 21st until October 31st.[105]

The campaign continued, with NATO forces continuing to engage Libyan forces loyal to Qaddafi's regime. By late summer the capital was largely in control of rebel forces, and Qaddafi was in hiding. On August 26th, Libyan rebels took control of the Libyan government, declaring regime change. On October 20th, Qaddafi was captured

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[103] Domansky, Jensen, and Bryson, "Canada and the Libya Coalition," 4; "PM Pays Tribute to Troops who Served in Libya," *Government of Canada,* (November 24, 2011), http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2011/11/24/pm-pays-tribute-troops-who-served-libya.
[104] Operation Mobile, Department of National Defence, last modified January 22, 2014, http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/operations-abroad-past/op-mobile.page.
[105] *Ibid.*

and killed; three days later, Libya officially declared liberation.[106] Overall, OUP was initially hailed as a success.[107] Approximately 8000 troops, over 260 air vessels, and 21 naval assets from various member countries were used in the operation.[108] Over 26 500 sorties were carried out, including over 9700 strike sorties.[109] Over 5900 military targets were destroyed throughout the course of the operation. The final cost of OUP was an estimated 5.4 million EUR/month, with an additional 800 000 EUR/month for structural and personnel required for headquarters.[110] Each contributing state accounted for their costs throughout the intervention.

Canada and the Decision to Contribute

The decision for Canada to become involved in the intervention in Libya was a complex one. The initial reaction to the situation in Libya from the Canadian government was relatively lacklustre. On February 19th, two days after Qaddafi's forces had fired upon protestors in Benghazi and the surrounding area, then Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs Lawrence Cannon issued a statement on the situation:

> Canada is monitoring events in Libya very closely. We are deeply concerned about reports of extremely violent attacks on and arrests of peaceful protesters. We regret the loss of life in Libya and call on all parties to refrain from violence.

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[106] *Ibid.*

[107] North Atlantic Treaty Organization, "Operation Unified Protector Final Mission Stats."

[108] North Atlantic Treaty Organization, "Operation Unified Protector Final Mission Stats."

[109] *Ibid.* NATO defines strike sorties as operations that are "…intended to identify and engage appropriate targets, but do not necessarily deploy munitions each time."

[110] *Ibid.*

> We call on the Libyan government to respect the rights of freedom of expression
>
> and assembly and to engage in peaceful dialogue with its people to address
>
> legitimate concerns.[111]

At this point in time, there was little talk domestically concerning whether or not Canada

should intervene; Canadian action was limited to condemning the attacks. Minister

Cannon's statement above marked the first in several releases about Canada's stance on

the Libyan revolution. Two days later, Prime Minister Harper referred to the attacks on

civilians in Libya as "outrageous and unacceptable."[112] Over the course of the following

week, the Canadian government issued a travel notice and advised that Canadian citizens

evacuate the North African country for their own safety. Diplomatic officials were also

evacuated from the country through Operation Mobile, leaving Tripoli without a

Canadian diplomatic contingent on the ground.[113]

In a meeting with French Prime Minister François Fillon on the 26th of February,

Harper reiterated the need for the Qaddafi regime to be held accountable.[114] At this point

in time, Harper's intentions for the Libyan regime remained limited to its suspension for

the United Nations Human Rights Council, the referral of Libya to the International

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[111] Office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, "Statement by Minister Cannon on Situation in Libya," *Foreign Affairs Media Relations Office,* (February 19, 2011).

[112] "Libyan Crackdowns 'Outrageous': PM," *CBC News,* February 21, 2011, http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/libyan-crackdowns-outrageous-pm-1.1034072.

[113] "Libya-Canada Diplomatic Relations Halted," *CBC News,* February 26, 2011, http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/libya-canada-diplomatic-relations-halted-1.1108397.

[114] "Prime Minister Stephen Harper Speaks with Prime Minister François Fillon about the Crisis in Libya," *Government of Canada,* (February 26, 2011), http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2011/02/26/prime-minister-stephen-harper-speaks-prime-minister-francois-fillon-about-crisis.

Criminal Court, and UNSC Resolutions to address these matters.[115] On the 27th of

February, a day after UNSCR 1970 was passed unanimously, Harper announced that

Canada would implement all sanctions contained in the Resolution. Additionally, Harper

stated that Canada would be taking further action:

> Canada has decided to go beyond the Security Council Sanctions. Our
> Government will impose an asset freeze on, and a prohibition of financial
> transactions with the Government of Libya, its institutions and agencies, including
> the Libyan Central Bank.

> These actions will help restrict the movement of, and access to money and
> weapons for those responsible for violence against the Libyan people.[116]

Further condemning the Qaddafi regime, Harper added that the "only acceptable course

of action" would be Qaddafi's resignation.[117] These sentiments were closely aligned with

those of the White House, the United Nations, and other states involved. However, at this

point in time, the Harper Government gave no indication of any intention to become

actively involved with the situation on the ground in a military capacity. On March 1st,

the Prime Minister announced that HMCS Charlottetown would be deployed to the

Mediterranean.

On March 19th, Prime Minister Harper was invited to an emergency summit in

Paris with other world leaders, wherein discussions were held concerning how the no-fly

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[115] *Ibid.*
[116] "Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada on Implementing Sanctions against Libya," *Government of Canada,* (February 27, 2011), http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2011/02/27/statement-prime-minister-canada-implementing-sanctions-against-libya#sthash.KkSUovFA.dpuf.
[117] *Ibid.*

zone would be implemented. At this meeting, Harper announced that Canada would be

formally contributing aircraft and HMCS Charlottetown to the international force in

Libya.[118] Calling on the international community and its ability to help the Libyan

people, Harper stressed urgency and a willingness to participate:

> …Canada has said, and leaders have agreed, that we must act urgently. We must
>
> help the Libyan people, help them now, or the threat to them and to the stability of
>
> the whole region will only increase. We must also ensure humanitarian needs are
>
> met, and that the humanitarian appeal is fully subscribed.[119]

The decision to contribute CF-18s, CP-140s, and the HMCS Charlottetown and other

forms of military assistance was met with acceptance by party opposition leaders in

Canada. In a debate in the House on March 21ˢᵗ, Libya and the UNSCRs were discussed

at length.

The sentiments in Harper's statement above were echoed by then Minister of

National Defence Peter MacKay in this session. Setting mission precedence with the

1999 operation in Kosovo, MacKay repeatedly made reference to the experience that the

Canadian military could offer to a NATO operation in Libya. Throughout the debates,

MacKay made references to Canada's "duty" to intervene:

> Canada is not a country that seeks out violent confrontation… However, this
>
> government, along with the international community, cannot stand idly by, even

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[118] "Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada at an Emergency Meeting on Libya,"
Government of Canada, (March 19, 2011),
http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2011/03/19/statement-prime-minister-canada-emergency-
meeting-libya.
[119] *Ibid.*

now. In this situation, we are compelled to intervene, both in a moral duty and by

duty of NATO and the United Nations, which, as members would know, are two

institutions that we helped found. In this situation, deploying the Canadian Forces

is the right thing to do and I expect that Canadians and members of the House

clearly recognize that fact.[120]

Responses from both Liberal and NDP Members of Parliament also voiced their support

for the role of the Canadian military in Libya. However, some voiced concern over the

role of hard power rather than an increased amount of diplomatic efforts. For example,

Liberal MP Bob Rae noted that while he supported the Canadian military, the specifics of

Resolution 1973 did not call for regime change and thus, to Rae, the role of various

Western militaries seemed superfluous beyond ensuring the safety of Libyan citizens.[121]

This sentiment echoes concerns about mission creep, which were expressed very early in

the NATO operation in Libya.[122] Other questions concerned the mission's projected

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[120] Peter MacKay, "[United Nations Security Council Resolutions Concerning Libya]" Canada, House of Commons, *Debates,* 40th Parliament, 3rd Session, Vol. 145 (March 21, 2011), 1535. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?DocId=5039495&Language= E&Mode=1.
[121] Bob Rae, Peter MacKay, "[United Nations Security Council Resolutions Concerning Libya]" Canada, House of Commons, *Debates,* 40th Parliament, 3rd Session, Vol. 145 (March 21, 2011), 1610. http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?DocId=5039495&Language= E&Mode=1.
[122] Paul Koring, "Concern about Mission Creep Grows as more Bombs fall on Libya," *The Globe and Mail,* March 21, 2011, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/africa-mideast/concern-about-mission-creep-grows-as-more-bombs-fall-on-libya/article1950913/.

length, with Members voicing concerns about becoming embroiled in another protracted conflict such as Afghanistan.[123]

Ultimately, however, all four parties supported the involvement of the Canadian military overseas. While, as stated, questions were raised concerning the exact mission purview and its timeline, the overall consensus was in favour of the involvement of the military in Libya for humanitarian purposes. Citing statements from US President Obama, the Conservative Government continued to stress that the UNSCRs were being followed, and that removing Qaddafi from power was not within the mission objectives.

Domestic Politics

Duties aside, there were other factors at the domestic level which influenced Harper's sudden decision to become so closely involved with the intervention. Concurrent with the Libyan revolution was the 2011 federal election in Canada. On March 25th 2011, the Harper government lost a non-confidence motion in the House of Commons, leading to the May 2nd election. The emphasis placed on Canada's valuable role in the intervention in Libya left many with the idea that its robust involvement was also due to the oncoming election. For example, an article published soon after Harper's decision to send Canadian jets to Libya states that "Prime Minister Stephen Harper's decision to use Canadian military jets to help secure a Libya no-fly zone has given him the opportunity to stand prominently as the "leader of the people," an image that other

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[123] NDP MP Paul Dewar, for example, warned his Conservative colleagues about participating in an "open-ended" conflict and about the dangers of placing boots on the ground. Liberal MP Jim Karygiannis warned about the "fine line" between peacekeeping and peacemaking, noting that he believed bounds are sometimes overstepped.

parties must counteract if they hope to be successful in a looming federal election."[124] Given the widespread support in Canada for international humanitarian assistance, the decision to participate in the Libyan intervention is one that many Canadians would likely support. The decision to participate in the Libyan intervene was therefore one that would not hurt Harper in the oncoming election. It is likely that if doing so would put in jeopardy- or at least harm- his re-election chances, Harper would have downplayed the role of the Canadian military in the intervention.

Further, the use of the aged CF-18s in Libya presented yet another dilemma. Analysts have noted that the use of the CF-18s in Libya shows that there is a need for a newer, more robust fleet- calling attention to the F-35 debate that Harper had been embroiled in leading up to, during, and after the intervention in Libya. As Eric Lerhe notes, the Libyan air defence network was not a complex or difficult military scenario and thus the CF-18's were able to get the job done.[125] However, Lerhe also notes that soon the CF-18's will become obsolete given the range of tasks that other, more capable militaries are able to complete.[126] Soon even NATO support missions may be out of Canada's capabilities given its aging fleet; this is not something that Harper shied away from emphasizing throughout and after the conflict in Libya.

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[124] Mark Iype, "Harper Gains Advantage with Libya Participation: Experts," *Postmedia News,* (March 20, 2011), http://www.canada.com/news/Harper+gains+advantage+with+Libya+participation+experts/4474092/story.html.
[125] Eric Lerhe, "Libya, the F-35 Debate, and some other New Trends," *Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute,* (October 31, 2011), http://www.cdfai.org/the3dsblog/?p=600#_edn1.
[126] *Ibid.*

International Interests

After the intervention in an interview with *Macleans,* on the topic of the criticism

his government had received concerning re-investment in the military, Harper stated that:

…when you're in a dangerous world and countries are from time to time called

upon to do things to deal with those dangers, if you don't have the capacity to act

you are not taken seriously. Nobody takes your views seriously unless you can

contribute to solutions, and it's very difficult to contribute to solutions unless you

can contribute across the range of capabilities, up to and including military

capabilities.[127]

Focusing the debate on Canadian foreign affairs toward the role of the military, Harper

emphasized that Canada needs to be prepared for these types of conflicts, for security

reasons and also to remain prepared to support its allies. Using terms such as "courageous

warrior," "compassionate neighbor," and "confident partner," Harper continued to note

that a more militarily robust Canada was in the best interests of the nation.[128] The

intervention in Libya accentuated Harper's insistence that defence procurements would

benefit Canada, especially since it was a mandated multilateral mission based on

humanitarian norms of intervention.

The national interests that have been placed at the forefront of Canadian foreign

and defence policy since the election of Stephen Harper in 2006 represent, as Boucher

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[127] Kenneth Whyte, "In Conversation: Stephen Harper," *Macleans,* (July 5, 2011), http://www.macleans.ca/general/how-he-sees-canadas-role-in-the-world-and-where-he-wants-to-take-the-country-2/.
[128] *Ibid.*

notes, a more "pragmatic" brand of internationalism.[129] As the events in Libya were unfolding, the Canadian government focused its attention on the human rights violations occurring there. As noted previously in this chapter, as the international community responded to the attacks on civilians and the UNSCRs were issued, the Harper government then began to focus on the rule of law and commitments to allies. When the US-led Operation Odyssey Dawn was launched under a UN mandate, Harper signaled his intention to operate alongside the coalition. When NATO took over operational control under OUP, the role Canada played was significant. Under Harper's leadership, the decision to become involved was not framed under Responsibility to Protect or human security; instead, it was framed in a way that emphasized Canada's relationship with the US, the UN, and NATO.

Content Analysis

What varied in discussions of the intervention in Libya was how each party framed the issue. While most MPs focused on the role of the UNSCRs in securing Canada's commitment, there were differences in how they justified Canada's response. For example, when asked by Liberal MP John Cannis why the Canadian military was becoming involved in Libya but not in other volatile states, Minister MacKay focused on legal authority rather than a moral authority. Stating that "we have not gone into other countries because we do not have the mandate," MacKay was able to focus attention on short term obligations rather than particular foreign policy motivations.[130] By continuing to stress Canada's commitment to the UN, NATO, and its allies, MacKay other Party

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[129] Boucher, "The Responsibility to Think Clearly about Interests," 54.
[130] Peter MacKay, "[United Nations Security Council Resolutions Concerning Libya]" Canada, House of Commons, *Debates,* 40th Parliament, 3rd Session, Vol. 145 (March 21, 2011), 1550.

leadership were able to avoid using terms such as 'responsibility to protect' and 'human security.' These terms, coined by previous governments under Chrétien and Martin, reflect foreign policy interests that the Conservative Government made efforts to move away from.[131] Such language was typically avoided by the Harper government during the crisis in Libya, and instead the focus was placed on an obligation to fulfill the UNSCRs first through the US-led coalition and further through NATO.

This initial analysis of the language used in the first debate in the House of Commons concerning Libya is indicative of a broader trend. As explained in Chapter Three, official press releases and statements from Prime Minister Harper and key members of his cabinet that reference the Libyan intervention were collected and analysed using coding software. From the outbreak of revolution in early February of

Figure 1: Term Frequencies February 2011- July 2014

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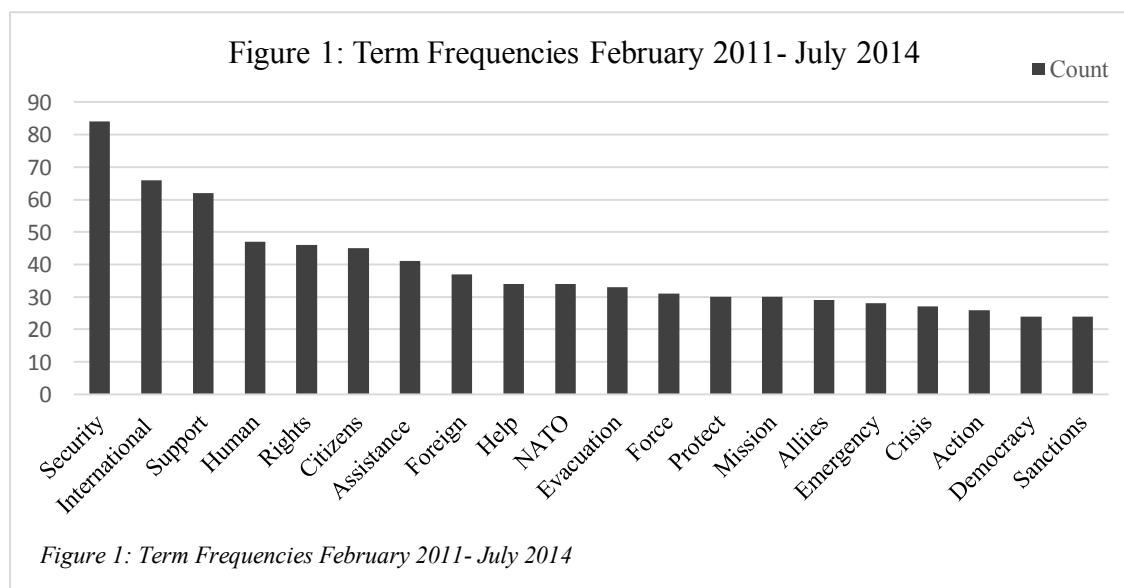
[131] For example, Jean-Christophe Boucher has argued that the Harper government still embraces some forms of internationalism associated with previous governments but does so in a much more pragmatic way. See Boucher, "The Responsibility to Think Clearly about Interests," in *Canada in the World: Internationalism in Canadian Foreign Policy,* eds. Heather A. Smith and Claire Turrene Sjolander (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2013), 54.

2011 until the end of July 2014, all relevant statements from the Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of National Defence, and several other ministers were first analysed to highlight the key terms used. Word frequency searches were first conducted individually in order to identify redundant terms as explained in Chapter Three. For example, words such as 'Canada' and 'Libya' were eliminated due to their insignificance for the purposes of this analysis. The results are presented in Figure 1.

The above graph shows the top twenty terms used by elite members of the Conservative government when referring to Canada's reaction to the Libyan revolution. Significantly, "security" is used the most; this also includes similar terms such as 'secure.' The reason for this is twofold. First, the term is used to emphasize the role that Canada played in Libya, and the effect that the crisis had on regional and global security. The role that Canada played in securing its own citizens and other Western nationals in the initial stages of the Libyan conflict was emphasized. Further, the role of NATO in maintaining security was emphasized. For example, Harper stated in April of 2014 that the alliance formed through NATO "…has become a highly respected instrument in the promotion of both regional and global security," and that Canada has been a "major military contributor to the alliance."[132] Second, and not unexpected, results show that the use of the word 'security' also refers to the UNSC. This is consistent with the emphasis on the rule of law when operating internationally, and is consistent with the way in which the conflict was justified in the first House debate on Canada's involvement.

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[132] "Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada on the 65th Anniversary of NATO," *Government of Canada,* (April 4, 2014), http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/news/2014/04/04/statement-prime-minister-canada-65th-anniversary-nato.

Initially, in the weeks prior to OUP, the focus in Canada was primarily on evacuating Canadian citizens and diplomats from Libya; this is why "emergency" and "evacuation" rank relatively high as demonstrated in Figure 1. This is consistent with the way in which the conflict was first framed; the focus was on Canadian interests and security in the region. Once intervention became a priority, more militaristic language became prevalent in official statements. Notably, "Human rights" remained the term used to explain the humanitarian aspect of the mission, and emphasis was certainly placed on this aspect of the mission. Significantly, in all of the statements analysed from 2011 to 2014, a search for the term "responsibility to protect" had zero results. The only references to R2P that were found came from left-wing MPs in attempts to reframe the debate in the initial stages of the intervention. Instead, the Conservatives focused on upholding values such as "freedom, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law."[133] This exact phrase shows up in several statements, indicating a push for this message to be sent.

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[133] "Canada Announces Successful Conclusion to Libya Mission," *Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development Canada,* (28 October, 2011), http://www.international.gc.ca/media/aff/news-communiques/2011/323.aspx?lang=eng.

The focus on human rights by elites in the Conservative government is complemented by a focus on the role of Canada's military and commitment to its allies. Cluster analyses are useful in identifying these specific trends. Specifically, a cluster

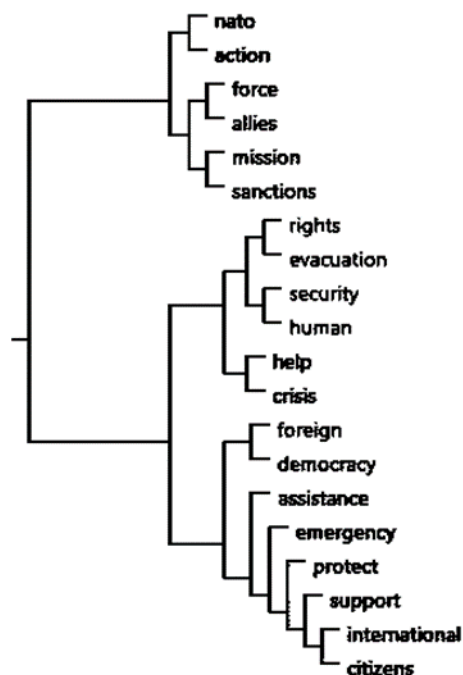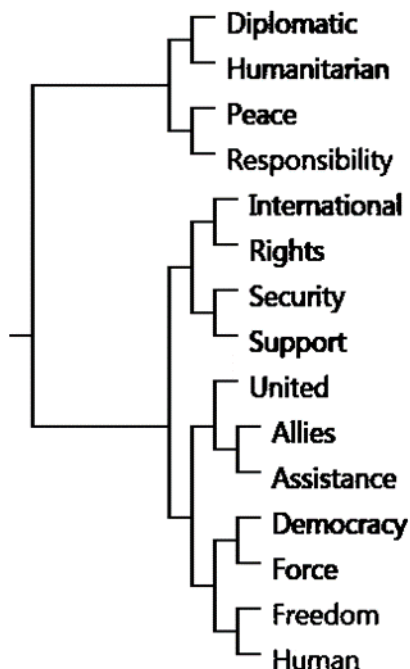*Figure 3: Cluster Analysis of Term Frequencies, February 2011- July 2014*

Figure 2: Cluster Analysis, House of Commons Debate March 21st 2011

analysis allows various items to be compared with respect to how similar words or nodes are used across sources. Rather than the word frequency analyses referred to above, a cluster analysis identifies patterns in the ways in which terms are used. These terms are grouped into 'clusters' to indicate similar pairings or usages. A cluster analysis of the top twenty frequently used terms shown in Figure 1 identifies several patterns as shown in Figure 2. The way in which the key terms (nodes) identified for the purposes of this project were used during the March 21st debate in Parliament are presented in Figure 3.

As shown in Figure 2, certain terms are clustered together regardless of their ranking. Thus, the six words at the top (NATO, action, force, allies, mission, and sanctions) are often used together, and in separate contexts from clusters at the bottom of the diagram. As noted, Figure 3 shows nodes that are identified as significant. Thus, terms such as 'diplomatic,' 'humanitarian,' 'peace,' 'force,' 'allies,' and 'responsibility' are noted and specific searches can be made within documents to see how these terms themselves are used. The top cluster in Figure 3 shows terms that were often used together; a search of their contexts shows that these terms were most commonly used by Liberal or NDP MPs. Conservative MPs focused primarily on those terms that are shown in Figure 1.

Thus, the content analysis shows that the way in which the Canadian involvement in the intervention in Libya was framed by elite members of the Conservative government reflects growing trends in Canadian foreign and defence policy that are introduced in Chapter Two. The focus on humanitarian aid and diplomacy is secondary to the focus on the use of force, Canada's duty to its allies, and Canada's military capabilities. Avoiding traditional liberal internationalist language, elite members of the Conservative government instead highlight interests based on realpolitik calculations of power and influence for Canada rather than interests that benefit an international community of states as a whole. Contrary to previous Liberal governments under Martin and Chrétien, under Stephen Harper there is a clear shift in the way in which international priorities are justified. Overarching themes have not changed under Harper, such as the commitment to NATO and multilateralism. However, the way in which they are approached has shifted, with a focus on a more economically and militarily robust

Canada that acts first in ways that benefit its national interest. This is contrary to aligning with the international community to achieve consensus. Such an approach is more typically associated with the Chrétien and Martin governments, and a liberal internationalist approach to the study of Canadian foreign policy.

Boucher conducts a similar discourse analysis using Canada's role in Afghanistan as the case study. Boucher examines the way in which the Jean Chrétien, Paul Martin, and Stephen Harper governments framed Afghanistan in key speeches throughout the duration of the war. Across each government, Boucher identifies particular trends in justifications for Canada's continued involvement. Boucher argues that "all three governments stressed the importance of national, altruistic, and internationalist justifications when discussing the Canadian mission in Afghanistan."[134] Notably, however, the relative importance that each government gave these justifications differed greatly. The Chrétien government accorded more importance to national interests and values than did the Martin government, which focused more on national interests and the international community. Boucher reports that the successive Liberal governments had an altogether inconsistent framing of the Afghanistan mission, which he argues highlights a weakness in Liberal strategy.[135]

The Conservative government under Harper, however, had a more focused strategy. The Harper government made Afghanistan a Canadian foreign policy priority, and sought to frame it in a different fashion than its predecessors. Harper moved away

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[134] Jean-Christophe Boucher, "Selling Afghanistan: A Discourse Analysis of Canada's Military Intervention, 2001-2008," *International Journal* 64, no. 3 (2009): 724. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40542198.
[135] *Ibid*, 725.

from the communication strategies of Chrétien and Martin and instead focused on the

situation on the ground in Afghanistan and how Canada could aid in that regard. While

security was an overarching theme across all three governments, Boucher notes that the

nexus between security and development differed between the Liberals and the

Conservatives.[136] The Conservatives clearly focused on the role of the Canadian military

in achieving security and development goals, where the Liberal governments did not

establish a causal link between security and development.[137]

There are many parallels with the way in which the intervention in Libya was

characterized. For example, Boucher highlights the emphasis the Harper government

placed on Canada's ability to assert pride and influence on the world stage, something

that remains consistent according to the content analysis conducted in this

investigation.[138] Indeed, Boucher argues that in placing emphasis on this point, the

Harper government was "intent on using the Afghan mission as a key symbol of their

Canada-is-back message."[139] In addition to this, the alliance commitment argument was

also consistently used across all three governments considering the Canadian mission in

Afghanistan. The above observations hold true with the Conservative government's

justification of Canada's role in Libya, and reinforce the strategic culture framework

introduced in Chapter Two.

Post Intervention

Operation Unified Protector officially ended on October 31st, 2011. After Libya

was declared liberated on October 23rd by the National Transitional Council (NTC)

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[136] *Ibid,* 727.
[137] *Ibid.*
[138] *Ibid,* 729.
[139] *Ibid.*

following the death of Qaddafi, the NTC announced that it would begin the process of building democracy in the state.[140] Libya's outlook looked positive after the war; the NTC was gathering resources to form an interim government, regime forces were crippled, and contrary to previous conflicts in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Syria, there was not a significant amount of sectarian fighting.[141] As a result, and contrary to other NATO interventions, only a small UN contingent was left behind for post-conflict stabilization support.[142] As a RAND report on the post-conflict situation in Libya has recently highlighted, a lack of security in Libya has led to a degradation of internal affairs in the new democratic state contrary to the initial expectations for state building following the revolution.

The east continued to worry as it had in the past that it would become politically marginalized with the government based in Tripoli, and tensions continued to rise within Cyrenaica.[143] In March of 2012, the Barqa Council declared that it was the interim government of Cyrenaica, though secession was not their end goal.[144] With a desire for greater autonomy, many in the east began boycotting the upcoming elections.[145] In July of 2012, Libya's first successful elections were held despite Barqa supporters continuing

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[140] "NTC Declares 'Liberation of Libya,'" *Al Jazeera,* (October 23, 2011), http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/10/201110235316778897.html.

[141] Christopher S. Chivvis and Jeffrey Martini, "Libya After Qaddafi: Lessons and Implications for the Future," *RAND National Security Division,* (March 17, 2014): 1, http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR577.html.

[142] *Ibid.*

[143] *Ibid,* 37.

[144] "Libya Tribal Leaders Break away from Interim Government," *The Telegraph,* (March 6, 2012), http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/libya/9126006/Libya-tribal-leaders-break-away-from-interim-government.html; Note: Barqa is the Arabic word for province.

[145] *Ibid,* 38.

to attack election offices backed by militias.[146] These eastern federalists continued to cause problems for the newly elected General National Congress. The July 2012 elections "were intended to provide Libya with a stronger, more legitimate government" in the General National Congress.[147] However, very soon after the elections it was clear that the new parliament would face significant roadblocks given the amount of political and security challenges to be overcome in the wake of the revolution and Operation Unified Protector. The most prevalent of these security concerns was the distribution of arms formerly held in regime warehouses that were raided following Qaddafi's fall.

Following the intervention, the United Nations called upon Libyan authorities to take "all necessary steps" to stop the proliferation of arms to other states through Resolution 2017.[148] Efforts to disarm the militants have met little success; weapons from the former regime continue to spread. The failure of the General National Congress to stop the flow of arms throughout the country has additional consequences. Libya has been declared by the US Department of State as a safe haven for terrorist actors, who use transit routes in the southwest and northeast to spread through its porous borders to Northern Africa and the Middle East.[149] With continued violence and terrorist activity in the Sahel and Maghreb regions in Africa as well as the ongoing civil war in Syria, the outflow of weapons from Libya is just one of the issues that has led the country into violence yet again. As the US Department of State 2013 *Country Report on Terrorism* states, the situation in Libya two years after liberation have not been productive in

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[146] Chivvis and Martini, "Libya After Qaddafi," 40.
[147] *Ibid.*
[148] United Nations Security Council, *Resolution 2017 (2011)* (New York, 2011), 2.
[149] U.S. Department of State, *Country Reports on Terrorism 2013,* (Washington, DC, 2013), 26.

building a secure democratic state: "Libya's weak and under-resourced institutions have had little influence in that region, and have failed to implement [Resolution 2017], as is evident from frequent ethnic clashes in the area. Instead, tribes and militias continue to control the area, and traders, smugglers, and terrorists continue to utilize ancient trade routes across these borders."[150] It is still unclear whether or not Libya's second elections held in June of 2014 will produce a government able to address the various issues that the country has faced since its liberation in October of 2011.

What is clear, however, is that international actors, based on the confidence that Libya could succeed on its own following the intervention, did not leave enough infrastructure behind to aid with post-conflict stabilization. As Chivvis and Martini note,

> The main reason for deploying post-conflict peacekeeping forces in Libya would have been to establish a neutral protector of the post-conflict security that could defend Libya's transitional institutional arrangements and build confidence in the peace itself…Post-conflict forces would have helped to overcome that unease, increase willingness to cooperate with the transition process, facilitate the disarmament of rebel forces, and protect the government from the riotous street.[151]

However, aside from the small UN contingent without executive authority that was left behind, little was done by the international community in the post-revolution stage. Given the stability immediately after the conflict, this is not a surprise. When examined through

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[150] *Ibid,* 26. Rebels also seized key oil ports in 2013, further complicating the ability of the country's first elected government to rule effectively. These ports were reclaimed in June of 2014.
[151] Chivvis and Martini, "Libya After Qaddafi," 68.

a military lens, NATO's air-sea campaign in Libya was seen as a success, and there were not many indications that the situation would deteriorate.[152]

When examined through a humanitarian lens, however, success is difficult to measure. In the short term, the mission achieved its overall goal of protecting civilians from harm. However, in the aftermath of OUP the lack of action following the spread of violence throughout Libya calls into question the success of the mission in the long term. Libya represents an example of what can happen if an international force fails to follow through once the initial mission is completed. Iraq and Afghanistan represent examples of the opposite. Libya was indeed a short term military success; but in the long term, a humanitarian failure given the return to strife and lack of action from the international community. The effects of this failure are not limited to Libyan citizens; states in the surrounding region are suffering deleterious effects due to the spread of arms originating from Libya, violence, and terrorist activity. While the US announced in 2013 that it will aid the flailing Libyan army in training, this "General Purpose Force" has not yet begun. The US has received international support for this program from the UK, Italy and Turkey, but Canada has not announced any plans to aid in funding or execution.[153] The important distinction here is that while the result of the mission does not negate initial intentions of the states involved, the lack of action once the situation deteriorated calls into question their commitment to these values.

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[152] Bishop, "Libya and the Lessons of Naval Power," 14.

[153] U.S. Department of Defence, "Official: U.S. Committed to Training Libyan Security Force," (Washington, DC, 2014),
http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=122558.

Chapter Five: Discussions

Introduction

The previous chapters have set up a framework through which Canada's involvement in the intervention in Libya can be examined. The purpose of this chapter is to assess the ability of the theoretical framework established to explain Canada's enthusiastic involvement. Neoclassical realism provides an informative framework through which Canada's response to the 2011 intervention in Libya can be examined. The following chapter elaborates on how this is the case. The material reasons for why Canada became involved with such enthusiasm are examined. Additionally, nonmaterial explanations are also credited here, as the role of ideas and beliefs are particularly influential in foreign policy decision making.

Humanitarianism

Chapter Two discusses alternative ways in which the intervention in Libya has been explained. The most prevalent explanation internationally is a liberal internationalist one that focuses on the humanitarian aspects of the intervention, and this explanation has resonance in Canada. The extent to which liberal internationalism can be used to explain Canada's involvement in the intervention in Libya is questionable given which will be discussed here. Following the events recounted in Chapter 2 concerning UNSCRs 1970 and 1973, the states involved in OUP began their air and naval campaigns. Regional organizations such as the League of Arab States and the Gulf Cooperation Council removed Libya from the organization until the violence stopped, also signalling their

condemnation of the attacks by the Qaddafi regime on its people.[154] As Bellamy and Williams point out, in the initial stages of the crisis in Libya it was framed by the UN as a "human protection problem" and both Libya and members of the SC were reminded of their commitments to R2P.[155] Notably, as described in the previous chapter, the Harper government did not use the term "responsibility to protect" when describing Canada's role in Libya, preferring to use terms such as human rights to refer to the humanitarian cause, while emphasizing Canada's military role.

As Bellamy and Williams note, many states questioned the overlap of the protection of civilians and other objectives.[156] Specifically, the implication here is that some worry that while the protection of human rights is a genuine interest, other more security motivated objectives may be pursued alongside humanitarian ones. Through discussing the ethics of humanitarian intervention, James Pattison raises issues with the NATO-led intervention in Libya. Significantly, Pattison addresses the role of mission creep and OUP. Generally defined as a broadening of objectives beyond the initial purview or goals of an operation, mission creep is a worry that many express concerning humanitarian intervention. As Pattison argues, making regime change an objective for the NATO-led intervention is beyond the initial objectives. Pattison argues that from a purely humanitarian perspective, the intervention in Libya was morally permissible, but the extension of the mission of objectives to include regime change is not included under that

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[154] *Ibid.*

[155] Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, "The New Politics of Protection? Côte d'Ivoire, Libya, and the Responsibility to Protect," *International Affairs* 87, no. 4 (2011): 839, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2346.2011.01006.x.

[156] *Ibid,* 848.

classification.[157] Including regime change, as Pattison predicted, led to more civilian casualties in Libya.

As the previous chapter describes, initially the mission seemed to have been a success. The NTC became the interim government until elections could be held, and fighting ceased. Only a small UN contingent was left behind to oversee the transitional process, although they had no executive authority. However, the humanitarian success of OUP is called into question by the events that followed; the current level of violence in Libya now is back to the same levels that it was at in 2011, if not worse. The newly elected House of Representatives has little control over the rapidly escalating violence and has had to flee Tripoli to hold its sessions.[158] The lack of action from the international community in the aftermath of the intervention, Canada included, has been lacklustre. As noted in Chapter One, Prime Minister Harper stated that OUP was NATO's "most successful mission ever."[159] A military success, perhaps; but a humanitarian success is unlikely given the degradation of affairs in Libya in the aftermath. The lack of response toward the situation in Libya after the intervention calls into question the idea that humanitarianism was the main motivation in 2011; if such was the case, it follows that more assistance should have been given in the immediate aftermath, and especially once violence erupted once again.

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[157] James Pattison, "The Ethics of Humanitarian Intervention in Libya," *Ethics & international Affairs* 25, no. 3 (2011): 274, doi: 10.1017/S0892679411000256.
[158] Ayman Al-Warfalli, "New Libyan Parliament Meets Far from Urban Battlegrounds," *Reuters,* August 3, 2014, http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/08/03/us-libya-security-idUSKBN0G20FB20140803.
[159] "Statement by the Prime Minister of Canada at the Chief of Defence Staff Change of Command Ceremony."

While the mission is understood as a humanitarian one, the content analysis presented in Chapter Four shows that while human rights were emphasized by elites in the Canadian government, the focus was still largely a military one. Notably, authors such as Smith and Sokolsky argue that the current Conservative government tends to use liberal internationalist rhetoric to "deflect attention away from policies that are contrary to internationalist principles."[160] This holds partially true in this case. The emphasis placed on human rights, Canada as an international citizen, and other like language are those explanations that received resonance in Canada despite the significant focus on the role of force and Canada's military capabilities.

Constructivism

Similarly, there are issues with relying solely on a constructivist explanation of Canada's role in the intervention in Libya. Ideational factors alone cannot explain Canada's decision to become so heavily involved in OUP. Certainly, as argued in Chapter Two, ideational factors had a powerful role that will be discussed in later sections. The issue is that that they alone cannot account for Canada's foreign policy decision making process in this case; there were material factors at play as well. The ideational factors at play only partially explain the decisions made. The value of a strategic culture argument lies in the way in which the ideas are understood amongst elites in Canada. These intersubjective understandings influence the way in which they frame foreign policy decisions. For example, the role of strategic culture rather than international norms of responsibility (R2P) are more influential in this case than any other norms. Being a member of the pluralistic security community formed by NATO is

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[160] Smith, "Forget the Fine Tuning," 203.

an example of how realist policies (international security, protection of the homeland)

can become understood through a constructivist framework. A Canadian strategic culture

based on multilateralism, its relationship with the United States, and the role of NATO

has resonance amongst elite members of government when making foreign policy

decisions.

Most constructivist analyses of the intervention in Libya tend to focus on the role

of international norms of behaviour. Namely, most focus on the role of R2P and state

intervention.[161] However, this was not the focus in Canada, as there were few if any

actual references to R2P by elites in the Conservative government. More pragmatic

versions of liberal internationalist values have more resonance with the Harper

government, disguised using different terms.[162] The focus on the defence of human rights

as a hallmark of Canadian identity rather than R2P is an example of this.[163] Due to

historical concerns of becoming irrelevant in international affairs, focusing on certain

areas or niches as Chapnick describes, became the norm for Canada.[164] Under Harper,

these norms still have resonance, but they are guided primarily by other material factors.

These material factors and interests are formed through realpolitik calculations of power,

and then affected by domestic constraints and elite perceptions about Canada's role in the

world. The following section elaborates on this concept in order to explain how a

neoclassical realist and constructivist hybrid approach best explains growing trends in

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[161] See Tim Dunne and Jess Gifkins, "Libya and the State of Intervention," *Australian Journal of International Affairs,* 65, no. 5 (2011), 515-529, doi: 10.1080/10357718.2011.613148.
[162] Smith, "Forget the Fine Tuning," 203; Boucher, "The Responsibility to Think Clearly about Interests," 67.
[163] Lui, *Why Canada Cares,* 119.
[164] *Ibid* 121; Chapnick, "The Canadian Middle Power Myth."

Canadian foreign policy. Doing so through examining what factored into Canada's decision to become so involved with the Libyan intervention provides a an opportunity to apply this theory.

A Neoclassical Realist and Constructivist Hybrid

It is argued here that the decision to become so involved in OUP in Libya can be explained by a neoclassical realist calculation of power and constraints, both international and domestic complemented by the inclusion of constructivist variables. As Taliaferro et al. note,

> In the short run, anarchy gives states considerable latitude in defining their security interests, and the relative distribution of power merely sets parameters for grand strategy… the calculations and perceptions of leaders can inhibit a timely and objectively efficient response or policy adaptation to shifts in the external environment.[165]

Using Taliaferro et al's description of the way in which foreign policy decisions are made and applying it to Canada, the assumption is that Canada conducts foreign policy in an anarchic system of states propelled by the threats posed by other states in the system. How Canada and other states can respond to various threats in the international system is directly related to its relative power. Additionally, however, the calculations and perceptions of leaders plays a role as well. Relatively speaking, Canada is clearly not as powerful as the United States, the United Kingdom, China, or Germany. Yet, it is more powerful than states such as Brazil, New Zealand, or Libya. Thus the way in which it conducts its foreign and defence policy depends on its power relative to other states.

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[165] Taliaferro, Lobell, and Ripsmen, "Introduction," 7.

It is no surprise, then, that Canada does not act unilaterally on significant foreign and defence policy issues. Its relative power sets the parameters of how it can act on the international stage. Thus, its longstanding commitment to multilateralism or coalitions; for those issue areas that apply to Canada or in defence of its allies, it is unable to act on its own. The areas which Canada chooses to concern itself with are derived from its national interests, or areas in which Canada has chosen to take an interest internationally. For Libya specifically, there were a number of security interests at stake that were highlighted.

First and foremost is the idea that due to globalization and the proliferation of conflict, instability in Libya has the potential to have deleterious effects for Canada and its allies. The current government has identified that this is a key area of concern for Canada. Indeed, the *Canada First Defence Strategy* states, "…developments abroad can have a profound impact on the safety and interests of Canadians at home."[166] With the notion that developments abroad can threaten the security of Canadians, the conflict in Libya was first referred to in this context. As the results from the content analysis show, this accounts for the focus on terms such as security, protect, crisis, emergency, and evacuate. These terms rank so high in frequency due to the fact that before Canada was offered a role in Libya, its main area of focus concerned its own citizens. However, the concern shifted as the North African and Middle Eastern regions became more embroiled in conflict in 2011. As the situation in Libya quickly escalated into violent conflict following the course of other states such as Egypt and Tunisia, other powers such as

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[166] Department of National Defence, *Canada First Defence Strategy* (Ottawa: 2008), 6.

France, members of the Arab League, and the United States shifted their focus to Libya and the role they could play there, both humanitarian and military.

The initial role of the United States is particularly important for Canada's involvement. As noted in Chapter two, a key part of Canadian strategic culture relates to the idea that Canada's relationship with the US is an important part of its foreign policy decision making process. It is often argued that a key area of interest in terms of security is its relationship with the United States. As Sokolsky notes, convincing Washington that Canada is not a defence problem for them is a key area of interest in Canadian defence policy.[167] Sokolsky credits this security interest as being a long-standing tradition in Canadian foreign and defence policy regardless of how much influence in Washington it realistically gains. This is especially evident under Stephen Harper, who arguably aims for a closer relationship with Washington than did Jean Chrétien. This is emphasized in the *Canada First Defence Strategy.* To elaborate, *Canada First* highlights that it is in Canada's "strategic interest" to remain a reliable ally to the US and other powers and that it "must do its part" to address international security challenges as they arise.[168] Remaining a reliable ally takes many forms; from continental defence through NORAD, training, remaining interoperable with the US military, and the ability to respond to crises are key areas that *Canada First* focuses on. The desire for influence on the international stage is not a new concept for Canadian leadership, but the way in which that influence is sought has indeed changed.

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[167] Sokolsky, "Realism Canadian Style," 10.
[168] *Ibid,* 8.

An example of this is a brief examination of Canada's choice to remain uninvolved in the intervention in Iraq in 2003. For example, traditional liberal internationalist approaches to the study of Canada's 2003 decision argue that Chrétien's decision was a principled one, pointing toward Canada's commitment to multilateralism and Chrétien's disagreement with President Bush's policies.[169] However, an alternate explanation that looks at this decision through a conventional realist lens would argue that strategically, Canada's decision was inconsistent. Including a strategic culture approach that examines the role of ideas- namely, those ideas that Chrétien held about Canada's role in the world- offers a clear line of reasoning. Vucetic's analysis presented in Chapter Two offers such an explanation. While the framework presented in this project places an emphasis on Canada's relationship with the United States, there is an argument to be made that focuses on how that relationship can also revolve around achieving autonomy from the US. The extent to which Canada is dependent on the United States can work in a counterintuitive way, enforcing the idea that there is a need for an increased amount of autonomy.

This idea also corresponds with Canada's commitment to NATO-led operations rather than UN-led operations. As Chapter Two notes, the idea of Canada as a peacekeeper has shifted to a more NATO-oriented focus for Canadian operations abroad. Remaining a key member of NATO is in Canada's interest in order to retain or gain influence; in order to do so, it must pull its weight on the international stage. As *Canada First* stresses, projecting Canadian leadership abroad is a key element in its defence

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[169] Nathan C. Funk, "Applying Canadian Principles to Peace and Conflict Resolution in the Middle East," in *Canada and the Middle East: In Theory and Practice,* eds. Paul Heinbecker and Bessma Momani (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007), 31.

strategy as a trading nation.[170] Indeed, *Canada First* states that "projecting leadership abroad can take many forms- from taking part in a large international campaign, as Canada is currently doing in Afghanistan, to leading a specific component of a multinational operation, such as a naval task group."[171]

The idea here is that Canada moved fundamentally because NATO and the United States moved. With the US taking less of a role, there was an opportunity to project Canadian leadership abroad and within NATO. The NATO-led OUP offered opportunities for Canada that would benefit its posture on the international stage. Involvement in institutions such as NATO and NORAD can be described as a decidedly realist interest, as the military focus of these institutions projects Canadian power and influence. The use of Canadian naval and sea power provided benefits to Canada, both domestically and internationally. At home, Canada's defence spending would look more justified with its fleets put to use; in the case of the F-35 spending scandal, the use of Canada's jets provided reasoning for the expense. Moreover, the fact that the mission was mandated internationally and was seen as a humanitarian pursuit provided even more justification to a domestic audience getting ready for a federal election.

Internationally, the opportunity to showcase Canada's ability to keep up with its more powerful allies and prove its worth on the international stage was an important factor in the decision to contribute. This is supported by numerous references after the fact, in which Canada's ability to "punch above its weight" was highlighted by elites in

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[170] *Canada First Defence Strategy,* 8.
[171] *Ibid.*

the federal government.[172] Robert Art's discussions on posturing and swaggering has resonance here, as this had a significant effect on Canada's decision to become involved. Specifically, Art uses four categories to describe the uses of force: defense, deterrence, compellence, and swaggering.[173] In participating in OUP, Canada was able to showcase its military abilities through the active use of force against the Qaddafi regime alongside its allies. The participation in OUP offered a return of Harper's investment in the Canadian forces. Domestically, participating in the NATO-led intervention in Libya had advantages. While foreign policy is rarely a key election issue in Canada, the decision to become involved in Libya would not negatively affect Harper's campaign for re-election. It stands to reason that if it would have significantly hurt his chances for re-election, the Canadian contribution in Libya might have been downplayed, both in the size of Canada's contribution and the amount of attention it was given by the government.

In addition to the material factors involved in Canada's decision making process, the previous section noted immaterial factors. The role of Canadian strategic culture is essential here also. Harper's idea of what Canada's role in the world ought to be is derived from older versions of Canada's projected 'role' in the world envisioned by previous governments. In practise, old liberal internationalist values are modified to include realpolitik calculations of Canada's relative power and influence in the world. Harper's shift toward NATO support operations rather than UN operations emphasizes this shift; through NATO Canada's military abilities are showcased. The idea of a more

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[172] "Statement by Minister Baird Updating Canada's Involvement in Libya," *Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development Canada,* (September 13, 2011), http://www.international.gc.ca/media/aff/news-communiques/2011/262.aspx?lang=eng.
[173] Robert J. Art, "To What Ends Military Power?" *International Security* 4, no. 4, (1980): 5, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2626666; Sokolsky, "Realism Canadian Style," 11.

militarily and economically robust Canada that acts on its own interest rather than the interests of the international community is one that Harper has advocated for in the past.[174] With the idea that it is no longer in Canada's national interest to go along with the agendas of other states in the international system, foreign policy decision making has become more about what is in Canada's interest than the interests of the entire international community. Canada's defence and security interests are formed through calculations of Canada's relative power, domestic constraints, and strategic culture.

Findings

Examining Canada's decision to become so involved in Libya once the opportunity to project leadership and its military abilities arose highlights recent trends in Canadian foreign and defence policy. As the goal of this study is to examine trends in Canadian foreign and defence policy, a case study of Canada's involvement in the intervention in Libya was conducted. The choice to use Libya as a case study is due to the fact that it provides a critical test for the theoretical framework for examining Canadian foreign and defence policy suggested here. The conflict in Libya was the first major conflict that Harper deployed military forces to aside from the decision to continue operations in Afghanistan. Additionally, the intervention in Libya is the only major conflict that the Canadian military deployed to that Prime Minister Harper oversaw from start to finish.

In order to explain Canada's enthusiasm to become so heavily involved in the NATO-led Operation Unified Protector in Libya, this study has examined several factors to arrive at its conclusions. First, the way in which Canadian foreign and defence policy

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[174] See Whyte, "In Conversation: Stephen Harper."

has been studied and theorized about in the past was examined. This step is crucial, as identifying older patterns of foreign policy decision making and the way in which it has been written about academically aids in understanding news trends and how they connect to long-term patterns. Therefore, liberal internationalist, constructivist, and realist theories of Canadian foreign and defence policy were discussed.

Through this discussion, it was posited that neoclassical realism and constructivism serve as accurate theoretical tools with which to examine current Canadian foreign and defence policy. Despite arguments that realism and constructivism have contradictory ontologies, it is argued that including the role of ideas into a neoclassical realist framework is valuable and not without precedent. Using this framework, the Canadian involvement in Operation Unified Protector was examined. This case study examined the role of international, domestic, and ideational factors which influenced Canada's involvement in the intervention in Libya. Also included in the case study is a content analysis of statements concerning Canada's involvement in Libya from February 2011 until July 2014 from elite members of the Conservative government. This analysis was conducted in order to examine the way in which the intervention in Libya was framed by the Canadian government, and whether or not it corresponds with the theoretical framework offered here. The results of the content analysis support the idea that current Canadian foreign and defence policy reflects a more realpolitik version of old liberal internationalist values.

Through examining other theoretical explanations for Canada's enthusiastic involvement, it is concluded that a neoclassical realist framework that includes the role of ideational factors best describes Canada's decision making process, and ultimately, a

growing trend in Canadian foreign and defence policy. This is due to the fact that humanitarianism and ideational factors alone cannot explain why Canada became involved when its initial response was underwhelming. Once the situation in Libya escalated and more powerful actors like the United States and France became involved, the way in which the conflict was viewed by elites changed as the content analysis shows. The focus shifted from the safety of Canadian citizens to the role that the Canadian military was able to perform. Canada shifted its position fundamentally because NATO and its allies shifted its position; the crisis in Libya became an opportunity to project Canadian leadership and values abroad and showcase its military capabilities to both a domestic and international audience. What at first glance seems to be a classic liberal internationalist process based on humanitarianism and serving the interests of the international community is in reality a realist calculation of Canada's defence and security interests.

Ultimately, the Harper government places more emphasis on how Canada's own interests are realized through international actions. This is opposed to previous Liberal governments under Chretien and Martin, which are associated with a more cosmopolitan actions. It is under this justification which liberal internationalists point toward when explaining many past Canadian foreign policy actions. Harper's approach in Libya represents a careful shift from these justifications. While the actions of the Conservative government in Libya remain consistent with past actions in Afghanistan and Kosovo, for example, the specifics that are highlighted by the Harper government are consistent with a reading of foreign policy that focuses more on Canada's interests than that of the international community.

This project adds to the research being done in this subject area. While there is plenty of work being done on Canadian foreign and defence policy, the majority of it remains atheoretical, or not connected to international relations theory. This project adds to the theoretical discussion currently taking place, and seeks to bridge the gap in literature concerning international relations theory and Canadian foreign and defence policy. Further, work related to Canada's involvement in the 2011 intervention in Libya is not plentiful, and those who have examined Canada's role do it atheoretically or from a purely military point of view. There are limitations to this approach, however. First and foremost is the fact positing that new trends in Canadian foreign and defence policy can be observed through examining Canada's response to conflicts raises the issue of the amount of case studies available. Thoroughly examining every conflict that Canada's military has become involved with in the past twenty years is beyond the scope of this project and thus past work on the issue is examined instead to set a baseline. Additionally, since the first election of Stephen Harper as Canada's Prime Minister in 2006, there is without a doubt a difference in the way in which Canadian foreign policy is conducted. However, while it is accepted that the way in which defence and security policy is conducted has changed, testing this idea is more challenging given the low amount of cases available for study since 2006.

Ultimately, however, using the 2011 intervention in Libya as a case study has provided answers concerning the question of how neoclassical realism and constructivism can be used as a framework to examine Canadian foreign and defence policy. Canada's responses to new and developing situations will provide additional insights into the theoretical framework suggested here. Future research in this area would be particularly

insightful, as would investigating past conflicts such as Kosovo and Afghanistan with this framework. Also pertinent is an investigation into cases of non-intervention, such as the 2003 Iraq War and the ongoing civil war in Syria. Including these cases (Kosovo, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria) in future studies would offer insight as to how this framework holds up in cases of both intervention and non-intervention. This could be done through a series of comparative case studies.

As the situation in Libya continues to degrade, the question of how Canada will respond relies on how its government weighs its interests versus the interests of others involved in the crisis. Given the lacklustre response from the states originally involved in Operation Unified Protector thus far, immediate action from Canada is unlikely. Worsening situations in Iraq, Israel, Gaza, the Central African Republic, Somalia, Sudan, and many others will also provide understanding into growing trends in Canadian foreign and defence policy. Future research into Canada's responses to these conflicts will provide additional insights, and will add to the body of research on this subject.

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