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Modeling Peacekeeping: The Case of Canada Examined

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MODELING PEACEKEEPING: THE CASE OF CANADA EXAMINED

By

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ABSTRACT

This research introduced a comprehensive model for explaining why countries participate in peacekeeping by studying Canada's peacekeeping decisions. The history of Canadian peacekeeping since 1947 presented an ideal case because of the significant fluctuation in its involvement from being a leading peacekeeper to a token contributor. It adopted Waltz's schema to explain this fluctuation at the systemic, domestic, and individual levels of analyses. Most of the literature on Canadian peacekeeping decisions employed systemic level analyses such as national interest and international cooperation without taking into account the impact of domestic political and socioeconomic environment, and the role of leadership personality in peacekeeping decisions. This study tipped this imbalance by assessing the role of public opinion and leadership personality on Canadian peacekeeping decisions using a mixed research method. The evidence on public opinion showed that, with the exception of the Trudeau and Mulroney administrations, other Canadian governments didn't consult public opinion in making peacekeeping decisions. Subsequently, the results on leadership personality indicated that Prime Ministers exhibiting personality traits associated with peaceful foreign policy did not commit greater number of peacekeepers than the Prime Ministers who did not reflect those attributes. The study concluded that Canadian peacekeeping decision is best understood by analyzing the dynamic interaction between the Cold War and the war on terror at the systemic level, the budget deficit and national unity at the domestic level, and the personality of Canada's leaders at the individual level.

Key words: *Canadian peacekeeping decision, International Relations, Public Opinion, Leadership Personality.*

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

International peacekeeping has grown substantially. UN peacekeeping, for example, has boomed from a humble beginning of around 30 troops in 1947 to over 100,000 today (Global Policy, 2011; UNDPKO, 2013). Except in the early 1960s, the number of UN peacekeepers between 1947 and 1992 never exceeded 20,000. In mid-1990s, however, the figure quadrupled to around 80,000 only to decline below 20,000 in the late 1990s and resume a steady growth since the year 2000 (See Figure 1.1). This study addresses what factors explain the variation in peacekeeping commitment by focusing on why and how a very significant actor in international peacekeeping like Canada decides to participate in peacekeeping missions. This will give us insights into how and why other democratic nations choose to participate in this process.
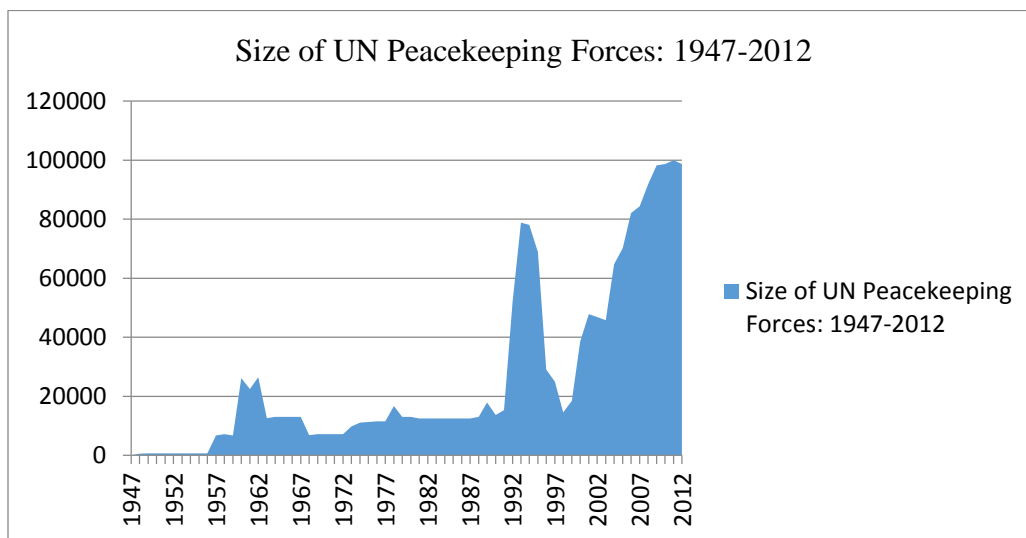
Figure 1. 1 Size of UN Peacekeeping forces 1947-2012

Source: Global Policy (2011) and UNDPKO (2013)

The rationale behind why and how countries engage in peacekeeping may be explained by framing peacekeeping participation as an outcome of foreign policy decision making. Mintz

& DeRouen (2010, p. 3) defined "foreign policy decision making (FPDM)" as the choices individuals, groups, and coalitions make that affect a nation's actions on the international stage… [where the decisions] are characterized by high stakes, enormous uncertainty, and substantial risk." When countries decide to send their troops abroad to participate in international peacekeeping, they are engaging in a risky behavior entailing multidimensional tasks (ranging from separating conflicting parties to monitoring an election) whose outcomes are uncertain (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Wall, 2011; UN, 2003). Framing peacekeeping policy as a foreign policy decision allows one to utilize different theories and methods in the field of foreign policy analysis (FPA) to explain why countries decide to engage in peacekeeping operations.

There are two major ways of analyzing FPDM. These are the actor-specific approach (which focuses on a single country as a case study) and comparative foreign policy analysis (which is a cross assessment the foreign policies of many countries) (Hudson, 2007). In this study I will adopt the actor-specific approach to foreign policy analysis by selecting Canada as a case study and explain why and how different Canadian governments decided to participate or not participate in peace operations. Before doing that, however, it is appropriate to justify why Canada deserves to be studied as a case.

Historically, Canada played a significant role in launching the first multinational peacekeeping forces during the Suez Crisis in 1956. Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson earned a Nobel Peace Prize for this effort (Carroll, 2009). Between 1956 and 1988, Canada participated in thirteen UN led peacekeeping missions and contributed 88,000 peacekeepers (Dorn, 2007).

Canada ranked among the top ten countries in terms of troop contributions to UN peacekeeping until 1996 (Dorn, 2007). But in 1997, the number of Canadian UN peacekeepers fell below 200—making up only 0.1 percent of the total UN peacekeepers (Dorn, 2007). Before

1997, the average Canadian troop contribution to UN peacekeeping was ten percent of the total (Dorn, 2007). As of August 2014, Canada contributed only 0.12 percent, i.e., 118 peacekeepers (84 police, 13 military experts, and 21 troops) of the total 97,655 (11,460 police, 1721 military experts, and 84,474 troops) UN peacekeeping forces (UN, 2014). Canada's financial contribution to UN peacekeeping has also dropped from $94 million in 2008 to $15 million in 2014 (Fiorino, 2014). Today, Canada has abandoned UN peacekeeping and is more involved in NATO led peace enforcement missions as witnessed "in the war in Afghanistan, the airstrikes on Libya, and the deployment of a troop contingent to Ukraine" as well as the fight against Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) (Fiorino, 2014).

Meanwhile, nowhere has peacekeeping been a part of national identity as it has become in Canada. Canadians have issued a dollar bill and a coin, erected a statue, and opened museum and a park venerating peacekeeping (McKay & Swift, 2012). They also named their main international airport and their Foreign Affairs office after Lester B. Pearson (McKay & Swift, 2012). Moreover, public opinion on peacekeeping has consistently remained strong (Granatstein, 2012).

A poll conducted by Nanos (2010) showed that "Canadians preferred UN peacekeeping... (7.2 out 10 where 10 is a very high priority)" as the top priority that armed forces should have followed compared to other realms of cooperation like North American security cooperation (6.7), defense of the Arctic (6.2) and the NATO commitment (6.1). Canadians gave least priority to combat missions (5.1). This aversion to combat was reiterated in a more recent poll by Angus Reid (2012) in February 2012 where 40% of its respondents thought Canada's engagement in Afghanistan was a mistake while 36% thought it was the right thing. However, when asked if they approved of Canada's decision to keep "950 soldiers in Afghanistan until 2014 in a strictly

non-combat role to help Afghan military"--which is framed as a peacekeeping role, 54% approved while 39% disapproved.

So, why, despite strong public support, did Canada abandon its leading role in peacekeeping after 1997? And, why did Canada embrace peacekeeping from 1956 to 1996? A number of leading Canadian scholars argue that peacekeeping was a myth. In particular, the sentimental values held by the general public that Canada is a neutral player was based on false premises. Instead they stress on the fact that Canada has participated in two World Wars and has been an active NATO and NORAD member whose mettle has been tested in Afghanistan (Granatstein, 2012). For them, peacekeeping has always been, even during Canada's peak engagements, a subordinate task to more serious commitments in NATO. Others worry that the Canadian government, especially the current one led by Prime Minister Harper, is deliberately tarnishing Canada's peacekeeping identity, costing it a temporary seat at the UN Security Council in 2010 (McKay, 2012). A poll conducted by Abacus Data (2010) showed that Canadians considered a temporary seat at the UN Security Council as "very important" (33 percent) and "somewhat important" (33 percent).

Although many scholars argue that Prime Minister Harper had deliberately abandoned peacekeeping, they didn't make a systematic analysis of his reason for doing this. As a matter of fact, scholars didn't explain the reasons why other Canadian leaders embraced peacekeeping by employing theories from political psychology. There is hardly any study on the relationship between Canadian leadership personality and their peacekeeping decisions. However, given the enormous executive power Canadian Prime Ministers wield over their government, the study of their personality and its effect on their peacekeeping decision is worth conducting.

This study addresses the question why the Canadian governments since 1947 decided to send peacekeepers abroad by focusing on the role of public opinion and foreign policy disposition of Canadian leaders based on their personalities. It is divided into seven chapters. The following chapter reviews the available literature on peacekeeping decisions at the systemic, domestic, and individual level of analysis with the aim of identifying controversies and gaps deserving further research. The third chapter explains how it employs mixed research method to test the research question by conceptualizing and operationalizing the dependent (Canadian peacekeeping participation) and independent (public opinion and foreign policy disposition of Canadian Prime Ministers) variables. The fourth chapter conducts a descriptive review of Canadian peacekeeping history to briefly show the development of Canadian peacekeeping from the beginning until its current state. The fifth chapter addresses the impact of public opinion on Canadian peacekeeping decisions since 1947. The sixth chapter examines the role of Canadian leadership personality on peacekeeping decision by asking whether Prime Ministers having personality traits that indicate a disposition towards peaceful foreign policy exhibit a greater commitment to peacekeeping than Prime Ministers identified as being disposed towards warlike foreign policy. Finally, the seventh chapter summarizes the salient aspects of the study by making valid conclusions.

The overall goal of the study is to model peacekeeping decisions by framing it as part of a foreign policy decision-making. This model allows researchers to study peacekeeping decisions systematically at the systemic, domestic, and individual levels of analysis. The study selected Canada as a case study for at least three reasons. First, the degree of variation in Canadian peacekeeping participation has been significant. Canada was a pioneer as well as a leading peacekeeping nation until it began to substantially reduce Canada's commitment after the mid-

1990s. Second, no country has incorporated peacekeeping as symbol of national identity as much as Canadians have. In addition to a consistently strong public opinion support for peacekeeping and earning the Nobel Peace Prize twice (in 1957 for Lester Pearson and in 1988 for UN peacekeepers), Canadians have enshrined peacekeeping symbols in their coins, dollars, stamps, statutes, airports and major government buildings. Third, despite Canadian government's retreat from peacekeeping, Canada's peacekeeping experience and reputation, lack of colonial ties, bilingual and well equipped troops still make Canada as an ideal candidate for keeping the peace in the turbulent world of today. These factors justify the pursuit of this study for use by academicians as well as policy makers.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Peacekeeping has often taken a central place in the Canadian foreign policy discourse. In light of the foreseeable disengagement of Canadian forces in Afghanistan, the "debate concerning the role of peacekeeping in Canadian foreign affairs is sure to be rekindled" (Preece, 2010, p.1). Even as conservatives push for military confrontation against the ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria), NDP and Liberal leaders voice their opposition while certain scholars see this conflict as Canada's opportunity to renter peacekeeping through the United Nations (Hamilton, 2014). Several factors explain Canada's decision whether to participate in peacekeeping missions. These factors can be systematically addressed using Waltz's three image schema. This schema has systemic (international relations), domestic (government and non-government actors) and individual (leadership) levels of analysis (Waltz, 1954/2001).

The three image schema introduced by Waltz is comprehensive in the sense that he identified all levels necessary to explain foreign policy. However, Waltz failed to give all levels equal importance (Moravisck, 1993). Waltz gave priority to the systemic forces explaining state behavior and held the various domestic and individual forces explaining state behavior abroad constant. He preferred to treat states as unitary rational actors whose main goal is the pursuit of power. Putnam (1988) challenged this assumption by introducing the two level game model. This model has two boards where diplomats from two or more countries interact on one board and domestic actors (state/non-state) from two or more states interact on the second board. Putnam argued that all foreign policy decisions are an outcome of constant bargaining of leaders playing at the diplomatic and domestic boards.

Putnam's "two level game" sheds light on the significance of domestic and individual actors. He showed the important role played by individual leaders as they played on the

diplomatic and domestic boards simultaneously. However, Putnam doesn't explain what types

of leaders are disposed to peaceful/warlike foreign policies. If one needs to understand why

certain Canadian leaders send peacekeepers while other do not, one must address this gap.

Political psychologists like Margaret Hermann (2006) provided interesting insight to fill this gap

by profiling the personality of political leaders at a distance by analyzing their speeches and

interview transcripts.

As will be explained in detail later, Hermann (1980; 1987; 2006) introduced seven

leadership traits assessment (LTA) criteria to evaluate political leaders. According to Hermann,

political leaders disposed to War tend to be motivated by power, perceive issues as mutually

exclusive (black and white as opposed to grey), have nationalist orientation (Winter, 2006). She

also described them as being introverted and less trustful than leaders who are disposed towards

peace. Overall, Hermann's LTA is useful in profiling political leaders at distance. Herman's

attempt to connect LTA with foreign policy outcomes by classifying leaders into peace/war

disposition is also a move forward. Nonetheless, an attempt has not yet been made to see whether

peace disposed leaders exhibited a visible role in peaceful endeavors like peacekeeping. More

importantly, no study attempts to explain Canadian governments' decision to send peacekeepers

by examining the personality profile of their leaders.

All in all, a comprehensive understanding of Canadian peacekeeping requires equal

consideration of all factors at the systemic, domestic and individual levels of analysis. The

following sub sections explore available literature explaining Canada's decisions to participate in

international peacekeeping.

Systemic Analysis: Explaining Canadian Peacekeeping using IR Theories

The Realist Lens of Canadian Peacekeeping

The intellectual origin of realism can be traced as far back as Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* (431-404 B.C). According to Keohane (1986), realism has "three key assumptions: (1) states (or city-states) are the key units of action; (2) they seek power, either as an end in itself or as a means to other ends; and (3) they behave in ways that are, by and large, rational, and therefore comprehensible to outsiders in rational terms" (1986, p. 7). Hence, realists consider nation states as sovereign and autonomous actors whose main goal is the pursuit of power (Onea, 2012). They also believe that "power determined how [a state] behaves in various international relationship and what ideas it espouses in international discourse" (Nau, 2012, p. 61-62).

Several scholars concur that realism explains Canadian peacekeeping decisions. As Marteen (2008) put it:

> Peacekeeping is thus a tool to be used by the so-called realists, who wish to influence international outcomes but lack the power to gain such influence any other way. In Canada's case, peacekeeping gives Ottawa a lever in the United Nations that can be used to constrain the United States" (2008, p.167).

Nonetheless, there is disagreement on whether Canada was engaged in peacekeeping to fight Communism (Mullenbach, 2005), serve or contain great powers (Riddel-Dixon, 2007), or increase its power by shouldering a unique role like peacekeeping that the Permanent Members of the UN Security Council couldn't assume (Robinson, 2012).

The above differences arise from varying interpretations of power and are also the reason why several schools of realism exist today. Lebow (2010) defined classical realism as "an approach to international relations that….recognizes the central role of power in politics of all kind, but also the limitations of power and the ways in which it can readily be made self-defeating" (2010, p. 59). Classical realists define "political power as a psychological relation between those who exercise it and those over whom it is exercised" whereby the former (the wielder of power) is

deemed to confer benefits or threats and legitimize their "love for men or institutions" (Morgenthau, 1948/1993, p. 23). Canadian realists define national interest in terms of the preservation of national integrity, "especially between the two founding nations [Francophones and Anglophones]; socioeconomic prosperity and harmony with but independence from the United States" (Massie, 2009, p. 628); securing Canada from terrorism (also from serving as a terror base for attacking the United States); and maintaining sovereignty in the Arctic region (Sloan, 2005). They often criticize Canadians' infatuation with peacekeeping by arguing that peacekeeping was not a moral crusade but a rational decision to secure Canadian national interests that aim at preventing regional conflicts from escalating into thermonuclear confrontation between superpowers and preserving the unity within Western alliance (Delvoie, 2000). Hence, for classical realists, Canadian peacekeeping is worthwhile to the extent it serves national interest.

Neo Realists, on the other hand, introduced a systematic approach to international relations by dividing it into human nature, state behavior, and the relationship in the society of states (Waltz, 2001). In the society of states, Canadian neo-realists consider Canada as a principal power whose "military, economic, resource and diplomatic" capabilities place it in the top tier among powerful countries (Jung, 2009, p.23). For the reasons described by Kirton, Canada has a "principal role in establishing, specifying and enforcing international order" (Jung, 2009, p. 23). As Canada's power and influence has decreased since the 1980s, the appeal of this perspective has also declined (Jung, 2009).

Defense realists understood power in terms of security (Nau, 2012) where "survival is best attained by pursuing just enough power to maintain a 'balance' [so that] no one other power or coalition of power can threaten the system and one's national security" (Cha, 2003, p. 10). Defense realists believe that a nation should undertake "ambitious military and diplomatic strategies to

increase security" (Balzevic, 2009, p.59). Accordingly, "Canada's involvement in Cold War-era UN and non-UN peacekeeping" was intended to "deter a war with the Soviet Union, and to fighting that war if deterrence failed" (Maloney, 2007, p.101). Hence for Maloney (2002):

> Canada never was a neutral participant in the United Nations, which was itself a Cold War battleground with the Soviets. UN peacekeeping was only one of Canada's Cold War tools, and was conceived as part of a strategy to stave off communist influence in critical portions of the Third World and to freeze international crises in place so they did not escalate into nuclear war (Maloeny, 2002).

Offensive realism is based on Organiski's Power Transition Theory (PTT), which describes the international system in terms of hierarchical rather than anarchical constellation of power among states. Organski's Power Transition Theory classifies countries into great, major, middle and minor powers (Organski & Kugler, 2011). In this pyramidal structure, great powers cooperate with their allies in other categories to establish and sustain international law, institutions, and norms for the rest to follow. Their potential rivals endure this phenomenon until they gain sufficient strength to challenge the status quo and attain hegemony (Levy & Thompson, 2010). As Neack (1995) put it:

> UN peace-keeping developed out the thwarted global political aspirations of a single state. At the close of the World War II, Canadian statespersons undertook an aggressive campaign to establish a special status for Canada and other 'middle power' states in the new United Nations…Middle powers could do this through so-called 'middle power diplomacy', an approach to diplomacy aimed at mitigating interstate tensions and conflicts in order to prevent the possibility of war between great powers…Out of these deliberations came the first formal UN peace-keeping operation. Soon after, UN peacekeeping became the 'prerogative' of middle powers (Neack, 1995, p. 183)

In a similar vein, Jung (2009) portrayed Canada as a satisfied middle power whose role in international peacekeeping is intended to preserve the existing world order. But there is a debate on whether Canada should remain content in the middle or should strive to become a principal

power (Holmes, 2007; Dewitt & Kirton, 2007). In either case, the rationale for Canadian peacekeeping is the maintenance of world order.

Many factors distinguish middle powers from other powers. Behringer (2012) identified geographical location (centered in between two major countries), functional role (mediator), capability/strength, and behavioral (preference for international rather than unilateral action) as alternative definitions of middle powers. These features can be assessed by conducting a comparative study of countries under different categories of power (Cooper, 2011). A satisfied middle power like Canada, for example, would adopt a foreign policy that is in harmony with a dominant power such as the United States.

The section has explained the realist perspective of Canadian peacekeeping. All realists understood Canadian peacekeeping in terms of promoting its power. Realists rejected altruistic interpretation of Canadian peacekeeping which stressed on a genuine commitment to international cooperation. For classical realists, Canadian peacekeeping was an outcome of its interest to preserve its own national unity and the solidarity among its Western allies. For neorealist, Canada was involved in peace operations in order to emerge as a principal power in the post-Second World War global environment. For defense realists, Canadian was involved in peacekeeping to contain the spread of communism in conflict ridden states. For offensive realists, Canadian peacekeeping role was a middle power diplomatic strategy aimed at preventing conflict among the great powers. The fundamental premises of different branches of realism are summarized in Table 2.1.

Table 2. 1 Branches of Realism

Branches of Realism	Assumption
Classical Realism (Power=Psychological influence)	Starts from foreign policy level of analysis but gives more weight to domestic ideational and institutional factors
Neo-Realism (Power=no. of poles-uni, bi, multi-polar)	Starts from systemic level of analysis but focuses on distribution of material capabilities in anarchy while excluding hierarchy and hegemony
Defensive Realism (Power=security)	Starts from systemic level of analysis but pays more attention to intentions and interactions to institutional (information) and ideational variables
Offensive Realism (Hegemony, hierarchy)	Starts from the systemic structural level of analysis that focuses on hegemony or hierarchy, which neo-realism never really considers

Source: Nau (2012).

The Liberal Perspective of Canadian Peacekeeping

One of the major misconceptions of realists is their assumption of nation states as unitary actors (Nau, 2012). In reality, nation states are not unitary actors. Instead, they are composed of different branches of a government holding and promoting different and often conflicting interests in foreign policy (Allison & Zelikow, 1999). Non-state actors such as the media, opposition parties, private sector, public opinion, and sub-national administrations also work actively to influence foreign policy (Alden & Aran, 2012). Liberals, on the other hand, take domestic factors into account. Jackson & Sorensen (2010) summarized the fundamental principles of liberalism as follows:

> The theoretical point of departure for liberalism is the individual. Individuals plus various collectives of individuals are the focus of analysis; first and foremost states, but also corporations, organizations and associations of all kinds. Liberals maintain

that not only conflict but also cooperation can shape international affairs (2010, p.130)

The intellectual origin of liberalism in international relations can be traced back to Immanuel Kant's work entitled *Perpetual Peace* written in 1795. Kant believed that it is possible to secure a perpetual peace in the world if countries adhere to three definitive articles (Doyle, 1997). The first article argues that, contrary to absolute monarchies, republic governments don't resort to aggression because it will harm the welfare of their citizens upon whom they depend for votes. The second article states that perpetual peace is guaranteed when these republican governments submit to international law that secures the basic human rights of all people. The third article encourages countries to engage in international trade in order to strengthen the material interdependence among them and increase the risk of going to war (Doyle, 1997).

At the systemic level, liberals believe that it is possible for nation states to coexist by cooperation with each other (Doyle, 2012; Mueller, 1989; Giddens, 1985). Even nations that strive for power could achieve synergy through collective security (Lyon, 2012). As Chapnick (2010) put it, "peace could be sharpened not just by power but also" through "compromise for the sake of peace" (2010, p. 7). Liberals also break down power into soft and hard components whereby economic, institutional, and cultural means of influencing others make up soft power (Nye & Keohane, 2012). Perhaps a liberal explanation to Canadian peacekeeping is best expressed by Walter Dorn as follows:

> Peacekeeping is about trying to protect people in mortal danger, providing hope in almost hopeless situations, and bringing peace and some justice to war-torn communities in faraway lands (2005, p. 7).
> The liberal perspective of Canadian peacekeeping is based on a "sense of

internationalism or global responsibility" (Preece, 2010, p.7). As shown in Table 2.2, liberals attach different meanings to international cooperation.

Table 2. 2 Liberal Approaches and Foreign Policy Agendas

Variant of Liberalism	Foreign Policy Agenda
Principled Liberalism	The promotion of human rights, the creation of international society based on shared norms
Commercial Liberalism	Free trade promotion, support for open markets, attempts to spread capitalism as an economic system
Neo-Institutionalism	Creation, promotion and utilization of international organizations for governance, norm creation, and enforcement
Democratic Peace Theory	The promotion of democracy and confrontation toward non-democratic system

Source: Lyon (2012, p. 78).

Principled liberals are primarily interested in human rights (Lyon, 2012). A good example of principled liberalism was Canada's role in advancing the cause of human security in the 1990s to engage the international community in assuming the responsibility to protect individuals from state oppression (Axworthy, 1997). By expanding the concept of security from state to individuals, principled liberals undermine the "realist framework" which views "state security" as "paramount" (Chandler, 2007, p.59). Axworthy summarized the rationale for human security as follows:

> The meaning of security has been transformed…Hobbled by economic adversity, outrun by globalization, and undermined from within by bad governance, the capacity of states to provide this protection has increasingly come into question…The state has, at times, come to be a major threat to its population's rights and welfare-or has been incapable of restraining the warlords or paramilitaries-rather than serving as the protector of its people. This drives us to broaden the focus of security beyond the level of the state and toward individual human beings, as well as to consider appropriate roles of the international system to compensate for state failure (Axworthy, 2001)

Commercial liberal theory explains state behavior by examining the domestic and international economic changes which affect its wellbeing (Moravcsik, 2002). Commercial

liberals believe that "countries with deep trade links with a civil war country have a greater interest in seeing a peacekeeping intervention, particularly when the war threatens economic production and trade" (Rost & Greig, 2011, p. 174). For major trading countries like Canada, therefore, peacekeeping serves as a public good that provides stable conditions for the international flow of goods and services (Bobrow & Boyer, 1997). Any conflict that occurs worldwide would thus be deemed as posing a threat to international trade and worth abating via peacekeeping (Cox, 1994).

Institutional liberalism pertains to a "view that cooperation in world politics can be enhanced through the construction and support of multilateral institutions based on liberal principles" (keohane, 2012, p. 152). Institutional liberals would describe Canada as a founding member of the United Nations, having a vested interest in collective security (Chapnick, 2005). Canada has played a key role in strengthening the United Nations by expanding the General Assembly to include newly independent countries in the 1970s (Stairs, 2011). It has also succeeded in making sure that ten seats are reserved for non-permanent Security Council members on a two year rotating basis whereby members are elected based on their contributions to international security and other UN purposes (Stairs, 2011). Moreover, Canada has led in the conception and establishment of the first UN traditional peacekeeping force and made substantial contributions to UN peacekeeping without incurring arrears (Dorn, 2007).

The democratic peace theory (DPT) strand of liberalism considers democracy as a key ingredient to sustainable peace (Bellamy & Williams, 2010). Since democratic states rarely go to war, its proponents suggest that peacekeeping should include democratization (Doyle & Sambanis, 2006). The conflicting parties also demand assistance in building democratic regimes (Diehl, et.al. 2012). Canadian institutions "like the North-South Institute, the Parliamentary

Centre, the Forum of Federations, Rights & Democracy, CANADEM, and Election Canada" are actively engaged in this mission (Axworthy, 2011, p. 219). Studies on Cold War (1974-1991) military interventions (Kegley & Hermann, 1996) and post-Cold War (1993-2001) peace operations (Lobovic, 2004) show that "a country's level of democracy accounts for why and how much" it "contributed to these operations" (2004, p. 910). Democratic countries like Canada would, therefore, be more active in peace operations because they are more interested in spreading democratic ideals across the world.

In sum, liberals explain Canada's participation in peacekeeping in terms of cooperation. The basis of this cooperation differs from humanitarian causes (principled liberalism), international trade (commercial liberalism), collective security (neo-institutionalism) or spreading democracy (democratic peace theory). Although they pay more attention to domestic sources of foreign policy (as in democratic peace theory) than realists do, they still generalize the goal of states to be cooperation. In other words, the impact of shift in societal norms, the bureaucratic bargaining within governments, the influence of business class, etc. on peacekeeping decisions are not given sufficient consideration.

Constructivist Perspective of Canadian Peacekeeping

Constructivists are more interested in the "how" aspect of foreign policy decisions than they are in the "why" aspect (Folker & Badie, 2012). Unlike liberals and realists, constructivists don't think there is an objective explanation for selecting one foreign policy goal above another. Unlike realists and liberals who believe that "power" and "cooperation" have an objective reality (material basis), constructivists see power and cooperation primarily as concepts created (constructed) by thinkers and societies, or, as Wendt (1999) put it "by ideas and culture" (Wendt, 1999, p. 371).

Constructivists are more interested in the process (the "how" aspect) of foreign policy decision. More precisely, they examine how agents (political leaders, for example) introduce new ideas and disseminate them within their political circles and across the populace to transform them into institutionally-backed structures, which in turn, legitimizes and spreads those ideas on a much bigger scale (Breuning, 2012). Constructivists are more interested in understanding how the concept of peacekeeping came forth, developed and consolidated itself as a norm dictating government behavior inside the Canadian society and foreign policy circle.

As Ban Ki Moon (2012) put it, "[P]eacekeeping is not mentioned anywhere in the United Nations Charter…[S]ince the day of…Dag Hammarskjöld, peacekeeping has been a flagship of the United Nations activity." But, at first, even Mr. Hammarskjöld was skeptical about the idea when Canadian Foreign Minister Lester B. Pearson proposed peacekeeping as a solution to resolve the Suez Crisis in 1956 (Urquhart, 1993). When Pearson left for the United Nations to propose the idea, the cabinet members, the opposition parties, and the general public were against the idea because they did not want to betray their European allies (Caroll, 2009).

Prime Minister St. Laurent did, however, encourage Pearson to propose the idea to the UN while he staved off domestic resistance (Caroll, 2009). Yet, "the embittered reaction in parts of Canada helped speed the Liberals' electoral demise in 1957" (Bothwell, 1999, p.27). At the same time, however, Pearson won the Nobel Prize, which made "Canadians into the world's leading believers in peacekeeping" (Granatstein, 2002, p. 347). Since then, "any government that refused a chance to join in seemed certain to suffer attack from the public and the press" (2002, p.358). Canada's decision to participate in peacekeeping operations was thus established as a norm whereas failure to participate in peacekeeping missions became deviant or strange decision (Mackay & Swift, 2012).

According to Nossal & Bloomfield (2008), the global accolade over Canadian peacekeeping "entrenched" an already existing "internationalist strategic culture" that was in place since 1945 (2008, p. 299). Nevertheless, Nossal (2007) believed that public opinion plays a critical role in foreign policy through "administration setting, policy setting, agenda setting, and parameter setting" (2007, p. 170). A 2010 Nanos' poll indicated that most Canadians want their troops to primarily serve in peacekeeping missions as opposed to combat missions (Koring, 2012). This public attitude towards peacekeeping remains strong today.

Nevertheless, the question remains whether the general public has a realistic perception of Canada's current international role (Anker, 2005). With only 31 troops and 119 police serving along with the 94,090 UN peacekeepers (as of December 2012), Canada's contribution in peacekeeping is at a historically low level (UNDPKO, 2012). Moreover, Canada also lost its bid for a seat at the UN Security Council to Portugal, which Stairs (2011) attributed to, *inter alia*, a less experienced diplomatic team. Despite this loss, a Leger Marketing Poll conducted in 2012 reported that Canadians still think they maintain a good reputation worldwide (Cheadle, 2012).

Moreover, the awareness level of Canadians regarding the military operations conducted by Canadian Forces (CF) remains low. A poll in 2003 showed that only 41% of Canadians could identify two global operations (peacekeeping or non-peacekeeping) conducted by Canadian Forces accurately (Anker, 2005). Besides, Canadians did not implement their support for peacekeeping by asking their governments to either increase troops or allocate more resources for peacekeeping (Marten, 2008).

There is also a cultural divide among Canadians at the sub-national level, which is fortified as a federal state structure. This divide is also reflected in attitudes towards peacekeeping. Rioux (2004) conducted a public opinion survey, the result of which indicated that

Québécois tended to be more supportive of UN or French Canadian led peacekeeping missions than their English counterparts. *Québécois* are said to have "antimilitaristic" and "anti-imperialistic" attitudes towards foreign policy (Massie, et. al, 2010). They have managed to influence foreign policy considerably through the relatively large size of the *Québécois* electorate, some of the French Canadian Prime Ministers, and the deference given to Quebec in order to preserve national unity (Massie, et. al, 2010). Hence, Canada's overall support for international peacekeeping could partly be attributed to the *Québécois* who, on the basis of their culture, history, population size and political circumstance, are strong supporters of international peacekeeping.

Cosmopolitan Perspective of Canadian Peacekeeping

Instead of attributing cultural diversity as the source of global anarchy of states, as classical realists argue, cosmopolitans believe that local diversity should be celebrated and used to reinforce universal obligations of individuals to one another (Nau, 2012; Appiah, 2006). Cosmopolitans are not satisfied with the current state peacekeeping operation whereby the strength of a mission rests on the goodwill and support of nation states. Instead they call for a new generation of peace operation (See Table 2.3) that enables the United Nations to have its own permanent peacekeeping force (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Wall, 2011).

Table 2. 3 International Relations Perspectives of Peacekeeping: Theory and Application

IR Theories	Realism	Liberalism	Pluralism	Cosmopolitanism	Critical theory
Preferred Peace Operation	Stabilization Forces	Multidimensional Peacekeeping	Traditional Peacekeeping	Permanent UN Peacekeeping Forces	Democratic & Transparent UN (Pugh, 2004)

Source: Modified from Ramsbotham & Woodhouse (2010, p. 424)

The idea of a permanent UN peacekeeping force was proposed by the United States in 1946 (Goldstein, 2012). But the Soviets did not think this was a good idea as they feared it would complicate the Cold War divide further (Johnson, 1997). After the Cold War was over, some of the initial operations in Somali, Rwanda, and Bosnia proved catastrophic (Anan, 2012). So, in search of an alternative, the Canadian government submitted a study to the United Nations in 1995, which, *inter alia*, suggested the "need for a permanent multinational, rapid response headquarter" (Behringer, 2012, p. 41) to monitor a "standby and readily available UN Peace Operations" without violating the consent of conflicting parties (Koops, 2011, p. 400).

Canada's proposal did not trigger sufficient enthusiasm among member states. As a result, Canada and six "likeminded" European countries established the Standby High Readiness Brigade for the UN in 1996 (Behringer, 2012). The Brigade served in the aftermath of the Ethio-Eritrean war in 2000. It was, however, closed in 2009 because there was little need for traditional peacekeeping (Behringer, 2012). Although SHIRBRIG was a step forward in the cosmopolitan agenda, it did not adapt to the post-Cold War transformation of conflict from inter-state to intra-state direction (Hewitt, 2012). Its confinement to traditional peacekeeping diminished its demand which led to its liquidation.

Critical Perspective of Canadian Peacekeeping

Critical theories are based on the Marxist-Leninist notion that internal conflicts are propelled by class struggle (capitalists vs. workers) whereas international conflicts are triggered by competition among profit seeking multinational corporations (Lenin, 1913; Marx & Engles (1848), 201). There are two major theories within this school. The Dependency school argues that rich countries have prospered by creating an economic system that makes poor countries dependent on them (Wiarda & Kryzanek, 2012). On the other hand, the World System theory classifies countries into core, semi-periphery and periphery states where the core states monopolize production, thus leaving the semi-periphery and periphery states to engage in providing raw materials and labor intensive products (Wiarda & Kryzanek, 2012). So, as Engler (2009) put it, Canadian peacekeeping is a means of advancing the interest of the core group (multinational corporations, imperial powers, etc.) rather than vulnerable people at the periphery.

According to critical theorists, effective international peacekeeping can only be established when the existing global trade system and institutions undergo a radical transformation (Pugh, 2004). They believed that this requires liberating global institutions from the control of rich and powerful states (Pugh, 2004). Once this is ensured, critical theorists propose a small and agile team of international peacekeepers whose focus is mainly that of prevention rather than post-conflict reconstruction (Pugh, 2004). Until these conditions are put in place, critical theorists would be skeptical of international peacekeeping as serving narrow corporate or imperial interests.

Domestic Level of Analysis of Canadian Peacekeeping Decisions

There are three major theories under the domestic level of analysis. These are state-centered, society-centered, and state-society centered theories (Moravcsik, 1993). State-centered theories focus on the roles of and interactions among different actors within the executive branch of the government. The bureaucratic politics model and rational choice theories explained below are examples of this approach. Society-centered theories, on the other hand, stress on the influence of the general public and different non-governmental organizations on foreign policy decision making. One example is the public opinion section discussed below. Third, the state-society-centered theories cover the interactions among the executive branch of the government and the masses through their representatives in the parliament. In other words, they examine the role of the legislative branch of government in foreign policy (Moravsik, 1993). The following sections will investigate different theories within these three levels of domestic levels of analysis.

Bureaucratic Politics and Canadian Peacekeeping

Proponents of bureaucratic politics argue that foreign policy is the partially unintended outcome of political bargaining among government bureaucrats (Jones, 2012). Bureaucrats are involved in providing information to the top-level decision makers, suggesting alternative measures, and implementing them (Allison & Halperin, 1971). At the same time, they also work hard to preserve their relevance or essence (what they stand for), protect their "turf" (their functional/expertise advantage), and lobby for more resources-allocation from the executive branch (Brummer, 2013, p. 4).

Bureaucrats play an active role in the decision to participate in peacekeeping. For example, when the UN wants to ask Canada for troops, it sends the request to "Canada's military

adviser at Canada's permanent mission to the UN in New York, who then sends it along to Ottawa and the Department of National Defense and also to Foreign Affairs" (Taber, 2013). So, at least three departments, namely: the Prime Minister's Office, the Department of Defense and the Foreign Affairs interact in the decision to send peacekeepers abroad.

According to Marten (2008), "it is the culture of the foreign ministry bureaucracy that has played an important role in determining the tenor of Canadian peacekeeping over the years" (p. 181). The domination by the Foreign Affairs office was consolidated by Pearson who insisted that bureaucrats, including Parliamentarians, should leave diplomacy for diplomats (Chapnick, 2010). Yet, the Department of Defense managed to stave off some invitations like that involving Namibia in 1978 (Dawson, 2012). It also resisted the Foreign Affairs' advocacy of human security soon after the Cold War ended (Dewitt & Plante, 2004). Ever since the Cold War ended, the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development (DFATD) advanced "commitment to the practice of global citizenship" via "value based foreign policy" while the Department of Defense and Canadian Forces (DND/CF) "pursued missions and roles that stressed the military's primary role as a combat-capable force" to defend Canada and "contribute to international security" (Desroisiers & Lagasse, 2009, p. 675). In regards to peacekeeping training, the Canadian Forces have adjusted the manner in which they conduct pre deployment peacekeeping training based on their accumulated over the past several decades (Grant-Waddell, 2014).

During the Cold War period, the military training on peacekeeping has focused on basic combat (which concentrated on physical fitness), occupational specific skill development, and refresher courses like driving, weapons training, first aid, etc. After the Cold War ended, peacekeeping operations became more complicated as intra-state conflicts proliferated. As a result, the Canadian Forces gradually realized that it was necessary to incorporate additional

training pertinent to peacekeeping prior to deployment over extended period of time. As peacekeeping became a multidimensional task involving civilians and police components, the mission of Canadian peacekeepers also changed from separating conflicting parties to a closer interaction with the local population. This transformation obliged Canadian Forces to acquire a set of additional skills including:

> Negotiation and mediation techniques, general knowledge of the workings and mandate of the United Nations, a thorough knowledge of the Rules of Engagement, civil-military cooperation, humanitarian aid issues, stress management training and mission-specific training in local customs, culture, and language (Grant-Waddell, 2014, p. 326).

In sum, advocates of bureaucratic model believe Canadian peacekeeping decision is an outcome of the bargaining, compromise and conflict among different government departments such as the DFATD, DND and the Prime Minister's Office. The DFATD has often dominated Canadian peacekeeping decisions. However, the DND has had an occasion to successfully challenge DFATD's decisions while adjusting the training of Canadian peacekeepers as peacekeeping became more complex. The Prime Ministers have sometimes tipped the balanced whenever the two departments held opposing perspectives.

Individual Decision-making in Canadian Peacekeeping

The role of political leaders in peacekeeping decision is significant. Powerful individuals, i.e., "those with vested authority-- by a constitution, law or general practice to commit or withhold the resources of the government" (Hermann, 2001, p. 58) play a critical role in foreign policy decision making. In Canada, "decisions on whether and to what extent Canada should participate in UN peacekeeping missions are normally made at the cabinet level" (UNAC, 2013).

But the Canadian cabinet is assembled by the Prime Minister ,who, therefore, has the final say on whether Canada will be engaged or not.

For example, when a Tuareg-led Islamist rebellion in Mali escalated in March 2012 (Look, 2012), the UN Security Council issued a Chapter VII resolution to enforce peace to "counter the increasing terrorist threat in Mali" (UNSC, 2013). France responded to this call by sending troops on ground (Irish & Felix, 2013). While these developments took place, the Canadian Defense minister hinted that Canada might lend some support (Taber & McCarthy, 2012). In contrast, the Foreign Minister said that Canada would not be engaged in Mali (Rennie, 2012). At last, the Prime Minister settled the issue by declaring that Canada would lend France a transport plane and some vehicles but would not commit troops on the ground (Clark & York, 2013).

There are two major approaches to understanding how these political leaders make important decisions. The rational school argues that decision makers attempt to maximize their self-interests by calculating costs and benefits (Dottorato, 2011). The behavioral school attempts to excavate the cognitive and psychological factors that influence political leaders in making decisions (Mintz & DeRouen, 2010). These approaches impart important insight on the role of Canadian political leaders in making decisions to participate/not participate in peacekeeping.

The Rational Choice Theory and Canadian Peacekeeping

The proponents of rational choice theory believe that decision makers do make (should make) cost-benefit calculations before they send peacekeepers abroad. Rational Choice theorists employ game theory and rational choice models to study how actors use the information they get to advance self-interest with less emphasis on moral standards (Alden & Aran; Mesquita, 2010, Goon, 2011). When leaders receive invitations to participate in peacekeeping, they calculate the

marginal utility of intervention by taking into account their preferred alternatives (intervention,

letting others intervene or appeasement); the associated risk (death, casualty, damage, etc.) of

intervention; and the national capacity (force size, logistical capabilities, etc.) to handle the task

(Dottorato, 2011).

Canada has identified a set of criteria to assist the government in making a rational choice

to send peacekeepers abroad. The criteria listed below serve as indicators for the Canadian

government to make rational decision on whether it is beneficial or costly for Canada to engage

in peacekeeping.

- ➢ A clear statement of the nature and extent of participation and the potential for achieving Canadian foreign policy objectives;
- ➢ Analysis of the political, humanitarian, and military situation in the country/region of conflict;
- ➢ An assessment of the physical risks to Canadians and of the probable duration of involvement;
- ➢ The financial costs and other implications for Canada;
- ➢ An assessment of whether government guidelines for participation are being followed; and
- ➢ The different ways in which Canada could participate and an assessment of the lessons learned from participation in previous missions (CAG, 1996).

In addition to the above, Granatstein (2011) suggested that, in order for Canada to

participate in peacekeeping, members of the UN Security Council should demonstrate a "strong

political will to act," the "host nation (s)" should express their desire to pursue peaceful

settlement of dispute, and Canadian forces should have a clear "exit strategy" (2011, p. 462). But

the rational model "overstates the orderliness or linearity of" individual/group decision making

process (Levy & Thompson, 2010, p. 132). The decision makers involved in Canadian

peacekeeping will have difficulty in getting sufficient information on all criteria listed above

(CAG, 1996). Even if they get sufficient information, they will need to reach consensus with

each other as they represent different interests and have different personalities (Hermann, 2006).

The following section addresses the role of personality in Canadian peacekeeping decision.

Political Psychology: The role of leadership in Canadian Peacekeeping

When the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957 to Lester B. Pearson for his role in resolving the Suez Crisis, it stressed that it was not giving the award the politician or the diplomat but to the individual who depicted rare personal qualities in the arduous struggle of restoring peace. As Gunnar Jahn (1957), the Chairman of the Nobel committee put it:

> It can perhaps be said that what Lester Pearson has done to prevent or stop war would not have been possible had he not been an active politician. That, of course, may be disputed. What I want to emphasize is that the Peace Prize has not been awarded to the politician or to the secretary of state as such, but to the man Lester Pearson because of his personal qualities- the powerful initiative, strength, and perseverance he has displayed in attempting to prevent or limit war operations and to restore peace in situations where quick, tactful, and wise action has been necessary to prevent unrest from spreading and developing into a worldwide conflagration (Jahn, 1957).

Mr. Jahn's remark shows that personal qualities like "powerful initiative, strength, and perseverance [as well as] quick, tactful, and wise action" are decisive attributes that a leader should muster in restoring world peace. Subsequently, Mr. Jahn (1957) proceeded to summarize the birth and upbringing of Mr. Pearson but concluded that this detail "reveals nothing concerning what he has accomplished, how he has tackled the tasks with which he has been confronted, or why he has solved problems in the manner he has". This aspect of leadership quality is the domain of political psychology. Political psychology offers a useful insight in the understanding of foreign policy decisions, including peacekeeping decisions. Unfortunately,

however, Levy (2013) lamented that most scholars of international relations have hitherto

devoted their energy to the study of systemic and domestic factors which affect foreign policy:

> Political psychology occupies an uncertain space in the study of international
> relations and foreign policy. Longstanding but gradually receding conceptions of the
> international relations field as a series of paradigmatic clashes among realist, liberal,
> Marxist, and constructivist approaches, or even between rationalism and
> constructivism, leave little if any room for the beliefs, personalities, emotions,
> perceptions, and decision making process of individual political leaders. Many of the
> leading research programs in international relations field today-including realist
> balance of power and transition theories, the bargaining model of war, democratic
> peace and capitalist peace theories, and a variety of institutional theories-give little or
> no casual weight to the role of individual political leaders. Debates in international
> political economy commonly centered around system, state, and society-centered
> approaches while neglecting the individual level altogether...Constructivist
> approaches, which should in principle be open to the inclusion of psychological
> variables, have until recently given little attention to individual agency (Levy, 2013,
> p. 1)

Scholars analyze the personality of political leaders using two methods known as

idiographic and nomothetic approaches. When they directly analyze data from interviews,

behavioral analysis, etc. without employing pre-specified personality categories, they are

following an idiographic approach (Schafer, 2012). For instance, in his biography on Pearson,

Cohen (2008) used Roland Michener's description of Lester B. Pearson where he said: "Mike

[Pearson's nick name] was a delightful companion and personality [who]…was informal,

approachable, [and] not aged by his war experience" (2008, p. 42). On the other hand, when

they use cognitive/psychological categories to profile leaders, scholars are following a

nomothetic approach. Suedfeld et.al (2001) profiled Lester B. Pearson's cognitive complexity by

collecting his written verbatim (spoken or written) to determine the extent to which he

differentiated (perceived more than one perspective to a given issue) and integrated (understood

the relationship between the various perspectives) information and found out that Pearson

exhibited high integrative complexity during the Suez Crisis where he "successfully negotiated

an end to the fighting and established the concept and reality of UN peacekeeping" (Suedfeld, 2001, p.7).

Political psychologists employ several personality categories other than cognitive/integrative complexity to profile leaders. They do this by classifying personality into three main branches, namely: motives, cognitive beliefs, and temperamental/interpersonal traits which Winter (2006) defined below:

> Motives: the different classes of goals towards which people direct their behavior. Power, achievement, and affiliation are among the most frequently studied motives.
>
> Cognitions and beliefs: specific beliefs, attitudes, and values, as well as more general styles.
>
> Temperament and interpersonal traits: consistent individual differences in style features, such as energy level, sociability, impulse control emotional stability, and styles of relating to others (2006, p. 35).
>
> Margaret Hermann made an important contribution to the study of personality and

foreign policy decision making by introducing two sets of personality traits which categorize leaders based on their disposition towards peaceful or warlike foreign policy (Winter, 2006). According to Hermann, leaders disposed towards peaceful foreign policy (PFP) can be characterized as having: affiliation motivation, self-esteem, high integrative complexity, extraversion, and trustful (Winter, 2006). By contrast, leaders disposed towards warlike foreign policy depict power motivation, nationalism, self-confidence, low integrative complexity, dominance competitiveness, and distrust (Winter, 2006) (See Table 2.4).

Table 2. 4 Leadership personality and foreign policy disposition

	Peaceful Foreign Policy Disposition (PFP)	Warlike Foreign Policy Disposition (WFP)
Motives	Affiliation motive	Power Motive
Cognitive beliefs	Self-esteem	Nationalism, Self-Confidence
Cognitive Style	High Integrative Complexity	Low Integrative Complexity, Optimistic Explanatory Style
Temperament and Interpersonal Traits	Extraversion	Dominance Competitiveness
	Trust	Distrust

Source: Winter (2006, p. 46)

It is possible to measure the PFP and WFP traits using Hermann's Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA) indicators (See Table 2.5). The only exceptions are self-confidence and self-esteem. According to Hermann, self-confidence is the sum total of self-esteem and self- efficacy (Winter, 2006). However, the LTA doesn't offer a measurement technique for self-esteem or self-efficacy (Hermann, 2006). Due to this, self-confidence and self-esteem cannot be operationalized using LTA to gauge the disposition of leaders towards PFP or WFP. But the remaining traits listed in Table 2.4 could be measured using Hermann's LTA.

The need for power variable can be measured using Hermann's LTA. In the profiler plus software, Hermann provides the average need for power score (Mn.=26, SD=.05) for 284 world leaders. Hence, the WFP disposed leaders depicting high need for power can be identified if they score above average (N=284, Mn<.26, SD=.05) in need for power whereas PFP disposed leaders having affiliation motivation can be identified if they score below average (N=284, Mn<.26, SD=.05) in need for power (See Table 2.5).

The nationalism variable associated with WFP leader can be operationalized using Hermann's in-group bias. Hermann described nationalist leaders as individuals who prioritize "the maintenance of national sovereignty and superiority the most important objective of a nation" (Hermann, 1980, p. 8-9). Meanwhile, she defined in-group bias as "a view of the world in which one's own group (social, political, ethnic, etc.) holds center stage [whereby] there are strong emotional attachments to this in- group, and it perceived as the best" (Hermann, 2006, p. 214). These definitions indicate that nationalism is a political manifestation of in-group bias. Nationalist leaders, i.e., political leaders harboring a high conviction to "the maintenance of national sovereignty and superiority [as] the most important objective of a nation" exhibit a high in-group bias towards their nation state. Hence, if leaders exhibit above average (N=284, Mn>.15, SD=.05) in-group bias, they can be identified as nationalist leaders (See Table 2.5).

Integrative complexity can also be operationalized using cognitive complexity score available in Hermann's LTA index because these are identical (synonymous) concepts. According to Hermann, cognitive complexity is personality category explaining an individual's cognitive style assessing the degree to which an individual differentiates the various aspects of a given issue and integrates them into a whole system (Post, Walker & Winter, 2006). Individuals with high cognitive/integrative complexity tend to see things as grey, rather than black or white. When compared with the 284 world leaders sampled in Hermann's LTA profile, leaders who get above average conceptual complexity score (Mn <.59, SD=.06) can be identified as exhibiting higher conceptual/integrative complexity than other leaders.

Similarly, the extraversion versus dominance competitiveness traits listed under PFP and WFP can also be operationalized using Hermann's task versus relationship orientation scores found in LTA profiling method. Hermann derived these traits from Bales (1950) who classified

leaders based on their level of extraversion, agreeableness, and conscientiousness (Winter, 2006). Etheredge (1978) described an extroverted individual as "emotionally outgoing, loves crowds, [and] enjoys contact with many kinds of people. Leisure time spent with people" (1978, p. 438). Leaders that are relationship oriented exhibit extraversion because their primary goal is the preservation of harmony within their group. On the other hand, leaders that are task oriented are ready to compromise the harmony within their group if they are convinced that it will advance the goal of their group. Furthermore, a study done by Etheredge (1978) showed that "leaders judged to be high in extraversion supported cooperation with the Soviet Union, while more introverted leaders argued against cooperation" (Winter, 2006, p. 45). Their extraverted personality, therefore, induces relationship oriented leaders to pursue a peaceful foreign policy. On the other hand, when compared with relationship oriented leaders, task oriented leaders tend to exhibit dominant competitiveness. This trait disposes them towards confrontational or warlike foreign policy (Winter, 2006).

Hermann's LTA technique available in profiler plus software also measures distrust for others. It does this by assigning an average score (Mn=.13, SD=.06) on distrust of others for 284 world leaders. So, if leaders scoring below average (N=284, Mn<.13, SD=.06) could be identified as having low distrust of others whereas leaders getting above average score (N=284, Mn>.13, SD=.06) in distrust of others may be identified as perceived as exhibiting high distrust of others (See Table 2.5).

Table 2. 5 Operationalization of WFP and PFP traits using Hermann's LTA profiling method

LTA Personality Variables with average score for world leaders (N=284)	Leaders disposed towards peaceful foreign policy (PFP)	Leaders disposed towards warlike foreign policy (WFP)
In group bias (Mn= .15, SD=.05)	Low (Mn< .15, SD= .05)	High (Mn>.15, SD= .05)
Need for power (Mn= .26, SD= .05)	Low (Mn< .26, SD= .05)	High (Mn>.26)
Conceptual Complexity (Mn= .59, SD=. 06)	High (Mn< .59, SD=. 06)	Low (Mn >.59, SD=. 06)
Task Orientation (Mn= .63, SD= .06)	Low (Mn< .63, SD=. 06)	High (Mn>.63, SD=. 06)
Distrust of Others (Mn= .13, SD= .06)	Low (Mn< .13, SD=. 06)	High (Mn>.13, SD=. 06)

Source: Hermann (1999)

Hitherto, scholars have not tried to utilize the operationalizing of WFP and PFP traits to understand peacekeeping decisions. The operationalization technique summarized in table 6 enables one to determine whether leaders disposed towards PFP or WFP are more committed to international peacekeeping. This gives one an opportunity to analyze peacekeeping decision at an individual level of analysis.

Operational Code

Operational Code was introduced for the first time by Nathan Lietes (1951) who studied the political strategy of the Bolshevik Party based on the writings of Lenin and Stalin i.e. via qualitative content analysis. Leites did this by focusing on "the relations between the Party and

the outside world rather than the Party's internal relations" (1951, xi). Leites attempted to generalize the principal belief systems of the Bolsheviks across twenty dimensions including their: orientation on the past and toward the future, organization, conduct in defeat and victory, deception, violence, retreat, and deals. The study of the Operational Codes of the Bolsheviks would, according to Leites (1951), prevent one from being misled by their "extreme reserve and deceptiveness toward the outside world" (1951, p. xiii), to shed light on the "strategy and tactics of socialism-communism" (1951, p. xiv), and to show that Bolsheviks believe that the "contemporary situation in international affairs to be explainable when its prototype can be found in Russian, or Party, history" (1951, p. xv).

In 1967, Alexander L. George further refined Lietes' Operational Codes by classifying the implicit and explicit beliefs of political actors into "two sets of questions—one a more general set of 'philosophical' issues, and other more specifically oriented to 'instrumental' or policy questions having to do with goals-means relationships (1967, p.vi) (See Table 2.6).

Table 2. 6 Political and Instrumental beliefs of Political Actors

Philosophical Issues	Instrumental or Policy Issues
1. What is the "essential" nature of political life? Is the political universe essentially one of harmony or conflict? What is the fundamental character of one's political opponents?	1. What is the best approach for selecting goals or objectives for political action?
2. What are the prospects for the eventual realization of one's fundamental political values and aspirations? Can one be optimistic, or must one be pessimistic on this score; and in what respects the one and/or the other?	2. How are the goals of action pursued most effectively?
3. Is the political future predictable? In what sense and to what extent?	3. How are the risks of political action calculated, controlled, and accepted?
4. How much "control" or "mastery" can one have over historical development? What is	4. What is the best "timing" of action to advance one's interest?

one's role in "moving" and "shaping" history in the desired direction?	
5. What is the role of "chance" in human affairs and in historical development?	5. What is the utility and the role of different means of advancing one's interests?

Source: George (1967, p. vi-vii)

George believed that these beliefs can be examined "on the basis of different kinds of data, observational opportunities, and methods generally available to political scientists" (1967, p. 6). George offered two techniques for assessing the role of operational codes in the decisions of political actors. The congruence procedure compares the consistency between the actor's beliefs and his subsequent action whereas the process tracing procedure studies each of the steps taken by the political actors to identify what options she/he considered and which one's she/he selected as a feasible course of action (Walker, 1990). Holsti (1970) further developed Operation Code by introducing a more distilled coding categories that classified political actors across six belief systems (See Table 2. 7).

Table 2. 7 Belief Systems of Political Actors

What are the fundamental sources of conflict?	What is the fundamental nature of the political universe?	
	Harmonious [Conflict is temporary]	Conflictual [Conflict is permanent]
Human Nature	A: Conflict is caused by human misunderstanding and miscommunication.	D: Conflict is a permanent condition caused by human nature.
Attributes of Nations	B: Conflict is caused by warlike states, miscalculation and appeasement are the major causes of war.	E: Conflict is a permanent condition caused by nationalism.
International System	C: It is possible to restructure the state system to reflect the latent harmony of interests.	F: Conflict is a permanent condition caused by international anarchy.

Source: Walker (1990, p. 408-11)

Several scholars have utilized Operational Code to explain the philosophical and instrumental beliefs of world leaders (Walker, 2007; Walker &Schafer, 2000, 2006, 2007; Malici

& Malici, 2005; Feng, 2005; Marfleet, 2000; Crichlow, 1998; McLellan, 1971; Holsti, 1970). In a more recent study, O'Rielly (2012) assessed the attitude towards nuclear proliferation of two pairs of Indian (Indira Gandhi and Vajpayee) and South African (Vorster & De Klerk) using Operational Code and concluded that opposing belief systems of these leaders have determined their governments' pursuit of nuclear programs.

According to Marteen (2008) top officials in the government bureaucracy and political parties heavily influence Canadian peacekeeping decisions. Most importantly, Marteen argued that Lester B. Pearson has played a critical role in shaping the organizational culture of the Foreign Affairs of Canada. If this is the case, the belief system of Lester B. Pearson becomes more crucial in understanding Canadian peacekeeping decisions. Marteen (2008) noted:

> The engine of Canada's decision over the years to repeatedly be a troop-lender has been a long standing, internal organization at Foreign Affairs Canada (CAC), formerly known as the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT). This bureaucratic culture is traceable to the impact of a powerful individual who set the course of this organization in the 1950s, Lester B. Pearson (p. 167-68).

There are very few studies which examine the Operational Code of Canadian leaders. There are two dissertation thesis that have been done on Canadian leaders. Lawrence (1974) wrote a PhD dissertation entitled "The Operational Code of Lester Pearson". Michael (2005) did a Master Degree thesis entitled "Philosophical similarities and instrumental difference: an operational code analysis of Lester B. Pearson, Pierre E. Trudeau and Lloyd Axworthy". Unfortunately, these studies are not accessible online. A further study needs to be done to explain the philosophical and instrumental beliefs of Canadian leaders and the impact on their peacekeeping decisions.

Conclusion

The chapter reviewed the literature on Canadian peacekeeping decision at the systemic, state, and individual levels of analysis. It showed how different theories offer varying interpretations of Canadian peacekeeping decisions. These different interpretations don't necessary contradict each other. For example, by engaging in peacekeeping, Canadian governments have preserved the Western alliance, deterred communism, and earned a strong reputation as a symbol of cooperation. The contradictions arise when one tries to decipher why Canada retreated from peacekeeping. Is it because it didn't see the need to maintain global cooperation? Or, is it because peacekeeping no longer secures regional alliance in the post-Cold War world order?

At the systemic level of analysis, scholars offered different explanations for Canadian peacekeeping role. Realists were divided. Classical realists, for instance, explained Canadian peacekeeping in terms the preservation of national interest. Neo-realists, on the other hand, understood it as a natural expression of Canada's ascent as a principal power. Furthermore, defense realists thought Canadians kept peace to deter communist expansion. Unlike realists, liberals believed Canadian peacekeeping was a gesture of cooperation rather than a tool for the preservation of national power. Yet, the Liberal version of cooperation varied. For principled liberals, Canada kept peace to promote democracy and human rights. For commercial liberals, Canada kept peace to remove hurdles to the free flow of goods and services worldwide. For institutional liberals, Canada kept peace because it was an active member of the United Nations. In contrast to realists and liberals, constructivists don't think that it is possible to provide an objective interpretation of Canadian peacekeeping role. Instead, they are more interested in understanding how the concept of peacekeeping emerged and evolved over time.

This study also reviewed different domestic level explanations behind Canadian peacekeeping engagement. Advocates of the bureaucratic school, for example, believed that Canadian peacekeeping role is an outcome of the bargaining and negotiations between different government branches promoting different departmental interests. Others point to the fact that the Canadian government decides to participate in peace operations because of the strong Canadian public sentiment towards peacekeeping. But this argument faces problem when accounting Canada's recent retreat from peacekeeping. Is Canada's recent exit from peacekeeping the result of public frustration with the endeavor? Or is it the outcome of Canadian government's neglect of public opinion? Or, is the answer more complicated than that?

Just like the systemic and domestic levels of analysis, scholars also provided different explanations for Canadian peacekeeping at the individual level of analysis. The literature showed that leadership plays a decisive role especially when the bureaucracy is stuck in a stalemate. When the Canadian governmental departments confront each other on a given peacekeeping decision, the Prime Minister has a final say due to his executive power. Proponents of rational choice theory don't believe this kind of stalemate is common because the Canadian government makes peacekeeping decisions based on a preset of criteria designed to increase the benefits and reduce costs associated with peacekeeping engagements. However, it is difficult to solicit sufficient information to meet all of the preset criteria.

But if the Prime Minister has the final say, then his/her personality also matters. That is why this chapter reviewed the contribution made by political psychologists like Margaret Hermann (2006) who introduced a method of assessing the three major aspects of personality (motivation, cognition/belief, and interpersonal communication/temperament) to profile political leaders. Hermann further indicated that it's possible to categorize leaders' foreign policy

disposition (whether it's peaceful or warlike) by identifying a list of measurable personality traits associated under each category. This raises an interesting question: are some Canadian leaders committed to peacekeeping because they have a personality traits which disposes them towards peaceful foreign policies? But there is no literature which examines the role of leadership personality on Canada's peacekeeping decisions. This aspect of the relationship between foreign policy disposition and peacekeeping decisions in Canada will be treated widely in chapter six.

CHAPTER 3: HYPOTHESES METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

Research Question and the Measurement of the Dependent Variable

This study builds an integrative model that explains Canadian peacekeeping decisions at the domestic and individual levels of analyses. The research question is: "Why does Canada decide to participate in peacekeeping?" The dependent variable to be explained is "Canadian participation in peacekeeping." This study adopts the United Nation's definition of peacekeeping which is the provision of "security" as well as "political and peace-building support to help countries make the difficult, early transition from conflict to peace" based on three principles, namely: "consent of the parties, impartiality, and non-use of force except in self-defense and defense of the mandate" (UNDPKO, 2013). Peacekeeping is thus a multidimensional task which requires soldiers to:

- ➢ Maintain peace and security
- ➢ Protect civilians
- ➢ Facilitate political process
- ➢ Assist in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants
- ➢ Support the organization of elections, and
- ➢ Project and promote human rights and assist in restoring the rule of law (UNDPKO, 2013).

A country's participation in peacekeeping can easily be measured by counting the number of civilians and troops working under the UN or other regional organization. These figures can be retrieved from the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO, 2013) dataset as well as other (hardcopy or online) secondary sources.

Different hypotheses are tested by tapping theories across multiple disciplines. In order to exploit richer data and conduct stronger analysis, the study will use a mixed method approach (See Figure 3.1), which is a complementary application of quantitative and qualitative methods (Creswell, 2010).

Historical Approach

Before proceeding to hypotheses testing, the study briefly explores the history of Canadian peacekeeping since the end of the Second World War. It employs the historical method via "radical simplification, which is "a concerted effort to interrogate the complexities and idiosyncrasies that have shaped the [Canadian peacekeeping] historical milieu" using three strategies: rational action, materialism and functionalism (Quirk, 2008, p.254). It traces how different Canadian governments sought to maximize their utility (rational action) by adjusting their contribution to peacekeeping over time under the rubric of limitations in material capabilities (materialism) and institutional norms and responsibilities (functionalism) (Quirk, 2008).

These data are collected from five sources of historical evidence summarized as follows:

➢ Primary sources: original documents (online and hardcopy) generally held by public and private archival collections like the Canadian War Museum, the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade, Development (DFATD), the Department of National Defense (DND), the Senate and Parliament as well as multilateral organizations including the United Nations Association of Canada (UNAC), the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO) and the Northern Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO);

➢ Secondary sources: work of historians and other social scientists

➢ Running records: agency reports and case notes;

➢ Recollections: autobiographies, memoirs, oral histories and

➢ Artifacts: art works, symbols and photographs (Danto, 2008, p.5).

Level of Analysis

      The research seeks to derive an integrative model of peacekeeping by testing two independent variables at the domestic and individual levels of analysis.

Domestic Level of Analysis: Public versus Elite Opinion

      At the domestic level, the study will test the following hypothesis:

> H_1 Public Opinion has a significant influence on Canada's decision to participate in peacekeeping because its democratic system of governments obliges its executive branch to adopt foreign policies reflecting the popular will so as to stay in power by winning election.

      The above hypotheses can be tested by first assessing the trend of public opinion surveys on specific missions over the last six decades to generalize whether there is strong or weak support for peacekeeping and explain why by examining alternative interpretations. Vengroff et.al. (2003), for example, attribute public support to the consolidation of postmodern values like cosmopolitanism. Then, I will make a parallel account of the opinion from the executive (foreign and defense policy elites) and the legislative (senators, parliamentarians and political party platforms) branches of government by looking at whether they acknowledge public influence in international peacekeeping their speeches, interviews, public statements, and parliamentary debates pertinent to general or specific peacekeeping operations. In other words, I employed a sequential mixed method which is a quantitative method followed by qualitative (Creswell, 2010).

Individual level of analysis: Leadership Personality and Peacekeeping Policy Outcome

At the individual level of analysis, I have derived an integrated hypothesis based on Hermann's integrative model of personality as summarized in the Table below review section.

Table 3. 1 Indicators for War Versus Peace Disposed Leaders

LTA Personality Variables with average score for world leaders (N=284)	Leaders disposed towards peaceful foreign policy (PFP)	Leaders disposed towards warlike foreign policy (WFP)
In group bias (Mn = .15, SD= .05)	Low (Mn < .15, SD = .05)	High (Mn >.15, SD= .05)
Need for power (Mn = .26, SD = .05)	Low (Mn < .26, SD= .05)	High (Mn >.26, SD = .05)
Conceptual Complexity (Mn= .59, SD =. 06)	High (Mn < .59, SD= .06)	Low (Mn >.59, SD = .06)
Task Orientation (Mn = .63, SD = .06)	Low (Mn < .63, SD= .06)	High (Mn >.63, SD = .06)
Distrust of Others (Mn = .13, SD = .06)	Low (Mn < .13, SD= .06)	High (Mn >.13, SD = .06)

Based on the above model, the following hypothesis will be tested:

> H_2 Leaders whose personality traits reflect low in-group bias, high need for power, high conceptual complexity, low task orientation, and low distrust of others are more supportive of international peacekeeping.

The hypothesis has five dependent variables: low in-group bias, high need for power, high conceptual complexity, low task orientation and low distrust of others. Their definition (conceptualization) and measurement coding (operationalization) are stated below.

Conceptualization of PFP attributes

➢ In-group bias: is a view of the world in which one's own group (social, political, ethnic, etc.) holds center stage. There are strong emotional attachments to this in-group, and it perceived as the best (Hermann, 2006, p.214)
➢ Need for power indicates a concern for establishing, maintaining, or restoring one's power; in other words, it is the desire to control, influence, or have an impact on other persons or groups (Hermann, 2006, p. 203)
➢ Conceptual complexity: is the degree of differentiation that an individual shows in describing or discussing other people, places policies, ideas, or things. The conceptually complex individual can see varying reasons for a particular position, is willing to entertain the possibility that there is ambiguity in the environment, and is flexible in reacting to objects or ideas. In the opposite manner, the conceptually simple individual tends to classify objects and ideas into good-bad, black-white, either-or dimensions; has difficulty in perceiving ambiguity in the environment; and reacts rather inflexibly to stimuli (Hermann, 2006, p. 208-09)
➢ Task orientation: suggests the relative emphasis a leader places in interaction with others on dealing with the problems that face the government as opposed to focusing on the feelings and needs of relevant and important constituents. For leaders who emphasize the problem, moving the group (nation, government, ethnic group, religious group, union, etc.) forward toward a goal is their principal purpose for assuming leadership (Hermann, 2006, p. 211).
➢ Distrust of others: involves a general feeling of doubt, uneasiness, misgiving, and wariness about others-an inclination to suspect the motives and actions of others (Hermann, 2006, p. 215)

Operationalization of PFP attributes

➢ In-group bias: In coding for in-group bias, the unit of analysis is a word or phrase referring. The score for in-group bias is the percentage of times in an interview response that a leader refers to in groups that meet the criteria just outlined.
➢ Need for power: Coding for need for power focuses on verbs. Is the speaker with this proposed action attempting to establish, maintain, or restore his or her power? Some of the conditions where the need for power would be scored are when the speaker (1) proposes or engages in a strong, forceful action, such as an assault or attack, a verbal threat, an accusation, or a reprimand; (2) gives advice or assistance when it is not solicited; (3) attempts to regulate the behavior of another person or group; (4) tries to persuade, bribe, or argue with someone else so long as the concern is not to reach agreement or avoid disagreement; (5) endeavors to impress or gain fame with an action; and (6) is concerned with his or he reputation or position (Hermann, 2006, p. 203)

➢ Conceptual complexity: in coding for conceptual complexity, the focus is on particular words-words that suggest the speaker can see different dimensions in the environment as opposed to words that indicate the speaker sees only a few categories along which to classify objects and ideas (Hermann, 2006, p. 209)

➢ Task Orientation: in coding for task focus…attention is directed towards counting specific words, in this case words that indicate work on task or instrumental activity, as well as words that center around concern for another's feelings, desires, and satisfaction (Hermann, 2006, p. 211)

➢ Distrust of others: in coding for distrust of others, the focus is on noun and noun phrases referring to persons other than the leader and to groups other than those with whom the leader identifies. Does the leader distrust, doubt, have misgivings about, feel uneasy about, or feel wary about what these persons or groups are doing? Does the leader show concern about what these persons or groups are doing and perceive such actions to be harmful, wrong, or detrimental to himself or herself, an ally, a friend, or a cause important to the leader? If either of these conditions is present, the noun or phrase is coded as indicating distrust (Hermann, 2006, p. 215-16).

Sampling Leaders

The first step in testing this hypothesis is selecting a sample. The study will select four Prime Ministers (Trudeau, Mulroney, Chrétien, and Harper) for three reasons. First of all, these Prime Ministers were in office after the Second World War when Canadian peacekeeping was an established norm. Second, they stayed in office long enough to make several peacekeeping decisions. And, third, there is abundant data of their interview transcripts readily available exceeding the 5,000 word threshold needed to meet Hermann's LTA validity criteria (Hermann, 2006). Accordingly, I have collected over 35,000 words of interview transcripts given by the four Prime Ministers during their tenure in office from Canadian and American press outlets found on the internet. With the exception of Harper's interview transcripts (12,350 words), I gathered Trudeau's (5100 words), Mulroney's (8500 words), and Chrétien's (10,000 words) from Canadian media sources. I inserted these transcripts in the Profiler Plus software to determine their Leadership Trait Assessment (LTA) score relative to world leaders. It is important to compare Canadian Prime Ministers with world leaders (and not just with Western

leaders) because peacekeeping is an international endeavor that preoccupies world leaders to varying degrees. Then the study triangulated the findings from the quantitative analysis with qualitative evidence widely treated in the historical chapter to ensure validity. Having done this, it then proceeded to see if the Canadian Prime Ministers whose personality exhibit PFP disposition also demonstrate greater commitment to international peacekeeping. In order to assess the level of commitment to international peacekeeping, the study examined the number of peacekeepers these leaders sent abroad during their tenure in office.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed how it employs a mixed method research design to answer: "why does Canada decide to participate in peacekeeping?" (See Figure 1.1). It formulated two hypotheses based on the Almond-Lipmann consensus and Hermann's leadership trait assessment theory. The first hypothesis stipulates that public opinion influences Canada's decision to participate in peacekeeping whereas the second hypothesis argues that Canadian Prime Ministers whose personality attributes show a disposition towards peaceful foreign policy are exhibit a greater commitment to international peacekeeping. In order to test these hypotheses, the chapter explained how it utilizes both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The intended goal of this study is to help the researcher as well as other academicians and policy makers to better understand the impact of public opinion and leadership personality in governments' (including Canada's) decisions to send peacekeepers abroad. As a prelude to testing the two hypotheses, the following chapter offers a brief sketch of Canada's peacekeeping history, which is a descriptive study intended to just inform readers on the evolution of Canadian peacekeeping rather than explain their peacekeeping decisions.

Policy Goals: Inform policy makers about important variables in peacekeeping supply decisions

Practitioner Goal: Inform academicians about peacekeeping decisions

Theories:
Almond-Lipmann Consensus,
Leadership Trait Analysis (LTA)

Hypotheses: Public opinion has a significant influence on peacekeeping decision;
Peacefully disposed leaders are active in peacekeeping

Personal Goals: Better understand the motives behind the supply of peacekeepers

Paradigm: Constructivist Pragmatism

Purpose

Conceptual Framework

Research Question:
Why does Canada decide to participate in peacekeeping?

Literature Review: discusses various explanations on the rationale of Canadian government for participating in peacekeeping at the systemic, domestic and individual levels of analysis

Study bound by:
Time: 2 years
Location: United States
Data: surveys, interviews, scores, primary & secondary documents

Method: Explanatory Mixed Method Case Study

Validity & Reliability

Methodology

Quantitative data: peacekeepers, scored speeches, public opinion polls

Qualitative data: Historical documents, interview transcripts, government documents, scholarly sources

Thick descriptions: interview with key Canadian foreign policy figures

Quantitative analysis: descriptive & inferential statistics, content analysis, and data triangulation

Qualitative Analysis: Snowballing Interview and document

**Triangulation of Method, sources and analyses

Emerging data: rival and/or mutually reinforcing data

Figure 3. 1 Mixed Method Research Design

CHAPTER 4: BRIEF HISTORY OF CANADIAN PEACEKEEPING

Canada has contributed significant number of peacekeepers to the United Nations and paid huge sacrifice in the process. It has provided over 120,000 peacekeepers to the United Nations where 122 Canadian peacekeeper have died in 16 peacekeeping missions (See Table 4.1). Today, Canada ranks as the 61st out of 120 countries for contributing 116 peacekeepers to the UN. On the other hand, Canada ranks as the 9th top financial contributor to the UN for providing 2.98 percent of the 2013 total UN peacekeeping budget of $7.54 billion (UN, 2013a). Although Canada had been a leading peacekeeping nation since 1948, its personnel contribution to the UN continued to decline since 1997.

This chapter is divided into six sections. The first section reviews how Canada embarked on the realm of peace operations from 1948 to 1956. The second section discusses Canada's leadership in peacekeeping from 1956 to 1978. The third section explores how Canada dealt with the resurgence of peacekeeping from 1988 to 1998. The fourth section dwells on the decline and fall of Canadian peacekeeping after 1998. And, finally, the fifth section summarizes the noteworthy aspects in the history of Canadian peacekeeping.

Table 4. 1 Number of Canadian Peacekeepers fatalities by mission as of November 30, 2014

Year	Mission	Canadian Fatality
2004	MINUSTAH (UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti)	9
1999-	MONUC (UN Mission in Democratic Republic of Congo)	1
1960-64	ONUC (UN Operation in the Congo)	3
1993-96	UNAMIR (UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda)	1
1974	UNDOF (UN Disengagement Observer Force-Israel/Syria)	4

1956-1967	UNEF (UN Emergency Force-Egypt/Israel)	53
1964-2006	UNFICYP (UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus)	29
1993-96	UNMIH (UN Mission in Haiti)	1
1999-2002	UNMIK (UN Mission in Kosovo)	2
1949	UNMOGIP (UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan)	1
	UNOHCI	2
1992-95	UNOSOM (UN Operation in Somalia)	1
1995-99	UNPREDEP (UN Preventive Deployment Force)	1
1992-95	UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force-Croatia)	11
1992-93	UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia)	1
1948-49	UNTSO (UN Truce Supervision Organization)	2
	Total	**122**

Source: UN, 2014a

Canada and the birth of peacekeeping

Canada played an active role in the birth of peacekeeping due to major international and domestic transformations following the Second World War. The culmination of the Second World War led to the birth of new nations. However, their transition to nationhood was rough for at least three reasons. First, the former colonial powers didn't want to transfer full control. Second, the new nations couldn't agree over the division of some territories. And, third, the effort by the two post-War superpowers to align the new nations to their own side divided the leaders and triggered civil wars. These factors boosted the demand for peacekeepers. The transfer of power from King to St. Laurent transformed Canada's foreign policy from

isolationism to internationalism. After King retired, Canada no longer hesitated to shoulder

international responsibilities by sending peacekeepers abroad.

Before the outbreak of the Second World War, the Canadian government was not

interested in getting involved in European conflicts. Prime Minister King thought that Canada

has neither the will nor the capacity to intervene in European conflicts. In a House of Commons

debate on March 1939, King stressed that Canada should embrace the resurgence of nationalism

worldwide by focusing on nation building at home rather than following Britain in wars:

> In many, but certainly not in all cases, this growth of national feeling has
> strengthened the desire for a policy which its defenders call minding one's own
> business and which its critics call isolationism. Assuming, it is urged, that Canadians
> like other people will put their own interests first, what do our interests demand,
> what amount of knight errantry abroad do our resources permit? Canada, it is
> contented, is not a country of unlimited powers, it has not the capacity to stand
> indefinite strains. We have tremendous tasks to do at home… (King, 1939/1973,
> p.10).

Despite King's intention to protect Canada from international conflict, Canada was

dragged into the Second World War because Germany, Italy, and Japan were too dangerous to

appease. When the Second World War ended in 1945, King delegated the task of managing

External Affairs to Louis St. Laurent. Unlike King, however, St. Laurent believed that Canada

should play an active role in world affairs. St. Laurent declared this radical shift towards

internationalism during the Grey Lecture which he gave on June 1947 by outlining the five

pillars of Canada's post-War foreign policy as: the preservation of Canadian unity, respect for

political liberty, abiding by the rule of law, abiding by Judeo-Christian values, and the sharing of

international responsibilities. St. Laurent believed that Canada's security is guaranteed if it plays

an active role in international organization by saying:

> I know that there are many in this country who feel that in the past we have played
> too small a part in the development of international political organizations….If there

is one conclusion that our common experience has led us to accept, it is this: security for this country lies in the development of a firm structure of international organization (St. Laurent, 1947).

Canada stepped up to share its international responsibilities when the United States included Canada in the UN temporary commission (UNTCOK) to supervise election in Korea without prior consultation (Stairs, 1968). The United States wanted to withdraw from Korea by transferring power to Koreans by organizing a national election and thought that Canada's participation in the UNTOCK would facilitate its interest (Stairs, 1968). Although the UN General Assembly welcomed the US proposition, the Soviets, who controlled the northern portion of Korea, refused to cooperate with the UNTCOK (Stairs, 1968). When this happened, the US proposed that elections should take place in Southern Korea, the area which it occupied. Canada, together with Australia, objected to this plan and threatened to withdraw because they thought it would divide the country for good. When the UNTCOK commission members took a vote, four (China, India, El Salvador, Philippines) favored election, two members (France and Syria) abstained, and two (Canada and Australia) opposed it. As a result, Canada decided to accept the majority's verdict and agree on South Korean election (Stairs, 1968).

The St. Laurent administration also carried out Canada's international responsibility by selling King's NATO idea. This idea was originally coined by Britain in 1947 to deter possible military encroachment by the Soviets (Reid, 1967). Canada preferred to commit its troops solely to UN led military operations but was unable to do so because that authority was reserved only for the members of the UN Security Council. As the head of Canada's External Affairs, Escott Reid (1947/1973) indicated that Canada was left with an opportunity of expressing its concerns only at the General Assembly meetings. On August, 1947, i.e., one month after Reid expressed

his frustration, Canada was selected as one of the 11 countries in the UN Special Commission on Palestine (UNCOP) (Moghalu, 1997).

After deliberating on the fate of the Jewish state recognized in Palestine following the Belfour Declaration of 1917 and the Arab communities in Palestine, the UNCOP decided on the separation of the two communities over a two year transition plan administered by the UN, whereby Jerusalem would be controlled by the UN. This decision provoked anger and violence among Palestinians, and prevented the plan from being implemented (Urqhart, 1993). On May 1948, however, the British left Palestine, the Jewish people established the state of Israel, and the Egyptians ushered the way for Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia to intervene in Palestine. Although the UN declared a cease-fire deadline on June 11, 1948, it was ignored. On September, 1948 the UN chief negotiator, Count Folke Bernadotte, was killed by Israeli's Stern Gang (Goldstein, 2011). Hence, the responsibility of setting the ground rules for UN's first military observer group (UNTSO) fell on the shoulders of the acting UN mediator at the time, Ralph Bunche. Urquhart (1993) wrote:

> [The UNSTO] was the first UN military-observer group-indeed, the first UN peacekeeping operation-and there were no precedents for it. The first and most basic principle was strict impartiality and objectivity. Bunche also insisted that the observers should be unarmed, something alien to the traditional military mind. He believed that this was vital for the observers' own safety and would put them above the conflict they were monitoring, whereas carrying individual weapons would only endanger them. Bunche's rule became the accepted practice in all UN Observer missions (p. 161)

On December 1948, the UN established the UNMOGIP to monitor the border dispute between India and Pakistan. The two countries were separated on August 1947 as per the Indian Independence Act ratified by both countries. The Act authorized the people in Jammu and Kashmir to determine where they belonged and they decided to remain within India. After this

took place, however, India accused Pakistan of agitating the people in the region to revolt by submitting its complaint to the UN Security Council. Pakistan denied this allegation. Instead, it blamed India for illegally occupying the region. As a result, the UN formed the Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) by assigning 69 military observers in the region on December 1948 to monitor the situation.

If Prime Minister King had not retired in 1949, Canada would not have participated in the UNMOGIP because he was not eager to engage Canada in international conflicts. Also, had St. Laurent and Pearson not succeeded King to become Canada's post-War leaders, Canada would probably have declined to participate. Both St. Laurent and Pearson were strongly interested in involving Canada to share the burden of the United Nations. As Caroll (2009) wrote:

> [King's] Cabinet, in the words of one senior official, was "allergic" to the idea. By, 1949, however King had retired and his ironclad grip on Liberal policies has been loosened. The issue was eventually referred to the new prime minister, Louis St. Laurent, and the secretary of external affairs, Lester B. Pearson…[The two] were a new breed of Canadian politician-internationalists-and were more than happy to expand Canada's role in the world. Four officers were duly dispatched to UNMOGIP in 1949 (Caroll, 2009, p. xviii-xix)

Accordingly, Canada contributed four military observers to the UNMOGIP, including the chief of the mission. Brigadier General H.H. Angle died in plane crash while leading the mission on July 1950. He is the first Canadian soldier who died in a peacekeeping operations (Conrad, 2011). General Angle is also the highest ranking Canadian military officer who lost his life in a peacekeeping operation (Dorn, 2005).

In 1953, the newly appointed Secretary General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, requested Canada to contribute troops to the UNTSO mission to contain the growing tensions between Israel and its Arab neighbors (MacKay & Swift, 2012). Canada readily accepted this invitation by assigning Major General E.L.M. Burns, who served as the

former commander of the Canadian Corps in Italy to lead the mission. Initially, General Burns thought that the mission was as futile as "trying to stop a runaway truck on a steep hill by throwing a stone under the wheel" (Granatstein, 2002, p. 343). Later on, however, he appreciated his experience by saying that he "learned something about the attitude of Asian, Middle Eastern, and South American people towards the monster of the age, Imperialism" (MacKay & Swift, 2012, p.140).

According to Maloney (2002), the Canadian government decided to participate in the UNTSO in order to prevent the Soviet Union from exploiting the different stands between the United States, which supported Israel, and Britain, which was in favor of the Palestinians, in the Middle East. In the meantime, Mackay and Swift (2012) noted that Canada's primary interest was that of supporting the United Nations by implementing its Charters. The fact that Canada was invited to participate in the UNTSO it shows that Canada didn't have any ulterior motive other than supporting the United Nations. If Canada had some latent interest, it would have requested the UN to get involved in UNTSO. Perhaps reconciling the difference between the US and the UK might have been one factor that led Canada to get involved in UNTSO after it was invited. In any case, even if Canada wanted to strengthen the relation between its allies by preventing a Soviet interference, it doesn't mean that Canada doesn't support the UN. The Canadian government could have pursued its national interest without compromising its support for collecting security. In any event, however, Canada only contributed 11 observers to the mission. Hence, regardless of its intension, its impact on the mission could at best have been very limited.

Canada made a numerically significant contribution to peacekeeping for the first time to the International Control Commission (ICC) in 1954 by sending 150 peacekeepers (Conrad,

2011). The ICC was a non-UN peacekeeping mission established by Great Britain, the United States, China, and the Soviet Union in the former French colony of Indo-China, which includes today's Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. The ICC was set up to facilitate the smooth dissection of Indo-China into the three sovereign countries of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Canada joined as a representative of the Western block just like Poland was a representative of the Communist bloc and India represented the non-aligned states.

Although Canada contributed over 170 troops to serve in two UN sponsored, and in one non-UN led peacekeeping operations, its primary military occupation between 1950 and 1953 was focused in the UN authorized peace enforcement mission to liberate the newly founded Republic of South Korea from North Korea's invasion. This debacle can be traced back to 1949, when the Chinese Communist Party took power in 1949, and the great powers vetoed its admission to the UN, leading to the Soviet boycotting of the UN. At the same time, the Chinese encouraged North Koreans to invade South Korea, which enabled the US to succeed in convincing the UN Security Council to ratify the first UN-led peace enforcement mission composed of 375,000 multinational troops to repel North Korea's invasion of South Korea. Canada quadrupled its 5,000 troops, fought in Korea until it ended on July, 1953, where 312 Canadians died in action; 94 died in battle related causes, 1,202 got wounded; and 32 were taken as prisoners of war.

The principal reason for Canada to make the above sacrifice rests in its strong commitment to the UN Charter. On the other hand, the circumstance that allowed the UN to function was the Soviet Union's temporary boycott of the United Nations over protest regarding the banning of China's new communist regime from the United Nations. Pearson summarized this fact during two House of Commons debates on August and September 1950 as follows:

If the issue raised by the attack on the Republic of Korea was clear, so was our obligation under the charter of the United Nations. That obligation, I should say once, is to the United Nations alone, and to our own security….We consider this to be no academic matter, but to be a very important principle….

What happened in June in the Security Council because of the rather fortuitous absence of the U.S.S.R. and because of the initiative and leadership of the United States of America, changed the whole character of the United Nations, at least for the time being, and changed it for the better (Pearson, 1950/1973, p. 65).

Basically, Canada has already given up on committing troops to the UN because of the Cold War gridlock. Due to this, Canada's military was focused on defending North America and the Arctic. As Pearson (1950/1973) explained it, until June 1950, Canada never thought it could play a critical military role within the UN:

Canadian defence policy…until June of this year, had been based on the concept of providing a small, highly skilled, regular army, charged with responsibility of doing its immediate share of North American defence, especially in the Arctic, and designed to be capable of rapid expansion in the event of a general war which require Canada to be defended outside of Canada. The furnishing to the United Nations on short notice of expeditionary forces capable of quickly deployment in distant areas wherever acts of aggression might take place had not, I admit, entered into our planning as it had not entered into any other country (Pearson, 1950/1973).

In conclusion, the birth of new nations after Second World War and the beginning of the Cold War increased the demand for peacekeeping. Domestically, King's retirement and St. Laurent's accession as a Prime Minister changed Canada's foreign policy from isolationism to internationalism. As a result, Canada readily accepted UN's invitations to participate as a peace observer in UNMOGIP (in India and Pakistan), in UNTSO (in Israel and Palestine), and in the ICC (in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos). Canada also played a significant role in the UN peace enforcement mission in Korea by sending 20,000 soldiers to reverse the Chinese-North Korean invasion of South Korea in 1950. But the UN Security Council endorsed this mission because the

Soviet Union boycotted the UN when other members of the Security Council vetoed the admission of Communist China in the United Nations.

Canada leads peacekeeping: The Suez Crisis and its aftermath

Canada made the most important contribution to peacekeeping during the Suez Crisis. The crisis was triggered by Nasser's plan to establish Egypt as a leading military power in the Middle East (Aburish, 2004). Initially, Nasser sought to solicit military aid from the United States. However, this plan failed because of the Jewish lobby in the United States. So, Nasser made a $250 million arms deal with Soviet Union through Czechoslovakia in exchange for Egyptian cotton (Carroll, 2009). Nasser planned to generate funding by expanding Egyptian irrigation system. In order to attain this goal, Nasser had to expand the Aswan Dam. Initially, Nasser wanted to solicit $400 million from the World Bank and $200 million from Great Britain while extracting a $900 million worth of Egyptian labor (Carroll, 2009). However, the West suspended funding because of his arms dealing with the Soviets. Therefore, he decided to nationalize the Suez Canal in order to generate sufficient funding to build the Aswan Dam by evicting the predominantly British (44 percent) and French investor owned *Compagnie universelle du canal maritime de Suez* (Carroll, 2009).

Although the West was angered by the nationalization of the Suez Canal. But it was divided on how to address the issue. Eighteen countries including Canada, the United States and Australia advocated that Nasser should be pressured to pass down control of the Suez Canal to the United Nations. By contrast, Britain, France, and Israel wanted to overthrow Nasser by invading Egypt (Thomson, 1967/1973). Great Britain hoped for Canada's military assistance in

the event of military confrontation with Egypt. However, Canada's leaders urged them to settle the dispute through the United Nations (Thomson 1967/1973).

During a NATO conference on September 3, 1956, British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Selwyn Lloyd, hinted to Pearson, the secret plan it hatched with France and Israel by telling him: "if things drag on, you know, Israel might take advantage of the situation to move against Egypt…They'd probably win, Nasser would go, and most of our troubles would be solved for us" (Thomson, 1967/1973, p.76). Pearson rejected this plan by saying:

> Ingenious idea [but] it won't work. A few Arab leaders are sitting tight on the fence now. An Israeli attack would unite them all behind Nasser. I hope you won't do any urging in that direction. The repercussions would be terrible (Thomson, 1967/1973, p.76)

Canada's stance on the Suez was, according to Pearson, "the most dramatic indication…that Canada had really come of age… [It] set the seal on the development of our independence in foreign affairs" (Carroll, 2009, p.37). On October 24, 1956, Britain, France, and Israel made a secret plan in Paris for Israeli paratroopers to attack Egypt on October 30, 1956, and for Britain and France to intervene under the pretext of enforcing a cease-fire. On the same date, the US submitted a draft resolution to the UN its members to suspend all aid to Israel until it exited Egypt. The Soviet Union also supported this plan. But Britain and France vetoed the resolution. As a result, the case was passed down from the UN Security Council to General Assembly for a final vote.

The next day, St. Laurent sent a telegram to his British counterpart that Canada supported the sanctions on Israel. However, he also dispatched Pearson to New York on November 1, 1956, to meet the US Secretary of State, J.F. Dulles and mend the fracture between Canada's closest allies. During a dinner meeting, the two diplomats exchanged the following words:

[Pearson:] We're interested in helping Britain and France…I would like to make it possible for them to withdraw with as little loss of face as possible, bring them back into alignment with the United States…

[Dulles]: That's not possible at this time…They've damaged the whole cause of freedom by placing us in an inferior position morally to the Communists. We could be having a showdown with Russia right now over this Hungary situation [for overthrowing the Hungarian government] but for their actions (Thomson, 1967/1973, p. 81)

After meeting Dulles that evening, Pearson called St. Laurent to ask for his approval that Canada would best achieve its aim if it abstained during the General Assembly voting the next morning, on November 2, 1956, and persuade British and France to accept Canada's plan of placing UN forces in Egypt. After calling members of his cabinet, St. Laurent agreed with Pearson. Accordingly, 65 nations supported the US plan, five countries (including France, Britain, and Israel) opposed it, and six countries (including Canada) abstained (Thomson, 1967/1973). After the vote was taken, Pearson addressed the General Assembly and explained the ceasefire resolution was insufficient to guarantee political resolution of the dispute without placing UN forces in the border between Egypt and Israel (Pearson, 1956/1973).

During his UN General Assembly address on November 2, 1956, Pearson said that Canada regretted its abstention for two reasons. The first cause of regret was Canada's failure to support Britain and France, which he explained as follows:

…I confess to a feeling of sadness, indeed, even distress, at not being able to support the position taken by two countries [Britain and France] whose ties with my country are and will remain close and intimate…two countries which are Canada's mother countries…(Blanchette, 2000, p. 40)

The second reason why Pearson regretted his abstention has to do with the resolution's failure to address the aftermath of the return to status quo. As the extract from his statement show, Pearson pointed out the resolution doesn't provide any post-cease fire/post-withdrawal solution.

The resolution does not provide for a cease-fire…But alongside cease-fire and withdrawal of troops, it does not provide for any steps to be taken by the United Nations for a peace settlement…

I believe there is another omission from this resolution…The armed forces of Israel and Egypt are to withdraw, or, if you like, to return to the armistice lines, where presumably, if this is done, they will once against face each other in fear and hatred. When then? What then, six months from now? Are we to go through all this again? Are we to return to status quo? Should a return to a position of security or even to a tolerable position, but would be a return to terror, bloodshed, strife, incidents, charges and counter-charges, and ultimately another explosion which the United Nations armistice commission would be powerless to prevent and possibly even to investigate (Pearson, 1956/1973, p.84).

Pearson clearly grasped the fact that, unless addressed adequately, ceasefires could relapse to violence. In addition to outlining this insight in a clear manner, Pearson also proposed an ingenious solution that furnished the conditions necessary for addressing disputes adequately, namely: peacekeeping forces. Pearson explained his proposed panacea that he had wished for the resolution to accommodate, as follows:

I therefore would have liked to a provision in this resolution-and this has been mentioned by previous speakers-authorizing the Secretary General to begin to make arrangements with member governments for a United Nations force large enough to keep these borders at peace while a political settlement in being worked out…My own Government would be glad to recommend Canadian participation in such a United Nations force, a truly international peace and police force (1956/1973, p.84).

Thus, Pearson uplifted the idea of peacekeeping from its UN bureaucracy domain as seen in the UNTSO to the world stage. If Pearson did not invent the concept of peacekeeping, he was the first politician who appreciated its use, and sold it to world leaders. Pearson familiarized peacekeeping, which has been practiced in a limited manner by UN's negotiators like Ralph Bunch, to world leaders, and, by doing so, he managed to upscale the size and resources of peacekeeping. Following this, the opposition at the House of Commons as well as the leading Canadian newspapers like the *Globe and Mail*, *Calgary Herald*, and *Maclean's* criticized Pearson for abandoning Canada's mother countries (Britain and France), for following the US

lead, and for suggesting an imaginary UN police force rather than NATO to keep the peace in the

Suez (Granastein, 1973, Carroll, 2009).

Meanwhile, the US redrafted another resolution in line with Pearson's idea and asked him

to submit it to the General Assembly under Canada's draft resolution (Carroll, 2009). After

making few reviews, Pearson submitted a draft to the General Assembly which got ratified by

the General Assembly without facing a single opposition, with 57 support and 19 abstention as

GA Res. 99 (ES-I) on November 2, 1956. The resolution assigned the Secretary General of the

UN the following tasks.

> …to submit to it [the General Assembly] within forty-eight hours a plan for the
> setting up, with the consent of the nations concerned, of an emergency international
> United Nations Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in
> accordance with all the terms of the aforementioned resolution (Carroll, 2009, p.56).

Based on the above instruction, the UN issued another resolution 1000 (ES-I) which set

the framework of the first UN Emergency Force (UNEF) on November 5, 1956. This resolution

assigned the Canadian General E.L.M. Burns as the "Chief of the Command [authorized] to

recruit, from the observer corps of UNTSO, a limited number of officers who were nationals of

countries other than those having permanent membership in the Security Council, and…to

undertake the recruitment directly, from various Member States other than the permanent

members of the Security Council…" (UN, 2003). Hence, Canada's top leader (St. Laurent), top

diplomat (Pearson), and top general (Burns) coalesced to mastermind (proposing and selling the

idea of peacekeeping among nations) and facilitate (by recruiting multinational peacekeepers and

commanding them) the peaceful resolution of the Suez Crisis through peacekeeping. Pearson

was awarded the Nobel Prize for the vital role he played to end the Suez Crisis peacefully.

In 1957, St. Laurent's Liberal party was defeated by the Conservatives led by Diefenbaker. As a leader of an opposition party, Diefenbaker criticized the Liberal party for abandoning Great Britain to stand with the United States during the Suez Crisis of 1956. But this objection was focused on Suez Crisis rather than against peacekeeping itself. Diefenbaker believed that peacekeeping is essential for containing the escalation of conflict. At the same time, however, Diefenbaker also thought that the stability created by peacekeepers could trigger procrastination among conflicting parties who may overlook the urgency of addressing their differences by writing:

> It is my general view that peacekeeping forces have their uses in preventing brush-fire wars from becoming widespread conflicts. But they are at best a stop gap measure. Political questions can only be settled politically, and often peacekeeping forces work against political settlement in that they alleviate the urgency to find solutions to the problems that necessitated the creation of peacekeeping force in the first place (Diefenbaker, 1976, p. 128)

Regardless of his skepticism over peacekeeping, Diefenbaker engaged Canada in three peacekeeping operations. The largest of these missions was the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) whereby Canada contributed 1,910 peacekeepers. The Congo erupted due to the power struggle between Congolese elites exacerbated by Belgium's interventions. After Congo became independent in 1960, the Congolese troops began to terrorize the white population in the country. As a result, "Belgium responded by sending forces to reoccupy the country and helping Congo's richest province Katanga, secede" (Weissman, 2014). Lacking the power to stabilize his country, Lumumba pleaded with the UN to send peacekeepers and stop the violence. As a result, the UN established the ONUC on July 1960 "to ensure the withdrawal of Belgian forces, to assist the [Congolese] government in maintaining law and order and to provide technical assistance" (UN, 2001). The mission involved up to 20,000 personnel, including 1,910 Canadian peacekeepers (Conrad, 2011).

Scholars interpreted Canada's decision to get participate in the ONUC in terms of

Canadian public pressure, preventing the Soviets from getting involved in Congo, and the

assurance that Canada will risk itself by sending combat troops. Granatstein (2002) believed

strong public opinion pressured Canadian leaders to engage in Congo. Besides intensive

coverage by leading Canadian newspapers, Spooner (2009) pointed out that a poll collected in

1960 showed the general public considered the crisis in Congo to be the second most alarming

incident to Canadians following the Soviet threat. But it is difficult to establish this argument

based on a single poll result.

On the other hand, Maloney (2002) argued that Canada participated in the Congo to

pursue the Cold War by other means. The fact that Diefenbaker (1972) was staunch anti-

communist is indisputable. As he put it in his autobiography, "neutrality may be expedient for

some countries. It is not for us. Canada's geopolitical position denies it…Canada's interest are

promoted by staying in the circle [NATO] it belongs, by contributing to the strength and wisdom

of that circle" (1972, p. 137-38). However, as demonstrated in his refusal to support the Kennedy

administration during the Cuban missile crisis, Diefenbaker was not unconditional loyalist to the

West. In the case of Congo, despite its NATO membership, Diefenbaker rejected Belgium's

request to establish a military base in the Congo and support Kassavubu, the secessionist leader

in the Katanga province.

A third explanation regarding Canada's initial hesitation and subsequent decision to join

the ONUC was given by Spooner (2009) who argued that Canada participated after making sure

that its troops will not be involved in combat operations. He wrote:

> The government was keen to limit the possibility of Canadian casualties. This largely
> explains Diefenbaker's initial reticence; he mistakenly assumed the UN would ask

Canada for combat forces. His change in attitude is attributable to the subsequent clarification of the UN's request: Canada was asked to contribute only non-combat personnel. The government also placed restrictions on where army and air force personnel could serve within the Congo, to further reduce the change of casualties (2009, p.222).

Whether the government submitted to public opinion, protected Western interest, or shouldered non-combat responsibility, Canada's participation in the ONUC remains the largest single contribution to date. Apart from this mission, the Diefenbaker administration also sent 77 observers to UN Observer Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL) in 1958, and provided 11 personnel to the United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea (UNSF) in 1962. After winning over Pearson's bid for election in 1958 and 1962, Diefenbaker was finally defeated by the Liberals in 1963. Although he tried to come back in 1963 and in 1965, he did not succeed (Cohen, 2008). Two weeks after becoming Prime Minister, Pearson travelled to the US and hammered a deal with John F. Kennedy to equip Canadian Forces with a nuclear weapon (Clearwater, 1998). This initiative led Trudeau to abandon his decision to join the Liberal Party for two years. During the same year, Canada sent 50 observers to Yemen (UNYOM).

In 1964, Canada was to engage in its longest peacekeeping service in Cyprus (Conrad, 2011). Because of its strategic location, Cyprus has remained under the control of powerful empires for 3,500 years until it became independent from the British in 1960. Its first President who was a Greek dissent, ratified a constitution that was not favorable to the Turkish minority. This disagreement triggered a conflict in 1964 and caused the United Nations to establish the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) whereby Canada contributed up to 1,000 battalions to the mission. Until 1993, around 25,000 Canadians have served in the UNFICY (UN, 2006). Although Pearson dispatched Canadian peacekeepers to Cyprus swiftly, he was disappointed by

the lack of enthusiasm among other countries for peacekeeping. In an op-ed entitled "A New

Kind of Peace Force" which he wrote for *Macleans* on May 2, 1964, Pearson lamented:

> How long must the United Nations go on improvising in times of crisis? How long is the burden to be carried by a few member states, while too many others merely stand by, or obstruct?

> …How long must we wait before the UN makes provision in advance to deal with these local crises before they become general wars? I believe that arrangements to prevent the spread of "brushfire wars" can be and must be made; we must have a force that can do this brushfire job, and do it well (Pearson, 1964/1973, p. 151).

> Besides the dearth of participating countries, Pearson also resented the lack financial

commitment by non-participating countries. He attributed this lack of interest in strengthening

peacekeeping to the Soviet opposition and the suspicion of certain countries of imperialist

ambitions (Pearson 1964/1973). According to Pearson, the NATO was established because the

UN Security Council was rendered dysfunctional by the Cold War rivalry. In the same way,

Pearson (1964/1973) argued that middle powers could and should strive to establish a separate

peacekeeping force ready to serve the United Nations whenever crisis occurs by asking:

> Why should they not discharge their own responsibilities individually and collectively by organizing a force for this purpose, one formally outside the United Nations but ready to be used on its request?

> To do so would require a number of middle powers, whose credentials and whose motives are above reproach, to work out a stand-by arrangement among themselves consistent with the United Nations charter (Pearson, 1964/1973, p. 153).

> Unfortunately, the middle powers did not set up a stand-by force until 1997 where they

formed the SHIRBRIG (Stand-by High Readiness Brigade) which they dismantled on June 30,

2009 after serving in one mission. However, as Pearson would note and regret later, international

peacekeeping wasn't only weakened by resources but also due to a limited mandate. In

particular, Pearson was not satisfied by the principle of consent which entitled countries to admit

or evict peacekeepers as they saw fit.

Pearson would once again encounter this problem in the same place where he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for bringing peace thought peacekeeping. In 1967, the Egyptian President evicted the UNEF forces from his country and staged a concerted war against Israel together with Syria and Jordan and was defeated in six days. As a result, Israel occupied the Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights.

Pearson retired in 1968 and was succeeded by Trudeau. Unlike Pearson who made peacekeeping Canada's top priority, however, the Trudeau administration relegated peacekeeping to a fourth place among Canada's defense priorities (CDP, 1971). This decision is mainly the result of Canada's frustration over its mediation experience in Vietnam since 1954 where it was accused of bias towards the US-backed South Vietnam government. It was also associated with Canada's disappointment over its eviction from Egypt which resulted in another Egyptian-Israeli war five years later in 1973.

On October 1973, Egypt teamed up with Syria and staged a surprise attack against Israel to restore the Israeli occupied territories. Despite initial retreat, Israel succeeded in defeating Egypt and surrounded its 3rd Army. This forced Egypt to plead with the Soviet and the US to enforce a ceasefire by sending troops. This gave birth to the second UN Emergency Force (UNEF II) was established in 1973. Initially, Egypt did not want Canada to participate because o its strong ties with Great Britain. Later on, however, it was later convinced by the UN Secretary General that no other country aside from countries like Canada could provide an effective logistic officers for the mission. Canada, therefore, provided 850 of the total 6500 peacekeepers to the UNEF II (Conrad, 2011).

In the meantime, the fighting on the Syria-Israel border intensified. This led the United Nations to form the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) on March, 1974. Canada contributed only 19 peacekeepers to this 6,000 massive force. This mission incorporates 1,378 peacekeepers and continues to operate to date (UN, 2013). Subsequently, the Palestinian Liberation Front based in Lebanon attacked Israel, triggered Israeli reprisal, and culminated in Israeli invasion of Southern Lebanon on March 1978. As a result, the Lebanon government appealed to the UN Security Council which, in turn, set up the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) to facilitate Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, to restore peace and security, and reinstate the government. Canada contributed 850 peacekeepers to the total UNIFIL peacekeeping forces of 6,000. This mission also continues to this day where 10,741 UN peacekeepers from 38 countries remain stationed in Lebanon (Conrad, 2011).

On September, 1978, Israel signed the Camp David Accords with Egypt. This treaty ensured that Egypt would regain the Sinai Peninsula in return for promising never to intervene in the Israel-Palestinian conflict. This was followed by a peace treaty between the two countries which constituted an agreement to admit U.N forces and observers to be placed in their common border. Egypt's request for UN peacekeepers was turned down by the United Nations Security Council because of the Soviet Union's veto on May, 1981. This led the U.S, Israel, and Egypt to sign a protocol establishing the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) on August 1981 (Ghali, 1993).

Trudeau's administration in Canada welcomed the peace treaty but declined to engage Canada in the MFO because the United Nations did not endorse it. In addition, Canada's foreign minister, Mark MacGuigan, stated that he "was not ultimately disposed to offer any moral support to [Israel's Prime Minister] Begin or to do any favors to an unduly aggressive Israeli

government" (MacGuigan & Lackenbauer, 2002, p.158). By contrast, Canada's undersecretary, Allan Gotlieb, believed that Canada should participate in the MFO. However, MacGuigan noted that "the prime minister [Trudeau] was even less disposed than I [MacGuigan] to accommodate Begin" (MacGuigan & Lackenbauer, 2002, p.159). Further, Trudeau (1993) also recalled in his memoir that his relations with the Israeli prime minister has been "strained" since 1978 when he turned down Begin's request to change Canada's embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem (1973, p. 214). These tensions convinced Canada not to get involved in MFO.

The Mulroney government which took power in 1984 reversed Trudeau's decision to abstain from MFO by providing 140 troops and nine CH-135 Twin Huey tactical transport helicopter in 1985 because he believed that declining "to participate, while several other Canadian allies were doing so, would have been viewed negatively" (Tessier & Fortmann, 2001, p.118). The MFO is still operational today with 1673 serving from 13 countries whereas Canada's participation has dropped to just 28 peacekeepers (Conrad, 2011). The MFO was the only mission where Canada participated during Mulroney's first term in office. After Mulroney's second term in 1988, however, UN peacekeeping revived after a decade of dormancy. As the following section will elaborate, after 1988, international peacekeeping increased in volume and complexity.

Canada embraces the resurgence of UN peacekeeping

From 1948 to 1978, the UN launched thirteen peacekeeping operations. All of these conflicts were associated with decolonization. Most of them, five out of thirteen, were established in the aftermath of the Israel-Arab wars. Between 1978 and 1988, the UN peacekeeping became dormant mostly because of the Cold War related gridlock in the UN

Security Council (Pearson, 1964/1973). As the Cold War tensions declined in the late 1980s, the

UN launched 13 peace operations. Canada welcomed this change and participated in all of the 13

UN peacekeeping missions, including in three non-UN peace operations in Nigeria (OTN 1968-

70), in Vietnam (ICC, 1954-74), and in Egypt (MFO, since 1986) (CF, 1998).

The UN peacekeeping operation increased in volume and complexity after 1988 due to

huge transformations in the supply as well as the demand for peacekeepers (Bellamy &

Williams, 2010). On the supply side, the end of the Cold War made UN Security Council more

efficient and allowed more countries to get involved in peace operations (ibid). The global mass

media revolution also exposed the appalling nature of the raging conflicts worldwide to the

Western public and their governments (Ibid). On the demand side, the post-Cold War

environment was dominated by several intrastate conflicts that required external intervention

(Bellamy & Williams, 2010). Hence, in the period between 1988 and 1994, the United Nations

launched more peacekeeping operations (20 missions) than it did during the previous forty years

(13 mission) (UN, 2013a). At the same time, the total number of UN peacekeepers between 1989

and 1994 grew by more than seven fold from 11,000 to 75,000. Furthermore, the scope of the

missions also expanded beyond the traditional task of separating conflicting parties to include:

> Help implement complex peace agreements,
> Stabilize the security situation,
> Reorganize military and police, and
> Elect new governments and build democratic institutions (UN, 2013a).

The Mulroney administration embraced the surge of peacekeeping from the outset by

providing over 4,400 peacekeepers in 12 UN peace operations between 1988 and 1993 (Conrad,

2011). Canada devoted the largest number of its peacekeepers in Somalia. After the Somalians

became independent from the British and Italians in 1960, they elected a President who ruled

over the country for eight years until he was assassinated in 1968 (Njokou, 2013). This power

vacuum triggered a military coup d'état led by Colonel Siad Barre. Barre ruled over Somalia for

twenty two years until he fled to Nigeria following a civil war which erupted in 1991.   This

vacuum created two major factions led by the interim President and the defense, who fought in

the street of the capital.

The civil war in Somalia killed 300,000 people from of starvation and exposed 5 million

to hunger. The UN set up the UNOSOM I on April 1992 in order to address this tragedy by

providing humanitarian relief (UN, 2003). Canada contributed 750 military personnel to this

mission (Conrad, 2011). Four months later, President Bush offered to mobilize US- led troops to

facilitate UN's delivery of humanitarian aid, received UN approval, and established the UN Task

Force (UNTAF). Canada provided over 1,500 troops to UNITAF's peacekeeping force (Conrad,

2011).After the major factions in Somalia signed a peace accord in Ethiopia on March, 1993, the

UN launched UNOSOM II whose primary task included disarming, demobilizing, and

reintegrating combatants. Canada offered only 7 personnel to this mission.

Overall, Canada supplied over 2,240 peacekeepers to stabilize Somalia (Conrad, 2011).

Unfortunately, this great contribution was eclipsed after a handful of Canadian Airborne

personnel tortured and killed a Somali teenager whom they allegedly caught stealing items at

their camp (Razack, 2004). The media broadcasted the rampant racism which afflicted these

soldiers and caused massive uproar among Canadians. The Chrétien administration set up a

commission to investigate the case. However, the Commission went beyond the case to examine

the interdepartmental conflict within the government bureaucracy and spent $15 million in two

years (Chrétien, 2007). As a result, the Chrétien administration closed down the Commission in

1995.

Six months after the Somalian debacle, a violent conflict erupted in the former Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia was an amalgam of over twenty ethnic groups and three religions (Christian orthodox, Muslims, and Roman Catholics) created by the allied forces in 1918 (Meier, 2013). The Yugoslav monarch signed a pact with Germany but was overthrown by the military. This provoked Germany and Italy to invade Yugoslavia and empower Croat elites who massacred the Serbs (Meier, 2013). As a result, a number of guerilla factions mushroomed in Yugoslavia until the communist faction led by Tito prevailed in 1945. Tito eased up the nationalist tensions by creating autonomous provinces (West, 1995). After Tito died in 1980, the provincial presidents ruled over Yugoslavia for ten years on a rotating basis. However, beginning with ethnic Albanians' demand for Kosovo's independence in 1981, various ethnic groups also called for a cessation. Accordingly, Slovenia and Croatia attained independence on June, 1991. The attempt by the Yugoslavian government to preserve unity by force triggered an etho-religious civil war (Banac, 1993).

Canada responded to the crises by calling for international intervention in countries where human rights were abused. On September 1991, Mulroney delivered an important speech at Stanford University where he said: "we favor re-thinking the limits of national sovereignty in a world where problems no borders" (Mulroney, 1991). Subsequently, Mulroney's newly appointed foreign minister, Barbara McDougall, urged the UN to set aside "its principle of non-intervention in order to end the conflict in Yugoslavia" on July, 1991 (Gammer, 2001, p.80). The UN formed a Protection Force (UNPROFOR) on February 1992 where Canada contributed 15 peacekeepers to this mission (Conrad, 2011).

The UN decided to increase its UNPROFOR capacity in order to ensure a secure flow of relief aid. Accordingly, Canada dispatched two mechanized battalions composed of 1500 troops

to a town called Visoko where the Serbs, the Muslims, and the Croats fought for control

(Conrad, 2011). But there was no peace to be kept by Canada in this town. Instead, they

encountered hostile forces who kidnapped 450 UN peacekeepers, including 55 Canadian troops

(ibid). This led the NATO to contemplate an airstrike against these forces in Yugoslavia. While

this crisis was taking place, the Liberals under Chrétien won an election on October, 1993.

On December 28, 1993, Serbian soldiers captured 11 Canadian peacekeepers, "lined them

up against a wall and opened fire above their heads" (Sudetic, 1993). This angered Chrétien

(2007) who insisted on pulling all peacekeepers out of Yugoslavia. On January 1994, NATO

members gathered in Brussels to decide on whether they should wage an air strike against

Bosnian Serbs. Chrétien (2007) opposed this proposal vehemently:

> I took a strong issue with a U.S proposal to launch airstrikes against the Bosnian
> Serbs. Air strikes, I believed, would only incite the Serbian forces to retaliate against
> the Canadian peacekeepers whom they had trapped in the "safe area" around the
> town of Srebrenica. "If you think air strikes are so necessary militarily," I told
> Clinton during the NATO meeting, "fine, but try them somewhere else."…In the
> face of my strong objection, the United States backed down, and we later joined
> France and the United Kingdom in preventing the Americans from lifting the arms
> embargo by threatening to withdraw our forces from Bosnia (2007, p.88-89).

Later on, however, Canada agreed to NATO airstrike which ensued on late 1994. Once

again, the Serbs kidnapped UN peacekeepers and used them (Canadians included) as human

shields. Nonetheless, the UNPROFOR finally managed to ensure a ceasefire agreement between

the Bosnian government and its two challengers, namely: the Croat and Serbian rebels residing

in Bosnia. The UNPROFOR then broken down into UNCRO (United Nations Confidence

Restoration Operation in Croatia), UNPREDEP (United Nations Preventive Deployment Force),

and UNPF (United Nations Peace Force) on March 31, 1995 to assure operational effectiveness.

NATO's Stabilization Force (NATO-SFOR) also entered the former Yugoslavia with a

maximum strength of 30,800 where Canada contributed 1,230 troops (Conrad, 2011). The

increasing riskiness of peacekeeping in the 1990s, obliged Canada to retreat from the endeavor.

The Decline of Canada's Peacekeeping Role

The Chrétien administration was not eager to send Canadian troops to peacekeeping. Its

main concern was addressing the domestic budget deficit by curbing the resources allocating to

foreign aid, the diplomatic corps, and military (Nossal, 1998). However, Chrétien didn't stop the

ongoing peacekeeping missions started by his predecessor. Accordingly, Canada was actively

involved in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia. Although Chrétien was not interested in getting

involved in Haiti, East Timor, and Ethio-Eritrean missions, he was later convinced by his allies

such as the United States (in Haiti) and the Netherlands (in the Ethio-Eritrean border). Also,

Canada wouldn't have been involved in East Timor, if the Indonesian President didn't call for

the UN to intervene there. Except for these missions, Canada's overall contribution to UN

peacekeeping mission under the Chrétien administration fell to a historic low level.

One of Canada's most important peacekeeping missions under the Chrétien government

was executed in Haiti. This small country has been subjected to foreign occupation and brutal

dictatorships for 500 years until President Aristide won in a free election with 67 percent of votes

on December, 1990 (VA, 1991). Nine months later, General Cedras staged a coup and overthrew

Aristide who, in turn fled the country. The US led the international community and put heavy

pressure on the dictator until he finally agreed to readmit the President to power on July 1993.

Later on, however, General Cedras changed his mind until September 1994 when the UN

authorized multinational force composed of 6,000 troops was led by the US in ousting the

dictator (UNMIH, 1996).

President Clinton asked Chrétien to join the UN authorized multinational forces. But Chrétien (2007) declined be telling him: "we didn't see deposing dictators as our role in the world. We preferred to try to make the economic sanctions work and, if an invasion proved absolutely necessary, to go into Haiti afterwards to help in its reconstruction…" (2007, p.90-91). Hence, from 1993 to 1996, Canada only put a naval embargo over Haiti's military dictatorship. But, after the tensions cooled down in 1996, Canada sent 750 peacekeepers to serve under UN's Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) (Conrad, 2011).

Three years after the Haiti crisis, Canada was called upon to participate in another small island in the Pacific Ocean, East Timor. Timor was colonized by Portugal in 1600 until 1749 when its western part was taken over by the Dutch in 1749 (UNTAET, 1999). The Eastern half remained under Portuguese control until they left in 1974. In 1975, East Timor's political party known as Frelitin declared independence but was defeated by Indonesia which annexed it until 1998 when its longtime dictator, Suharto, resigned. On March 1999, Indonesia agreed to stage a referendum for East Timorese. Together with Portugal, Indonesia also authorized the UN to supervise the process. This resulted in the formation of the UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNAMET) on June 1999. Soon after the referendum took place, violence erupted between independence and integration supporters. On September 12, 1999, the UN Security Council authorized an Australia led multinational force (INTERFET) (UNTAET, 1999).

Canada got involved reluctantly in the INTERFET. On September 9, 1999, Canada's foreign minister, Lloyd Axworthy, cautioned that "we have to be conscious of a peacekeeping force landing there and being opposed by the Indonesian military. I don't think that would be a very sound policy" (Hataley & Nossal, 2004, p. 10). Canada's concern over Indonesia's consent was offset when it became clear that the Indonesian President was preparing to ask for UN

intervention on September 12, 1999. As a result, Canada committed 650 troops to serve as peacekeeper in East Timor.

A year after committing troops in East Timor, Canada was involved in yet another peacekeeping mission in the United Nations Mission in Eritrea and Ethiopia (UNMEE), established on June 2000 (UN, 2009). The war between the two countries erupted in 1998 over border dispute because there was no clear border demarcation in place when Eritrea seceded from Ethiopia in 1993 through popular referendum after waging an independence war for over thirty years. The two countries agreed to a cease fire in 2000 after 70,000 people died and 370,000 Eritreans and 350,000 Ethiopians plunged into humanitarian crisis (Economist, 2003; UN, 2009). Although Canada never intended to participate in UNMEE, the Netherlands declared that it will not engage in UNMEE unless the Canadians joined them. Chrétien (2007) recalled how Canada decided to send 450 troops to UNMEE as follows:

> In 2000…President Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria was mediating the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea in his capacity as chair of the Organization of African Unity and wanted UN observers to supervise a peace settlement. The Dutch were interested, but only if Canada agreed as well. Prime Minister Wim Kok and I discussed the matter and we decided that our countries would participate together, as we had in Bosnia. Both President Bouteflika and Kofi Annan, the UN's secretary general were grateful that we were willing and able to move so quickly (2007, p.333)

After the UNMEE mission, Canada's participation in peacekeeping fell sharply. The following graph depicts Canada's yearly average contribution to UN peacekeeping as a percentage of the total annual average number of UN peacekeeping since 1993. When Chrétien took office in 1993, Canada contributed 4 percent of total UN peacekeepers. Canada maintained this percentage for three years until 1997. However, in 1998, Canada's average contribution dropped by half to 2 percent and continued to descend (UN, 2013). When Chrétien retired in 2003, Canada personnel contribution to UN peacekeepers stood at 0.6 percent. The Martin

administration continued along this trend by further decreasing the number of Canadian

peacekeepers in the United Nations to 0.2 percent (ibid). When Harper took office in 2006,

therefore, Canada's total contribution to the UN peacekeeping was already insignificant. Perhaps

the most notable change during Harper's term was the fact that Canada's police contribution to

UN peacekeeping was greater than its military contribution (CP, 2013). As of January 31, 2015,

Canada provides 80 police force, 11 military experts, and 22 troops to the UN peacekeeping,

which is 0.001 percent of the total 104, 496 peacekeepers serving the UN (UNDPKO, 2015).
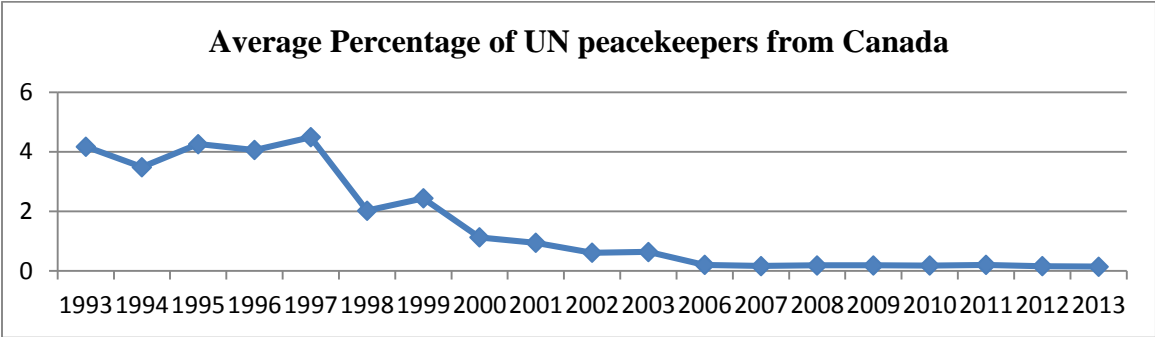
Figure 4. 1 Average Percentage of UN Peacekeepers from Canada

Source: UN (2013)

While Canada retreated from peacekeeping, the total number of UN peacekeepers

continued to rise at an increasing rate since 2000. The total average number of UN peacekeepers

in 1999 was 12,581 (UN, 2013). This figure almost tripled in 2000 where the total average

number of UN peacekeepers increased to about 33, 759. From the period when Chrétien stepped

down (2003) to the time when Harper became a Prime Minister in 2006, the total average

number of UN peacekeepers almost doubled from 39,118 in 2003 to 75, 658 (UN, 2013). The

total average of peacekeeping continued to increase since 2006 where the total average of UN

peacekeepers in 2013 has almost tripled to 94, 713 (See Figure 4.2).
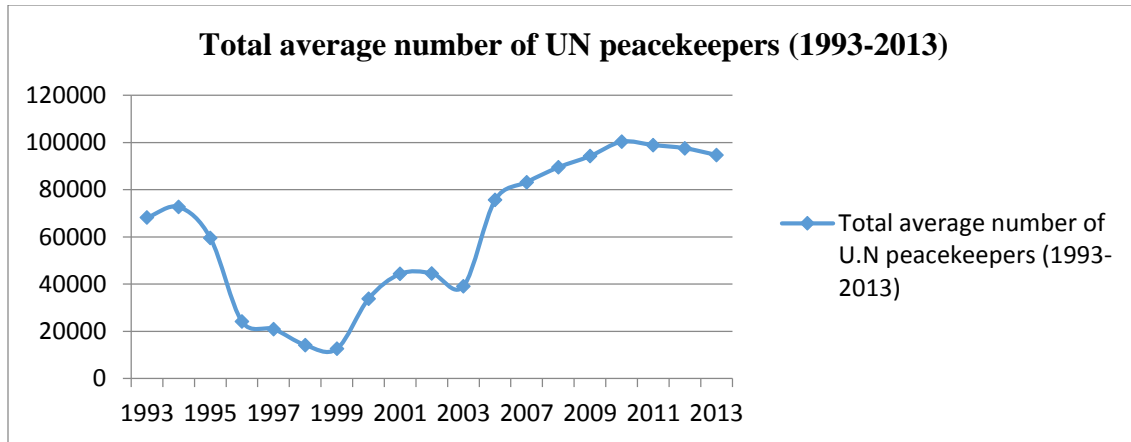
Figure 4. 2 Total average number of UN Peacekeepers (1993 -2013)

Source: UN (2013)

Canada's contribution to the UN peacekeeping remains small when compared with other

G8 members. Its contribution to the UN is better only when it's compared to US and Russia,

both of whom provide only 104 peacekeepers to the UN and rank 64th out of 120 countries as of

2013 (UN, 2013). By contributing 1,339 personnel and ranking 22nd out of 120 countries, Italy is

the top G8's UN peacekeeper, followed by France (995 peacekeepers and 26th rank), the United

Kingdom (281 peacekeepers and 48th rank), and Japan (196 peacekeepers, 54th rank) (UN, 2013).

Canada's contribution of 116 personnel among the 12 remaining members of the G20

countries is also very small. Of course, there are G-20 states like Mexico and Saudi Arabia which

rank 27th and 21st respectively in terms of military strength but don't provide any personnel to

the UN peacekeeping (GPF, 2013). Despite having a long history as a middle power like Canada,

Australia's contribution to UN peacekeeping has also fallen to only 55 personnel, placing it as

the 76th out provider of UN peacekeeping out of 120 countries (UN, 2013). By contrast, India

and China, which have the 4th and 3rd powerful militaries, provide 7,848 and 1,938 peacekeepers

to the UN respectively, placing India as the third top peacekeeper and China as the 17th top UN

peacekeeper nation (UN, 2013). Emerging countries like South Africa (2,187 UN peacekeepers, 13th rank), Indonesia (1,712 UN peacekeepers, 19th rank), and Brazil (1,509 UN peacekeepers, 21st rank) are also important partners of the UN peacekeeping. These are followed by South Korea and Turkey which contribute 613 and 356 peacekeepers to the United Nations. So, except for Saudi Arabia, Mexico, Australia, the United States, and Russia, Canada's participation in UN peacekeeping is the least among the G20 members (UN, 2013).

Today, Canada's role in contemporary peacekeeping can be categorized as what Coleman (2012) termed as a "token contribution" where countries make symbolic contributions to peacekeeping. Coleman classified Canada among token contributing states such as Finland, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, and the United States. These are countries which used to contribute a lot to UN peacekeeping in the early 1990s; but are nowadays more involved in NATO stabilization operations. According to Coleman (2012), these countries supplied 11,875 peacekeepers to the UN peacekeeping in 1992. But, in 2011, they sent only 94 peacekeepers. In the meantime, these countries have had 93,337 troops at NATO's International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan.

Interestingly, Coleman (2012) noted, token contributions have certain advantages for the concerned state. At the policy making stage, token contributions eliminate the hard choice between sending or not sending peacekeepers to a middle ground of sending a very small number personnel. Also, at the operational level, token contributors are entitled to attend every meeting concerning the mission and stay informed. Coleman quoted how one member of the intelligence section at the UNFIYP described what Canada gets in return for providing just one peacekeeper to the Cyprus mission (UNFICYP) as follows:

As long as there is a Canadian contribution, the Canadian Ambassador to the UN goes to all meetings, is privy to all the information, and has a say in what happens with the mission. Whether your contingent is a thousand or it's one, you still have a voice (Coleman, 2012, p. 55).

To conclude, Canadian peacekeeping in the 21st Century has fallen to a symbolic level. To be exact, this decline started in 1998 and may be the result of Canada's reaction to the peacekeeping scandal in Somalia and the high risk encountered in Yugoslavia. Of course, the domestic political (Quebec's referendum and power politics) and economic (free trade and recession) factors in Canada have also diverted Canada's attention and resources. So, until the conservative government took office in 2006, Canada's retreat from peacekeeping may be attributed to resource and attention constraint.

After 2006, however, the conservative government questioned the very legitimacy of peacekeeping as a source of Canadian pride and identity (Mackay & Swift, 2012). Instead it sought to replace this image by stressing of Canada's role in international conflicts. Today, the Canada Forces are well equipped and experienced. They also have very little NATO commitment. However, as long as the conservative government stays in power, the prospect of Canada's return to peacekeeping remains gloomy.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that the history of Canadian peacekeeping has had a strong presence in the past, a token existence in the present, and a gloomy prospect in the future. When the effectiveness of international peacekeeping was contentious, Canadian leaders espoused the idea, contributed troops, recruited others, and commanded missions. Lester B. Pearson played a critical role in resolving the Suez Crisis by recommending peacekeeping forces to stabilize the region. But Canadian leaders were often frustrated by the inefficiency caused by the Cold War related gridlock within the UN Security Council. Despite harboring skepticism over the

effectiveness of peacekeeping, Diefenbaker engaged Canadians in major UN peace operations,

including the ONUC mission in Congo where Canada contributed over 1,900 peacekeepers.

Although Pearson's initiative to resolve the Suez was successful, Nasser expelled UN

peacekeepers a decade later to start a war with Israel. The UNEF experience was so frustrating

for Canada that Pearson's successor, Trudeau, relegated peacekeeping from its top place during

Pearson's era to a fourth place in Canada's 1971 defense White Paper. Nonetheless, the Trudeau

government did not reject UN's invitations to participate in subsequent peace operations. It even

sent back troops to serve in Egypt under the UNEF II. If Canada had been a leading

peacekeeping nation during Pearson's period, it nonetheless remained as a loyal peacekeeper to

the UN during Trudeau era. But its loyalty was not tested adequately because the UN didn't

launch a new peace operation from 1978 to 1988.

As the Cold War tensions cooled down in the late 1980s, the gridlock within the UN

Security Council cooled down. This improvement allowed the UN to launch more peace

operations in six years (twenty missions between 1988 and 1994) than it did in the previous four

decades (thirteen missions between 1948 and 1988). The Mulroney administration encouraged

this development by advocating for the international community's right to intervene in countries

that exercise a violent repression of human rights of their citizens. Canada also took a leading

role in peacekeeping by contributing up to 10 percent of the total number of UN peacekeepers in

the early 1990s.

Despite Canada's positive response, however, the post-Cold War peace operations proved

to be more dangerous and complicated than previous missions. In Somalia, Canada was mired in

a scandal after some soldiers tortured Canadian peacekeepers committed a crime; in the former

Yugoslavia, its peacekeepers were attacked; and, in Rwanda, Canada failed to lend an assistance to its General who, as the commander of the mission there, was trying to stop the genocide from taking place. But, it was not just Canada that experienced the tragedy of failed peace operations but rather, the United Nations as an organization (Annan, 2012). As a result, the UN reviewed its overall peacekeeping practice and devised a strategy to address the challenges of peacekeeping in the 21st Century (UN, 2008). Based on this strategy, the UN boosted its number of peacekeepers worldwide. By contrast, Canada's contribution to UN peacekeeping started to decline.

After 1998, the number of Canadian peacekeepers started to decrease at an increasing rate. Although this decline was reflected in the numbers, the liberal governments continued to support peacekeeping by training peacekeepers and advocating human security. In 2006, Harper's conservative government not only continued to reduce the number of peacekeepers but also questioned whether Canada's role in peacekeeping has been eclipsing military history, which it believes to be more important. As of January 31, 2015, Canada contributes only 113 peacekeepers to the UN, thereby taking a 69th place out of 121 nations.

CHAPTER 5: THE ROLE OF PUBLIC OPINION ON CANADIAN GOVERNMENT'S PEACEKEEPING DECISIONS

This chapter examines the impact of public opinion on Canadian peacekeeping decisions from 1948 to date. Before answering whether public opinion dictates (or even influences) Canadian government's decision to send peacekeepers, however, it is important to lay out how it is possible to determine that public opinion does in fact affect peacekeeping decision. There are two possible correlations between public opinion and peacekeeping decisions. Sometimes, public opinion has had a positive correlation with Canadian government's peacekeeping decisions. More often than not, public opinion has been supportive of Canadian engagement in peacekeeping. So, the challenge is to determine if public opinion has triggered Canada's active peacekeeping commitment or is a result of those decisions and how they are framed. There were also times, especially in the recent years, when public opinion has had a negative correlation with Canadian government's peacekeeping decision. In these cases, the challenge is to answer whether the Canadian government overlooked public opinion in its peacekeeping decisions.

Canadians have largely exhibited a positive attitude towards Canada's participation in peacekeeping. However, the impact of this support on Canadian government's decision to send peacekeepers abroad has varied. Although King's administration initiated public opinion polling in Canada, it wanted to use public opinion to set the government agenda to influence citizens rather than reflect public interest. St. Laurent's government, on the other hand, reflected public interest by engaging in international peacekeeping more actively. Diefenbaker didn't want to abandon peacekeeping; however, he thought Canada should participate on a selective basis. Pearson's policy towards peacekeeping was a continuation of St. Laurent's internationalism (Bromke & Nossal, 1983/84). Evidences show that both the Trudeau and Mulroney

administrations (1968-1993) consulted public opinion in their peacekeeping engagements. But, after the mid-1990s, the Chretien, Martin, and Harper administrations, although for different reasons, ignored public opinion towards peacekeeping and reduced Canadian participation to historic low levels.

This chapter is divided into three major sections. The first section explains how Canadian leaders' desire to exercise independent foreign policy obliged them to accept their top diplomats' proposal to adopt functionalism as an underlying foreign policy principle for Canada. It also discusses how the Second World War led Canada to utilize public opinion polls and implement its functionalist principle on an international scale. It goes on to explain how Canadian public and governments' attitude towards peacekeeping remained similar during the Post-War years. It then analyzes the state of public opinion and government policy during Canada's major peacekeeping engagements in Korea, the Suez, and the Congo to show that Canada's peacekeeping policy reflected public interest.

The second section demonstrates how peacekeeping setbacks in Cyprus, Congo (now the DRC), and Egypt cooled down public support for peacekeeping. It discusses how this led the Trudeau administration to demote peacekeeping to a third defense priority. It then shows how public support quickly revived and induced the Trudeau government to return to the Pearson's policy of active peacekeeping. This section continues to explain the centrality of public opinion in Mulroney's decision to boost Canada's participation in peacekeeping in the late 1980s and early 1990s, thereby making Canada one of the top contributors of peacekeeping forces in the world.

The third section explains the public-government divide on Canada's post-Cold war peacekeeping role. It shows how, despite strong public support for peacekeeping, the Liberal

government under the Chrétien and Martin governments decided to decrease the number of Canadian peacekeepers in the late 1990s. It then continues to demonstrate how the Harper administration intensified Canada's retreat from peacekeeping against the strong public commitment to the endeavor. The section explains that Liberals neglected peacekeeping because they thought internationalism could be implemented through more efficient means than peacekeeping whereas Conservatives abandoned peacekeeping because they believed it was a Liberal value and achievement that Conservatives should replace with militarism (McKay, 2012).

The origin and interaction of functionalism, public opinion, and peacekeeping in Canada

The Canadian government adopted functionalist foreign policy long before it utilized public opinion polling. The origin of Canada's functionalist foreign policy can be traced back to the foundation of Canada as a federation in 1867 whereas Canadian government's first attempt to collect public opinion dates back to 1943 (Okagaki, 1989; Page, 2006). During the decades where Canada's functionalist principle consolidated itself, the role of Canada's top diplomats was a more decisive factor than public opinion in shaping Canada's foreign policy. Even after the government begun to collect public opinion polls, Canada's leaders saw polls more as a means for setting an agenda than for making foreign policy decisions (Page, 2006).

The origin of Canadian functionalism can be traced back to its foundation as a federation in 1867. When the American Civil War erupted in 1860, the MacDonald government was suspicious of a possible US aggression (Winks, 1988). This fear triggered a need for the government to play a relatively active role in North American diplomatic affairs independent of the British Empire. Soon after the Canadian federation was established in 1867, the Canadian

government signed the Washington Treaty with the US in 1871 (Okagaki, 1989). Since then, the Canadian government has continued to pressure the British Empire (and later the Commonwealth) to allow Canada to exercise an independent diplomatic role culminating in the establishment of Canada's Department of External Affairs in 1909 (Gotlieb, 2013).

The Borden administration hired Loring Cheney Christie in 1912 as a legal advisor for the DFATD. Christie was instrumental in laying the foundation Canada's functionalist foreign policy by providing arguments for Borden in his attempt to convince the British government on the need for Canada to exercise an independent diplomatic role in world affairs. In light of Canada's huge sacrifice in the First World War, Christie advised Borden to pressure Britain to allow Canada its own voice in the War effort and post-War negotiations. Borden succeeded in securing Canada independent seats at the Imperial War Cabinet, the Paris Peace Conference, and, the League of Nations.

Canada continued to assert its diplomatic autonomy following King's election in 1921. King's undersecretary of state for External Affairs recruited more diplomats like Hume Wrong, Norman Robertson, L.B. Pearson, and others. These top diplomats facilitated Canada's quest towards diplomatic autonomy by consolidating its functionalist approach as a foundation of its foreign policy. Following the imperial conference of 1926, the Balfour Report officially declared Canada's right to exercise independent foreign relations (Donaghy, 2009).

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 pushed Canada further towards functionalism. In 1942, Hume Wrong, leader of Canada's diplomatic legation to the United States, came across David Mitrany's 1933 work on functionalism which stated that global governance would be more efficient if tasks were divided among countries in accordance with their capabilities, and convinced Norman Robertson who was Canada's Undersecretary of State

for External Affairs during the Second World War, to adopt this principle by claiming that Canada deserves to have a greater power in areas (like food production) where it is making a relatively greater contribution. During the initial discussions leading to the formation of the United Nations at Dumbarton Oaks in 1942, Canada managed to incorporate Article 23 (also known as Canadian Clause) in the UN Charters which added six non-permanent members in the UN Security Council, which was originally composed of five permanent members, to serve for two years based on their capability and geographical location (Chapnick, 2005). This functionalist notion of international relations resurfaced in King's House of Commons speech of 1943 where he said: "representation [in international affairs] should be determined on a functional basis which will admit to full membership these countries, large or small, which have the greatest contribution to make the particular object in question" (Melakopides, 1998, p. 38).

The Second World War in 1939 also triggered the Canadian government's interest in public opinion polling. In 1943, King hired Grierson to be Canada's Director of Wartime Information Board. Grierson developed an interest in public opinion polls after meeting Walter Lipmann in 1925 while Grierson studied mass communication at the University of Chicago. Lipmann argued that elites could shape mass opinion by gauging public opinion. Grierson rejected this notion by arguing that public opinion could serve as a means for the elite to learn from and reflect the interest of the masses (Evans, 2005). In this spirit, Grierson proposed to the Canadian government that they utilize polls. While King agreed to Grierson's proposal against strong protest from his cabinet members, he declared that it would be used "to argue a point or policy" and that the results "must remain confidential" (Evans, 2005, p. 71). So, the Canadian government initiated surveys with the intention of shaping mass opinion rather than reflecting it.

As far as peacekeeping is concerned, the Canadian government chose to reflect rather than alter public opinion. Canadians supported peacekeeping long before UN peacekeeping began. When the Princeton based Office of Public Opinion Research (OPOR) asked Canadians if they thought it was better to start thinking about post-War peace rather than wait until the War was over in 1943, 59 percent responded it was better to act proactively. Another 1943 poll by NORC showed that 69 percent of Canadians believed it was essential to set up "some kind of military police" to make sure countries obeyed international law. When Canadian Institute of Public Opinion (CIPO) that same year asked the public if they were willing to send Canadian Forces abroad to keep peace in other countries, the support from Quebec (56 percent) was lower than that in the rest of Canada (85 percent); nonetheless, Canadians (78 percent) were willing to engage Canadian Forces in future peacekeeping operations.

Although the Canadian government's functionalist principle dictated its active involvement in peacekeeping, it was also ready to consider public opinion on international affairs. In September 1947, Canada's Minister of External Affairs, St. Laurent said:

> We believe the greatest hope for our survival lies in the development of machinery
> for international cooperation. If we wish to enjoy the benefits of such a development
> we must also accept its responsibilities…I do not think that the people of this country
> would tolerate any other attitude (Smith, 1948, p. 112).

The phrase "I do not think that the people of this country would tolerate any other attitude indicates that the government is aware of the fact that Canadians will not allow their government to shy away from playing an active part in collective security efforts which also include international peacekeeping. While he seemed to have acknowledged public support, St. Laurent also perceived that the public "sense of political responsibility on an international scale has perhaps been less rapid than some of us would like" (Smith, 1948). Nevertheless, he noted the existence of "informed citizens" that are following up Canada's international politics when he

said: "we shall inevitably fall short of our objectives unless the policies of the government genuinely reflect the will of a large group of informed citizens who are aware of the nature of our commitment and who are constantly scrutinizing its consequences" (Smith, 1948).

The Canadian government was divided over the scope of functionalism. For King, functionalism served national interest whereas for St. Laurent it also included sharing global responsibilities (Chapnick, 2000). King didn't want to experience the public controversies which arose over conscription during the Second World War. Instead, he wanted to avoid public discussion by limiting Canada's military engagements abroad. On the other hand, St. Laurent was convinced that the people would support Canada's post-War military role of keeping the peace (Hilliker and Barry, 1994/1995). This division surfaced when St. Laurent agreed to send Canadian peacekeepers to the United Nations Temporary Commission in Korea (UNTOK) when King was attending a conference in Britain (Maloney, 2002). King came back from Britain and tried to reject Canada's decision by arguing that Canada had no interest in Korea. St. Laurent and Pearson, on the other hand, argued that, as a responsible member of the United Nations, Canada had an obligation to contribute troops to the UNTOK (Maloney, 2002). Despite a cabinet split and a threat of resignation from both leaders, they decided to represent Canada in UNTOK. King retired the following year, St. Laurent became Canada's Prime Minister, and Pearson became his Minister of External Affairs. The five pillars of St. Laurent's foreign policy were:

- Preservation of Canada's unity

- Support for political liberty

- Respect for national and global rule of law

- Abiding by Judeo-Christian values, and

- Acceptance of international responsibilities

St. Laurent mentioned "the acceptance of international responsibility" as one of the five pillars of Canadian foreign policy (Mackenzie, 2012). This was, as Mackenzie (2007) put it, "a fundamental break with the past-as well as a harbinger of a new era of forthright internationalism for Canada, a "golden age" (2007, p. 469). St. Laurent reiterated these principles in the Grey Lecture on January 1947. That speech was drafted by Gerry Riddell, who worked at Canada's UN division of External Affairs division at that time. Pearson assigned Riddell to draft the speech. Riddell "consulted not only his current diplomatic colleagues but also his former academic associates as he drafted and revised the remarks" before submitting his draft (Mackenzie, 2007, p. 461). Just like Canada's top wartime diplomats shaped King's functionalist foreign policy, Canada's post-War diplomats were instrumental in shaping St. Laurent's internationalist foreign policy.

Canada's pursuit of internationalism policy was also tailored towards an independent foreign policy whereby Canada distanced itself from the UK. Almost a decade after the Korean debate, Colonel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956. In a report he sent to St. Laurent, Pearson criticized Britain's handling of the situation by writing:

> The UK government are not being very skillful in their management of these international problems…There seems to be a lack of imagination and skill on the part of those who are concerned here with the public relation aspect of UK policy moves. The results are often perplexing for friends of the UK and indicate, it seems to me, a lack of orientation and no sureness of touch…my impression is that events in the international field are pulling the British Government with them rather than being influenced and directed by that government (Caroll, 2009, p.17)

 Initially, the Canadian government was not interested in getting involved in the Suez Crisis. This reluctance to engage in the matter was similar to the public opinion of the period. When the Vancouver Sun asked Canada's Defense Minister Ralph Campney about Canada's stance on August 3, 1956, he said the problem was "primarily European matter…not a matter

which particularly concerns Canada. We have no oil there. We don't use the Canal for shipping"
(Eayrs, 1957, p. 99). In a similar vein, when Gallup asked Canadians whether they wish to see
Canada fight Egypt if it rejected the proposal of international control of the Suez, only 31.6
percent of the 1,418 respondents believed that Canada should risk war as opposed to 50.5 percent
of the respondents (including 76 percent from Quebec and 84 from British Colombia) who
suggested that Egypt should be allowed to control the Suez (Igartua, 2001). According to Kent
(1957), Canadians wished Britain to abandon its colonial interest without losing face.

The occupation of the Canal by Britain, France, and Israel caused an international crisis.
The UN Security Council stalled because of British and French vetoes. This led Pearson to
propose in the General Assembly the installation of a United Nations Peacekeeping Force at the
Suez Canal. After Pearson's proposal was ratified, leaders within the Conservative Party as well
as Canada's major newspapers were divided over Canada's peacekeeping proposal (Igartua,
2001). However, a Gallup public opinion poll conducted on October 1956 demonstrated that an
overwhelming (90.2 percent) of Canadian respondents approved Pearson's proposal for sending
a UN peacekeeping force to the Suez Canal.

In June 1957, the Liberal party led by St. Laurent lost the election to the Conservatives
led by Mr. John Diefenbaker. However, this defeat had less to do with the outcome of the Suez
Crisis than it did with public discontentment over the Liberal cabinet affairs. The most prominent
among these was the Liberal government's decision to give an American owned company,
TransCanada, an expensive contract to build natural gas pipeline from Alberta to Ontario and
Quebec as well as the controversy surrounding Canada's Ambassador to Egypt, Herbert
Norman's suicide in the midst of American allegations over communist ties (Corbett, 1957).

In the late 1950s, Canadians held an optimistic outlook towards United Nations peacekeeping. This was captured in a poll conducted by Gallup on March, 1958. When Gallup asked 1,110 Canadians if they believed that the prospects of UN peacekeeping worldwide were good or not, the plurality (47.7 percent) responded that its chances were good whereas 35.9 percent answered its chances were fair, and only 16.3 percent responded that the prospects of UN peacekeeping was not good. However, the fact that 16.3 percent of the 1,110 Canadians thought that the UN peacekeeping had a gloomy future doesn't indicate that they don't want it to be successful. Nor does the optimistic outlook of the majority of the respondents (64.0 percent) imply they think it was essential for Canada to enable the UN success. Canadians' desire to make the UN a success was clearly captured in two polls conducted by Gallup on November and September 1959. Both of these polls show that a large majority of Canadian respondents thought it was "very important" for their government to help the United Nations succeed (See Table 5.1). Only a small minority of Canadian respondents, i.e., 4 percent (on November, 1959) and 7 percent (on September, 1959) thought that it was "not very important" to help the United Nations succeed.

Table 5. 1 Public Opinion on Canada's role to help the UN Succeed

Is it important we try to make the U.N a success %		
	November, 1959	September, 1959
Very Important	77	80
Fairly Important	12	10
Not so important	7	3
Don't know	4	7

When the Congo Crisis erupted in 1960, the United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld wanted Canada to get involved because its troops were multilingual. The Liberal opposition, the Press, and the Parliament pressed for Canada's immediate participation in the

Congo (Spooner, 2010). When Gallup asked 708 Canadians to identify the most troubled spots in the world, 21.9 percent of the respondents identified Congo. Canadians thought the Congo crisis was more troubling than China (21 percent) or Cuba (12. 7 percent). The only troubled spot they thought mattered more than Congo was Russia which was identified by 42.5 percent of the respondents.

Initially, Diefenbaker didn't want Canada to be perceived as a divided country composed of French and British inhabitants. This contradicted his "one Canada" slogan (Spooner, 2010). Due to this, he was initially reluctant to get involved in Congo. Besides, Diefenbaker didn't believe that Canada should participate in every peacekeeping mission automatically. Meanwhile, both his Ministers of Defense and External Affairs reported that Canada was militarily and politically ready for mission. In particular, his Minister of External Affair, Howard Green, was willing to send Canadian peacekeepers to the mission. Finally, the government decided to propose that African troops keep the peace while Canadian Forces served as signalers. Although the Canadian government finally sent peacekeepers to the Congo, there is no evidence that it had consulted public opinion as a basis for its decision. As Spooner put it:

> One External Affairs Department memo enumerated no less than ten major considerations in Canada's Congo policy-[however] public opinion did not make the list. Moreover, cabinet documents prepared by External Affairs and National Defense never emphasized public opinion as a significant matter (Spooner, 2010, p. 210).

Even though the Diefenbaker administration did not put public opinion in its decision making process, its final action of sending peacekeepers to the Congo reflected public interest. After all, the Congo peace operation came forth only four years after Canada triumphed in resolving the Suez Crisis and got international accolades as a result. Unlike the Suez Crisis, there was no division between Canada's political party and the press. As Tessier and Fortmann (2001,

p.14) observed, "the Conservatives would not be able to go against the weight of tradition and refuse to pursue an active peacekeeping policy".

The rise and fall of public discontentment towards peacekeeping

The interaction between public opinion and government peacekeeping decision in the 1960s had a common pattern. As long as Canadian peacekeeping operations succeeded, the public would support future operations, and Canadians governments would not attempt to evade further invitations. But if Canadian peacekeeping operation faced setbacks, at least for a brief moment, public support for peacekeeping would cool down, prompting Canadian governments to reevaluate Canada's participation in future peacekeeping. One year after witnessing that the 1,900 signalers who went from Canada faced no significant problem, 68.1 percent of Gallup Canada's interviewees noted that the UN was doing a good job. Accordingly, the Pearson administration placed peacekeeping as Canada's top defense priority in his 1964 Defense White Paper. Unfortunately, however, Canada's peacekeeping experience in Egypt, Indochina, and Cyprus were unsatisfactory. Nasser expelled Canadian peacekeepers from Egypt in 1967, the ICC operation in Indochina remained ineffective, and Canada's engagement in Cyprus failed to stave off conflict between Greece and Turkey (Brown, 1981). These events affected public opinion negatively and prompted the government to reevaluate its peacekeeping policy.

A Gallup survey conducted on 680 Canadians on January, 1965 showed a slight decline of public enthusiasm for the prospect of UN peacekeeping. The percentage of Canadians who thought the chances UN peacekeeping success was successful decreased from 47.7 percent to 47.2, the percentage of respondents who believed its chances were fair also decreased from 35.9 percent to 30.3 whereas the percentage of respondents who claimed the prospect of UN

peacekeeping was "poor" increased from 16.3 percent to 22.5 percent. Similarly, the percentage

of Canadians who believed it was important to make the UN a success also declined. On

September 1959, 80 percent of Canadians told Gallup it was "very important" to make the UN a

success whereas, in 1965, only 52 percent of English Canadians and 26 percent of French

Canadians favored strengthening the UN, with the majority of French Canadians (38 percent)

standing against strengthening the UN. The majority of labor leaders (72 percent), the informed

public (59 percent), and political leaders (59) exhibited strong support for strengthening the UN;

however, most (50 percent) of Canada's business leaders were against strengthening the UN (See

Table 5.2). It is, of course, difficult to make assertions based on these two survey results because

the samples taken are very small.

Table 5. 2 Canadian Public Opinion for/against strengthening the United Nations

N=1000	English Canadians	French Canadians	Informed Public	Business Leaders N=48	Labor Leaders N=48	Political Leaders N=48
Favors strengthening	52	26	59	31	72	55
Ambivalent	27	37	26	18	14	25
Against Strengthening	21	38	16	50	14	20

Source: Laulicht (1965, p. 158)

By the mid-1960s, Granatstein (1970) vividly summarized the growing skepticism among

Canada's public opinion, politicians, academicians, and the press towards peacekeeping as

follows:

> Unfortunately…Canadian opinion had turned against peacekeeping. No longer was it
> the fair-haired darling of the academics, the politicians, and the press. The professors
> had begun throwing darts as early as 1964, claiming that peacekeeping was a bar to
> armed forces training, too often restricted in its locale, and sometimes against
> Canadian and/or allied interests. Some left-wingers disliked the idea of freezing
> revolutionary situations, seeing in the interposition of third parties another
> reactionary device designed to prop up decadent and corrupt regimes. The press

began to worry about the terms on which Canadians might be committed to peacekeeping…and some columnists and writers began to urge against the employment of Canadians on any future operations in the Sinai or in Vietnam (1970, p. 416).

In response to the rising discontent towards peacekeeping, the Trudeau government attempted to incorporate public interest in its foreign policy by launching different initiatives. The Department of External Affairs responded to this growing intellectual backlash by setting up a branch of academic relations (Dobel, 1970). This section organized discussion forums and addressed concerns from academics from various universities. The Department also sent its diplomatic corps to study in Canadian universities and come back with a fresh outlook. It also arranged an exchange program to conduct a facilitated dialogue by admitting members from provincial governments, businesses, and university professors (Dobel, 1970).

The outcome of these consultations resulted in the publication of a new Defense White Paper on April 1969. Trudeau's Defense White Paper policy reduced peacekeeping from a top place to a last priority. This was because the Trudeau administration assumed "that the Canadian public would welcome retreat from peacekeeping" (Dobel, 1978, p. 418). Pearson criticized the demotion of peacekeeping to a last priority (Bothwell, 2007). Also, the Trudeau foreign policy circle was not supportive of this revision. In 1967, Allan Gotlieb warned Trudeau that Canadians would not tolerate a departure from peacekeeping by reiterating the inherent value of peacekeeping and its significance to national unity:

> To many Canadians, Canada has a moral obligation to help solve the problems of the world. Our culture, our character, our geographic location, our prosperity-all these and other factors have been thought to combine to endow us with a special role in helping to bring peace and sanity to the world.
>
> What makes the decline of this role particularly serious for Canada is that it played an important part in forging our unity in the post-war era. Like Danes who made good furniture, the French who made good wine, the Russians who made sputnik,

Canada, as a specially endowed middle power, as the reasonable man's country, as the broker or the skilled intermediary, made peace (Gotlieb, 2004, p.13)

Indeed, several polls conducted in the 1970s and the 1980s attested to Gotlieb's observation. Even when the majority (56 percent) of 2,088 Canadians surveyed by Gallup in November, 1973, acknowledged the impossibility of perpetual peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors, 65.6 percent said they would "approve" if the UN called upon Canada to get involved in a peacekeeping mission in the Middle East. After warning Canadians of a strong possibility of conflicts like Cyrus erupting all over the world, the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion (CIPO) asked 5,000 Canadians on May, 1974, if they were "in favor of committing Canadian troops and funds in a UN peacekeeping role in the future". 40 percent answered: "Yes, Canada should participate", another 16.5 percent answered "Yes, on a selected basis".

In light of the strong public support for international peacekeeping, Trudeau's diplomats realized the importance of reverting back to the Pearsonian approach of active peacekeeping. In 1975, both Mitchell Sharp (Leader of Government in the House of Commons] and Allan MacEachen, Canada's Secretary of External Affairs, declared that not only was Canada a leading international peacekeeper at that period, but that it would continue the Pearsonian legacy of activism in international peacekeeping (Dobel, 1978). Hence, as Munton and Keating (2001) noticed, "in the 1970s, internationalism came back, by popular demand" (2001, p. 521).

Canadian support for international peacekeeping continued through the late 1970s. When Gallup asked if they backed the idea for "the United Nations to establish a more effective peacekeeping force, and use it when necessary" on July, 1978, 87.2 percent of its respondent agreed with it. It was in light of this strong public support that the Canadian government consented to send 150 Canadian peacekeepers to Lebanon. When the United Nations requested Canada to engage in a peacekeeping mission in Namibia, the Department of External Affairs

expressed willingness to participate. However, officials from the Department of Defense were concerned with the fact that Canadian Forces were overstretched and underfunded. They were also not happy with the Department of External Affairs' tendency of making peacekeeping decisions without consulting other departments. Charles Nixon, Canada's Undersecretary of Defense, proposed the reactivation of the Joint National Defense and External Task Force on peacekeeping so that peacekeeping decision could be decentralized. The DND also argued the idea of dropping airborne regiment to stabilize the situation in Namibia was too risky. Finally, the DND was able to convince the Canadian government to abandon its initial interest in keeping the peace in Namibia.

Although Canada refused to participate in the Namibian peace operation, it was still active in many other peacekeeping missions across the globe. Not only were Canadians content with this situation, but they also expressed willingness to see their military work mainly as a peacekeeping force rather than serve as a regular military force (See Table 5.3). Even more than witnessing Canadian Forces providing domestic services like border patrol, or the provision of vocational and university education, the majority of Canadians wished to see them serve as a peacekeeping force. Between 1979 and 1982, Canadians' preference to see Canadian Forces mainly as peacekeeping force increased from 37.2 percent to 39.8 percent (See Table 5.3).

Table 5. 3 Canadians Preference on the future major role of Canadian forces

Year	Valid Sample Size	Military Force	Peace-keeping Force	Border Patrol Force	Vocational traditional institution	Opportunity for University Education	Other
1979	1966	24.6	37.2	9	19.2	-	4.3
1980	2156	26.8	37.7	12.4	10.4	4.7	1.6
1982	1998	29.2	39.8	15.1	8.3	2.9	0.9

Source: CORA (2015)

In conclusion, peacekeeping setbacks encountered in Cyprus, the Congo, and Egypt temporarily cooled down public enthusiasm towards peacekeeping. Canada's intellectuals also expressed skepticism over Canada's constant engagement in global conflicts. This rising discontent pushed the Trudeau administration to revise its peacekeeping policy and demote it from a first place to a third defense priority. It was, however, difficult for the Trudeau government to ignore peacekeeping calls because public support for peacekeeping recovered. By the early 1980s, the number of Canadians who wished to see their military as a peacekeeping force was larger than the number of Canadians who wanted their Forces serve as a conventional military force. So, by the time, Trudeau retired in 1984, Canada remained a leading peacekeeping nation.

When the Mulroney government took office in 1984, its foreign minister, Joe Clark took an initiative to consult public opinion to serve as a basis for Canada's foreign policy action. As he recalled:

> As a new [foreign] minister in a new government, I wanted some sense of the international issues that were of most interest to Canadians, so we commissioned a poll. To our surprise, we discovered that the priority foreign policy issues for Canadians in the fall of 1984 was the situation in five relatively small and conflict-plagued countries in Central America (Cost Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua). That outweighed concerns about nuclear conflict, the Cold War, the environment, the Middle East, apartheid and other issues (2013, p. 129-30)

Clark (2013) suggested that Canadian government follow public opinion in its foreign policy decision making process when he wrote: "given the clear public interest, our government looked at what we could do to be more effective in Central America" (2013, p. 130). Latin American countries already coalesced to keep the peace in these countries by forming the Contadora Support Group. Clark wrote: "foreign minister Sepulveda of Mexico asked Canada, with our peacekeeping credentials, to provide technical advice on the Control and Verification

Commission (CVC) to oversee the implementation of a future peace agreement" (2013, p. 131).

The Canadian government worked on a report for a year and submitted a set of recommendations to CVC in 1985. The report outlined a mandate, timeframe, and set of recommendations on how to keep the peace in the region, how to incorporate UN oversight, and how to engage the media.

Clark visited the region with an entourage composed of Canadian military officers experienced in peacekeeping to explain the implementation of the recommendations to political and military leaders in the region. Between 1982 and 1987, Canada increased its foreign aid to the region three fold. Following the signing of the Esquipullas II Agreement in 1987, Canada was also committed to participating in the United Nations Observer Group in Central America (1989-92) and the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (1991-95). This Central American case indicates that the Mulroney administration used public opinion as a guide of its foreign policy from the outset. It also shows that Canada's peacekeeping contribution diversified from direct contribution to indirect consultation owing to its accumulated experience in international peacekeeping.

Clark also opened up Canada's foreign policy decision-making process by including the Parliament and the citizenry in the process. In addition to commissioning polls, Clark also travelled across the country to listen to Canadians' perspectives on foreign policy. One of the public debates revolved around the question: "Do Canadians agree that we should encourage a return to the practice of UN sponsorship of peacekeeping operations, and devote additional Canadian resources to the enterprise despite the frustrations involved?" (Tessier & Fortmann, 2007, p.115). Following his tour, Clark set up a special joint committee composed of members of the two houses of Parliament (Wright, 2009). The committee reaffirmed the need to strengthen

Canada's direct contribution to peacekeeping and diversify its role sharing its expertise with other countries by suggesting:

- That the government consider making significantly greater use of the reserve forces for peacekeeping service, either individually or experimentally in small units;
- That Canada continue to make its peacekeeping expertise available to the armed forces of other countries;
- That the government continue to support training seminars on peacekeeping that are hosted at Canadian universities and to assist the International Peace Academy;
- That the best approach to invitations to become involved in peacekeeping operations is for Canada to apply its criteria on a case-by-case basis, while maintaining its preference for operations under the United Nations auspices (Tessier & Fortmann, 2007, p. 115).

The above points make it clear that, unlike the Trudeau administration which initially predicted the declining demand for Canadian peacekeepers in the 1970s, the Mulroney administration correctly foresaw the increasing need for Canadian peacekeepers in the late 1980s. Perhaps this is the result of its adherence to the strong public commitment rather than an accurate policy analysis of the ending of the Cold War period and its consequences. In any case, the report showed that not only was Canada prepared to contribute a greater number of peacekeeping forces by involving its reserve forces, but was also ready to share its peacekeeping expertise by providing training to other countries directly as well as through its Canadian Universities and the International Peace Academy. In addition to confirming Canada's willingness to engage in peacekeeping, the report also suggested that it must evaluate the pros and cons of each mission before deciding to participate.

Just like the polls results of the late 1970s and 1982 depicted earlier (Table 5.3), a series of surveys conducted by Decima between 1986 and 1989 reaffirmed Canadians' interest in seeing their military playing a greater role in international peacekeeping than anything else. The polls also suggest that perhaps Canadians might have anticipated the end of the Cold War and

their country's bigger involvement in post-Cold War international peacekeeping. It shows that Canadians were least fearful of Soviet aggression and were not alarmed by a possible threat to their sovereignty (See Figure 5.1). Having transcended these existential threats, therefore, Canadians became more optimistic over the productive utilization of their Forces in the international peacekeeping arena. Accordingly, the majority of Canadians who wished to see their troops primarily as peacekeeping forces was greater than the percentage of respondents who feared Soviet aggression or wished for their troops to defend their borders. At the end of the Cold War years, therefore, Canadians were ready to embark on a greater peacekeeping role in the world. Environics reconfirmed Canadian commitment to peacekeeping in 1989. When it asked whether Canada should be involved in promoting world peace, it got an overwhelming consensus of 98 percent. It then asked Canadians if they agreed with Canadian military engagement in UN peacekeeping missions and received a 92 percent approval.

Figure 5.1. What should be the top priority of the Canadian Armed Forces?
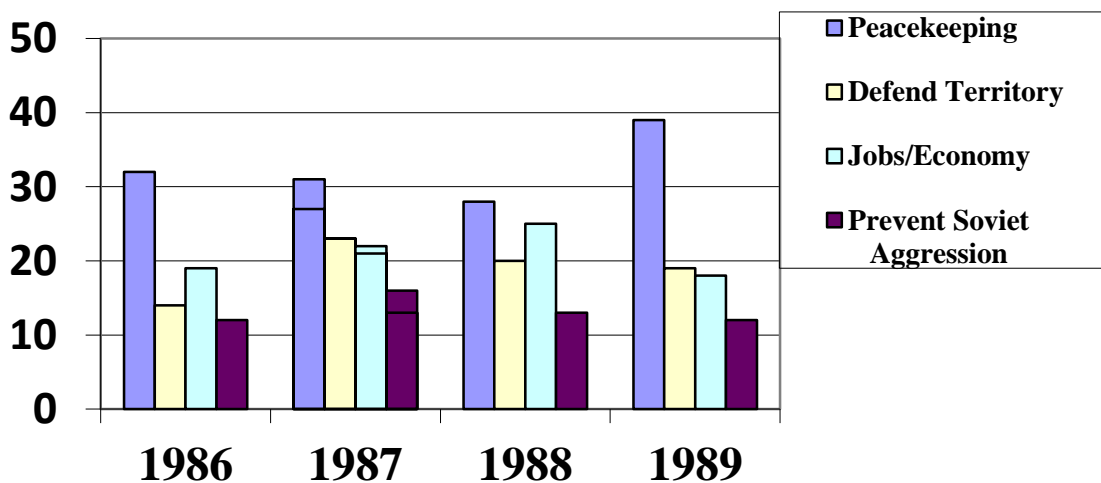

Figure 5. 1 What should be the top priority of the Canadian Armed Forces?

Source: Decima, 1986-89

In the 1990s, the end of Cold War increased the enthusiasm towards peacekeeping. The end of stalemate at the UN Security Council amplified the number of peacekeeping operations from 13 operations between 1948 and 1988 to 16 between 1991 and 1993 (Goldstein, 2011). The ability of television mass media to broadcast conflicts in marginalized parts of the globe to their audience also raised public awareness and pressure for quick action. The combination of these factors sparked a debate among world leaders on whether they should intervene in sovereign countries during humanitarian crises. They also questioned whether consent should be a prerequisite to peacekeeping intervention when states have actually collapsed as witnessed in Somalia and Yugoslavia.

Before declaring its stance on the nature of post-Cold War peacekeeping intervention, the Mulroney government took an initiative to gauge public opinion. For instance, on November, 1990, it launched the "Citizens Forum" by engaging 700,000 Canadians (including 300,000 high school students) to assess their perspective on peacekeeping whereby the final report concluded that there was a "substantial support for non-violence and for Canada's historical role as an international peacekeeper" (Maton, 1996b). Canadian leaders were also highly exposed to television broadcasts on global conflicts. During the Yugoslavia crisis, for instance, Barbara McDougall said: "television is every bit as valuable as the academic cables you get from diplomats. It does have an influence…" (Gowing, 1994, p.17).

The public support for peacekeeping, higher exposure to media, and international enthusiasm towards peacekeeping led the Mulroney government to advocate that the post-Cold War conflict environment required the international community to exercise an aggressive peacekeeping intervention. In events where human rights of ordinary citizens were at stake, Canada's minister of external affairs, Barbara McDougall, argued that the international

community should be justified to override state sovereignty. After joining the U.N mission in Croatia in the spring 1992, Canada allocated 1,200 additional troops to the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Yugoslavia, and promised another 750 troops to the UN peacekeeping mission in Somalia (UNOSOM) (Tessier & Fortmann, 2007).

Martin and Fortmann (1995) compiled the results of five surveys conducted by CROP (between December 1991 and October 1992), Decima (March 1993), Gallup (January 1994), Angus Reid (January 1994), and Louis Harris (February 1994) to show that, between 1991 and 1994 the ratio of Canadians who preferred to maintain or increase peacekeepers to those who wanted Canada to either decrease or eliminate its peacekeeping role declined (See Figure 5. 2). The Figure also depicts that while the percentage of Canadians who wished to maintain Canada's existing level of commitment increased, the proportion of the Canadians who wanted an even greater number of peacekeepers decreased substantially. Canada was a leading peacekeeping nation in the early 1990s. Moreover, the peace operations of the early 1990s were more dangerous (in case of former Yugoslavia) and sparked a scandal (in case of Somalia). In light of these situations, it is perhaps understandable if Canadians wanted their government to retain its current level of engagement rather than increase its commitment.
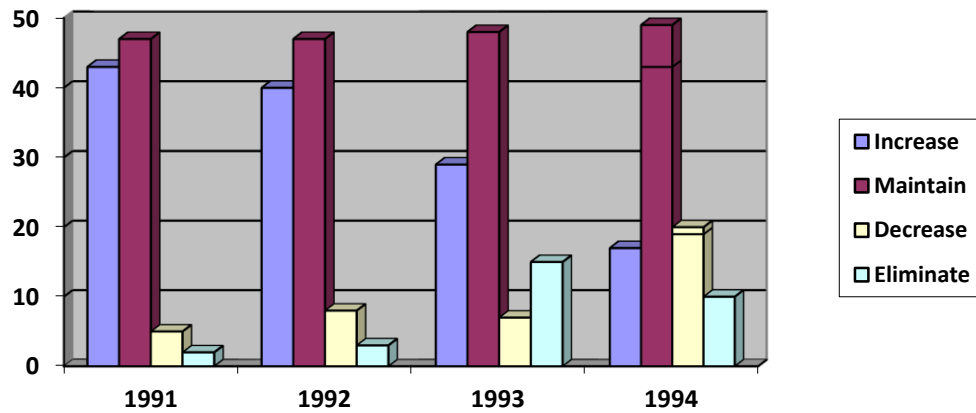
Figure 5. 2 Should Canada maintain or reduce its commitment to the United Nations Peacekeeping missions? (1991-94)

Source: Martin and Fortmann (1995, p. 393)

Public government divide: Peacekeeping after the Cold War

The growing fiscal deficit in the face of increasing peacekeeping commitment of the early 1990s forced the Canadian government to reconsider Canadian internationalism (Rioux & Hay, 1998). After the Liberals took office on October 1993, they initiated public consultations and parliamentary hearings to review Canada's defense and foreign policies. Just like the Mulroney's government a decade ago, the Liberals also launched a Special Joint Committee of the House of Commons and the Senate which began hearings on defense policy since the spring of 1994. In addition to commissioning several expert studies, the Committee on foreign policy also received 551 briefs and called forth 500 witnesses in 70 meetings (Leyton-Brown, 2002).

Unlike the unanimous voice witnessed during the Mulroney era a decade ago, the Committee set up during the Chrétien era was divided into two groups. The first group, known as Canada 21 Council, composed of previous government officials, senior officers, and academics, recommended that Canada should concentrate on collective security by training its army to

specialize on traditional peacekeeping while reducing its navy and air force to a bare minimum

(Sokolosky, 1995). Another group counteracted this proposal by arguing that Canada should

maintain the war fighting capability of its military due to an increasingly dangerous post-Cold

War environment. Finally, the Special Joint Committee voted in favor of the second group which

pledged for a stronger war-fighting force. Canada's Defense White Paper (DWP, 1994) reflected

this conclusion:

> …Canada cannot dispense with the maritime, land and air combat capabilities of
> modern armed forces. We must maintain a prudent military force…
>
> We must take account of the changing face of peacekeeping. The nature of these
> operations has changed considerably and now poses far more risks to our personnel
> (DWP, 1994, p. 3).
>
> In addition to the riskiness of post-Cold War peacekeeping, the White Paper also

mentioned "the financial difficulties facing the United Nations, and declining defense budgets in

most industrialized countries mean that the international community cannot intervene every time

these pressures reach a breaking point" (DWP, 1994, p.12). The foreign policy document of the

Liberals, published in 1995, was more interested in Canadian economic recovery. It coined the

"promotion of prosperity and employment at home by selling Canadian goods and services

abroad" as Canada's top foreign policy priority (Leyton-Brown, 2002, p. 69). Although it also

mentions global security as Canada's second priority, the policy never identifies peacekeeping as

part of this quest for global security. In fact, as a cost effective alternative to soliciting

peacekeeping forces, the Canadian government proposed establishing a permanent rapid UN

peacekeeping force made up of 5,000 troops (Outellet & Collenette, 1994).

Despite the Liberal government's retreat, Canadians continued to express their support

for international peacekeeping. Carriére, O'Reilly and Vengroff (2003, p. 2) compiled several

surveys conducted by Gallup and Angus Reid between 1994 and 1997 which demonstrated that

Canadians still had a strong commitment to peacekeeping. These polls indicated that 95 percent of Canadians believed that "working for peace" was either very important (75 percent) or somewhat important (20 percent). The polls also showed that 79 percent of the respondents believed that it was necessary for Canadian Forces to play an "international role in peacekeeping".

The selection of Lloyd Axworthy as Canada's Foreign Minister in 1996 radically shifted Canada's foreign policy orientation. Instead of focusing on the Atlantic region, Canada shifted to the Asia-Pacific region. Instead of pursuing the Pearsonian approach to peace and security, Canada prioritized international trade and the promotion of its values internationally. Instead of sticking to the principles of consent as a pillar of international peacekeeping, the Canadian government pushed for intervention in states that repress the human rights of their citizens which is a concept espoused by Axworthy as human security (Kirton, 2009). Chrétien occasionally swayed from this orientation instinctively as television broadcasts of refugees in Bosnia and Zaire (today's DRC) were too hard to ignore (Kirton, 1997). However, even after Canada secured a fiscal surplus on June 1997, the Canadian government pulled out of Haiti, thereby reducing Canada from a leading peacekeeping nation to 24th place in terms of personnel contribution to the UN peacekeeping.

While this downward spiral ensued, another survey by Environics between July and August 1998 affirmed that more than half of 1,485 Canadian respondents thought that it was either very important (57.2%) or somewhat important (34.3%) for Canada to participate in UN peacekeeping. When Chrétien cut down Canadian peacekeeping engagement, he didn't encounter any major opposition from other political parties because the Conservatives were dominated by right wing adherents who, in fact, wanted to see Canada further reduce its

international engagements and leaders of the New Democratic Party (NDP) were "hardly internationalist[s] in the classical sense of that word: on the contrary, the left also advocate[d] a Canadian withdrawal from a fully activist internationalist presence for Canada" (Nossal, 1998, p. 95).

It also seems that Canadians didn't resist the Liberal's consistent reduction of the number of Canadian peacekeepers. When CROP asked them "whether [they] think Canada should be more involved, less involved, or maintain its current level of involvement [in peacekeeping]", the majority (56 percent) said that Canada should maintain its existing level of engagement. A similar survey by CROP in 2002 also showed that 53 percent of its respondents wanted Canada to retain the same number of peacekeeping forces abroad where only 35.9 percent supported greater involvement. At that time, with 263 peacekeeping forces, Canada stood as the 31st largest contributor to UN peacekeeping forces. But it is difficult to infer that Canadians were aware of the ongoing reduction of Canadian peacekeepers. A survey of 1,055 Canadians conducted by Ipos-Reid, Dominion Institute, and the Globe and Mail, in 2003 supports the claim that Canadians barely knew the magnitude of Canada's peacekeeping engagement. They demonstrated that only 41 percent were able to correctly identify two peace operations that involved Canada since 1990.

While it is understandable that Canadians might find it difficult to follow the annual statistical trend of Canadian peacekeeping contribution, there is evidence showing that Canadians felt peacekeeping was no longer Canada's greatest contribution to the world. The survey results conducted by Environics between 2000 and 2012 asking Canadians to identify their country's greatest contribution to the world show that the percentage of Canadians who

identified peacekeeping had fallen from 36 percent in 2004 to 20 percent in 2012 (See Figure 5.3).
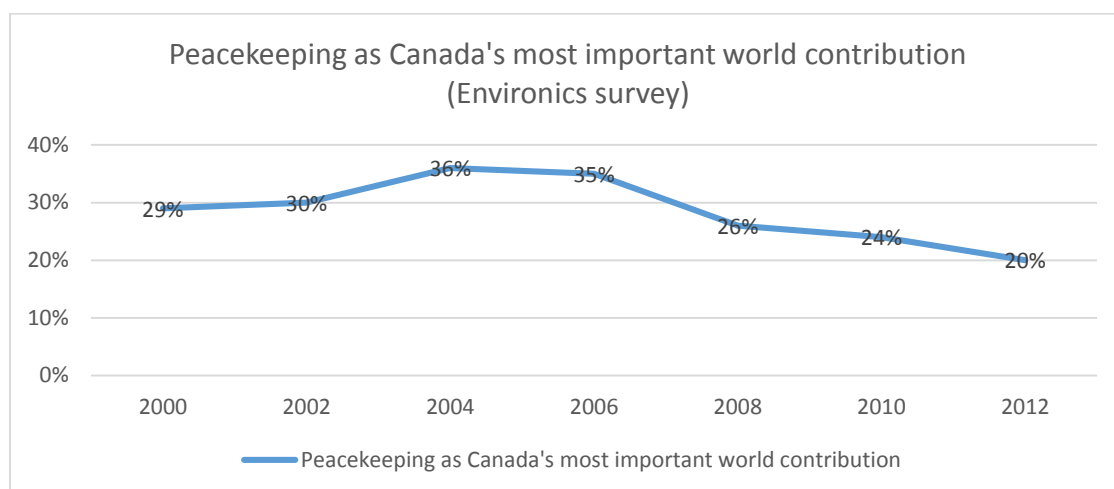
Figure 5. 3 Peacekeeping as Canada's most important world contribution

Source: Paris (2014, p. 17).

When Al Qaeda attacked the Twin Towers on September 11, 2001, the Canadian representative to NATO immediately proposed for an Article 5 attack on that very day. Public opinion polls conducted between September 17 and 20 showed that 73 percent of Canadian respondents expressed readiness to fight international terrorism regardless of the risk it posed to Canadian civilians (54 percent). The poll also showed that 74 percent of the respondents approved how the Chrétien government handled the issue (Kirton, 2007). On October 7, 2001, Chrétien declared Operation Apollo by sending war ships, Special Forces, and aircraft for transport and surveillance to the coalition of the willing fighting in Afghanistan. The war in Afghanistan would last for over a decade, involving 40,000 Canadian troops, claiming the lives of 158 soldiers, wounding over 1,800 soldiers, and costing $18 billion (G&M, 2014).

Although it was clear that the war on terror would be Canada's major military preoccupation in the 21st Century, Canadians never abandoned their interest in United Nations multidimensional peacekeeping. A survey conducted by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in 2002 indicated that Canadians were ready to see their troops play an active role in different aspects of multidimensional peacekeeping, including disaster relief, separating conflicting parties, and enforcing international law. The survey showed that 92 percent of Canadian respondents wanted their troops to serve in famine relief mission, 84 percent wanted them to participate in upholding international law, and 79 percent wished to see their troops bring peace in a civil war. By the time Chrétien left office in 2003, by providing 233 troops to the United Nations, Canada ranked as the 38th largest contributor to peacekeeping, just above Fiji (UN, 2015). Against this reality, a survey conducted by Environics on February 2004 showed that 67 percent of its 1,315 respondents thought it was very important for Canada to participate in UN peacekeeping operations. Ever since 1993, Canadians had wanted their government to engage in peace operations even if it entailed higher risk (See Figure 5.4).
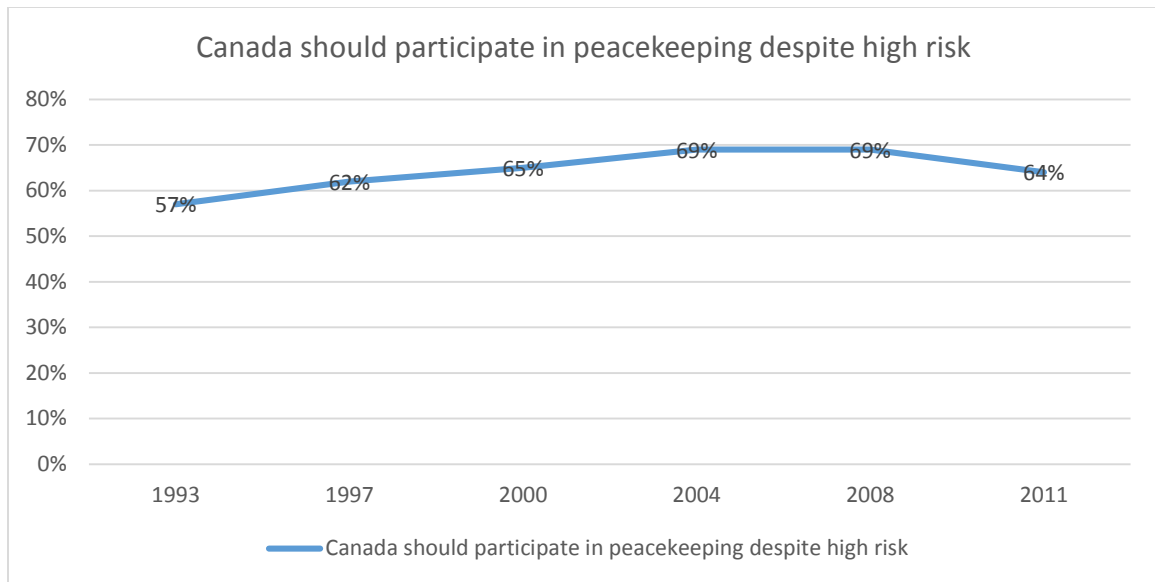
Figure 5. 4 Canada should participate in peacekeeping despite high risk

Source: Paris (2014, p.19)

The Paul Martin government didn't pay attention to public opinion on peacekeeping. Following the Darfur Crisis which erupted in 2003, Paul Martin's rhetoric failed to match his action. On February 2004, Martin declared Canada's willingness to help by saying: "we will do whatever is required, but we cannot simply sit by and watch what is happening in Darfur continue" (Nossal, 2005, p. 1024). But "when the UN called for donor commitments in August 2004, the minister of national defense, Bill Graham, indicated that Canada would not be contributing troops to the mission. Instead, the Canadian contribution would consist of $250,000 in flak jackets, and other gear to the African Union troops that were to be deployed to the Darfur" (Nossal, 2005, p. 1025).

In general, the Liberal governments since 1993 went contrary to public opinion by cutting down the number of Canadian peacekeepers at the United Nations. The justification they provided initially was the fiscal deficit encountered by Canada in the early 1990s. But when

Canada's economy recovered in the 1990s, the Canadian government believed that was safer and more efficient to utilize Canada's soft power. It attempted to restore Canadian internationalism by introducing new concepts such as "human security" and "responsibility to protect". By the mid-2000s, Canada was no longer a significant contributor to the UN peacekeeping forces.

When Harper became Prime Minister in 2006, he was not interested in paying at least lip service to international peacekeeping. Instead, he intended to redefine Canada's historical narrative by replacing its image as a peacekeeping nation with a new portrait of a warrior nation. During the 2005, campaign, Harper's strategist said: "we didn't have a competing narrative. What are the symbols people talk about when they talk about Canada? Health care. The Charter. Peacekeeping. The United Nations. The CBC. Almost every single example was a Liberal achievement or a Liberal policy…We didn't have any illusions about displacing the Liberal vision and the Liberal narrative of Canada" (Wells, 2013, p. 77). The Conservatives thus embraced the military, the RCMP, and other revered values such as hockey and lacrosse and curling as alternative avenues where they could erect their conservative narratives.

When he addressed the Parliament for the first time as head of government on April, 2006, Harper (2006) stressed Canada's need to be strong again by saying: "this was the hard lesson that this country learned in two world wars-we learned it before the United States-and it was driven home to us again with great force on 9/11". Accordingly, his government boosted Canada's military budget to a historic high level since World War II by raising spending from $14.8 billion per year in 2006 to $17.9 billion in 2012 (Smith, 2014). In the meantime, Harper ignored the United Nations by attending three out eight General Assembly meetings. In fact, Harper was in New York during the UN General Assembly meeting of 2012 to receive an award, but he didn't go to the meeting. During that ceremony, he criticized the UN by saying:

> We also want…governments to be good world citizens…that is, of course, not the same thing…as trying to count every dictator with a vote at the United Nations or just going along with every emerging international consensus, no matter how self-evidently wrong- headed (Clark, 2013, p. 85)

Today, Canada has 68,000 troops. Of these, 400 serve in missions abroad whereby 250 of them are engaged as part of multinational counterterrorism force in the Arabian Sea. Canadian peacekeepers constitute a little over 10 percent of these 400 deployed troops. As the Economist observed:

> Peacekeeping, once a Canadian forte, has withered under the Conservatives, who have sought to rebrand Canada as a warrior nation. Of the 400 troops deployed abroad, just over 50 are on UN missions, including the lone Canadian representative in Cyprus, where Canada has contributed to the peacekeeping force since 1964" (Economist, 2014).

Harper's drastic reduction of Canadian peacekeeping contribution stands in a sharp contrast with public opinion. When Ipsos Reid (2008) asked 3,114 Canadians to identify the most important symbol which defined Canada, peacekeeping stood as the fifth most important national symbol following the maple leaf, hockey, the Canadian flag, and the beaver. The DND commissioned the same organization to conduct a survey in 2009 and discovered that 46 percent of its respondents supported Canada's role as a peacekeeping nation. In 2010, Ipsos Reid again reported that 50 percent of its respondents wanted Canadian Force to play only a peacekeeping role in the world. Nanos also surveyed Canadians on October 2010 and found that 66 percent opposed Canada's future role in wars like Afghanistan with the majority (22.9 percent) of the 66 percent reasoning it has not solved anything.

Another survey made by Nanos of 1,002 Canadians for the Globe and Mail on October 2010 also indicates that Canadians wanted their troops to serve UN peacekeeping rather than play a combat role by participating in different alliances. The same survey also showed that Canadians were less interested in raising the military budget than they were in increasing the

budget for healthcare, education, and other productive endeavors. When the organization asked 1002 respondents to rate UN peacekeeping as a future priority for Canadian Armed Forces on October 2010, they ranked it 7.26 out 10 points (with 10 being the highest priority). This score Canadians gave to UN peacekeeping was higher than the score they gave to combat missions overseas (5.19), defense of the Arctic (6.22), NATO (6.12) or North American security cooperation with the US (6.76). And when Nanos asked Canadians to identify future Canadian government's budget priority, with a score of 6.62 out 10 military came last. Instead, Canadians wanted their government to allocate more budget for healthcare (8.63), education (8.43), jobs/economy (8.32), and the environment (7.88) and jobs/economy (8.32).

Despite the government's effort to redefine Canada as a warrior nation, Canadians perceived their nation primarily as a peacekeeping nation. In 2012, the Department of Defense commissioned Ekos to conduct a survey asking Canadians "what image or impression comes to mind when… [they] think of Canada's military…?" More than a quarter of the respondents (28 percent) identified peacekeeping the defining characteristics of Canada's armed forces, alongside "good work, good qualities in preforming job" whereas "pride, patriotism" stood at 13 percent, followed by "protecting people" (10 percent), "Afghanistan" (7 percent), and "war" (7 percent" respectively (Paris, 2014, p. 20).

Considering the fact that Harper's government retreated from peacekeeping against the strong public opposition, it is only fair to ask why the people are not voting them out of office. One of the reasons this is not happening is because peacekeeping is not a salient agenda in Canadian election platforms. As far as elections are concerned, it is not international political affairs which dominates elections in Canada. Rather, it is the performance in the social and economic arena which determines a government's longevity in power. The polls conducted by

Nanos and the Institute for Research and Public Policy (IRPP) in 2012 attest to this fact by

showing that social issues like health care, education, and the environment, and economic issues

like balancing the budget and creating jobs are more important for Canadians than international

affairs (See Figure 5.5).
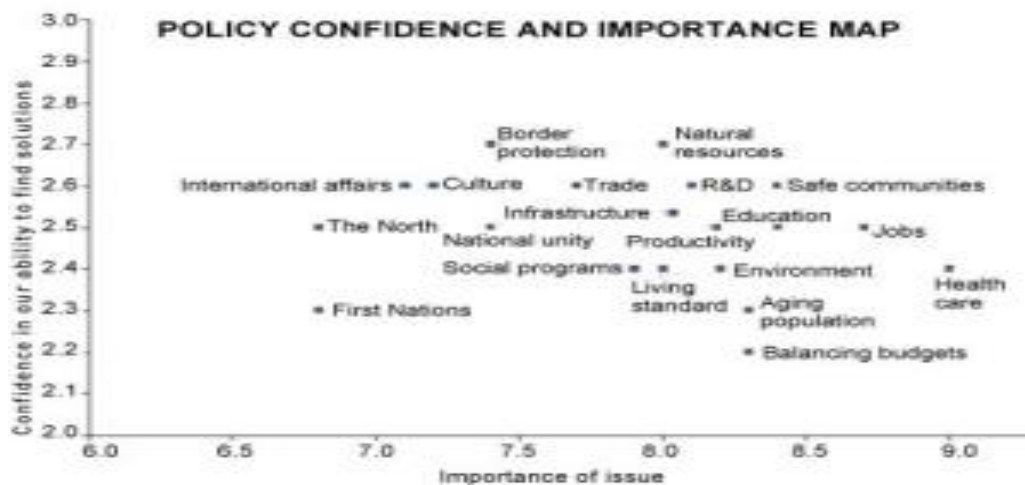
Figure 5. 5 Canadian public rating of different government policies

Even within the realm of international affairs, Ekos (2012) poll shows that Canadians (38

percent) were in favor of a government which secures their national economic advantage. The

global financial crisis has increased the popular interest in economic issues. When the recession

hit Canada in 2008, the government quickly implemented tight banking regulation which

lowered interest rates, increased cash flow, abandoned tax credits for home buyers, and

purchased mortgaged backed securities. In addition to raising its exports by 50 percent, the

Harper administration also created 1 million additional jobs after recession. By coming out of the

recession in just three quarters, Canada also set a record among G7 countries (Frum, 2013). The

economic performance of the Conservatives, particularly curbing unemployment helped them win a majority of seats in the 2011 federal election (Fairie, 2014).

But it is not just economic performance that has favored the Harper administration. It also appears that most Canadians are content with the Conservative management of different aspects of its contemporary foreign policy. A survey conducted by Abacus Data on 1075 Canadians from September 12 to 14, 2014 revealed that a plurality of Canadians were satisfied with how Harper handled Canada-US relations (43 percent), supported Ukraine (45 percent), opposed Russia's involvement in Ukraine (43 percent) and Putin's remarks on the conflict (41 percent), Canada's decision to send jet fighters to Iraq to help American efforts to defeat ISIS (52 percent), Canada's collaboration with other party leaders on foreign affairs (42 percent), and Canada's policy on the Israel-Palestine issue (36 percent). More than a quarter (28 percent) said that Mr. Harper would do a better job than his opponent, Justin Trudeau (23 percent) in handling Canada's foreign policy (Anderson & Coletto, 2014).

Clearly, the Liberal leader Justin Trudeau wants to restore Canada's lost status as a peacekeeping leader. However, Ibbitson (2014) argues that the international context which helped Canada emerge as a peacekeeping leader is no longer here. The emergence of China, India, and Brazil, post 9/11 war on terrorism, the failure of the Kyoto accord, the Arab Spring and its chaotic aftermath, the rise of violent international terrorist groups worldwide, and the belligerence of the Russian government have pushed Canada away from peacekeeping. In the context of this confrontation, Ibbitson (2014) believes that "Stephen Harper's foreign policy…at least fits with the world as it is".

If one weighs world events in terms of peril rather than possibilities, the Suez Crisis was more perilous than today. The Suez Crisis divided the Western Alliance and stalemated the UN

Security Council. Today, Western leaders and the world community stands united in the fight against violent extremism. Most of the conflicting parties involved during the Suez Crisis were Western powers having highly sophisticated military as well as nuclear weapons. Although today's extremists are also sophisticated, their capabilities are not comparable with the British, the French, and the Israelis on the 1950s. Mr. Pearson and Mr. St. Laurent resolved a situation that could have potentially led to a superpower confrontation. Besides, it is not just in the Middle East that conflicts are raging today. But there are also conflicts in poor and marginalized parts of the world where Canadians unique capabilities could make a big difference. For example, recently, the UN approved 12,000 peacekeepers to the Central African Republic, which is a poor and landlocked country of 4.6 million people. Canada could have made a big difference to this mission by sending a few transport crews or engineers to fix the rural roads which erode during the rainy season (Shephard, 2014). On his last speech before resigning his position as a Senator, General Romeo Dallaire expressed his frustration with the government's reluctance to translate principles into action:

> In recent years, however, things have changed. Today we have 43 peacekeepers deployed out of a possible 110,000 peacekeepers worldwide. Today we have to dance around the words "responsibility to protect" and the International Criminal Court, and even the term "child soldiers" to protect out of fear of having to actually may be turn our alleged principled foreign policy into principled action….
>
> Our troops are well trained, experienced and professional, not to mention bilingual, so they can make a significant contribution both in terms of direct operations and through the training of others in the mission-critical issues. We have, thanks to this government, the strategic lift to sustain forces in the middle of Africa where there are no ports. We have the logistic capability to provide the assets needed so they don't run out of ammunition, food or medical supplies. We have command and control capability that other nations do not have to bring force together and make it effective. We have the planning skills to do the contingency planning and to be able to use the forces effectively on the ground. We have the leadership in our general officer corps that has acquired the ability to work within that complexity and ambiguity over the years and is prepared to serve (Dallaire, 2014).

Having experienced the failure of peacekeeping on ground in Rwanda, Dallaire understood two things. His tragic experience in Rwanda taught him that paying lip service to human rights principles without backing them with principled action could cost millions of innocent lives. Besides expressing his frustration with Canadian leaders' rhetoric, however, Dallaire also saw a huge potential in Canada's recent quest of rebuilding its military since the war on terror. As Dallaire noted, not only has Canada built its hard power with unique capabilities like airlifting capabilities, but its military has gained significant experience in managing difficult and complex missions which could be productively utilized in peacekeeping missions. The Conservative stride towards militarism could perhaps benefit Canada's future endeavors in peacekeeping. But, so long as the Conservatives remain in power, it is hard to see a positive prospect for Canadian peacekeeping. This is because Conservatives see peacekeeping as a fundamentally Liberal value and Liberal achievement, not Canada's contribution to the world.

Overall, public opinion after 1993 didn't have an impact on Canadian government's decisions to send peacekeepers abroad. The Liberals and the Conservatives cut down Canada's peacekeeping contribution against a consistently strong public support for peacekeeping. But the justification offered by the Liberals and the Conservatives were radically different. The Liberals, especially under Chrétien, blamed Canada's retreat from peacekeeping on the budget deficit. Nonetheless, they continued to pay lip service to internationalism without allocating resources needed for action. Even after the economy recovered in the late 1990s, the Liberals pursued a rhetorical support for human security while evading practical engagement. By contrast, the Conservatives under Harper believed that Canada's peacekeeping role is part of a Liberal value that must be replaced with a new narrative stressing on Canada's military valor. Hence, the Harper administration deliberately decreased Canada's peacekeeping commitment and boosted

its combat role. Despite this, Canadians continue to vote for governments that don't support peacekeeping because of their productive economic management. The Canadian economy has rebound from major crises in the early 1990s and late 2000s because of effective strategy pursued by the Liberals and the Conservatives. Moreover, even if Canadians don't agree with their government's negative approach towards peacekeeping, they do support other aspect of their foreign policy such as Harper's decision to fight ISIS. Due to these factors, therefore, the impact of public opinion on Canadian government's decision to send peacekeepers since 1993 remains negligible.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that the role of public opinion in Canadian governments' decisions to send peacekeepers has had three manifestations. The first manifestation shows that public opinion has not triggered Canadian governments' earlier decisions to participate in peacekeeping, but played a supporting role. This was clear during King's, St. Laurent's and Diefenbaker's period where bureaucrats took a leading role in making those decisions while Canadians supported their actions. Hence, during that period, there was a convergence of values between Canadian leaders and the general public. The second manifestation indicates that public opinion has triggered governments' decisions to play an active role in peacekeeping operations. This was the case during the period of Trudeau's and Mulroney's leadership where policy makers made a deliberate attempt to gauge public opinion as a basis of changing (in Trudeau's case) and shaping (in Mulroney's case) their peacekeeping policy. Finally, the third manifestation reveals that period since the mid-1990s where the Chrétien, Martin, and Harper administrations reduced Canada's peacekeeping role to a historic low level despite a consistently strong public interest in seeing Canada go back to being a leading peacekeeping nation.

During the early period of Canadian peacekeeping (1948-1965), Canadian governments made peacekeeping decisions that were consistent with public opinion. However, their decision to participate in peacekeeping rested on their strategic calculation about Canada's role in world affairs. Canada's leaders believed they could play a meaningful role in world affairs by focusing on functions which they could perform more efficiently than great powers. The origin of this functionalist foreign policy can be traced back to the establishment of Canada as a federation in 1867. Since then, Canadian leaders sought to identify an area where they can outperform the great powers and claim a voice in major global decisions like the two World Wars, the League of Nations, and, later the United Nations. Canadian leaders saw peacekeeping as an important role middle powers could execute in the Post-War era. It was long after they exercised the functionalist principle that Canadian government begun to utilize public opinion polls. Fortunately, these polls showed that Canadians supported peacekeeping long before the United Nations practiced it. Despite initial conflict between King and St. Laurent on whether Canada should participate in Korea, all of Canadian governments until Pearson's (1968) welcomed the strong public support for their peacekeeping policies. Although they welcomed public support, there is little indication showing they made peacekeeping decisions based on public opinion.

By contrast, there is a strong evidence showing that both the Trudeau and Mulroney administrations (1968-1993) were influenced by public support for peacekeeping. When Trudeau became a prime minister in the late 1960s, Canadian peacekeeping encountered setbacks in Cyprus, Congo, and Egypt. In light of the strong resistance from Canadian intellectuals to peacekeeping, the government consulted with them. It then concluded that the global demand for Canadian peacekeeping would decline in the future and deprioritized peacekeeping to a third place in its Defense White Paper. But later on, it realized that Canadians held a strong

commitment to peacekeeping and reverted back to the Pearsonian approach to peacekeeping. As a result, Canada continued to lead peacekeeping in the early 1980s. Similarly, the Mulroney administration launched a series of initiatives to gauge public opinion as soon it took power in 1984. The government quickly realized that Canadians held a strong commitment to peacekeeping and boosted Canada's participation in the endeavor, thereby making Canada among the top ten peacekeeping contributors in the early 1990s.

But the nature of peacekeeping changed after the Cold War. Canada encountered battlegrounds in the former Yugoslavia and, in Somalia, where its troops were mired in a criminal scandal. Moreover, Canada's domestic political and economic atmosphere were clouded by the Quebec referendum and fiscal deficit. Canadian troops were also overstretched and underfunded. These conditions led the Chrétien administration to pull Canada out of peacekeeping role. But the administration didn't want to abandon internationalism which is why it introduced less efficient approach in the form of soft power by advocating noble concepts like human security and the responsibility to protect without backing its principled rhetoric with principled action. Although the Martin administration tried to build the military, it, nonetheless, followed a similar approach in regards to peacekeeping.

When the Harper administration took power, however, Canada exited peacekeeping in the earnest sense. The Harper government saw peacekeeping as a Liberal myth and legacy that Conservatives should overthrow and replace with militarism. In addition to Canada's war in Afghanistan following 9/11, Harper also opposed Chrétien's decision not to engage Canada in the Iraq war. When he became a Prime Minister in 2006, therefore, the Harper government reduced Canadian peacekeeping to a historic low level while boosting the military budget and glorifying Canada's heroism of the past and present.

Meanwhile, several polls showed that Canadians have repeatedly expressed their desire to reinstate Canada as a peacekeeping nation. Yet, they are also satisfied with Harper's economic performance after the global financial crisis. They also support his recent foreign policies in Middle East, in Ukraine, and the fight against ISIS. For this reason, it seems Canadian peacekeeping will continue to remain insignificant. But the strengthening of Canadian military for the war effort has equipped it with much needed unique capabilities which could be translated into productive use in peace operations in marginalized parts of the world. In order for this to happen, however, either the Conservative government needs to adjust its existing paradigm or Canadians need to find enough reason (besides peacekeeping neglect) to vote it out of the office. But as far as the relation between public opinion and peacekeeping decision goes, the public-government divide has persisted from the early 1990s to date while the potential for Canada to become a leader in peacekeeping continues to strengthen. So the role of public opinion in Canadian government's peacekeeping decision since the early 1990s remains very weak.

CHAPTER 6: LEADERSHIP TRAITS AND PEACEKEEPING DECISIONS: THE CASE OF CANADIAN PRIME MINISTERS

This chapter tests the hypothesis that Canadian Prime Ministers whose personality traits dispose them towards peaceful foreign policy (PFP) are more committed to peacekeeping than leaders exhibiting a disposition towards warlike foreign policy. It seeks to test the hypothesis by profiling four Canadian Prime Ministers (Trudeau, Mulroney, Chrétien, and Harper) selected on the basis of their long tenure in office and the availability of sufficient interview transcript (5000 words or more) to meet the validity criteria stipulated by Hermann (2006). This study collected more than 35,000 word interview transcripts given by the Prime Ministers from Canadian and U.S media sources available in the Internet.

This chapter is divided into five sections. The first section reports the LTA scores of the four Prime Ministers to determine whether they are disposed towards PFP or WFP. The second section will examine qualitative data available on the foreign disposition of the four Prime Minister to determine whether there is sufficient evidence to support the quantitative results reported in section one. By comparing quantitative results (LTA scores) with qualitative evidence, triangulation "reduces the risk of chance associations and of systematic biases due to a specific method and allows a better assessment of the generality of the explanations that one develops" (Maxwell, 2008, p. 245). The third section explores the relative commitment of each Prime Minister to international peacekeeping. This step furnishes a reference ground for the fourth section which tests the hypothesis on whether Prime Ministers reflecting PFP traits are more committed to peacekeeping than their counterparts. Finally, the fifth section will explore the implication of the study from theoretical and policy vantage points.

The goal of this chapter is to determine whether leaders disposed toward peaceful foreign policies show greater commitment to peacekeeping. It will test this hypothesis by following five step procedures which include ranking four selected Canadian Prime Ministers (Trudeau, Mulroney, Chrétien, and Harper) on whether they reflect the traits associated with PFP orientation, introducing qualitative evidence to support the results, and reviewing the peacekeeping legacy of the four Prime Ministers to determine whether leaders exhibiting peaceful foreign policy disposition also showed a greater commitment to peacekeeping than their counterparts.

Personality disposition toward peaceful foreign policy: LTA score results

This section reports the Leadership Trait Assessment (LTA) scores of four Canadian Prime Ministers (Trudeau, Mulroney, Chrétien, and Harper), to determine whether they constitute personal attributes reflecting peaceful foreign policies (PFP) in comparison with the average LTA scores of 284 world leaders on five personality attributes, namely: low in-group bias, low need for power, high conceptual complexity, low task orientation, and low distrust for others. If a leader meets the PFP criteria, his score will be shaded in green but if he doesn't, his score will be shaded in red (See Table 6.1). So, the more the number of green colors a Prime Minister gets, the more he reflects attributes associated with peaceful foreign policy.

The LTA results in Table 6.1 showed that the two Liberal leaders (Trudeau and Chrétien) met three out the five PFP attributes. By contrast, none of the two Conservative leaders (Mulroney and Harper) met any of the five PFP attributes. None of the Prime Ministers met all of the five attributes associated with PFP. It appears that none of the Prime Ministers got below average scores on distrust toward others when compared with world leaders (N=284, Mn=.13,

SD=.13). In fact, Trudeau earned the highest score in distrust of others (Mn=.24) relative to the three Canadian Prime Ministers profiled in this study, followed by Harper (Mn=.17), and Mulroney and Chrétien (Mn=.14).

The results in Table 6.1 show that the two Liberal leaders (Trudeau and Chrétien) exhibited higher disposition towards PFP than their Conservative counterparts (Mulroney and Harper). Trudeau emerged as the most PFP disposed leader by meeting four out of five criteria listed under PFP, followed by Chrétien who met three out the five traits. Mulroney turned out to be least disposed towards PFP by meeting only one criteria (In-group bias) while Harper came in a third place for meeting two of the five indicators of PFP disposed leaders.

Trudeau exhibited a strong PFP disposition by meeting three out of the five PFP attributes. He reflected a low task orientation (Mn=.53) in comparison with 284 world leaders (Mn=.63, SD=.06) which indicates that he was more inclined towards relationship orientation. On the other hand, Trudeau scored an above average cognitive complexity score (Mn=.76) compared with other world leaders (N=284, Mn=.59, SD=.06) which implies that Trudeau tended to perceive reality as grey (complex) rather than as black and white (simplified contradiction). Further, Trudeau scored below average in need for power (Mn=.20) compared with other world leaders (N=284, Mn=.35, SD=.05) which shows that Trudeau was not inclined to dominate others.

So, how can one interpret the results discussed above? Surely, the LTA results indicate that Trudeau was the most PFP disposed Prime Minister. But they also show that Trudeau was not naively altruistic. Instead, they indicate that Trudeau perceived the world the world as a complicated (high cognitive complexity, Mn=.76) and a dangerous (high distrust of others,

Mn=.24) place. However, the results also show that Trudeau was not interested in dominating others (low need for power, Mn=. 20). His low task orientation (Mn=.53) implies that Trudeau would hesitate to take measures that would compromise the harmony within a group even if he believed that taking that measure would help that group meet its goal. In sum, these three attributes render Trudeau as being disposed towards peaceful foreign policy (PFP). And if the hypothesis is correct, Trudeau would demonstrate the greatest commitment to international peacekeeping that other the three Canadian Prime Ministers profiled in this study.

By contrast, if the hypothesis is right, one would expect Mulroney to exhibit the lowest commitment to international peacekeeping because he met none of the five attributes associated which a PFP disposed leader. Just like Trudeau, Mulroney had an above average score in need for power (Mn=.32) compared with world leaders (N=284, Mn=.26, SD=.05). He also got the highest score in task orientation (Mn=.70) alongside Harper. Further, Mulroney didn't meet the PFP criteria with regard to conceptual complexity because his score was identical with the average score for world leaders (N=284, Mn=.59, SD=.06).

So, what kind of leader was Mulroney? Mulroney was ready to promote Canada's interest even if it might compromise other countries' interest (low in group bias, Mn=.10). He was also skeptical of others (low distrust of others, Mn=.14). On the other hand, Mulroney's grasp of complexity of issues compared to world leaders was average (Mn=.59). Yet, he exhibited a strong interest to influence others (high need for power, Mn=.32) and push his group members towards achieving a task at any cost (high task orientation, Mn=.70). These attributes render Mulroney as the least PFP disposed Prime Minister. So, in order for the hypothesis to be right, Mulroney would demonstrate the least commitment to international peacekeeping.

Chrétien demonstrated a significant disposition towards PFP by meeting three out of the

PFP criteria. This was because his task orientation score was less than the average score for

world leaders (Mn=.67). Compared with his three Canadian counterparts, Chrétien also scored

the lowest in-group bias (Mn=.05) and need for power (Mn=.19) attributes while earning the

highest score (together with Trudeau) in cognitive complexity (Mn=.76). The overall LTA scores

indicate that Chrétien knew the world was both complex (high cognitive complexity, Mn=.76)

and dangerous place (high distrust of others, Mn=.14) where he should play a part in fixing

problems (high task orientation Mn=.14) in a manner that accommodated others (low in-group

bias, Mn=.05) while avoiding the spotlight (low need for power, Mn=.19). Hence, if the

hypothesis is to remain feasible, Chrétien's peacekeeping commitment would be greater than

Mulroney and Harper.

Just like Mulroney, Harper did not satisfy any of the five attributes associated with PFP

disposition. When compared with 284 world leaders, Harper's in-group bias (Mn.12), need for

power (Mn=.22), cognitive complexity (Mn=.58) scores were average. But when compared with

the three Canadian Prime Ministers, Harper had the highest in-group bias and the lowest

cognitive complexity scores. He also demonstrated the highest task orientation (Mn=. 70) among

his Canadian counterparts.

When compared with the three Prime Ministers, Harper perceived the world as a

dangerous place (Mn=.17) comprised of opposite forces (cognitive complexity, Mn=.58). His

high task orientation (Mn=.70), on the other hand, indicates his willingness to push his group

achieve its goal at the expense of group harmony. However, Harper had little interest in

dominating others (low need for power, Mn=.22) or in promoting Canada's interest at the

expense of other countries (low in-group bias, Mn=.12). So, for the hypothesis to work out, Harper, just like Mulroney, is expected to demonstrate the least commitment to peacekeeping than Trudeau and Chrétien.

Table 6. 1 LTA scores of Canadian Prime Ministers disposition towards PFP

Leaders	In-Group Bias	Need for Power	Conceptual Complexity	Task Orientation	Distrust of Others
World Leaders (N=284)	Mn = .15 SD = .05	Mn = .26 SD = .05	Mn = .59 SD = .06	Mn=.63 SD=.06	Mn =.13 SD=.06
Pierre Trudeau	Mn = .10	Mn = .20	Mn = .76	Mn=.53	Mn=.24
Brian Mulroney	Mn = .10	Mn = .32	Mn = .59	Mn=.70	Mn=.14
Jean Chrétien	Mn = .05	Mn = .19	Mn = .76	Mn=.67	Mn=.14
Stephen Harper	Mn = .12	Mn = .22	Mn = .58	Mn= .70	Mn=.17

To conclude, this section measured the PFP disposition of four Canadian Prime Minister using Hermann's five LTA attributes. It ranked them on the number of attributes they met in the PFP criteria. Accordingly, the two Liberal leaders, i.e., Trudeau and Chrétien emerged as the most PFP disposed leaders for meeting three out the five PFP attributes. By contrast, the two Conservative leaders, namely; Mulroney and Harper were the least PFP disposed leaders for failing to meet any of the five attributes associated with PFP disposition. Hence, for the hypothesis to work, one would expect the two Liberal leaders to demonstrate a greater commitment to peacekeeping than their Conservative counterparts.

Foreign Policy Disposition of Canadian Prime Ministers: Qualitative evidence

This section looks for evidence supporting the LTA results reported in the previous section ranking Canadian Prime Ministers according to their PFP disposition. It argues that Trudeau exercised a peaceful foreign policy intended to reconcile the communist nations with their capitalist counterparts while calling for cooperation among industrialized nations with poor countries. Similarly, Chrétien tried to prevent Canada from engaging in conflicts and cut down its military budget. Mulroney, by contrast, believed in a strong military and personal diplomacy. But he was also open to public criticism which ultimately led increase Canada's peacekeeping operations. Harper, on the other hand, boosted Canada's military budget and readily set Canadian Forces in major military operations conducted by NATO after 9/11.

Trudeau's foreign policy disposition

Trudeau (1993) described his intention to pursue peaceful foreign policy. He wrote: "I am for peace before I entered politics and I'm not going to wait until I'm out of office before speaking out and trying to get things changed" (1993, p. 335-36). Trudeau embraced an idealistic foreign policy and rejected realism. He believed that Canada's foreign policy should be the projection of its domestic policy which he thought should be based on a just society. Trudeau was convinced that Canada was incapable of projecting its influence using force because of its middle power status which is why he cut down Canada's military budget and made it the first nuclear free country in the world. When he heard Pearson announced Canada's nuclear program, Trudeau postponed his decision to join the Liberal Party because he was against nuclear weapons. He pointed out that Canada would have a greater influence by projecting its ideals of a just society which is why he took an initiative to start a dialogue to end the Cold War tensions

between the communist and capitalist nations. Trudeau attested his disposition towards peaceful

foreign policy in his memoirs:

> Overall, I think it's fair to say that my approach to international relations was really based on my approach to the Canadian community. The community of man should be treated in the same way you would treat your community of brothers of fellow citizens. It was an idealistic approach as opposed to realpolitik approach. I felt it was the duty of a middle power like Canada, which could not sway the world with the force of its armies, to at least try to sway the world with the force of its ideals. I wanted to run Canada by applying the principles of justice and equality, and I wanted our foreign policy to reflect similar values (Trudeau, 1993, p.224).

There are several examples which show that Trudeau had a peaceful foreign policy

disposition. In the 1960s, the Diefenbaker government bought weapon system like F-104

Starfighters, BOMARC B and Honest John Missile. In order to be functional, these weapons

needed nuclear warheads. When Trudeau took office, he phased out the BOMARC and Honest

John Missiles while replacing Canada's Starfighter's armaments with conventional armaments.

Trudeau replaced Canada's Voodoo CF-101 interceptors with F-18 in the early 1970s and made

Canada a nuclear weapon free country (Broomke & Nossal, 1983/84). He also proceeded to cut

Canada's Forces by 20 percent to 80,000 and fixed the defense budget at $1.8 billion, thereby

reducing Canada's NATO commitment by 50 percent.

Besides curbing Canada's military posture, Trudeau also tried to reconcile the communist

powers with capitalist power and advocated cooperation among rich and poor countries. Despite

US resistance, Trudeau visited the communist regime in Cuba. He also signed the "Protocol on

Consultations" with the Soviet Union (Granatstein, 2011). Trudeau also pressure G7 members to

increase development aid by forming the North-South dialogue while establishing the Canadian

Development Cooperation at home (Kirton, 1985; Trudeau, 1993). During his final years in

office, Trudeau launched the "peace initiative". Reikhoff and Singler (1985) stated the objectives

of the peace initiative as follows:

- to establish a forum where the five nuclear powers could negotiate global limits of their nuclear weapons;
- to strengthen the international nonproliferation regime;
- to help create a balance of conventional forces in Europe by providing a fresh impetus to the stalled mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR) negotiations at Vienna and by commencing the Stockholm Conference on European Security and Disarmament at a high level of political representation; and
- to help suffocate the strategic arms race by an international ban on the testing and deployment of high-altitude anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons, by restricting mobile international ballistic missiles (ICBMs) to agreed zones in order to aid verification, and by establishing a code of conduct to assist the verification of new weapons systems (Riekhoff & Singler, 1985, p. 59).

Before Canada launched the peace initiative in 1983, no major Western country attempted to initiate a dialogue between East and West. In the following year, however, the US and Soviet leaders began to believe that dialogue could lead to a better world. Trudeau was convinced that Canada's initiative inspired the two superpowers to coordinate in ending the Cold War. He wrote:

> The fact remains that in the fall of 1983 no major Western power except Canada had any peace initiative under way, and by the fall of 1984 there were many new ideas in the air. We aimed far and high, but we did not miss the mark (Trudeau, 1993, p.340).

During the end of his tenure in office, Trudeau was satisfied with Canada's pursuit of peaceful foreign policy. He noted that Canada never betrayed its friends and listened to its adversaries with an open mind. By doing so, Trudeau was convinced that Canada has done its best in offsetting confrontation between the two superpowers. Trudeau summarized his foreign policy orientation in a House of Commons speech that he gave on February, 1983:

> …a fitting epitaph not only to the peace mission but also more generally to the whole of our foreign policy from 1968 to 1984: "Let it be said of Canada and of Canadians that we saw the crisis; that we did act; that we took risks; that we were loyal to our friends and open with our adversaries; that we have lived up to our ideals; and that we have done what we could to lift the shadows of war" (Trudeau, 1993, p.341).

In conclusion, Trudeau's world view as well as his actions demonstrate that he was disposed towards peaceful foreign policy. Trudeau postponed his decision to join the Liberal Party due to Pearson's initial stance to preserve Canada's nuclear weapons. After he took office, Trudeau adopted an idealist foreign policy based on justice and equality while rejecting realism. He implemented his philosophy in practice by making Canada the first nuclear free country by phasing out Canada's nuclear weapon system. Trudeau also pressured G7 members to increase development aid while establishing Canadian Development Cooperation at home. He also visited Cuba and signed a protocol of understanding with the Soviets. Trudeau also pioneered the peace initiative between East and West which inspired the beginning of a dialogue between the two superpowers that led to the ending of the Cold War. All of these factors show that the LTA scores which portrayed Trudeau as a PFP disposed leader were correct.

Mulroney's foreign policy disposition

There is ample evidence to suggest that Brian Mulroney pursued a confrontational foreign policy. This disposition is apparent in his assertive personal interaction with world leaders, in his effort of militarizing the Canadian Forces, and in his assumption of an independent (sometimes lonely) stance on international issues. Mulroney's strong personal friendship with President Reagan and Prime Minister Thatcher is often misconstrued as subordinate submission when, in fact, he confronted them to secure Canada's national interest (Nossal & Michaud, 2007). Mulroney also reversed Trudeau's defense policy by pursing an assertive policy of securing Canada's sovereignty in the Oceans by strengthening the navy. Mulroney never hesitated to pressure world leaders to impose sanctions on the apartheid regime of South Africa and openly condemned the Chinese government for suppressing the student

protest in Tiananmen Square by force. In short, Mulroney confronted anyone (friend or foe) whom he thought had jeopardized either Canada's domestic interest or its universal values.

Mulroney regretted the fact that the media portrayed him as a submissive leader when he really was a tough Prime Minister because he maintained close friendship with the leaders of the United States and the United Kingdom. If they knew how he actually dealt with foreign leaders, he wrote: "they would be astonished at what I actually say and do. My only interest is the advancement of Canada's interest" (Mulroney, 2007, p. 498). This discomfort shows that Mulroney believed a leader should be tough where he believed that "unbridled, stubborn ambition is the currency of political leaders"-perhaps showing his above average need for power (Mn=.32) (2007, p.194). The following quote captures how Mulroney could be combative whenever he deems Canada's interest was undermined.

> I forcefully walked the vice-president [Bush Sr.] through our concerns. "Acid rain: I don't think the president [Reagan] understands it's the litmus test. Free trade: [US negotiator] Murphy has displayed persistent insensitivity. Arctic sovereignty: I'd like to remind you we have *two* neighbors and I'm talking to one of them. We've got to have a movement. These are grave issues that are getting worse. Unless the United States comes through, you'll never have a more friendly prime minister for decades-and beyond" (Mulroney, 2007, p.491-92).

In addition to personal assertiveness which he endorsed, Mulroney's defense policy also reflected warlike tendency by reminding Canadians that "the world is not always benign or predictable as we would wish, [and] that the specter, if not the reality, of violence is ever-present and that those who do not look to their military forces can become the victims of the forces of others" (CDP, 1987, p.96). Based on this warlike assessment, his government pledged to reverse the Liberal governments' neglect of the military and "create a modern navy capable of operating in the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Arctic [and to]…bolster [Canada's]…capability for surveillance and defense of Canadian territory" (CDP, 1987, p.89).

But most of his proposals were later cancelled due to unfavorable domestic and

international circumstances rather than his own change of mindset. For example, Mulroney

cancelled his decision of purchasing 12 nuclear submarines (SSN) costing $10 billion because of

strong public opposition and the subsequent decline of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s (Byers

& Webb, 2013). It was not just the fear of Soviet aggression that induced Mulroney to strengthen

Canada's military but Mulroney was also alarmed by a possible US or other European nations'

claim over Canada's claims in the Arctic, the Pacific, and the Atlantic oceans (Lajuenesse,

2008). Mulroney was also drawn to cooperation with US over building space based anti-ballistic

defense system but he later withdrew from the arrangement because of negative public opinion,

weak balance sheet, and the realization that the US didn't take the project seriously (Mulroney,

2007).

In addition to securing Canada's interest via building a strong military, Mulroney also

confronted other countries whom he judged as promoting antithetical policies to Canada's

universal values of human rights and good governance. He strongly criticized the fact that the US

and Britain appeased the apartheid regime in South Africa by avoiding sanctions against it and

supported Ukraine's independence from the Soviet Union while urging the international

community at the United Nations to intervene in the civil wars and humanitarian crises of

Yugoslavia and Somalia respectively. He also led Canada in the US led Desert Storm Operation

to expel Saddam Hussein from Kuwait in 1991. Mulroney (2007) expressed pride in pursuing an

assertive foreign policy by saying:

> The government I had the privilege of leading never wavered when it came to
> placing the cause of human rights and social justice at the top of the agenda in both
> domestic and foreign policy. I am proud of this legacy, and look back on our
> accomplishments with a great deal of satisfaction (Mulroney, 2007, p.424)

All in all, Mulroney was disposed to WFP. When he took office, Mulroney sought to equip the Canadian military to defend its claims in the Oceans against other countries. He ended up abandoning this project because of negative public opinion and a weak balance sheet. Mulroney also coalesced with the US to build a joint airspace defense program that he stopped because the US didn't demonstrate strong commitment. Although Mulroney's defense projects didn't come to fruition, he nonetheless pursued an assertive foreign policy where he confronted other countries, including members of the UN Security Council, whenever he believed they transgressed universal principles of human right. He urged the US and UK to step up and impose sanction on South Africa, he supported Ukraine's independence against Russia, criticized the Chinese government for suppressing university student's protest by force, pleaded the international community to intervene in Yugoslavia and Somalia, and fought in the Desert Storm to reverse Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. These actions show that Mulroney was indeed disposed towards WFP. But this is not to imply that Mulroney was a war monger or pursued a destructive or provocative foreign policy. Instead, it is to stress the fact that Mulroney exhibited a willingness to use force or pursue an assertive diplomacy to protect or project Canada's interests and values.

Chrétien's foreign policy disposition

Chrétien was disposed towards PFP. This disposition is reflected in his rhetorical support for internationalism and his cutting down of Canada's military budget. Unlike Trudeau and Mulroney, however, Chrétien didn't pursue grand visions which he considered as unnecessary and undoable. Instead, Chrétien (2007) stressed on projecting his values of "defending the underdog" (2007, p.44). He noted:

> The basic problems of government almost always come down to questions of money.
> You can have all the dazzling visions and bright ideas you want, but they are next to

finding enough money to do what you want, establishing proper priorities, and exercising sound judgment in pursuit of a better society. As a result, every leader ends up confronting the same complex problems and unpredictable crises that make visions virtually impossible to realize or sustain (Chrétien, 2007, p. 43-44).

The foreign policy of the Chrétien administration was strongly influenced by the economy. As Cohen (2003) put it "to read that White Paper, which still remains the basis of Canada's foreign policy, is to see the world in starkly economic terms" (2003, p. 83) When he took office in 1993, the Canadian economy was mired in a budget deficit. So, his top priority was reducing the deficit to three percent of the Gross Domestic Product in three years. This priority affected his foreign policy in at least three ways (Keating, 2006). First, Chrétien focused on boosting Canada's export by opening up new market in Asia by forming up and leading a crew of provincial premiers and business leaders called Team Canada to make trade and investment deals. Second, while setting up his first cabinet, he assigned MacLaren who was a strong proponent of free trade and believed that "foreign policy is a trade policy" but didn't give Axworthy, who was an ardent internationalist, the foreign minister position until the economy recovered in the late 1990s (Cohen, 2003, p. 116). Third, while giving rhetorical support to internationalism, Chrétien failed to provide the means by cutting Canada's foreign aid, diplomatic corps, and the military budget in the name of reducing the deficit. For example, Chrétien justified his decision to cut the military budget as follows:

> During the period of high deficits and major cutbacks, it was hard as a matter of principles, politics, and the heart to buy new equipment for the military while reducing assistance to the poor, and the old. Nor was it clear that wars of the future would require the same equipment as the wars of the past. If a rogue nation chose to drop nuclear missile on New York, if a stateless terrorist cell chose to blow up the Parliament Buildings, or if the United States chose to invade Canada, a few dozen more tanks or jets fighters wouldn't make much difference (2007,p.303).

During the Chrétien era, Canada lacked the resources affect change outward. Canada's international role was reduced to a rhetorical level. The Chrétien administration strongly

advocated the human security agenda where it called for countries assume the responsibility of

protecting civilians oppressed by other governments; however, it didn't treat the governments

having a poor human rights record in the same way. While openly criticizing the Nigerian

government for passing a death sentence on a human rights activist, it avoided criticizing the

Chinese government for its stringent human rights record. This was because Chrétien didn't want

to jeopardize the trade relations and didn't believe Canada had the clout to influence Chinese

leaders. Chrétien said:

> I'm the Prime Minister of a country of twenty million people. He's [Jiang Zemin] is
> the President of a country with 1.2 billion. I'm not allowed to tell the Premier of
> Saskatchewan or Quebec what to do. Am I supposed to tell the President of China
> what to do? (Burton, p.41)

Although Chrétien participated in numerous international summits, he seldom advocated

a new agenda. Most of Canada's important global initiatives during his tenure including the

international protocol to ban land mines and the establishment of the International Criminal

Court were attributable to his second foreign minister, Lloyd Axworthy. Chrétien didn't back

these diplomatic initiatives with tangible resources. Even after the Canadian economy recovered

in the late 1990s, the Chrétien administration didn't increase the resources needed to sponsor

Canadian internationalism.

But when terrorists attacked the United States on September 11, 2001, Chrétien readily

joined the US led war in Afghanistan. On the other hand, when the US decided to fight Iraq

without UN endorsement, Chrétien (2007) refused to get involved in the war but told President

Bush that "Canada is willing to donate more than its fair share to help the people of Iraq rebuild

their society" (2007, p. 317). He was also skeptical about US intentions in that war:

> I'm still puzzled why the Bush administration decided to invade Iraq. If it was to
> establish democracy, that's a long shot, especially when you're supported by kings.

Or was it, as I had suggested to Tony Blair, because of oil? Or was it that the Americans were under pressure from their generals and weapon lobbyists to use their expensive, high-tech arms? Or was it to defeat terrorism? If so, military might alone wasn't likely to succeed (2007, p.317).

All in all, Chrétien wasn't as disposed towards PFP as Trudeau. His prime focus was reducing the budget deficit and rebuilding the economy. This priority confined his foreign policy to concentrate on expanding Canada's market. This priority also cut down the resources allocated to Canadian foreign aid, diplomatic corps, and military budget and left his government unable to go beyond giving lip service to international cooperation. His government's decision to advocate human security, its initiative to ban land mines and establish the International Criminal Court, and its opposition of the Iraq war indicate that Chrétien had a PFP disposition. However, his "pinch-penny diplomacy"; i.e., unwillingness to back human security rhetoric by committing resources (Nossal, 1998) make him what Keating (2006) called a "passive internationalist" (Keating, 2006).

Harper's Foreign Policy Disposition

Harper's foreign policy inclination was closer to confrontation that it is to peaceful coexistence. From the outset, Harper intended to replace the internationalist policy which Liberals introduced after the Second World War with an "ideologically conservative" foreign policy. According to Ibbitson (2014), Harper's conservative foreign policy rests on five pillars. First, his foreign policy is dictated by conservative values which Harper advocated openly and without compromise. Second, Harper sought to erect a new image of Canada as a warrior nation by revising its history and boosting Canada's military strength as well as combat role. Third, Harper intended to stir patriotism by asserting Canada's territorial claims. Fourth, his administration reduced Canada's rationale for international engagement in multilateral

organizations to national interest. Finally, Harper pursued a nationalist trade policy that stressed on creating jobs at home while selling Canadian products elsewhere.

Harper's foreign policy was guided by conservative values. Harper (2003) adopted Russell Kirk's definition of conservatism as "the preservation of the ancient traditions of humanity". Harper (2003) divided conservatism into economic and social branches whereby economic conservatism cherishes the values of "individual freedom, and to that end private enterprise, free trade, religious toleration, limited government and the rule of law", and social conservativism emphasizes on "respect for customs and traditions (religious traditions above all), voluntary association, personal self-restraint reinforced by moral and legal sanctions of behavior". According to Harper, conservatism offers a better insight into understanding contemporary international conflicts as a clash of civilizations and justified the use of force to alongside likeminded actors when necessary. He said:

> We also need to rediscover Burkean conservatives because the emerging debates on foreign affairs should be fought on moral grounds…We understand that the great geopolitical battles against modern tyrants and threats are battles over values. We can disagree vehemently with the values of our civilization's opponents, but that does not deny the validity of the cause in their eyes. Without clear values, our side has no purpose, no meaning, no chance of success.

> Conservatives must take the moral stand, with our allies, in favor of the fundamental values of our society, including democracy, free enterprise, and individual freedom. This moral stand should not just give us the right to stand with our allies, but the duty to do so and the responsibility to put "hard power" behind our international commitments (Harper, 2003).

> Harper exercised his conservative ideology in foreign policy by taking a pro-British

monarchy, a pro-American, and pro-Israel stands. He also increased Canada's commitment to NATO which he perceived as homogenous while reducing his role in the United Nations because it was too diverse to command his trust. Furthermore, Harper never hesitated to criticize great

powers like China and Russia for their breach of human rights and led the way in the fight

against terrorist organizations worldwide.

As a conservative, Harper revered Canada's past transitions, especially its colonial ties

with the British Empire. He made his first business trip to the United Kingdom as soon as he

became a Prime Minister in 2006. During that visit, Harper attributed Canada's "parliamentary

democracy, a commitment to basic freedom, the industrial revolution, and the entrepreneurial

spirit and the free market" to the British crown. Harper also stressed that Britain ruled over

Canada with magnanimity where it secured the rights of French Canadians and the First Nations

while peacefully allowing Canadians to govern themselves independently. Harper declared these

facts justify why England's Queen remains Canada's Queen as well by saying:

> Now I know it's unfashionable to refer to colonialism in anything other than negative
> terms. And certainly, no part of the world in unscarred by the excesses of empires.
> But in Canadian context, the actions of the British Empire were largely benign and
> occasionally brilliant. The magnanimous provisions of the Quebec Act of 1774
> ensured the survival of the French language and culture in Canada-to the everlasting
> benefit of our country. And the treaties negotiated with the Aboriginal inhabitants of
> our country, while far from perfect, were some of the fairest and most generous of
> the period. The genius of governance shown by the mother country at the time no
> doubt explains in part why Canada's path to independence was so long, patient and
> peaceful. And it explains why your Queen is still our Queen, and why our "bond of
> comradeship remains as sturdy today as it was in Mr. Churchill's time (Harper,
> 2006).

During his tenure in office, Harper took several measures to preserve symbols of

Canadian colonial ties. He discarded Canada's military insignia which used to be a maple leaf,

he reinstated the word "Royal" in the official names of Canada's embassies, the federal offices,

and the military branches such as the navy and the air force. In addition to ordering Canada's

embassies to display Queen Elizabeth II's portrait, Harper also told his diplomats to share an

office space with their British counterparts (Hepburn, 2012). Harper implemented these

measures against the opinions of 63 percent of Canadian respondents surveyed by Forum

Research on July 2013 who wanted Canada's head of state to be a Canadian citizen (Bozinoff, 2013).

Harper was also determined to strengthen Canadian relations with United States. Before he took office, Harper was against Chrétien's refusal to participate in the Iraq war of 2003. So, when he became a Prime Minister, Harper stepped up to NATO's request by providing more troops in the Afghan war. He made this decision in spite of leading a minority government and implemented it because Liberals were divided over Canada's engagement in Afghanistan (Saideman & Aueswald, 2012).Harper ensured Canada's military readiness by crafting a new defense strategy which sought to increase Canada's defense budget by $5.3 billion over five years. The strategy aimed at:

- Increasing the number of military personnel to 70,000 Regular Forces and 30,000 Reserve Forces,
- Replacing the Forces' core equipment fleets, including:
  - 15 ships to replace destroyers and frigates;
  - 10 to 12 maritime patrol aircraft;
  - 17 fixed-wing search and rescue aircraft;
  - 65 next-generation combat vehicles and systems, and
  - A fleet of land combat vehicles and systems.
- Strengthening the overall state of the Forces' readiness to deploy, and their ability to sustain operations once deployed; and
- Improving and modernize defense infrastructure (CDS, 2006, p. 4)

After 2006, Harper made Canada the most successful economy among the G7 countries and established a majority government in 2011, which led him to conclude that Canada's future risks were externally induced economic crises and terrorist attack. Harper is aware that Canada's exports heavily depend on the US market, which is why he: initiated Beyond Border Vision (BBV), pushed for Keystone XL crude oil pipeline from Alberta to Gulf of Mexico, and maintained concern over US fiscal management while working in concert with US authorities to

prevent terrorist attacks in both countries as recently witnessed in the Boston bombing (Harper, 2013; Moens & Fleet, 2013). In short, Harper acknowledged that the US was an indispensable partner of Canada. He told Robert Rubin, Chairman of the Council on Foreign Affairs:

> I tell people from around the world, Canadians always compare themselves to the Americans, and it's the only real comparison that matters to us. And we're proud of that comparison…in spite of the fact I value the differences we have as Canadians, I'm an enormous admirer of this country…particularly the American business community (Harper, 2013).

Harper's top foreign policy priority is economic in essence. It focused on securing a viable market for Canada's exportable goods and services. In the political realm, it intended to protect Canada against terrorism by allying itself with governments that shared Western values. This is the main reason why Harper (2013) supports Israel in the Middle East where he described it as "the one strong, stable, democratic, Western ally that we have in this part of the world". This is also the reason why Harper (2013) believed Iran's nuclear program was "the biggest single threat to the globe today", and severed ties with the Hamas-led government in Palestine. Some scholars (Barry, 2010; Dart, 2012) wrongly argued that Harper supports Israel because he needs the Canadian Jewish vote to win elections. If Harper were solely interested in expanding his electoral support base, he would have attempted to negotiate with the leaders of French Canadians and First Nations just like Mulroney did in the 1980s. Harper's support for Israel springs from his conviction that Israel, like Canada, embodied a fair share of Western-conservative elements.

The tendency to classify his encounters into friends and foes has estranged Harper from the United Nations. Canada lost its bid for a temporary seat at the U.N Security Council for the first time after making six successful contests since 1948-49 (Kerckhove, 2013). Although the argument that a substantial number of countries were run by unelected dictators who likely cast

their votes in exchange for pledges, it is fair to conclude that Harper's ideologically propelled and outspoken criticism of regimes he considered were bad, his unconditional support for Israel, and his refusal to sign UN indigenous rights act have contributed to his falling out with most U.N member countries (Coyne, 2010, Stairs, 2011; Smith, 2012; Kerckove, 2013).

Overall, Harper's foreign policy is driven by a conservative value system which classifies international actors into friends and enemies. Due to this, Harper's foreign policy is friendly towards countries which he considered as sharing Western conservative values and confronts those whom he thinks hold anti-Western conservative sentiments. This selective approach has rendered Harper towards a confrontational foreign policy. However, unlike Mulroney who challenged his allies whenever he believed they transgressed universal values, Harper never opposed his allies. Due to this, Harper's level of confrontation was limited to non-Western countries.

This section examined the foreign policy disposition of Canadian Prime Ministers using qualitative evidence. It showed there is an evidence to support the LTA results reported in the previous section. This section demonstrated that Trudeau was indeed disposed towards peaceful foreign policies as he projected his vision of a just society to abridge the divisions between communist and capitalist forces and improve cooperation between poor countries and industrialized nations through development aid. It also showed that Chrétien was disposed towards internationalism; however, his excessive focus on balancing the budget deficit impeded him from backing his rhetoric with meaningful action since he cut down resources for Canada's foreign, diplomatic corps and the military. By contrast, Mulroney exhibited warlike foreign policy by taking initiatives to build the military and challenge allies and non-allies on human rights grounds. Harper also reflected similar disposition. However, his confrontation was not

inspired by universal human rights. Instead, it was conditioned on whether countries shared conservative values or not. Accordingly, Harper remained unconditionally loyal to NATO, Great Britain, Israel, and the United States while confronting the UN, non-Western countries, and non-state actors he deemed as hostile to the West. Harper strengthened the Canadian military by allocating $1 billion a year and engaged Canada several NATO led military operations. Now that the quantitative results have been triangulated with qualitative evidence, the following section will proceed to testing the hypothesis that Canadian Prime Ministers disposed towards PFP more committed to peacekeeping than WFP disposed leaders by examining the peacekeeping contributions of the four Canadian Prime Ministers.

The Peacekeeping legacy of Canadian Prime Ministers

In order to compare the peacekeeping legacy of Canadian Prime Ministers, it is important to assess the international peacekeeping environment during their tenure, their foreign and/or defense policy documents during their tenure in office, and their actual personnel (troops and/or civilians) contribution to international peacekeeping in terms. The following sections will review the relative contributions of Prime Ministers Trudeau, Mulroney, Chrétien, and Harper during their years in office based on the three criteria mentioned herein.

Trudeau's contribution to Canadian Peacekeeping

When Trudeau became Prime Minister in 1968, the euphoria over peacekeeping had changed to frustration. Despite Canada's contributions to end the Suez Crisis in 1956, President Nasser expelled Canadian peacekeepers from Egypt, ended the UN Emergency Forces mission, and declared a war on Israel (Carroll, 2005). Canada's first non-UN mission in 1954, the International Control Commission (ICC), in Vietnam also failed due to vague terms of agreement

and Cold War stalemate (NDCF, 2008). In light of these developments, Trudeau demoted peacekeeping from the top spot ascribed to it by his predecessor, Lester B. Pearson.

The foreign and defense policies of the Trudeau government were inward looking. On June 1970, the Trudeau government announced its "Foreign Policy for Canadians" which stipulated six different priorities. These were: "economic growth, social justice, quality of life, sovereignty and independence, peace and security, and harmonious natural environment" (Brown, 1981). A year later, his government issued its first defense policy which subordinated international peacekeeping as the last priority following the monitoring of Canadian border, defending North America in collaboration with the US, and fulfilling Canada's commitment to NATO (CDP, 1971).

Further, the 1971 defense policy reviewed Canada peacekeeping "experience [as]…frustrating and disillusioning" because of vague mandates, absent political will among world leaders, and minimal financial and logistic support (CDP, 1971, p.39). So, the Foreign Minister, Mitchell Sharp, declared the following eight criteria should be fulfilled before Canada participates in peacekeeping. These are:

- There should exist a threat to international peace and security
- The peacekeeping endeavor should be associated with an agreement for political settlement, or at least a reasonable expectation of a negotiated settlement
- The peacekeeping organization should be responsible to a political authority, preferably the United Nations
- The peacekeeping mission should have a clear mandate adequate to permit it to carry out its assigned function
- The parties to the conflict accept the presence of the peacekeeping missions and agree to maintain a ceasefire
- Canadian participation in the operation is acceptable to all concerned
- There should be an agreed and equitable method of financing the operation (Delvoie, 2000, p.17).

The above conditions did not prevent the Trudeau government from participating in further peacekeeping missions. The international community put heavy pressure on Canada to participate in subsequent peacekeeping missions because its reputation as a relatively neutral actor remained intact. Besides, Canada's military capability could only be matched by the great powers who could not participate in peacekeeping because of the Cold War. So, besides the 625 peacekeepers already deployed elsewhere in 1971, Canada sent 240 peacekeepers to the International Control Commission in Vietnam, 850 logistic officers to the second UN Emergency Force in Egypt in 1973, 19 UN peacekeepers between Syria and Israel in 1974, and another 150 Canadian peacekeepers to Lebanon in 1978 (CDP, 1971, Conrad, 2012). For the next decade, the United Nations did not launch any mission, hence, sparing the Trudeau government from further hesitation.

In conclusion, the Trudeau government did not prioritize peacekeeping. It responded to Canada's frustration over previous peacekeeping missions by relegating it to a lower foreign and defense policies' priority. Trudeau's government also delineated eight criteria which must be fulfilled before Canada agrees to participate in peacekeeping. Despite its reluctance, however, the Trudeau government submitted to heavy international pressure and demand for Canada to engage in peacekeeping. Because Trudeau stepped down from office in 1984, it is impossible to foretell whether he would have agreed to participate in subsequent peacekeeping endeavors since the UN itself stopped launching new peacekeeping missions for a decade between 1977 and 1988.

Mulroney's contribution to Canadian Peacekeeping

During the first term of Mulroney's tenure in office, the United Nations did not launch a new peacekeeping operation. However, 960 Canadian peacekeepers were serving in five UN-led and one non-UN led peacekeeping missions worldwide (CDP, 1987). In the meantime, Mulroney's defense policy dismissed Trudeau's introspective approach by setting three priorities, namely: "defense and collective security, arms control and disarmament and the peaceful resolution of disputes" (CDC, 1987, p.10). In this context, the Mulroney government considered peacekeeping as a critical instrument of resolving disputes before it creates conflict among Canada's allies and/or from escalating into superpower conflict (CDC, 1987).

Mulroney's administration also revised Sharp Principles of peacekeeping by stripping out the preference for peacekeeping and stressing that the missions should not harm Canada's relations with its allies (CDC, 1987). These criteria are listed below:

- Whether there is a clear and enforceable mandate
- Whether the principal antagonists agree to a ceasefire and to Canada's participation in the operation
- Whether the arrangements are in fact likely to serve the cause of peace and lead to a political settlement in the long term
- Whether the size and international composition of the force are appropriate to the mandate and will not damage Canada's relations with other states
- Whether there is a single identifiable authority competent to support the operation and influence the disputants
- Whether the participation is adequately and equitably funded and logistically supported (CDC, 1987, p. 38).

Tessier and Fortmann (2001) rightfully argue that Mulroney's contribution to international peacekeeping became unprecedented during his second term in office (1988-1993). They indicate that the Mulroney government participated in 18 peacekeeping missions in just five years which is equal to the aggregate number of missions Canada participated in the previous four decades (1947-1986). During these five years, the total number of Canadian

peacekeepers also more than quadrupled from 960 to 4000. In addition, Tessier and Fortman (2001) noted that Mulroney allocated $200 million budget annually for peacekeeping and committed 10 percent of the total UN peacekeepers, hence making Canada, "the world's 100th largest army" in 1992 (Jung, 2009, p.69), among the top ten peacekeeping contributors to the UN.

All in all, the Conservative government of Brian Mulroney made the greatest commitment to peacekeeping of any Canadian Government. Many scholars argue that Mulroney's initiatives were not premeditated but came forth in response to international developments (Michaud & Nossal, 2001). However, nobody anticipated that the Cold War would end so soon with the collapse of the Soviet Empire, and the resurgence of the United Nations peace interventions. The most important thing is that, during its second term, the Mulroney government welcomed the change and readily assisted the United Nations to keep the peace worldwide.

Jean Chrétien and Canadian Peacekeeping (1993-2003)

The greatest decline of Canadian international peacekeeping took place during Chrétien's term as a Prime Minister. However, Canada's exit from peacekeeping was not apparent because the Chrétien administration refrained from declaring its intent to quit peacekeeping. By contrast, in 1994, despite cutting the defense budget by $2 billion, the Defense White Paper pledged to increase Canada's available force for peacekeeping up to 10,000 from its December, 1994's level which was 2,811 (CDP, 1994). Besides, Canada's active diplomacy in controlling landmines, setting up peacekeeping training centers, promoting human security, and establishing a

multinational brigade to conduct traditional peacekeeping eclipsed the fact that it was

abandoning international peacekeeping participation in terms of providing peacekeepers abroad.

During the first five years of his term in office, the Chrétien administration preferred to

train peacekeepers and stick to traditional peacekeeping rather than participate in

multidimensional peacekeeping operations. Accordingly, it established the Pearson Peacekeeping

Center in 1994; opened the Peace Support Training Center in 1996; and, initiated the UN

Standby High Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG) to execute traditional peacekeeping missions

together with other middle powers in 1997. In the meantime, it reduced the average number of

Canadian peacekeepers serving under the United Nations by two-thirds from over 2,800 in 1999

to less than 950 in 1997 (UN, 2013).

Canada's peacekeeping experience during the early 1990s was frustrating. This began in

the UN mission in Somalia where the torture and murder of a Somali teenager by Canadian

peacekeepers damaged Canada's long held reputation as a helpful fixer (Razack, 2003). Later,

Canada sent its general to lead the UN's peacekeeping mission in Rwanda while ignoring his

incessant request for more troops and/or intelligence assistance to prevent genocide that took

over 500,000 civilian lives (Dallaire & Beardsley, 2005).

In 1996, the safety of Canadian peacekeepers and the participation of the Canadian

government in resolving the crisis in Bosnia was jeopardized by the conflicting parties as well as

NATO allies. As Jung (2009) put it "Ottawa learned that when push came shove, the safety of its

peacekeepers came second to what the major power in the alliance [NATO] deemed to be their

interest" (2009, p.64). Although this was a NATO mission, i.e., different from UN's traditional

peacekeeping, the Chrétien (2007) government was convinced that peacekeeping has changed

after the Cold War. As a result, Canada's contribution to the UN between 1996 and 1997 fell from 4 percent to 2 percent.

Canada's role in UN peacekeeping continued to nosedive during Chrétien's second term in office. Between 1997 and 1998, the total number of the yearly average number of Canadian peacekeepers fell from 940 to 286 (UN, 2013). Canada has provided 650 peacekeepers to the UN mission in East Timor and another 450 peacekeepers to the UN mission in Eritrea and Ethiopia. However, in 2003, the percentage of Canadian peacekeepers relative to the total UN supply of peacekeepers has dropped to 0.64 percent.

To conclude, the Chrétien government did not want to engage Canada in peacekeeping. Instead, it sought to participate in peacekeeping indirectly by training others. The Chrétien administration did not evacuate Canadian troops from peacekeeping missions openly or at one period of time. Rather, it made a quiet and gradual exit from UN peacekeeping over a decade. In this manner the annual average number of Canadian personnel who served in UN peacekeeping decreased from 2,846 (4 percent of total UN peacekeepers) in 1993 to 251 (0.64 percent of total UN peacekeepers) in 2003. As the following discussion will illustrate, ever since 2003, Canadian role in UN peacekeeping has never recovered. In the meantime, Canada's armed forces declined only by 33 percent from its peak of 120,000 soldiers in 1991 to 87,700 in 2006 (Park, 2008). But this significant decline (threefold) is far less proportionate than its rate of retreat from the UN, which is over tenfold decline.

Stephen Harper and Canadian Peacekeeping

Prime Minister Harper thought that Canada's peacekeeping role is exaggerated. In the meantime, he was also convinced that Canada's combat role in major global conflicts remained underappreciated. For Harper, the major culprits behind this imbalance were some Liberal governments which underfunded the Canadian Forces. When Harper took office in 2006, Canada's average contribution to role in peacekeeping had been reduced to 150 personnel (around 2 percent of the total UN peacekeeping force). Harper did not resurrect Canadian peacekeeping in the UN but reduced it further to a mere 0.12 percent in 2013 (UN, 2013).

Prime Minister Harper did not criticize Canada's role in UN peacekeeping openly, but paid lip service without making tangible commitment. Since he took office in 2006, Harper never failed to issue a statement every year commemorating Canada's peacekeeping day of August 9. His latest statement, for example, honors the "tens of thousands" Canadian soldier who served as peacekeepers and the 275 Canadian citizens who have sacrificed their lives in peacekeeping mission. It also celebrates Canadian peacekeepers currently serving in Haiti, Israel, Cyprus, and South Sudan. When Harper issued that statement, the number of Canadians who served under UN peacekeeping was just 158 out of the total 97,175 UN peacekeepers (UN, 2013). Yet, Harper never addressed this shortage in any of his peacekeeping day statements.

Although it has been difficult to find out why Harper ignores peacekeeping, on one occasion, Whyte (2011) asked him why he avoided describing Canada as a peacekeeping nation while knowing that "Canadians are really accustomed to thinking themselves" as such. Harper's reply, clearly depicts his interpretation of Canadian history and image:

> Well, not recently, but in fact Canada has proud military history, beginning with the
> War of 1812 that essentially began to establish our sense of national identity…let me

give you the two big threats of the 20th Century. First, fascism. Canada, next to its big-three allies, played one of the largest roles…obviously the most robust military engagement anyone's ever been involved in. And then through a different kind of engagement, the long, sustained state of alert against Communism, the other great threat…In spite of, quite frankly, the ambivalence of some Liberal governments toward that, Canada, in fact, remained engaged in that from the beginning to the very end. I'm not dismissing peacekeeping…but the real defining moments for the country and for the world are those big conflicts where everything's at stake and where you take a side and show you can contribute to the right side (Whyte, 2011).

As mentioned above, Harper did not agree that Canadians thought of their nation as a primarily peacekeeping nation. A 2012 poll conducted by Environics, on the other hand, showed that most Canadians thought peacekeeping was the most important image of their country. Although the largest group of Canadians perceived their country primarily as a peacekeeping nation, Environics (2012) revealed that the proportion of this group has declined from 40 percent in 1990 to 20 percent in 2012. So, Harper's expression, "not recently", has some grain of truth because Canadian peacekeeping is not as popular as it was in 1990 where it shouldered 10 percent of total UN peacekeepers.

Unlike his predecessors who at least mentioned peacekeeping in their defense policies, Harper's 2008 first defense policy never used the term (CFDS, 2008). The first defense strategy announced an ambitious plan to boost Canadian Forces with a grand budget of $490 billion spread across two decades mainly to purchase aircraft, tanks, ships, trucks, etc. The strategy also pledged to increase the number of active duty Canadian troops to 70,000 and maintain 30,000 reservists. Apart from stressing the fact that the world has become more dangerous and that Canadian Forces should become combat capable, the strategy never hints at the possibility of deploying Canadians on a peacekeeping mission. Instead, it set six main priorities for the Canadian troops which are listed as follows:

- Conduct daily domestic and continental operations, including the Arctic and through NORAD
- Respond to a major terrorist attack
- Support civilian authorities during a crisis in Canada such as a natural disaster
- Lead and/or conduct a major international operation for an extended period
- Deploy forces in response to crises elsewhere in the word for shorter periods (CFDS, 2008, p.10)

In sum, Harper avoided UN peacekeeping not because of the operational difficulties it entailed but because he had a different strategic goal for Canada Forces. As explained above, Harper believed that Canadian identity was forged by the force of arms, not by contribution to peacekeeping. He was convinced that building a combat capable force was imperative. Harper did not have to make drastic reduction in Canadian peacekeeping because Chrétien has already done that. But he ended the Afghanistan combat engagement after 2011 due to strong public disapproval whereby a 2009 poll by Angus Reid (2009) showed that only 7 percent support extension of the mission after 2011. Nonetheless, even if Canada's combat commitment subsides, his leadership is unlikely to increase its support for peacekeeping.

Conclusion

This chapter showed that there is no significant relation between personality attributes that dispose leaders towards a peaceful foreign policy and their commitment to peacekeeping. Even though Prime Minister Trudeau exhibited three out of the five personality traits reflecting a peaceful foreign policy disposition, he was initially reluctant to engage Canada in peacekeeping. By contrast, Mulroney didn't reflect any of the personality attributes associated with peaceful foreign policy disposition. Yet, he demonstrated the greatest commitment to peacekeeping than his counterparts by devoting the largest number of troops to international peacekeeping. On the other hand, Chrétien met three out of the five attributes associated with peaceful foreign policy disposition. Nonetheless, he reversed Canada's leadership status as a peacekeeping nation by

continuously decreasing its contribution to UN peacekeeping. The only exception was Harper who satisfied none of the five personality attributes associated with peaceful foreign policy disposition while containing Canada's international peacekeeping role at a historic low level.

The implication of the results is that leaders who pursue a peaceful foreign policy do not necessary implement their policies in the realm of international peacekeeping. Instead, they could implement significant foreign policies tailored towards peace and cooperation. For instance, Trudeau's initiatives to make Canada a nuclear free country, to start a dialogue between communist and capitalist countries, his promotion of development cooperation among industrialized and developing countries while increasing Canadian development aid show that Trudeau pursued a peaceful foreign policy other than international peacekeeping.

Chrétien's foreign policy was also oriented towards peaceful cooperation. Even though Chrétien cut down Canada's role in international peacekeeping, his government played an important role in ratifying the international treaty banning landmines, in establishing the International Criminal Court, in promoting the concept of human security among world leaders, in the formation the short lived of international peacekeeping standby brigade (SHIRBRIG) with other middle powers, in training peacekeeping troops by establishing the Pearson Peacekeeping Institute, and in refusing to engage Canada in the Iraq war because it was not endorsed by the UN.

Mulroney's LTA scores didn't meet any of the personality attributes associated with peaceful foreign policy disposition. There are also evidences showing that Mulroney pursued a confrontational foreign policy through his plan to purchase expensive equipment for the military to protect Canada's sovereignty. Mulroney didn't compromise his stand on human rights even

when it set him in a direct confrontation with great powers such as the United States, the UK, China, and Russia. Mulroney believed that sovereignty shouldn't serve as a pretext to appease governments that abuse their citizens' human rights. His confrontational attitude didn't prevent Mulroney from playing a leading role in international peacekeeping. Mulroney played an important role strengthening the UN peacekeeping mission by contributing up to 10 percent of the total UN peacekeeping forces.

Just like Mulroney, Harper's personality attributes didn't indicate that he was disposed towards peaceful foreign policy. Unlike Mulroney, however, he was not interested in contributing to UN peacekeeping. Instead, Harper wanted to play a leading role in NATO led combat missions in Afghanistan, Libya, Iraq and Syria. Harper distanced himself from the UN because he believed it was too diverse, where dictators sat side by side with democratic leaders. Moreover, Harper considered Canadian peacekeeping image an overblown Liberal value which should be replaced with Canada's image as a warrior nation (MacKay & Swift, 2012).

The other important implication that must be understood rests in the important role of systemic and domestic factors in affecting the peacekeeping decisions of Canadian Prime Ministers. Trudeau took power in a period where Canadian peacekeeping raised suspicions. In particular, the frustrations caused by the mission in Congo, in Egypt and in Indo-China have raised suspicions over the effectiveness of peacekeeping in Canada which convinced the Trudeau administration to relegate peacekeeping in its Defense White Paper to a fourth priority. Nonetheless, Trudeau was willing to send Canadian peacekeepers in the limited number of peace operations in the 1970s.

The domestic and systemic factors also affected Mulroney's foreign policy. He gave up his plan to boost the Canadian military by purchasing expensive weapon because of negative public reaction. Similarly, the strong Canadian public opinion towards peacekeeping encouraged Mulroney to embrace UN peacekeeping. Furthermore, the ending of the Cold War rekindled the international (including Canada's) enthusiasm towards peacekeeping. So, the domestic as well as international context encouraged Mulroney to play an active role in peacekeeping.

By contrast, the domestic and international environment that Chrétien inherited were less favorable to peacekeeping. During the early 1990s, international peacekeeping was a risky and complicated endeavor. Canadian peacekeeping operations that Mulroney initiated rendered Canadian forces to get caught in the line of fire (in the former Yugoslavia) and caused huge scandal (Somalia). The genocide in Rwanda also showed the severe nature of intra-state conflicts after the Cold War. Above all, one wonders if Chrétien would have abandoned Canadian peacekeeping if Canada didn't sink in a budget deficit and if the referendum in Quebec didn't take place. Perhaps, if the fiscal deficit and the risk to internal unity didn't overwhelm the Chrétien administration, Canada might have shouldered its international responsibilities by providing peacekeepers.

Harper came to power determined to replace Canada's image as a peacekeeping nation with Canada's portrait as a warrior nation. But Canada's prolonged engagement in the war against terror in the 21st has served as pretext for Harper to justify his new image for Canada. Harper's stellar performance in managing the Canadian economy amidst the global financial crises as well as his stand against ISIS in Syria has earned him sufficient support to win election. Nevertheless, Harper deliberately distanced Canada away from peacekeeping because he perceived peacekeeping as a Liberal myth that Conservatives should evade.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

This study began by asking why countries show a varied commitment to peacekeeping over time. It selected Canada as a case to examine why it started as a leading peacekeeping nation between 1948 and 1996 and became a token contributor to international peacekeeping since then. In order to address this variation, the study focused on understanding Canadian peacekeeping decisions by framing peacekeeping participation as part of a foreign policy decision making. In order to conduct a systematic analysis of Canadian governments' peacekeeping decisions, the study adopted Waltz's schema comprising systematic, domestic, and individual levels of analyses.

The literature review section showed that most scholars interpreted Canada's peacekeeping decisions at the systemic level of analysis. They utilized the major theories of international relations, namely: realism, liberalism, constructivism, and critical theories to explain Canada's peacekeeping decisions. Realists attributed Canadian peacekeeping role as a strategic means of strengthening the Western alliance and containing the spread of communism in conflict ridden countries. Liberals attached Canada's peacekeeping engagement to a faith in international cooperation and loyalty to the United Nations. Constructivists didn't stress on the rationale of Canadian peacekeeping but acknowledged that Canada played a leading role in advocating and implementing the concept of peacekeeping. Finally, critical theories framed Canadian peacekeeping as a manifestation of capitalist powers to exploit the livelihood of working people across the world.

Although the systemic level interpretations provided a useful insight to the understanding of Canadian peacekeeping, they overlook the complexity within the government and diversity of their society. The systemic level doesn't explain the process through which governments

undergo in making foreign policy decisions. In reality, governments (especially democratic governments) make decisions after different branches of the government as well as the departmental offices within a cabinet debate and make compromises. The role of bureaucratic bargaining in Canadian peacekeeping decisions has not been studied sufficiently. This study has attempted to briefly highlight the conflict between the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development (DFATD) and the Department of Defense (DND) clashed over peacekeeping decisions. For instance, the chapter on the history of Canadian peacekeeping discussed how officials from DND convinced their DFATD counterparts that the Canadian Forces were underequipped and overstretched to undertake the Namibian peace operation which they also presented as being too risky. It also explained how the Canadian parliament affected the Mulroney and Chrétien governments by stipulating the criteria for peacekeeping and in determining whether Canada should embrace or reconsider its peacekeeping role. The role of bureaucratic bargaining in Canadian peacekeeping deserves more analysis. This study didn't make an in depth study of this factor because it demands the collection of primary data depicting the bargaining process among Canada's senior government officials as they decided to send peacekeepers abroad. The researcher couldn't access this vital data.

However, there is an equally vital aspect of peacekeeping decision at the domestic level of analysis where access to a data is not difficult, namely: public opinion. The role of public opinion in democratic countries like Canada cannot be undermined. After all, it is the people who elect and empower government officials to make key domestic and foreign policy decisions, including peacekeeping participation. In the meantime, governments also need to convince their population to endorse their decisions by, *inter alia,* setting an agenda by conducting public opinion polls.

This study hypothesized that the Canadian public has a significant impact on Canadian government's peacekeeping decision because of democratic system in Canada as well as the shared reverence of the Canadians and most of their governments to international peacekeeping. The chapter on the role of public opinion on Canadian peacekeeping decision reviewed the origin of Canadian functionalist foreign policy as well as the public opinion poll results since the early 1940 to determine if public opinion has affected Canadian peacekeeping decision.

The findings showed that the origin of Canada's functionalist policy is attributed to international circumstances like that of US Civil War and the two World Wars. It also stressed that Canada's top diplomats convinced their leaders to adopt functionalism. This approach ensured that Canada exercised an independent foreign policy by shouldering international responsibilities by employing its unique capabilities as a middle power. The Canadian government began conducting public opinion polls long after it adopted its functionalist foreign policy. The King administration decided to launch public opinion to set an agenda rather than base its policy on public opinion. Nonetheless, the public opinion polls conducted in the early 1940s showed that the Canadians welcomed the establishment of an international police force after the Second World War. The public and government's attitude towards peacekeeping were similar. But, during that period, public opinion did not influence Canadian government's decision to participate in peacekeeping.

The domestic power transition after the Second World War boosted Canada's internationalism. After serving for over almost three decades, Prime Minister King retired in 1949 and was succeeded by Louis St. Laurent. In turn, St. Laurent appointed Lester B. Pearson as his foreign minister. The two leaders abandoned Prime Minister King's tendency towards isolationism and increased Canada's role in world affairs. St. Laurent outlined his five pillars of

Canada's foreign policy in the Grey Lecture in 1947. One of these pillars was the sharing of international responsibilities. Although the public was supportive of Canada's internationalism, it was Canadian diplomats like Riddell who played a critical role in shaping this policy by drafting this lecture after conducting thorough consultation with other officials and academicians. The parallel continuum between public opinion and Canadian government's foreign policy continued without neither contradicting nor influencing each other. It was under this circumstance that Canada found itself in the Suez Crisis.

St. Laurent and Pearson were angered by the bold action taken by British, France, and Israel to invade the Suez Canal. They were alarmed by the confrontation created between Canada's closest neighbor and ally (the United States) and its mother countries (Britain and France). As a result, St. Laurent sent Pearson in a hasty trip to the United Nations headquarters in New York and met his US counterpart to resolve this problem against the will of his Cabinet members. Pearson's goal was to facilitate the exit of the three aggressors (Britain, France, and Israel) without losing face by proposing an intervention by an international peacekeeping force. The Canadian public supported Pearson's proposal. But it did not trigger St. Laurent to dispatch Pearson to New York and nor did it influence Pearson to propose the peacekeeping plan. The UN General Assembly endorsed Pearson's proposal and send the UN Emergency Force to keep the peace while the three aggressors evacuate Egypt. After Pearson won a Nobel Peace Prize, Canadians support for UN peacekeeping strengthened.

The Diefenbaker government continued to send Canadian Forces to important UN peacekeeping missions like the Congo and Cyprus. Although Diefenbaker was skeptical over the sustainability of peacekeeping missions, he believed that it was an important instrument of managing international conflict. However, evidence of the Congo peacekeeping decision at the

Cabinet level showed that his government consider the state of Canadian public opinion as a decision factor.

Canada continued to participate in peacekeeping during Pearson's years as a Prime Minister (1963-68). However, Canada was frustrated over the ineffectiveness of the Cyprus mission and the bias allegations it encountered in Indo-China (today's Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos). Above all, Canada was disappointed when Nasser expelled UN peacekeepers from Egypt. These bad experiences triggered a suspicion especially within the Canadian intelligentsia. So, when Pearson retired in 1968, the Trudeau government revisited Canadian peacekeeping and concluded that the demand for Canadian peacekeeping in the 1970s will decline. Trudeau relegated peacekeeping from a top priority in the Defense White Paper during the Pearson government to a fourth place. But the Canadian public opinion towards peacekeeping remained so strong that Trudeau's top diplomats decided to halt Canada's retreat from peacekeeping. Canada participated in every UN peacekeeping missions, including non-UN mission in Indo-China during Trudeau's period in office. In this manner, public opinion had a positive impact on the Canadian government's peacekeeping decisions during the Trudeau era.

When Mulroney took office, his was initially interested in strengthening the Canadian military by purchasing expensive weapons. At the same time, however, Mulroney also took initiative to gauge public opinion on Canadian foreign policy. Canadians were against Mulroney's weapons acquisition project while showing a strong support for the Canadian peacekeeping legacy. Accordingly, Mulroney adhered to public interest by cancelling his weapons program and lending a strong support to peacekeeping. During Mulroney's tenure in office, Canada became a leading peacekeeping contributor to the United Nations. So, just like

Trudeau's years in office, the Canadian public had a positive effect on the Canadian government's decision to participate in peacekeeping operations.

The increased riskiness of peace operations after the Cold War, the budget deficit in Canada, and the referendum in Quebec contributed to Canada's retreat from peacekeeping during Chrétien's term in office. Canada's peacekeeping experience in the early 1990s was not satisfactory. In Somalia, Canada's soldiers were mired in a scandal for torturing and killing a Somali teenager for allegedly stealing items from their camp in Somalia. Also, in the former Yugoslavia, Canadians were exposed to fighting and held hostage by the conflicting parties. These experiences led Canada to reconsider its role in peacekeeping. Furthermore, the accumulating budget deficit endangered the Canadian economy. Chrétien's primary goal was to restore the Canadian economy to maintaining a balanced budget. The referendum in Quebec also threatened the Canadian unity in the 1990s. Chrétien's second major preoccupation was therefore the preservation of Canadian peacekeeping.

Even though Canadians continued to express their support for Canadian peacekeeping, the Chrétien administration pursued a different mode of internationalism. Chrétien's second foreign minister, Lloyd Axworthy played a significant role by advocating the concept of human security which urged for the right of other countries to intervene in events that governments violently abuse the human rights of their citizens. Axworthy also played an instrumental role in the ratification of the international ban on landmines treaty as well as in the establishment of the International Criminal Court which prosecuted leaders for crimes against humanity. It was also during Chrétien's term in office that Canada opened the Pearson Peacekeeping Center to train soldiers from other countries on peacekeeping operation. These initiatives indicate that Chrétien's government was fundamentally internationalist. However, the international and

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domestic challenges that took place in the 1990s obliged Chrétien to cut down Canada's participation in international peacekeeping.

Canada continued to retreat from peacekeeping during Harper's term in office. However, this did not take place because of international or domestic challenges. Instead, Harper's retreat from peacekeeping was made deliberately. Harper believed that Canadian peacekeeping was a Liberal narrative that must be replaced with a brand new Conservative image that portrays Canada as a warrior nation. The Harper government offered an alternative narrative of Canadian history by glorifying Canada's heroic role in the 1812 War with the US, the Boer War in South Africa, and the two World Wars. It also took an initiative to strengthen the Canadian Force by laying a plan to increase the military by $5.3 billion for five years.

Harper's defense policy priority focused on the North American defense cooperation, on defense of the arctic region, and the fight against. It doesn't mention peacekeeping. Canada has played an active role in the Afghanistan war since 2001, in the combat operation in Libya, and the ongoing war against ISIS. Harper's foreign policy priority also emphasized on strengthening trade relations with the United States and with Asia and on promoting democracy, human rights, and international development. It never mentioned peacekeeping.

In the meantime, the Canadian public expressed a strong interest in witnessing the Canadian Forces playing a peacekeeping role rather than combat missions. This indicates that Canadian public opinion had no major impact on Harper's peacekeeping decisions. However, polls also revealed that Canadians are supportive of Harper's management of the Canadian economy, Canada's policy towards Israel as well as Canada's ongoing fight against ISIS. These factors have enabled the Harper administration to win a majority seat in 2011.

The discussion on the role of public opinion in Canadian government's peacekeeping decisions at the domestic level of analysis shows that Canadian leaders responded differently to public opinion. St. Laurent, Diefenbaker, and Pearson made a decision to participate in peacekeeping without necessarily consulting public opinion. Trudeau and Mulroney changed their initial retreat from peacekeeping because of the strong public opinion for peacekeeping in Canada during that time. By contrast, Chrétien and Harper decreased Canada's peacekeeping role despite a strong public support for the endeavor.

The literature review section showed that political psychology offers a significant insight in explaining peacekeeping decisions under particular circumstances. Canadian Prime Ministers wield enormous executive power in making foreign policy decisions, including peacekeeping participation. Hermann's Leadership Trait Assessment (LTA) provides a useful tool by profiling leaders based on three personality attributes, namely: motivation, cognitive style, and interpersonal approaches. She further classified leaders into dispositions towards peaceful foreign policy and warlike foreign policies based on their personality traits. According to Hermann, leaders exhibiting peaceful foreign policies tend to have a low in-group bias, low need for power, high cognitive complexity, low task orientation, and low distrust of others. This study sought to utilize this insight by framing a hypothesis that Canadian Prime Ministers reflect personality traits associated with peaceful foreign policy disposition also exhibit a strong commitment to international peacekeeping than others who don't share these qualities.

The chapter on leadership trait assessment (LTA) of Canadian Prime Ministers hypothesized that leaders disposed towards peaceful foreign policy (PFP) were showed greater commitment to international peacekeeping than others. It profiled the leadership personality of four Prime Ministers, namely: Trudeau, Mulroney, Chrétien and Harper across five attributes.

The results showed that the two Liberal leaders, i.e., Trudeau and Chrétien met three of the five personality attributes associated with PFP disposition while their Conservative counterparts (Mulroney and Harper) failed to satisfy any of the PFP disposition attributes. The study also solicited qualitative evidence to support the LTA results and discovered ample evidence showing that Trudeau and Chrétien actually pursued a peaceful foreign policy while Mulroney and Harper implemented a confrontational foreign policy.

Based on these encouraging results, the study went on further to find out if Trudeau and Chrétien exhibited a stronger commitment to international peacekeeping than Mulroney and Harper. However, the results revealed unexpected results. Mulroney dispatched the largest number of Canadian troops to UN peacekeeping while satisfying only one out of the five attributes associated with international peacekeeping. By contrast, Chrétien cut down the number of Canadian peacekeepers to the UN even though he met three out the five personality traits associated with peacekeeping. Trudeau began his term by relegating peacekeeping priority to a last place in his defense white paper. However, he was the most peacefully disposed Prime Minister for meeting four out the five personality traits associated with a peaceful foreign policy disposition.

Harper's personality profile, his foreign policy orientation as well as his approach to peacekeeping didn't contradict. Harper personality profile showed that he was least disposed towards peaceful foreign policy. His foreign policy orientation also indicated that he was more interested strengthening the Western alliance than in sharing international responsibility by supporting the United Nations. Due to these factors, the hypothesis didn't expect Harper to exhibit a strong commitment to international peacekeeping. The results also showed that this was indeed the case.

Hence, 44with the exception of Prime Minister Harper, the hypothesis that Canadian Prime Ministers disposed towards peaceful foreign policy are also strongly committed to international peacekeeping was not correct. This shows that Canadian Prime Ministers who pursue a peaceful foreign policy could overlook peacekeeping while implementing other peaceful foreign policy strategies. For example, while he wasn't eager to embrace peacekeeping instantly, Trudeau took a leading initiative to ending the Cold War through dialogue, in making Canada free from nuclear weapons, and in launching international development aid. Chrétien also decreased Canada's peacekeeping role; however, it was during his term that Canada established a peacekeeping training center, ratified international treaty banning landmines, and forming the International Criminal Court. On the other hand, Mulroney abandoned his military program and embraced peacekeeping because he adhered to Canadian public opinion. However, he didn't compromise his confrontational foreign policy when great powers like the US, UK, Russia, and China espoused policies that contradicted against Canada's values.

All in all, this study attempted to challenge the contemporary overemphasis on the systematic level of analysis to explain Canadian peacekeeping decision by introducing variables from the domestic (public opinion) and individual (leadership personality/foreign policy disposition) levels of analyses. By doing so, the study offers a comprehensive model for studying peacekeeping combining all aspects of foreign policy decision making, namely: international relations, domestic political environment, and the personality of key leaders. This model helps scholars to explain peacekeeping decisions of different countries in our turbulent world where capable peacekeepers like Canada are needed more than ever before. This study can be further strengthened by soliciting primary data from key decision makers and government document archives. It can also be improved by profiling the leadership personality of all Canadian Prime

Ministers after the Second World War. A multivariate comparative analysis of a sample of

nations (for example, middle powers) could present a greater insight in explaining the variation

of countries' contribution to international peacekeeping.

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