

"The Gentle Application of Soft Power: A Cautionary Tale from 2015."

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"The two most essential foundations for any state, whether it be old or new, or both old and new, are sound laws and sound military forces."

-*The Prince*, Niccolò Machiavelli.

Author's note: Within the foreign and defence policy analytical community the one question which is continually asked is, "Why does Canada need military forces?" An extension of the isolationist 'fireproof house' thesis, some would argue that the United States will handle our national security needs for us if the threat is great enough. Others would have us only involve ourselves in low risk humanitarian operations to save the planet from itself. Neither option is an acceptable one for a sovereign nation with global economic interests. Let us look at what might happen to the Canadian Forces if either of these perspectives is permitted by the Canadian people and those who govern them to hold sway.

Major Paula Dixon disembarked from the decrepit Russian Antonov long range air transport into a blast of humid superheated air. The tarmac shimmered in the heat, distorting the view on the horizon. Not only had it been a harrowing flight, it had been four weeks since she and her unit had been alerted to assist this small emerging northwest African nation in its time of need.

Major Dixon belonged to the Humanitarian Assistance Reaction Module (known by its military acronym HARM) of the larger command called *Forces Armées Réactions Canadiennes Environnementales*. FARCE in turn reported to the Department of World Peace and Domestic Tranquillity (DWPDT). This was the remnant of the former Department of National Defence which had been abolished because polls taken by the Government indicated that Canadians no longer saw any need for defence since the media could perceive no threats to Canadian interests. World Peace, now lead by a single Deputy Minister, was no longer a separate entity in the Government and had been absorbed by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The other members of HARM were disembarking when a jeep pulled up. A young DFA representative, probably 25 years old, jumped out and ran up to Dixon.

"You are Major Dixon?"

Paula nodded in the affirmative.

"Instructions from DFA in Ottawa have changed since you left Trenton International Airport. HARM is no longer mandated by the local government to wear military uniforms. I order you to remove them as soon as possible."

This was not unusual to Dixon and her team, though it would have been anathema when Dixon first joined the old Canadian Forces back in the early 1990s. Her Senior Assisting Non-Commissioned Member, John Langlois, asked the HARM team members to proceed to a nearby tent to change into their bright fluorescent orange coveralls with maple leaf insignia. This included removal and storage of their kevlar body armour. Paula thought the situation couldn't possibly get worse.

First of all, the long deployment delay was related to whether or not HARM should be allowed to carry firearms on this mission. The senior uniformed member of World Peace and Domestic Tranquillity, Colonel Richard Walsh, had argued with the Policy Directorate on this point. Using The Economist magazine, since all intelligence functions had been either abolished as ungentlemanly and non-Canadian or absorbed into DFA's economic information directorate, Walsh repeatedly pointed out that there were violent armed anarchist groups in the region in which HARM was going to operate. Furthermore, Walsh had even spent \$1200.00 of his own money to access the Jane's strategic database to bolster his case with accurate data.

It was all for naught. Deputy Minister Bird, a career civil servant, knew that his advancement in the Government was linked to how well he could please the Minister of Foreign Affairs and keep her out of trouble. The current Minister was trying for a world wide ban on all small arms (and by inference, attempting to get the Holy Grail of Canadian politics, the Nobel Peace Prize) and had gathered important support in the UN General Assembly from Haiti, New Somalia, and the Central African Republic. In her view, this could best be accomplished by using Canada's World Peace and Domestic Tranquillity troops on this deployment as an example to demonstrate Canadian resolve on the issue. If Canada hoped to change the world, she asserted, Canada must set the example. All the Mandarins nodded their consent and HARM was told to leave its C-7 assault rifles and 9mm pistols at home.

HARM was lucky to have arrived at all. The long standing Canadian-American Integrated Lines of Communication (ILOC) agreement had been activated by DFA to get American strategic airlift for the operation. Unfortunately for HARM, the Americans were not interested in this particular operation since it interfered with sensitive ongoing Libyan-American negotiations. American aircraft could not be seen to be operating in the region. Therefore, using ILOC was out of the question.

This was not the only delay. The company which leased the Antonov transports to Canada was in financial trouble. As a result, maintenance had dropped off and the contract between DFA and the company stipulated that Canada had no legal right to inspect the aircraft. This resulted in a crash of the first HARM contingent which killed 200 troops. The litigation was vicious, but DFA had caved in when the International Trade directorate learned that a Japanese company was interested in buying the transport company out and that this could be leveraged for other trade benefits with other members of the Japanese consortium. Therefore, the Antonov that delivered HARM to this forbidding piece of terrain was operating with the same low standard of maintenance that the crashed one had been. "Alternate Service Delivery," muttered Dixon as she shook her head at the thought.

That was not the only thing on Dixon's mind as the HARM detachment waited for transport from the Mongolian truck company which was contracted by DFA to move HARM from the airhead to the operating area. The effects of the Cod War with Spain had caused a lot of damage to her family's economic situation back home in Newfoundland. Even though that happened five years ago, its effects were still being felt. Like the Turbot War, which was still sung about in the outports, the Government embarked on a campaign to protect cod. Taking the lead from radical environmentalist Captain Paul Watson, Domestic Tranquillity ordered the two working Arcturus maritime patrol aircraft to support Department of Fisheries and Oceans frigates in repelling the Spanish fishing fleet from the Grand Banks. The three DFO frigates, formally belonging to the now-defunct Maritime Command, were sent to intercept a number of trawlers.

Unfortunately, the Spanish Navy had sent two destroyers to escort the trawlers. DFO's budget had been severely cut over the years and maintaining what had been 12 state of the art warships was far beyond DFO's capability, particularly after the closure of the only Canadian state of the art naval shipyard in St. John. Only three could now function but none had a surface-to-surface capability. The Minister deemed all shipboard guns above .50 caliber to be too 'offensive' and ordered them removed along with the aging Harpoon missiles.

The old frigates had even lost their anti-aircraft weapons. During the Second Gulf War in 1998-99, a Canadian ship datalinked to an American cruiser shot down a non-combatant airliner. This led to the dissolution of the expensive cooperative engagement capability. Since Canada's ships were no longer interoperable with allied ships, Canada was not invited to participate in multi-national interception operations, unlike Singapore and Thailand who did possess the capability. Unable to do her part, Canada was increasingly isolated in the UN after a failed Security Council bid in 2008.

The Spanish Navy had an information warfare specialist on board. This hacker inserted a virus into the three DFO frigate's computers which effectively shut them down and left them wallowing into the North Atlantic while the trawlers went about their business.

The first Arcturus patrol aircraft sent out to spot the violators had no defensive capability, that is, no chaff, flares, or air-to-surface missiles or torpedoes. The Spanish shot it down and claimed that this was the result of a weapons malfunction. The crew of the second aircraft refused to fly. Their civilian lawyers were successful in preventing what would have been referred to as a court martial in the old days and the flight crews went back to work the next day flying over the Arctic monitoring Caribou herds and observing portable Russian Mafia oil rigs and submarine tankers.

The Newfoundlanders still were upset by the Cod Affair. They demanded to know why the four Upholder-class submarines were not used in the action. What they could not be told was that the Upholders had been leased by DFA to an emerging Middle Eastern power in exchange for votes in the UN General Assembly and at least one of them had been sunk in an unreported encounter in the Arabian Gulf with an American Seawolf-class nuclear hunter killer submarine.

The Newfies cried for American and European assistance. Surely the long-standing links between Canada and NATO could be brought to bear on this matters?

The European view was that Canada had progressively turned her back on Europe since the pull out of Canada's NATO-committed from Germany in 1993 and her withdrawal from the ACE Mobile Force tension reduction force. Canada's minimalist participation in the 1990-91 Gulf War and in the European Community Monitor Mission in Yugoslavia did not provide Canada with a right to a voice in the new Europe. Even though Canada was still committed to sending the so-called Sabre Brigade to Europe in an emergency, little had been done by the Department of World Peace to prepare such a formation. The selling off of all tracked armoured vehicles, tanks and self-propelled guns ensured that the Sabre Brigade remained a paper formation. No, the Europeans did not take sides in the Cod Affair.

The Americans, thought Dixon, what of the Americans? Canada's erstwhile ally, the United States was less and less impressed with DFA's attempts to ban anything that could shoot or explode. The real deal breaker, however, came with the border crisis of 2012. Asian extremists called "The True Way" had infiltrated a bio-chemical weapon through Vancouver into Canada. It was then moved covertly to a certain computer corporation's campus outside of Seattle. 200 000 people died in that atrocity. American intelligence sources confirmed that a breakaway radical group in southern Alberta and British Columbia assisted The True Way in its operation. The so-called Republic of Ogopogo had been ignored by Domestic Tranquillity which in any case lacked the capability to monitor such groups after the

incarceration of all former RCMP and CSIS intelligence personnel for retroactive collective guilt legislation relating to privacy-related crimes. The armed force's controversial National Investigative Service had long since been disbanded.

The Republic of Ogopogo continued to gather populist momentum in the region which remained unchallenged. Though the American FBI moved against sympathetic groups in Idaho and Montana, The Republic provided a safe haven and logistics support for those on the run. In the end, the Government's inability to face down the Republic of Ogopogo resulted in American covert operations designed to disrupt the groups. After the Redmond Massacre, elements of the 10th Mountain Division were flown from Fort Drum, New York to Washington state and deployed by helicopter into southern British Columbia. The Canadian Government had to stand on the sidelines and watch while the 10th cleaned out the RepOgo forces in a swift violent campaign. Acres of forest were destroyed by napalm bombs, which left FARCE plenty to clean up while U.S. Army units monitored the occupied zone along both sides of the border. Unfortunately for the population of East Vancouver, there was no FARCE bio-chemical weapons response capability and thousands died. It took FARCE several days to hire enough air transport to move detection and clean up equipment from Quebec to British Columbia.

As for the Cod Affair, American scallopers on the Georges Bank saw the apparent weakness in Canadian resolve and capability and were now stripping scallops clean on the Canadian side of the Hague Line. The Americans did not believe in renewable resources and DFO did, but without the muscle to back up policy, Canadian scallops were on their way to extinction and thousands of Canadian fishermen were out of work.

Langlois broke Dixon's reverie.

"We have to put up the SCMRL system. Has DFA confirmed with the Host Nation that we are allowed to establish satellite communications with Ottawa?"

"Yes. The Memorandum of Understanding states that this is permitted or else we would not have been committed to this operation. Go ahead and get it established as soon as possible."

Langlois trundled off.

The Strategic Communications and Monitoring Real Link consisted of a series of tripod-mounted cameras and microphones connected through a laptop computer to a satellite constellation high overhead. Legislation enacted after the disastrous Somalia Affair and the multitude of very public sexual harassment cases in the late 1990s demanded that SCMRLs be set up in every Canadian base and outpost overseas. Each HARM member carried a special monitoring rig attached to their load bearing equipment. All personnel could be monitored through the SCMRLs from Ottawa and all conversations, brainwaves, and bodily

functions could be recorded and used as evidence in disciplinary action if required. SCMRL also permitted HARM to use a non-hierarchical structure since most activity was controlled from DFA HQ in Ottawa. Dixon and Langlois were the only superior personnel in HARM and were mostly used as Canadian representatives in local liaison.

Just then the medical assistant approached Dixon. "I have also started the distribution of Rovenonal tablets to HARM team members." This was also mandated by law. Rovenonal was an experimental alcohol and sexual activity suppressant. Some HARM members joked that they couldn't even play Poker while they were on the stuff. In a collective giggle, life groupings of HARM personnel, also called Pods, lined up at the Medical Inspection Routine tent to get their dosage after stopping work on the geodesic domes and windmills under construction. SCMRL also monitored Rovenonal levels in the blood stream and alerted the HARM medical staff if they dropped too low so that new doses could be administered.

Once these measures were completed, Dixon and her staff proceeded to track down the Mongolian truck company. Other contingents on this operation had access to helicopters, but since DFA did not want to insult the host nation, Department representatives signed a transport MOU to prop up the local economy. Dixon thought this was crap, but the attitude adjuster light on the SCMRL rig lit up and she had to stop that thought before it was recorded on her permanent computer file.

Ottawa had directed Dixon to move HARM elements to a remote region of the country. The other contingents had selected safe areas and, because these countries contributed the bulk of the mission's personnel and resources, Canada was pushed down on the priority list. DFA HQ thought this could be turned into an advantage. Even though the HARM deployment area was the farthest area of operations away from the airhead, DFA thought it could use this as leverage within the coalition. "We're doing more good in a more dangerous area," noted a DFA bureaucrat in the HARM operations centre in the Right Honourable Howard Green Building, "once we get the media in there, we'll get great optics which we can then peddle within the General Assembly." His companion quipped, "Yeah, and it'll boost our image here as well. Isn't the HARM commander from the Maritimes? I can see the headlines now...'HARM Marm in Command'. That'll be worth a few thousand votes."

The last Newfoundlander to command a high-profile overseas mission was the dashing and charismatic but now disgraced Colonel East. Mackenzie "Papineau" East had commanded JTF-2, the former Canadian Army's counterterrorism and special operations force. The Canadian Embassy in Bermuda had been seized by narco-terrorists, who threatened to blow the place up if Canadian banks did not relinquish their "imperialist-

capitalist strangle hold" on the economic system on the island. The seizure had taken place after Domestic Tranquillity units raided a massive off-shore drug lab in Nunavut. Appeals to Canada's allies to conduct a rescue operation fell on deaf ears. After weeks of negotiations during which five DFA personnel were hacked to death by machetes for the CNN cameras, JTF-2 covertly deployed to Bermuda, raided the embassy, and released the hostages in spite of Bermudan protestations.

On the flight home Cuban fighter aircraft intercepted the airliner and forced it to fly to Havana, where JTF-2 personnel were imprisoned pending an international trial. Despite years of cosying up to the Castro regime, little was accomplished by way of quiet diplomacy and the Americans refused to get involved since Canada had made Canadian-Cuban relations a bone of contention since the 1960s. The negative publicity generated by the affair produced low poll ratings which the Government interpreted to mean that the Canadian public wanted JTF-2 disbanded. This was duly accomplished after Canada was attacked in the UN General Assembly by the representative of the Republic of Puerto Rico who demanded censure. After several other Canadian consulates were seized in the Caribbean, DFA decided to withdraw Canadian diplomatic personnel and CIDA money "just to show those guys we mean business," a DFA public spokesperson announced. While DFA pulled out, other nations moved in to fill the vacuum.

HARM mounted up in the decaying former Soviet Maz trucks driven by Mongolian drivers. The journey was a long one, as Dixon and her associates sweated profusely in the nylon and polyester jump suits. Eventually, the convoy reached the deserted village of Rajshiiad. As with the HARM logistics base at the airhead, SCMRLs were set up, as were the geodesic domes and windmills. More Rovenonal was distributed. Dixon and Langlois conducted a visual reconnaissance of the area as the Mongolian trucks departed for points south.

"Nobody told us that there were no refugees here. What gives?" inquired Langlois.

"I don't know. Let's get Ottawa on the line."

The direct patch to the HARM command centre clicked in.

"We are on site. The place is deserted. What's up?"

"Ottawa to HARM-1. You say there are no people there? There must be some mistake. Perhaps you were dropped off in the wrong area. CNN and the print media indicated that Rajshiiad was a major collection centre for refugees."

"Well, sir, there is nobody here."

HARM Control covered his headset mike and spoke to his assistant.

"Can we get a satellite overflight and check this out?" he asked.

"Well, I could call our representative at U.S. Space Command in Colorado."

"Do it."

Jameson, the Control assistant, got on the internet and attempted to email the Department of World Peace representative at USSPACECOM. There was no reply. Jameson then contacted the DFA Space Operations branch in Ottawa. "Who is our rep in Colorado?" he inquired.

"We don't have one any more. The Americans terminated our last position once we pulled out of NORAD after refusing to bow to American pressure to purchase a new fighter aircraft to replace the CF-18's. Didn't you get the memo?"

Jameson checked the DFA database. "We have a treaty with the Americans on exchange of satellite-based intelligence. They can't do this to us, can they?"

"I'm afraid they can," the Space rep asserted. "After we refused to significantly contribute to the Second Gulf War and then publicly condemned the Americans for leading the coalition to liberate Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, they turned it all off."

"Well, we sent a hospital unit and a water purifier," Jameson grumbled, "Wasn't that enough? It was proportional to Canadian interests at the time!"

After several hours, Jameson learned that there was a Canadian satellite which had cameras in the one meter resolution range, which was enough to do the job. The Canadian Space Agency would not, however, allow DFA access to imagery of the area. Citing the treaty on the banning the military uses of outer space, CSA told Jameson they would be breaking international law if they allowed DFA access to imagery of a foreign country where military forces were deployed.

In desperation, Jameson contacted the UN Force Commander to get information on the region where HARM was deployed. "I am not permitted by New York to gather information and generate military intelligence. This is a national responsibility," he calmly told Jameson.

Dixon received the same reply once she was able to contact the Force Commander. Brigadier Hanjoon of the Indo-Pakistan Army had been against deploying the ill-equipped Canadian HARM unit to the Rajshiiad region but had been overruled by the Canadian Government. Who was he to interfere with national prerogatives? His best equipped units were Indo-Pakistani, Indonesian, and Nigerian. He wasn't about to send his most capable units to an area that didn't matter.

During the night, a rebel reconnaissance group used its state of the art night vision equipment to examine the Canadian encampment in Rajshiiad. The main force ensured that their laser sights on the minigrenade launchers were charged up and scimitars sharpened. A hacker booted up his palmtop computer and prepared to jam HARM's communications with

the main UN Force headquarters. The rebel leader was shrewd. He had learned well in the training camp in the unnamed Balkan country. Part of his training consisted of operations analysis of Somalia, Rwanda, Zaire, and the failed Burma mission of 2011. Strike a link in the UN force chain, and strike it hard, and the mission will fold under diplomatic and political pressure.

HARM sentries wandered about the perimeter in pairs while the HARM command staff tried to get some sleep in the heat. The rebels jumped the unarmed sentries who were unable to resist because hand to hand combat training had been banned by DFA HQ. Their throats were slit and the blood began to flow.

Laser guided mngrenades rained onto the HARM camp destroying generators, the mess dome, and the one jeep. The HARM communications team in the command centre found that a virus had invaded the force command link, though the SCMRL remained up. The rebels swarmed over the camp, while a rebel equipped with a digital camera recorded the operation and prepared to feed the data to their website.

Back in the HARM Control Centre in the Axworthy Building, the duty officer was roused by the staff. "HARM-1 SCMRL data is dropping off. We have no lifesigns, boss!" an assistant shouted.

Jameson ran to the operations centre which had displayed biofeedback data on large screens. Many had flatlined.

"Give me an SCMRL camera, NOW!"

At least two links were still up, one of which was monitoring Dixon and Langlois.

One link showed a man named Stevenson. His SCMRL readout noted that he had not been taking his drug issue for the past eight hours. The Personnel Desk noted that Stevenson had been discovered to have violent anti-social tendencies but was allowed to remain in HARM if he took his medication regularly. Stevenson armed himself with an axe and killed several of the rebel attackers before he succumbed to an entire magazine of autorifle fire. The other HARM personnel, their violent tendencies suppressed by Rovenonal, were sitting ducks for the rebels and acted more like sheep before they were ruthlessly killed. The Personnel Desk noted that in future operations, people with violent tendencies should be fully weeded out. Drugs were no substitute.

Four scimitar-wielding rebels were all over Dixon and Langlois before they could realize what was happening. The SCMRL caught everything and beamed it back to Ottawa in real

time. Both people were stripped of their fluorescent orange coveralls, brutally raped, and then mutilated in full colour, high resolution images. The sensitive microphones picked up their frenzied screams and blood splashed over the SCMRL lens, leaving an opaque distorted image.

The HARM Control staff were heaving their dinners up in the control room when the Deputy Minister and the Minister arrived in the DFA conference room to handle damage control.

"This can't go to Cabinet. We'll have to handle it at our level," schemed Bird. "What will the public think? If they see this, we might as well shut down the Department of Foreign Affairs. They'll never let us conduct humanitarian operations again!"

In the end, the committee decided to erase all SCMRL imagery relating to the massacre and release soothing language to the press indicating that there had been an accident in which several HARM personnel had been injured and killed. The Prime Minister was discretely informed and he approved of these measures to prevent political backlash from Frank magazine, the only remaining voice of dissent left in print.

The mandarins had forgotten that there were always enterprising young men and women in cyberspace. One of these individuals was adept at intercepting satellite traffic for his personal amusement. Even though he was a borderline sociopath, he was slightly disturbed by the imagery of the HARM massacre and was able to break into the CBC nightly news broadcast and play the disk of the final moments of Dixon and Langlois.

A mother and her son were walking down the street in Toronto when the bloody images were played out on a dozen high definition TV sets in the window of a store. They both gazed at the images and continued on their way.

"They have gone too far. Putting the Pornography Channel on at six o'clock! What's society coming to?" she tut-tutted.