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CANADIAN FORCES COLLEGE / COLLÈGE DES FORCES CANADIENNES  
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MASTER OF DEFENCE STUDIES

**THE CANADIAN DEPLOYMENT TO SOMALIA – A STRATEGIC FAILURE**

By /par LCol M.R. Voith

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## INTRODUCTION

In December 1992, Canadian Forces personnel deployed to Somalia with other like-minded nations to stave off a humanitarian crisis as part of a United States coalition, Unified Task Force (UNITAF). The country of Somalia had tumbled into anarchy, with no effective government and a growing humanitarian crisis. The Somali situation assumed international proportions late in 1992. International news media began extensive reporting on the situation, quickly raising the plight of the Somalia people to epic proportions. Four years of civil war and three years of drought had left two of the seven million inhabitants on the brink of starvation.<sup>1</sup>

The United Nations was unable to effectively respond to the crisis in Somalia. Despite numerous resolutions, and the establishment of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) the situation continued to deteriorate. The United States resurrected from the ashes of a failing UNOSOM mission, a coalition sanctioned by the United Nations. This coalition was authorized under Chapter VII under the United Nations Charter as a peace enforcement mission with a humanitarian aim.<sup>2</sup> Twenty-three nations contributed to the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) under the name *Operation Restore Hope* with the number of troops deployed quickly rising to 49,535.<sup>3</sup>

The mission of UNITAF was to:

- a. Conduct military operations to secure air and sea port facilities, key installations and major relief distribution sites;
- b. Provide open and free passage for humanitarian relief supplies; and

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<sup>1</sup> Wallace Bruce. *Maclean's*. p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations Security Council Resolution 794(1992).

<sup>3</sup> Department of National Defence. *Canadian Joint Forces Somalia In the Line of Duty 1992-1993*. p.23.

- c. Provide security for relief convoys, relief organizations and assist in providing humanitarian relief under United Nations Auspices.<sup>4</sup>

The deployment to Somalia was among several Canadian Forces operations in a flurry of international missions in support of the United Nations and North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the post Cold War era. In most cases, Canada did not have any national interests in these areas but continued to be concerned with global stability to maintain global trade, thus allowing Canadians to prosper economically. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union ushered in a new age where failed states and rising nationalism created bush fires around the world for which Canada took a leading role in trying to resolve these conflicts. A charter member of the United Nations, and a promoter of multilateralism<sup>5</sup>, Canada was quick to demonstrate a leadership role, actively supporting this new activist vision of the United Nations. In the Somali crisis, Canada supported the United Nations in responding to the situation, which ultimately led to the deployment of UNITAF under the leadership of the United States.

The humanitarian effort performed by Canada and the international community to halt the humanitarian disaster in Somalia was noble and a significant gesture in humanitarianism. Unfortunately, politicians in Canada, officials in the United Nations and members of the United States administration, did not clearly articulate the underlying problems that were affecting Somalia. The vision of the international community was short term – deliver humanitarian aid. There were no long term political goals, nor was there a vision for conflict termination or resolution. The delivery of humanitarian aid would only temporarily address the symptom but not the disease.

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<sup>4</sup> Department of National Defence. *Canadian Joint Forces Somalia In the Line of Duty 1992-1993. p.20.*

<sup>5</sup> Multilateralism. Working within agreements, treaties and international organizations in which there are three or more countries participating.

UNITAF concluded operations in March 1993 at the insistence of the United States and a follow on mission, UNOSOM II was created on 26 March 1993 to continue United Nations operations in Somalia. With a wider United Nations mandate, but with fewer resources, UNOSOM II functioned until March 1995 when it was withdrawn from Somalia unable to help solve the countries plaguing problems. Today, Somalia remains a failed state.

The intent of this paper is to examine the Somalia deployment from a Canadian strategic perspective. This paper will demonstrate that there was no political end-state articulated by the Canadian Government or the United Nations, the Canadian decision making process was flawed and there was no vision defined for conflict termination or resolution. Tactically, UNITAF succeeded in executing its assigned mission. However, it only dealt with the physical symptoms of a failed state, and not the underlying political problems. Military action was not harnessed to a viable political end state. As such, the operation was a strategic failure, and Somalia remains to this day a crippled state.

The socio-economic and the political situation that existed in Somalia will be described, since it is impossible to understand the magnitude of the Somali problem without clearly knowing the situation prior to the deployment of forces. Canadian foreign policy, the notion of Canadian interests in Somalia, as well as the decision to deploy the Canadian Airborne Regiment Battle Group, will be explored to frame the thesis. This paper is not meant to down play the efforts of nations, particularly Canada, in helping the Somali people, but rather to expose the requirement for Canada to ensure that its limited military resources are employed for long-standing international impact.

## THE SOMALIA SITUATION

To understand the humanitarian disaster that befell Somalia in the early 1990's and why the international community took notice of the Somali's plight, it is necessary to understand why Somalia devolved into anarchy. Somalia, situated in the Horn of Africa, was molded by a combination of its climate, the formation of clans and the imposition of colonial rule by the British, French and Italians in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. With a landmass of roughly 637,000 km<sup>2</sup>, Somalia is approximately the size of Alberta. It is bounded on the north by the

Gulf of Aden and to the east by the Indian Ocean. To the northwest and west lie the countries of Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya.

The climate is hot and dry. The land is comprised of thorn bush savannah and semi-desert. Somalia does not have any natural resources; there are no railways and only 2820 km of paved roads. The economic mainstay of Somalia is agriculture. Approximately half the population practices nomadic pastoralism: that is, the raising of beef,



sheep and goats. The remaining half live in permanently settled communities farming along rivers and water sources. Exports include livestock, mainly to Saudi Arabia, and bananas to

Italy and neighbouring Arab countries. In the late 1980's less than 10% of Somalia's gross domestic product was attributed to industry.<sup>6</sup> The majority of the population is Muslim.

The Horn of Africa may be divided into four topographical zones; the coastal plains, the northeastern mountain system, central plateau of the Haud lands, and the fertile inter-river area of the southwest. The coastal plain, which stretches from Djibouti along the Gulf of Aden, is characterized by lava rock, a scarcity of water and intense heat. During the months of June to September it is deserted except for the cities of Djibouti (150,000 inhabitants) and Berbera (70,000 inhabitants). Some of the hottest temperatures on earth have been registered in the coastal plain. This area receives less than 10 cm of rain per year. The northeastern mountains extends westward into Ethiopia rising to an altitude of 2,700 metres, while a large plateau of an



average altitude of 1,000 metres, also known as the Haud, lies before the mountain range. This area is significant, as this large plateau has traditionally supported Somali herdsman and their livestock during the rainy season when the grass is

green. Unfortunately, this plateau does not have a permanent water supply, and once the green grass starts to dry, herdsman are forced to migrate to the coast where there is an abundance of wells to support their animals. This point is significant in that during the colonial era of the

<sup>6</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica Online.*

British, Italians and the French, artificial boundaries were established in the Horn of Africa which created borders which nomads had to cross or were denied for their livelihood to provide pasture and water for their livestock which they had been doing for centuries. Between the Jubba River and Shabeelle River in the southwest are rich fertile soils, which support agriculture.<sup>7</sup>

The social structure of the Somali people is linked to the environment and like most nomadic peoples is based on the clan. The clan provides security and guarantees the physical welfare of its members. Clans can recite their roots as far back as 30 generations to a mythical common ancestor. Since the clan provides security and welfare to its members, allegiance is to one's clan. Violation leads to shunning and ostracization. Clan lineages must not be confused with western family trees, which are rigid and fixed. Clan roots are fluid and dynamic to fit the situation when it is politically convenient to do so.<sup>8</sup> Foreigners visiting Somalia are often frustrated: depending on the situation and advantages to the clan, clan allegiances and relationships change. There are four major pastoral clan families (the Dir, Daarood, Isaaq, and Hawiye) and two agricultural ones (the Digil and Rahanwayn).<sup>9</sup>

Within the Somali culture there has always been a certain level of friction and conflict, most of which has historically revolved around pasture and water for animals. As clans moved around the country they would often come into contact with other clans in search for the scarce resources of water and pasture. The resolution of conflict in Somalia is a way of life. It is a complex process supported by elders and customary law. Somalis are egalitarian people who believe in the principle of equal rights. Therefore, there is no single leader within a clan, but

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<sup>7</sup> Laitin, David D., and Samatar, Said S. *Somalia Nation in Search of a State*. p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Menkhaus, Kenneth. Testimony - *Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia*, Volume 7. p. 1273.

<sup>9</sup> Laitin, David D., and Samatar, Said S. *Somalia Nation in Search of a State*. p. 30.

rather all males participate in decision-making; there is rule by consensus. One single individual cannot make decisions for the whole clan, but must bring back proposals for all the males in the clan to review and decide upon. To members of western societies, this is a source of extreme frustration when trying to identify the leadership of a clan or area or trying to reach timely decisions on issues affecting the Somali people. Somalis are suspicious of any central authority or government. The identification of the Somali people by clan has in essence made this a stateless society. Traditionally, borders did not bind them. In general terms, they are a homogenous society that more or less shares the same language and culture. There are, however, minor differences between the clans. “Although all Somalis belong to one ethnic group and enjoy a sense of common identify based on a shared culture, clan loyalty often undercuts the sense of shared nationhood.”<sup>10</sup>

It was the imposition of colonial rule by the British, French and Italians, and the creation of arbitrary borders, that to a large extent contributed to the problems Somalia faces today. The opening of the Suez Canal significantly shortened the route from Britain to India, and coaling stations were required to support steamer services. The British used Aden as a coaling station and over time came to depend on Somae

northeastern Kenya.<sup>11</sup> Somali nomads that wandered in search of pasture and water were now required to cross borders that were artificially created to support their livelihood.

After the Second World War, and the defeat of the axis powers, numerous countries, including Somalia, were placed under United Nations trusteeship to assist in the transition from colonial status to independent statehood. Somalia was placed under United Nations trusteeship under the control of the Italians and in 1960 the country gained independence as a democratic state with a democratically elected government. Nevertheless, there was considerable dissatisfaction among the Somali population that all Somalis were not united. The Somali flag with the five points of the star, represented thonsiderabl47

Somali constitution. This was completed in 1961 with significant controversy. The constitution had been developed in the south prior to Somalia gaining independence and therefore had significant support from the population in that part of the country. There was little support for the constitution in the north. Nevertheless, it was ratified in June 1961.

The constitution debate created significant tension in the country, and in December 1961 there was a coup in the north by military officers attempting to break up the union of north and south. The attempt failed, and tensions between Somalis in the north and south. Between 1961 and 1969 there were numerous elections and power shifts as various leaders and clans struggled for control. The government apparatus was weak and did little to govern the country. The country fragmented and despite attempts to gain international backing, the calls by Somali leaders to unify other Somali territories were ignored and not supported.

In 1964, a border conflict erupted between Somalia and Ethiopia over the Ogaden region in Ethiopia, which was contained by Ethiopia without resolution. Somalia also experienced a crisis in developing a written language. The country did not have a universal written language, resulting in no common education standards. This had a significant impact on the government bureaucracy. Three options consisting of an indigenous, Arabic or Latin script were presented, but the issue was so controversial and charged with emotion that the government did not make a decision. The result was the slow introduction of English, which began to polarize the country even further. Somalis from the north, namely British Somaliland, had a marked advantage within the public service since they were more familiar with the English language.<sup>16</sup>

During the Cold War, the Horn of Africa became an important strategic region for the United States and the Soviet Union, due to its proximity to the rich oil countries of the Middle

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<sup>16</sup> Laitin, David D., and Samatar, Said S. *Somalia Nation in Search of a State*. p.75.

East and strategic lines of communications from the west and east. Commencing in the 1960's both superpowers maintained a keen interest in the area. Immediately after gaining independence, the Somali government recognized the requirement to maintain a large army if it was to achieve its goal of re-integrating territories. Somalia was unable to fund such a huge expense and therefore a huge investment in foreign aid was required. The United States was already courting Ethiopia and had established an American military communications base at Kagnew near Asmera in Eritrea.<sup>17</sup> Since the United States had already established interests in the area foreign aid was not provided to Somalia. To gain a foothold in the area, the Soviet Union quickly filled the void and by 1962 had agreed to provide US\$52 million and build Somalia's army to a strength of 14,000. Tanks, armoured vehicles and MiG-15 and MiG-17 aircrafts along with three hundred military advisors, were furnished. Throughout the 1960's, the Soviet Union had significant impact on the development of Somalia.<sup>18</sup>

On 21 October 1969, Major-General Mahammad Siyaad Barre, the highest-ranking officer in the Somali army, seized power in a military coup. The Somali people met the coup with overwhelming approval. Initially, Barre made great strides in attempting to resolve the problems that plagued Somalia. He instituted, with the assistance of the Soviet Union, *scientific socialism*. Scientific socialism is a general ideological framework for policy development over five-year increments. Barre set out to achieve language reform and social equality.<sup>19</sup> As part of Barre's scientific socialism programme, institutions such as banks and insurance companies were nationalized, and clans were abolished in an attempt to reunite the country and select people based on merit and not on their clan. He also instituted an ambitious literacy campaign and agricultural reform. Funds were provided by the Soviet Union to advance his policies.

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<sup>17</sup> Eritrea was formerly part of Ethiopia.

<sup>18</sup> Laitin, David D., and Samatar, Said S. *Somalia Nation in Search of a State*. p. 78.

By 1975, his programs began to lose steam, and over time “degenerated into an increasingly authoritarian and repressive regime.”<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, Barre tried to maintain control of the country and the various clans. The National Security Service of Somalia began to impose itself on the privacy of citizens and there was a complete loss of free expression.<sup>21</sup> Barre’s oppressive regime only intensified after he lost the war for the Ogaden region with Ethiopia in 1977/1978. This defeat represented a significant setback for Barre. The notion of Somali nationalism faltered and open clan allegiances destroyed what cohesion had been established since independence in 1960.

From a superpower perspective, the war in the Ogaden region marked a shift in power in the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia had a change in leadership, resulting in the expulsion of the United States and the establishment of a new relationship with the Soviet Union. During the war between Ethiopia and Somalia, the Soviet Union was confronted with the dilemma of supporting two allies. The Soviets chose their new larger and richer ally, Ethiopia. Military support to Somalia was suspended and approximately 4000 Soviet military advisors were transferred to Ethiopia with an associated influx of arms.<sup>22</sup>

The economic situation began to falter. Somalia had always been dependent on foreign aid; however, by 1980, 100% of the country’s development budget, and 50% of recurring budget costs, were funded by external sources. The majority of foreign aid came first, from the Soviet Union, and then the United States. During the early years of involvement with the Soviet Union much of the money was spent on developing the largest army in Sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Laitin, David D., and Samatar, Said S.. *Somalia Nation in Search of a State*. p. 82.

<sup>20</sup> Menkhaus, Kenneth. Testimony - *Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia*, Volume 7. p. 1298.

<sup>21</sup> Laitin, David D., and Samatar, Said S.. *Somalia Nation in Search of a State*. p. 88.

<sup>22</sup> United Nations Technical Team to Somalia Report. p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Menkhaus, Kenneth. Testimony - *Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia*, Volume 7. p. 1298.

“Somalia’s economic and political situation deteriorated steadily through the 1980s as Siad Barre became more tyrannical and unpredictable. His government’s economic policies seemed to have no beneficial effects for the population at large, and the American aid programme was quite insufficient to meet the country’s needs.”<sup>24</sup> Barre was facing continuous challenges from various armed clans trying to overthrow his government. Weapons within the country were widely available due to the demobilizing of the Ethiopian army in the late 70’s and early 80’s. Ethiopian soldiers readily crossed the border into northern Somalia and sold weapons for cash.

In a 1988 coup attempt, Barre responded with force, which resulted in hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing to Ethiopia and charges of genocide by the United States.<sup>25</sup> Africa Watch estimated that approximately 50,000 to 60,000 members of the Issaq clan were killed in the violence.<sup>26</sup> These act of aggression coincided with the easing of tensions between the East and West, whereby the strategic significance of the Horn of Africa began to decline. The United States subsequently suspended all foreign aid due to the human rights allegations. With no money coming into the country, Somalia was further paralyzed and within two years the country collapsed completely.

Fighting continued in the country, and Barre forces were pushed to Mogadishu and the surrounding area. Barre was commonly referred to as the “Mayor of Mogadishu” as this was the only part of Somalia that he controlled towards the end of his leadership. In January 1991, Barre was overthrown by a group of clans, who then engage in a struggle amongst themselves for control of Mogadishu and the country. Looting was pervasive, and infrastructure destroyed in an attempt to salvage materials to be sold for hard currency. The country was sub-divided with no

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<sup>24</sup> United Nations Technical Team to Somalia Report. p. 7.

<sup>25</sup> Menkhaus, Kenneth. Testimony - *Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia*, Volume 7. p. 1302.

<sup>26</sup> Makinda, Samuel, M. *Security in the Horn of Africa*. p. 30.

real control. “The country began to be gripped by what some people began to call “Mad Max” anarchy where roaming bands of militia men and bandits wandered the streets looting, taking whatever they could, answering to no one whatsoever, in some ways transforming society.”<sup>27</sup> Troops commanded by General Mohamed Farah Aideed and Ali Mahdi Mohamed fought each other for control of Mogadishu.

With the exception of the Red Cross, Somalia was virtually abandoned by the international community<sup>28</sup> in 1991.<sup>29</sup> War and severe drought within the country had severely disrupted farming practices and the international distribution of food aid. The Red Cross predicted a human disaster early in 1991. By 1992, the Red Cross estimated that 95 percent of Somalis were malnourished, while 70 percent were severely malnourished. By September 1992 the Red Cross estimated that 1.5 million Somalis faced imminent starvation, while 4.5 million were relying on external food aid.<sup>30</sup> Clan gangs stole as much as 50 percent of food aid shipments arriving in Somalia. Relief agencies were forced to hire armed clan members to protect food shipments. These hired gunmen became known as “technicals”, as relief agencies called them technical advisors in order to pay the bills for their services.

What had been for centuries a nomadic, pastoral country, divided by clans for the survival of its people, had become a lawless state of millions of starving people. The imposition of arbitrary borders, western style governments and Cold War feuds between the United States and the Soviet Union had destroyed the country. The problems of Somalia were much more serious than feeding the Somali people. Civil law and order and public security had broken

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<sup>27</sup> Menkhaus, Kenneth. Testimony - *Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia*, Volume 7. p. 1307.

<sup>28</sup> International community – refers primarily to the richer nations of the world (United States, Japan, Germany, Great Britain, Canada etc.) who are economically and politically able to provide foreign aid to third world nations.

<sup>29</sup> Patman, Robert G. *Disarming Somalia: The contrasting fortunes of United States and Australian peacekeepers during United Nations intervention, 1992–1993*. p. 509.

<sup>30</sup> Clark, Jeffrey. *Debauchery in Somalia*. p.111.

down completely. There was no effective police force, corrections or court system. A system of governance was completely absent with no public service or system to collect taxes for the maintenance and restoration of public infrastructure. Finally, the human rights record was atrocious and there was a genuine requirement for social reconciliation. All of these issues were well beyond the ability of the Somali clan leaders to solve, as they were engaged in a war of control. This was a problem that only the United Nations could correct with careful implementation of a long-term plan.

## **CANADIAN FOREIGN AND DEFENCE POLICY**

Canada occupies a unique position in the world in that it lives beside one of the great superpowers, the United States. Canada, as a country has matured since confederation in that she has altered here security arrangements and economic ties over time. Initially, Canada was reliant on Great Britain for security and trade; however, this relationship began to change after the First World War and became a matter of fact during the Second World War as Canada forged closer economic and security ties with the United States. The Ogdensburg Declaration of 17 August 1940 welded this relationship together whereby Canada and the United States began to cooperate very closely in defence and security matters. Nevertheless, Canadian political leaders have always tried to maintain a delicate distance from the United States so as not to appear to be a puppet.

Since the end of the Second World War, Canada has participated with other like-minded nations in the United Nations and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). NATO was established in Washington D.C on 4 April 1949 “to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their people, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law,”<sup>31</sup> while the United Nations provided a forum to debate and solve world issues.

Participation with the United States, NATO, the United Nations and other international organizations is vital to Canada, since our economic well being depends on a secure and stable world. Specifically, Canada depends on trade for its survival. Competitiveness in world markets is vital for our standard of living, the jobs of Canadians across the country, quality of social systems, cultural well being and influence around the world.<sup>32</sup> In order to ensure secure markets Canada needs to promote and protect its interests globally. Therefore, Canada has spent the

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<sup>31</sup> NATO Handbook. p. 527.

better part of the past sixty years promoting agreements, treaties and organizations in which three or more countries participate for solving world problems. Within the Canadian context this is known as multilateralism and has been one of the cornerstones of our foreign policy. Joe Clark, the Foreign Affairs Minister under Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, stated quite eloquently on 14 January 1991: “We are not a great power. We cannot impose order or ignore it. We have no choice but to build it with others co-operatively.”<sup>33</sup>

Shortly after winning the 1984 election, the conservative government initiated a comprehensive review of foreign and defence policy. In 1985 the green paper, *Competitiveness and Security* was promulgated, followed in 1987 by a new defence white paper, *Challenge and Commitment*. Mulroney’s foreign policy initiatives remained consistent with the former Trudeau government and the themes were similar to the previous Foreign Ministers Paul Martin and Louis St Laurent.<sup>34</sup> The Mulroney government remained committed to multilateralism.

Our membership in such organizations as NATO, the UN, and Commonwealth and la Francophonie are especially valuable assets. Membership in such organizations allows us to influence the policies of larger countries through developing positions, which carry the support of all members. As well, our standing with smaller countries rises as we assist them to have their voices heard collectively and, thereby, to carry more weight. In the past ten years, however, allies have sensed less active and creative participation in some international political institutions.<sup>35</sup>

Mulroney articulated Canadian values and aspirations as: unity, sovereignty, justice and democracy, peace and security, economic prosperity, and the integrity of our natural

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<sup>32</sup> Department of External Affairs. *Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada’s International Relations*, in Granatstein, J.L. *Canadian Foreign Policy – Historical Readings*. p.74.

<sup>33</sup> Cooper, Andrew F. *Canadian Foreign Policy – Old Habits and New Direction*. p. 79.

<sup>34</sup> Melakopides, Costas. *Pragmatic Idealism – Canadian Foreign Policy, 1945-1995*. p.129.

<sup>35</sup> Department of External Affairs. *Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada’s International Relations*, in Granatstein, J.L. *Canadian Foreign Policy – Historical Readings*. p.77.

environment.<sup>36</sup> He forged a foreign affairs policy that promoted Canadian values and interests, but was not hesitant to argue against policies of the United States or Great Britain. Specific examples where Canada took divergent positions were the Strategic Defence Initiative and Britain's stance on apartheid.<sup>37</sup>

The last few months of Mulroney's first term saw significant geopolitical change. The collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1990, and the subsequent demise of the Soviet Union changed the political landscape around the world. Great new economic opportunities presented themselves with a renewed hope for multilateral organizations to be more effective, especially the United Nations. "Some analysts and diplomats believed the United Nations would be unfettered by superpower confrontation and could take its rightful place as world mediator."<sup>38</sup> However, the displacement of the Soviet Union also created a significant power vacuum around the world and produced some destabilization in many areas. Many of these conflicts were characterized by intra state violence with religious, cultural and ethnic overtones.

These geopolitical changes provided the conservative government with a significant opportunity to exploit multilateralism to solve some of these problems. The ambitious defence white paper of 1987, *Challenge and Commitment* was shelved as it was neither relevant nor affordable in the post Cold War era. A foreign policy revision titled, *Foreign Policy Themes and Priorities 1991-92 Update* was issued. The update reiterated that Canada's foreign policy was based on the need to promote and protect Canadian interests and values around the world. Similarly it acknowledged "new threats to international security – environmentally unsustainable practices, proliferation, irregular migration – are supplanting the former bipolar paradigm of the

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<sup>36</sup> Department of External Affairs. *Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada's International Relations*, in Granatstein, J.L. *Canadian Foreign Policy – Historical Readings*. p.73.

<sup>37</sup> Michaud, Nelson and Nossal, Kim Richard. *Diplomatic Departures – The Conservative Era in Canadian Foreign Policy, 1984-93*. p.291.

Cold War.”<sup>39</sup> In the United Nations there was greater optimism that the organization would be able to resolve regional conflicts and settle large scale internal crises in a number of trouble states<sup>40</sup> given the geopolitical change that was being experienced. The permanent members of the Security Council believed that, now that the Cold War was over, partisan action would cease. The Mulroney government was equally optimistic. In an address to Sanford University on 29 September 1991, Prime Minister Mulroney stated, “Canada was receptive to re-thinking the limits of national sovereignty in a world where problems respect no boundaries.”<sup>41</sup> Several days previously on 25 September 1991, Barbara McDougall stated at the United Nations General Assembly: “we must not allow the principle of non-intervention to impede an effective international response....the concept of sovereignty must respect higher principles including the need to preserve human life from wanton destruction.”<sup>42</sup>

On 31 January 1992, the Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros Ghali presented his unprecedented document *An Agenda for Peace*. Acknowledging a new world order, Boutros Ghali sought to enforce the United Nations charter so as to further peace and security, justice, human rights, social progress, and higher standards of living.<sup>43</sup> The document acknowledged the global transitions from the end of the Cold War where nationalism was on the rise and states were being threatened by internal strife. Prior to 1990, the Security Council could not deal with many of the conflicts around the world because 279 vetoes had been cast. Between 31 May 1990 and the issuing of *An Agenda for Peace* (January 1992), none had been cast. The Secretary General introduced new definitions of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and

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<sup>38</sup> Maloney, Sean M. *Canada and UN Peacekeeping Cold War by Other Means, 1945-1970*. p.4.

<sup>39</sup> Department of External Affairs. *Foreign Policy Themes and Priorities 1991-92*, in Granatstein, J.L., *Canadian Foreign Policy – Historical Readings*. p.87.

<sup>40</sup> Hillen, John. *Blue Helmets The Strategy of UN Military Operations*. p. x.

<sup>41</sup> Cooper, Andrew F. *Canadian Foreign Policy – Old Habits and New Directions*. p. 183.

<sup>42</sup> Cooper, Andrew F. *Canadian Foreign Policy – Old Habits and New Direction.*, p. 183.

<sup>43</sup> United Nations. *An Agenda for Peace*.

peacekeeping.<sup>44</sup> In this document he put forward the notion that, should peaceful means fail in resolving a dispute, then measures provided in Chapter VII should be used. Specifically Article 42<sup>45</sup> could be invoked, whereby force would be used to maintain or restore international peace and security. These desires saw a significant rise in United Nations participation around the world. Between 1945 and 1987, thirteen peace-keeping operations were established while thirteen had been established in five years between 1987 and 1992.<sup>46</sup> Canada played an impressive role in this post Cold War vision and in a speech late in 1991, Barbara McDougall would enunciate the Canadian governments position towards the United Nations:

Mechanized Brigade Group stationed in Southern Germany. At the height of the mission in the Balkans, Canada had 2,106 soldiers serving under the United Nations.<sup>48</sup> Between 1991 and 1995 Canada would participate in 14 United Nations Missions (Table 2).

**Table 2 - Canadian Participation in New Peacekeeping Missions, 1991-1995**

<b>International Mission</b>	<b>CF Members</b>
Gulf War	500
UN Observer for the Verification of Elections in Haiti (ONUVEH)	11
UN Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM)	301
UN Mission for the Referendum in the Western Sahara (MINURSO)	740
UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II)	15
UN Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL)	2
UN Advanced Mission in Cambodia (UNTAC)	214
UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR)	2,008
UN Operations in Mozambique (ONUSOM)	15
UN Operations in Somalia (UNISOM I)	5
Unified Task Force (UNITAF)	1,260
UN Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR)	2
UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR)	2
<b>Source:</b> Michaud, Nelson and Nossal, Kim Richard, <i>Diplomatic Departures – The Conservative Era in Canadian Foreign Policy, 1984-93</i> , p.122. (Modified by author)	

There are several reasons that can explain the Mulroney Government's unprecedented desire to take center stage in world affairs. By taking a lead role Canada demonstrated its commitment to multilateral organizations and showed that it was a good "citizen" within the international community. This drive for multilateralism would be the catalyst in shaping the world, a vision Canada would like to see for solving world problems. It would also boost Canada's standing around the world and help re-gain her faltering status and influence among her NATO allies. Canada had not been maintaining defence spending rates set by NATO and there was a consensus that Canada was not punching above its weight.<sup>49</sup> Additionally the

<sup>48</sup> United Nations, Department of Peacekeeping Operations. [www.un.org](http://www.un.org).

<sup>49</sup> Cooper, Andrew F. *Canadian Foreign Policy – Old Habits and New Directions*. p. 184.

Mulroney government had recently announced the withdrawal of Canadian Forces from Europe.<sup>50</sup>

Involvement in United Nations operations, particularly the mission in Croatia, and the possible expanded mission into Bosnia, would serve to highlight Canada's resolve and commitment towards the future security in Europe even though troops were no longer deployed in Europe.<sup>51</sup> Canada's active involvement in peacekeeping would also help distance the Mulroney government from appearing to be too close to United States policies. Mulroney had established a close relationship with the President of the United States, symbolized in the news media by Prime Minister and Mrs. Mulroney, together with President and Mrs. Reagan singing Irish songs during the 'Shamrock Summit' in Quebec City.

Finally, Mulroney's personal popularity in Canada was waning at this stage of his second mandate. The Conservative Government had fought a fierce campaign for public approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement between Canada, the United States and Mexico. Having Canada participate in United Nations operations created an active link between the Canadian government and the Canadian psyche with respect to Canada's longstanding role in peacekeeping operations, and thus diverting criticism at home.<sup>52</sup>

Unfortunately, Canada's foreign policy vision, beyond acting in a multilateral way, was never really defined in terms of the national interest or long term political goals for various international missions. Certainly, Canada was active in promoting the values of justice and democracy, peace and security and economic prosperity. Canadians valued these concepts and it is certainly no coincidence that Canada was identified as the best country in the world for several years in a row. However, in committing Canada to multilateral overseas intervention, the

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<sup>50</sup> Cooper, Andrew F. *Canadian Foreign Policy – Old Habits and New Directions*. p. 184.

<sup>51</sup> Cooper, Andrew F. *Canadian Foreign Policy – Old Habits and New Directions*. p. 184.

government neglected to insist that our United Nations sponsored military participation be predicated on achievable political endstates. The absence of such planning would become tragically evident after Canada's commitment to Somalia ended in March, 1993.

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<sup>32</sup> Cooper, Andrew F. *Canadian Foreign Policy – Old Habits and New Directions*. p. 186.

## **CANADA'S INVOLVEMENT IN SOMALIA**

In early 1992, the United Nations intervened in Somalia. The evolving human disaster was coming on the heels of the large United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) deployment to Yugoslavia, and there was not overwhelming enthusiasm to launch another operation. In January 1992, United Nations Resolution 733(1992) was adopted by the Security Council under Chapter VII, immediately implementing a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia.<sup>53</sup> Subsequently, resolution 746 (1992) was adopted by the United Nations Security Council on 17 March 1992. This resolution called for a United Nations technical team to be dispatched to Somalia with a view to preparing an operational plan for a tentative cease-fire that had been agreed to by warring factions in Mogadishu and to investigate the delivery of humanitarian assistance to people on the brink of starvation.<sup>54</sup> The Technical Team subsequently reported to the Secretary General:

The difficulties of providing relief assistance under prevailing conditions in many parts of Somalia are evident and the safety of relief personnel engaged in humanitarian assistance remains a paramount concern. Nevertheless, given the magnitude of the crisis and its threat to the stability of other countries within the Horn of Africa, no time can be lost in mounting large-scale relief efforts. In this regard, the paradox facing the international community should be noted: without security, relief assistance will continue to be severely constrained, but without relief assistance programmes, the prospects for security are at best precarious.<sup>55</sup>

The technical report analysed the security situation with the delivery of humanitarian aid in mind. However the underlying reasons why Somalia was in chaos were never addressed in the report. No analysis was undertaken to determine what the longer term requirements of the

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<sup>53</sup> United Nations Security Council Resolution 733(1992).

<sup>54</sup> United Nations Security Council Resolution 746(1992).

<sup>55</sup> United Nations S/23829, p. 13.

United Nations should be to solve the problems of Somalia as a failed state, and not just the humanitarian crises that was unfolding. The technical report merely detailed “matters pertaining to the mechanisms for the monitoring of the cease fire and for ensuring the effective distribution of humanitarian assistance, matters pertaining to humanitarian assistance and matters pertaining to the activities of Non-Governmental Organizations.”<sup>56</sup>

On 17 March 1992, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 751, which established the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM), calling for the immediate deployment of 50 United Nations Observers to monitor a cease-fire<sup>57</sup> previously brokered on 3 March 1992 in Mogadishu between Ali Mahdi and the Aideen factions. The resolution also provided for a security force comprised of a 500-man infantry battalion. The United Nations observers would monitor the ceasefire, while the security force would provide protection for United Nations relief workers and their equipment and supplies at the seaport and airport in Moghadishu. The security force would also escort relief supplies from the city to distribution centers within Somalia.

The 50 man observer force was to deploy by mid-May. A Department of External Affairs Canada memorandum described the force composition as follows:

Countries have been approached by the United Nations for five observers each on the following geographic basis: four African countries: three Asian: and one each from Latin America, Eastern Europe, and Western Europe or North America. Of the Western European/North American nations, both Canada and Finland have been asked, with only one of the two to contribute, Canada or Finland. If either accepts, it would provide a Colonel to command the force.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> United Nations. *United Nations Technical Team to Somalia Report 21 March to 3 April 1992.*

<sup>57</sup> United Nations Security Council Resolution 751(1992).

<sup>58</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number FA005280, External Affairs 92 087 dated 24 April 1992.

In a letter from the Chief of the Defence Staff to the Minister of National Defence, General de Chastelain recommended that the Department of National Defence advise External Affairs to decline the United Nations request for observers, as there was a breakdown in Somali infrastructure, lack of control over the warring factions and significant endemic health risks.<sup>59</sup> Additionally, de Chastelain advised that “it seems inevitable that UNOSOM would need to be expanded to include areas other than Mogadishu. Given the magnitude of the Somali problem and the improbability of a political solution in the short term this could turn out to be a long-term and potentially costly operation.”<sup>60</sup> It was assessed early by the Canadian Force central military staff at National Defence Headquarters that the 50 United Nations observers would be at considerable risk should the ceasefire breakdown. The mission did not meet the Department of National Defence’s criteria with respect to safety, security and support for the observers. This was communicated to the Prime Minister in a memorandum from Paul Tellier<sup>61</sup> on 7 May 1992.<sup>62</sup> Even though the Mulroney Government had been sending strong signals with respect to its willingness to support the United Nations, Canada did not participate in the mission. However, General de Chastelain, as a military leader, recognized at the outset the requirement for a political solution in order to make the Somalia operation successful. This had not been considered by either the Department of External Affairs or any of the United Nations resolutions to this point.

Despite the deployment on 5 July 1992 of United Nations military observers, the situation in Somali continued to deteriorate, and only after extensive negotiations was authority granted by

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<sup>59</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number DND000874, Department of National Defence. Memo to the Minister from the Chief of Defence Staff. 1 May 1992. p.1.

<sup>60</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number DND000874, Department of National Defence. Memorandum to the Minister from the Chief of Defence Staff. 1 May 1992. p.2.

<sup>61</sup> Paul M. Tellier – Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet for Prime Minister Mulroney.

<sup>62</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number PCO000343 Memorandum for the Prime Minister. Paul M. Tellier. 7 May 1992. (PCO000343).

the warring factions for the deployment of 500-man battalion from Pakistan. The first elements of this battalion arrived on 14 September 1992.

On 27 July 1992, Resolution 767(1992) was passed requesting airlift operations in support of humanitarian assistance and approving the establishment of four operational zones<sup>63</sup> – Berbera (Northwest), Bossasso (Northeast), Mogadishu and Kismayo (South). A United Nations technical team led by Mr. Robert Gallagher from Canada was dispatched to assess the resources required for an enhanced security force and a humanitarian airlift operation. Staff responsible to Dr. Kenneth J. Calder the Assistant Deputy Minister Policy and Communications within the Department of National Defence quickly analyzed the possible options for the Canadian Forces. They were presented as follows:

- a. Airlift by C130 and C137 aircraft to transport relief supplies.
- b. Medical teams or a Canadian Forces field hospital.
- c. Transportation assets to transport humanitarian relief supplies.
- d. Observers to monitor the cease-fire.
- e. Nation building by deploying engineer or communication units to restore national infrastructure.
- f. A combat unit for operations in one of the newly created operational zones.<sup>64</sup>

The Department of National Defence made recommendation that the following support could be provide in Somalia:

- a. A battalion size security force, to protect the delivery of humanitarian aid.
- b. Airlift and/or ground transportation to deliver humanitarian supplies.
- c. Medical teams or a field hospital to provide humanitarian assistance.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> United Nations Security Council Resolution 767(1992).

The ability of the Canadian Forces to generate these commitments was confirmed by the Chief of the Defence Staff, General de Chastelain. The Privy Council further examined the Department of National Defence's recommendations and developed a *Note on Options for a Canadian Response to the Crisis in Somalia*. The note outlined the current Canadian involvement in Somalia and recommended that Canada could announce the intention to respond incrementally to specific needs as they are identified. For example, Canada would be willing to provide airlift for the distribution of humanitarian aid.<sup>66</sup> In a memorandum to the Prime Minister, Glen Shortliffe<sup>67</sup> recommended that Canada should take a more aggressive approach by "committing ourselves now to play a larger role, including offering troops and encouraging others to act."<sup>68</sup>

The rationale for becoming more involved is unclear, however, this stance, proposed by Shortliffe was in accordance with Canada's foreign policy desires to become an active and aggressive member in the United Nations. However, the government paid little attention to anything but the looming famine and humanitarian disaster. There is little evidence that the government analysed Somalia's long time prospects beyond containment of the immediate humanitarian emergency. The Canadian Ambassador to the United Nations was not provided with instructions to seek a wider mandate for future United Nations involvement. The Canadian Government seemed content to play the role of providing troops to the United Nations mission without articulating a clear end state for Somalia. Nevertheless, a letter was forwarded to the

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<sup>64</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number DND903135, Department of National Defence Canada. ADM (Pol & Comm). 29 July 1992. p.3.

<sup>65</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number DND903135, Department of National Defence Canada. ADM (Pol & Comm). 29 July 1992. p.5.

<sup>66</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number PC0000401, Privy Council. *Note on Options for a Canadian Response to the Crisis in Somalia*. 5 August 1992. p.3

<sup>67</sup> Glen Scott Shortliffe – Associate Secretary to the Cabinet and Deputy Clerk of the Privy Council for Prime Minister Mulroney.

United Nations Secretary General on 13 August 1992 by Prime Minister Mulroney, informing him that Canada was prepared to provide airlift for the delivery of humanitarian aid, and that Canada supported his initiatives for an increase in the UNOSOM security force.<sup>69</sup>

On 24 August 1992, the Secretary General requested an increase to the UNOSOM security force. This was approved on 28 August 1992 by United Nations Security Council Resolution 775(1992). The new force level was anticipated to be 3,500, but on 8 September 1992, it was increased to 4,219 with the addition of three logistic units. In concert with the preparations for the deployment of the enhanced security force, the Secretary General proposed a *100 Day Action Programme for Accelerated Humanitarian Assistance*. “The plan had eight main objectives: (1) massive infusion of food aid; (2) aggressive expansion of supplementary feeding; (3) provision of basic health services and mass measles immunization; (4) urgent provision of clean water, sanitation and hygiene; (5) provision of shelter materials, blankets and clothes; (6) simultaneous delivery of seeds, tools and animal vaccines with food rations; (7) prevention of further refugee outflows and the promotion of returnee programmes; and (8) institution building and rehabilitation of civil society.”<sup>70</sup> The United Nations Development Programme was to assist with the rebuilding of infrastructure and other rehabilitation programmes, although the scope and intent is unknown.

On 25 August 1992, the Secretary General of the United Nations made an informal request to the Canadian Mission at United Nations Headquarters in New York, requesting an infantry battalion of up to 750 personnel. This battalion would be one of two that would be deployed to Somalia in addition to the Pakistani battalion. Initial indications were that Canada

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<sup>68</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number PCO 000398, Privy Council. *Memorandum for the Prime Minister Response to the Crises in Somalia*. 5 August 1992. p.3.

<sup>69</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number DND 001204, Briefing Note for the Minister of National Defence, Somalia: DND Assistance dated 20 August 1992, p.1.

would be assigned the Bossano (Northeast) operational zone, as it was the most difficult area. Battalions would be tasked with securing distribution centers and escorting convoys. The battalion would have to be self sufficient for 60 days and should be organized with three rifle companies, of which two should be mounted in wheeled armoured vehicles.<sup>71</sup>

In a series of memorandums between the Prime Minister, the Minister of National Defence, the Chief of Defence Staff and the Minister of External Affairs, it was established that Canada could provide an infantry battalion for Somalia. Nevertheless, there were certain conditions tied to the offer. Canada already had 2300 personnel deployed on various peacekeeping missions (Middle East, Yugoslavia, Cyprus, Cambodia and Kuwait) and the government had expressed willingness to provide an additional 1200 troops to an expanded UNPROFOR mission into Bosnia-Herzegovina. General de Chastelain advised that once a battalion was committed to Somalia, Canada would have difficulty meeting NATO and domestic contingency responsibilities. He also recommended, based on the existing commitments, that the provision of a 750-man infantry battalion be conditional on the deployment being for a maximum one-year duration.<sup>72</sup>

The Secretary-General forwarded an official request to Canada on 14 September 1992. The request asked for one self-sufficient battalion of up to 750 personnel and a number of military officers for the UNOSOM force headquarters. They included a Deputy Force Commander/Chief of Staff, Chief Air Support Officer, Deputy Chief Air Support Officer, Force

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<sup>70</sup> United Nations. *United Nations Operation in Somalia I*. p.3.

<sup>71</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number DND 002325, Canadian Primary Mission New York. *Somalia/UNOSOM – Request for Troops*. C-PRMNY-WXGR-0599 25 August 1992.

<sup>72</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number DND 000885, Department of National Defence. Memorandum General de Chastelain to the Minister – Somalia UN Request for a Security Battalion. 2 September 1992.

Provost Marshall, Duty Officer and six Air Liaison Officers.<sup>73</sup> Canada responded favourably to the Secretary-General advising that Canada would commit an infantry battalion for a one-year initial deployment and the command and staff element of twelve personnel. The Canadian Ambassador to the United Nations also requested that Canada be relieved of the standby commitment for a battalion for the Western Sahara.<sup>74</sup> Of interest is that the conditions in Somalia with respect to security and safety of Canadian soldiers had not changed, and the situation remained volatile and uncontrolled. Yet previously, the government declined sending military observers, stating the situation did not meet the criteria with respect to safety and security. Without any change to the situation, the government was now willing to dispatch an infantry battalion to Somalia.

On the request of the Canadian Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Murrack Goulding, Under Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, provided a mission statement for the Canadian infantry battalion and the United Nations concept of operations for Somalia. The tasks assigned to military forces consisted of monitoring the cease-fire in Mogadishu, securing humanitarian aid and ensuring its safe delivery to distribution centers, and protecting United Nations personnel.<sup>75</sup>

The vision of the mission remained limited to humanitarian assistance. Although Canada did request clarification of the mission in terms of a refined mission statement for the Canadian infantry battalion group, the tasks to be performed by the unit, and the United Nations concept

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<sup>73</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number FA000244, United Nations. Letter of Appreciation From the Secretary-General to the Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations. 14 September 1992.

<sup>74</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number FA000257, The Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations. Note Verbale UNOSOM No. 6228. 22 September 1992.

<sup>75</sup> United Nations Under Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations. Letter to Permanent Mission to the United Nations. 23 October 1992.

for the operation in the Canadian sector<sup>76</sup>, no attempt was made to clarify the end state nor the disengagement strategies. All were pre-occupied with standing up the mission and getting food delivered to the Somali people in need. Goulding provided an overview of the operations for the Canadian battalion as follows:

- a. Military observers in Mogadishu are deployed to the cease-fire line to monitor the cease-fire on a continuing basis. This includes observers accompanied by liaison officers of the two major factions on their daily patrols not only along the cease-fire lines but throughout the areas they control including the seaport and airports.
- b. Military observers in Mogadishu have and continue to carry out investigations of reported violations of the cease-fire and any other complaints, related to the cease-fire, that are raised by the parties.
- c. The infantry battalions, beginning with the Pakistani battalion, will deploy their personnel in accordance with instructions to be issued by HQ UNOSOM to secure humanitarian aid arriving at the seaports and airport and ensure their safe delivery to distribution centers and securing these distribution centers.
- d. The infantry battalions will also provide security for United Nations personnel in the four zones in which they are deployed.
- e. The logistic units will, together with the civilian administrative component of UNOSOM, provide administrative and logistic support to UNOSOM.<sup>77</sup>

Unfortunately, during the extensive planning that was ongoing to put UNOSOM in place, the situation continued to deteriorate significantly throughout October and November 1992. The United Nations Special Representative for Somalia, Mr. Ismail Kittani, was unable to negotiate

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<sup>76</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number FA000321, Letter from Louise Frechette to Mr. Marrack Goulding UNOSOM Mission/Concepts/Tasks dated 21 October 1992, p.1.

any meaningful solutions. Without an effective government in place, lawlessness, looting and the theft of food aid continued. On 28 October 1992, General Mohamad Fahrah Aidid announced that the Pakistani battalion was no longer welcome in Somalia and he ordered the UNOSOM Coordinator of Humanitarian Assistance out of the country. He further warned that the further deployment of UNOSOM troops was no longer acceptable. On 13 November 1992, Pakistani troops controlling the airport were attacked by machine gun and mortar fire.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali presented the deteriorating situation in Somalia to the President of the Security Council on 24 November 1992. In his letter he stated: "I should like to inform the Council that the consent of Somali authorities has been secured only for deployment of the Canadian battalion at Bossasso. The Canadian advance party (150 all ranks) is expected to arrive around 4-6 December 1992, and the remainder of the battalion by late December."<sup>78</sup> In response to the deteriorating situation, the Secretary-General submitted a letter to the Security Council on 29 November 1992 outlining five options for the future operations in Somalia. The Secretary-General also advised the Security Council that on 25 November 1992, Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger, then Acting Secretary of State of the United States, that the United States would be ready to lead an international operation into Somalia.

The Security Council was quick to act, and on 3 December 1992 unanimously adopted resolution 794(1992) authorizing the United States to establish an operation under Chapter VII using all necessary means to establish as soon as possible a secure environment for humanitarian

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<sup>77</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number FA000323, United Nations Under Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations. Letter to Permanent Mission to the United Nations. 23 October 1992. p.2.

<sup>78</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number FA000419, United Nations. Letter from Boutros Boutros-Ghali to the President of the Security Council. 24 November 1992. p. 6.

relief operations in Somalia. The resolution also called for member states in a position to provide military forces or financial contributions to fund the operation.<sup>79</sup>

President George Bush was quick to discuss this new coalition operation with Prime Minister Mulroney in a telephone call on 2 December 1992. In a memorandum to the Prime Minister on 3 December 1992, Glen Shortliffe emphasized that “in bilateral terms we have no interest of any kind in Somalia. Our interests in Somalia are two: to respond to the human tragedy there; and, secondly, to be supportive of a more dynamic and effective United Nations role internationally. An enforcement type operation, as suggested by the United States, should work to resolve the problem now faced in delivering food in Somalia.”<sup>80</sup> The Chief of Defence Staff was also consulted, stating that Canada had the capacity to act with the United States with a few minor equipment changes. *HMCS Preserver* was already sailing for Somalia with an anticipated arrival date of 6 December 1992. The Canadian infantry battalion, drawn from the Canadian Airborne Regiment, was prepared to deploy. The Canadian Airborne Regiment advance party was scheduled to arrive around the same time as *Preserver*, and the main body of the Regiment would be fully deployed by 10 January 1993.<sup>81</sup>

The Government of Canada needed to decide whether to continue participating with UNOSOM, or join the United States coalition. The Chief of the Defence Staff became personnel engaged. He had contact with the United States Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on two occasions, where he sought clarification from General Powell and subsequently briefed him on Canada’s position with respect to involvement with the United States lead coalition.<sup>82</sup> Both the

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<sup>79</sup> United Nations Security Council Resolution 794(1992).

<sup>80</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number PCO000413, Privy Council Office. Memorandum for the Prime Minister - Somalia. 3 December 1992. p.1.

<sup>81</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number PCO000413, Privy Council Office. Memorandum for the Prime Minister - Somalia. 3 December 1992. p.1.

<sup>82</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Control Number 810800, Department of National Defence. *Notes from Gen de Chastelain*. 2 and 4 December 1992.

Chief of Defence Staff and the Deputy Minister of National Defence, Robert Fowler, provided advice to the Government of Canada that the Canadian Forces were able to support both UNOSOM and UNITAF. A recommendation either way was not provided to the government. How the final decision was made by the Prime Minister, and for what reasons, is unclear. Nevertheless, the Secretary-General had suspended the UNOSOM operation, and with Canadian troops ready to deploy, the Secretary of State for External Affairs announced on 4 December 1992 that cabinet had decided to participate with the United States coalition. The Government of Canada announced that the Canadian Forces would deploy up to 900 soldiers for the operation.<sup>83</sup> Canada ended up contributing 1,360 personnel, primarily from the Canadian Airborne Regiment Battle Group.

On 4 December 1992, President George Bush announced *Operation Restore Hope*, whereby the United States would take the lead in a coalition operation of twenty-three nations (Table 1) under United Nations resolution 794(1992).

**Table 1 - Unified Task Force Composition**

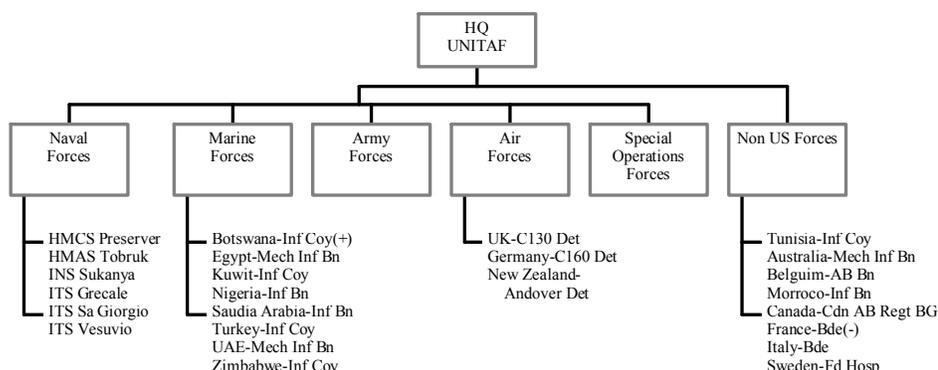
Country	Personnel	Country	Personnel
Australia	1,144	Nigeria	562
Belgium	923	Pakistan	4,761
Botswana	302	Saudi Arabia	680
Canada	1,360	Sweden	162
Egypt	240	Tunisia	133
France	2,149	Turkey	300
Germany	65	United Arab Emirates	700
India	282	United Kingdom	640
Kuwait	138	United States	30,317
Morocco	1,295	Zimbabwe	165
New Zealand	67	Total	49,535
<b>Source:</b> Department of National Defence. <i>Canadian Joint Forces Somalia In the Line of Duty 1992 – 1993</i> . p.23.			

The United States deployed 30,000 soldiers to UNITAF and took an active part in defining the role and mission and commanding the operation (Figure 1).

<sup>83</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number DND 202958,

**Figure 1 -UNITAF Organization - as of 1 March 1993**

(Source: Department of National Defence. *Canadian Joint Forces Somalia In the Line of Duty 1992-1993*. p.21)



On 8 December 1992, President George Bush provide the Secretary-General with the following concept for a division of tasks between the coalition and the United Nations: “The United States has undertaken to take the lead in creating the secure environment which is an inescapable condition for the United Nations to provide humanitarian relief and promote national reconciliation and economic reconstruction, objectives which have from the outset been included in the various Security Council resolutions on Somalia.”<sup>84</sup> The notion to ‘promote national reconciliation and economic reconstruction’ were vaguely mentioned in several resolutions but without any amplifying details for their implementation. The primary emphasis remained the delivery of humanitarian aid. Nevertheless, in broad terms, a secure environment was to be created which would also support post humanitarian relief operations. Unfortunately, the definition of secure environment became an item of disagreement between the United States and the United Nations. There were three core objectives for UNITAF; control of the port facilities

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Department of National Defence. *Message – Canadian Participation in Somalia*. 4 December 1992.

<sup>84</sup> United Nations. *United Nations Operation in Somalia I*. p.4.

in Mogadishu and Kismayu, open and secure supply routes to storage and distribution centers and subsequent transfer of responsibilities to another United Nations Force UNOSOM II.<sup>85</sup>

On 17 December 1992, the Secretary of State for External Affairs visited Geneva to discuss humanitarian assistance to Somalia with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. She was presented the following speaking notes, which outlined Canada's longer term views relating to the problems in Somalia. These speaking points indicated for the first time, Canadian longer term interests beyond the delivery of humanitarian aid to starving Somalis:

- a. The ultimate objective of international action in Somalia should be to create conditions for the reconstruction of a stable and peaceful Somalia.
- b. Military action should be of limited scope and duration, and should be distinct from the longer-term peace-keeping mandate. Military action must be balanced by practical and effective initiatives to provide local police and administrative structures.
- c. The repatriation of refugees in the Horn of Africa is a pressing social and humanitarian issue, one that also affects regional stability in the Horn of Africa. We believe that only a concerted repatriation effort, in the context of national reconciliation and rehabilitation, will ensure that refugees are able to return to Somalia at the earliest possible moment.
- d. The large number of Somali refugees in Canada (about 15,000) has a strong impact on Canadian attitudes and increases expectations that government should defuse situations that create refugee problems in the first place.
- e. Canada will continue to work in close collaboration with UNOSOM and UNHCR to determine how Canada can best assist international efforts to bring effective humanitarian relief to Somalis.
- f. Events in Somalia and the international response will undoubtedly raise expectations that the international community do more to resolve similar situations elsewhere, including in the countries of Former Yugoslavia.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Sens, Allen G. *Somalia and the Changing Nature of Peacekeeping The Implications for Canada*. p.78.

<sup>86</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number FA000512, Department of Foreign Affairs. *Message – Humanitarian Assistance to Somalia*. 4 December 1992. p.3.

From the outset of the UNITAF mission, the United States controlled the agenda in Somalia. President George Bush disagreed publicly with Boutros-Ghali about the details of the United Nations Resolution. The Secretary General began to take a wider view of the situation to include the process of national reconciliation, which could not occur if Somalia did not become a secure environment. The United Nations took a broad view of the mandate, while the United States interpreted the mandate very narrowly. There were three main areas of disagreement.

First, the Secretary General wanted UNITAF to expand its coverage over the entire country of Somalia. The United States resisted this, only providing aid to those in greatest need and thereby not covering more than 40 per cent of the country.<sup>87</sup> Second, Boutros-Ghali wanted UNITAF to “prepare the way for political, economic and social reconstruction and to restore hope to the Somali people.”<sup>88</sup> The third disagreement revolved around the requirement to disarm the Somali clans. The United States resisted disarmament, as a larger force would be required, it would be difficult to achieve due to the prevalent flow of arms from neighboring countries, and it would increase the risk of casualties.<sup>89</sup>

The Secretary General believed that, in order to create a secure environment for the distribution of humanitarian aid and the national reconciliation process, UNITAF must disarm the various factions. This process would also assist the follow on force to UNITAF, which would not be as robust as UNITAF and would be unable to undertake such a mission. The United States did not agree to any of the Secretary General’s concerns and Boutros-Ghali feared that the humanitarian effort would be a band-aid for real problems.<sup>90</sup> The United States was

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<sup>87</sup> Sens, Allen G. *Somalia and the Changing Nature of Peacekeeping The Implications for Canada*. p.80.

<sup>88</sup> UN Chronical 30 March 1993.

<sup>89</sup> Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment of Canadian Forces to Somalia, Document Number PCO000368, Privy Council Office. Memorandum Glen Shortliffe to the Prime Minister – Somalia:UN Mandate. 23 December 1992. p.1.

<sup>90</sup> Patman, Robert G. *Disarming Somalia: The contrasting fortunes of United States and Australian peacekeepers during United Nations intervention, 1992-1993*. p. 510.

driving the mission and it is unclear what their end solution to the Somalia problem was. It is interesting to note the Secretary General began to articulate a longer-term vision in Somalia, unfortunately too late in the process to be effective. There is no indication of the Canadian Government providing any diplomatic support to the Secretary General. Canada, a country committed to multilateral problem solving, was relegated to supporting the United States sponsored mission and not the United Nations long term plans.

The contributions in creating a secure environment and conducting relief operations at the tactical level by Canadian Forces personnel in Somalia were remarkable. Robert Oakley, the United States President's Special Envoy to Somalia, stated in a letter to Honourable Kim Campbell, Minister of National Defence, dated 11 May 1993:

My personal assessment of the performance of the Canadian Airborne Regiment Battle Group in Somalia during the period December 13, 1992 until March 8, 1993 is that it was truly outstanding. In community relations and humanitarian activities, the Canadian Battle Group worked very closely with my civilian staff and myself. Without help, the Canadian unit was able to bring about the establishment of a regional council involving some fourteen sub-clans – who had absolutely refused to meet together, much less co-operate prior to the Canadian arrival. Canada has every reason to be extremely pleased and proud of its military forces in Somalia. Certainly, the United States military and civilian authorities and Somali people hold them in highest esteem.”<sup>91</sup>

The Commander of UNITAF, Lieutenant-General Johnston of the United States Marine Corps, also commented on the performance of the Canadian Forces. In a May 1, 1993 letter to Admiral Anderson, the Chief of the Defence Staff, he wrote:

I must express my high praise for the performance of the Canadian Forces under my command.  
Clearly, our primary mission was to provide open and free passage for humanitarian relief to literally thousands of Somalis

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<sup>91</sup> *Dishonoured Legacy – The Lessons of the Somalia Affair*. Volume 1, p.281.

who were dying of starvation everyday and to provide security for relief convoys from the many humanitarian relief organizations operating in our area of responsibility. It should be no surprise that the Canadian Airborne Regiment worked most effectively with relief workers and, in fact, delivered several thousand metric tons of relief supplies on behalf of the relief agencies. Most significant is that the Canadian forces took the initiative to provide security for a number of large convoys that were for Dhusa Mareb, several hundred kilometers outside the Canadian HRS (*Humanitarian Relief Sector*). The bottom line was that there was no mission the Canadians were not willing to handle. The devastating effect of the famine was quickly reversed in the Belet [H]uen HRS and I can attribute that to the aggressive convoy operations that were conducted.

One of the very striking successes of the Canadian Airborne Regiment has been the regiment's focus on civic programs designed to improve conditions for the Somali communities within the Belet [H]uen HRS. I...simply relied on commanders to take the initiative and pursue programs within their capabilities. The Airborne Regiment took on the most ambitious program of any of the HRSs with respect to school reconstruction....The Canadian Airborne Regiment has performed with great distinction and the Canadian people should view its role in this historic humanitarian mission with enormous pride.<sup>92</sup>

On 4 May 1993, UNITAF handed over command of the operation to UNOSOM II, which had been established by a United States sponsored Resolution 814(1993) on 26 March 1993. Ironically, the follow on force had a larger and bolder mission to include finding solutions to political, social and economic problems, yet was less robust than UNITAF. The first Canadians began redeploying back to Canada on 13 May 1993, while the main body returned to Canada on 22 June 1992. The Canadian sector was handed over to an Indian Army contingent.

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<sup>92</sup> *Dishonoured Legacy – The Lessons of the Somalia Affair*. Volume 1, p.281.

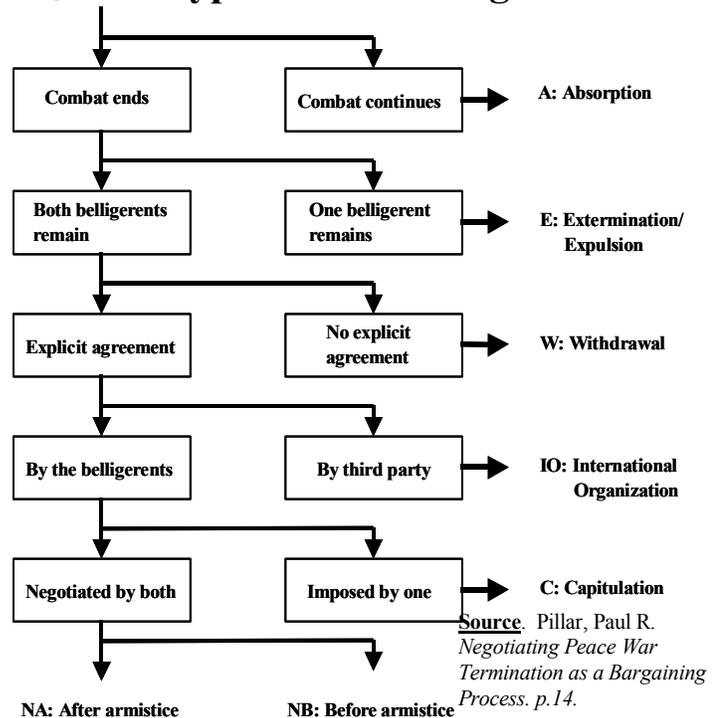
## **CONFLICT TERMINATION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

Every conflict must end, including the one in Somalia. As stated by Carl von Clausewitz, “No one starts a war or rather, no one in his senses ought to do so, without first being clear in his mind what he intends to achieve by that war and how he intends to conduct it.” Although peacekeeping or peace enforcement are not acts of war, they are military operations and therefore Clausewitz’s statement can be extrapolated such that it applies. When military campaigns are designed the end state must be considered from the outset. The political goals must be carefully crafted with the lines of operation and decisive points such that the end state is achieved. Paul Pillar, a political analyst with the Central Intelligence Agency, in his seminal work titled *Negotiating Peace: War Termination as a Bargaining Process*, has defined a topology of war outcomes to demonstrate how wars actually end. This topology (Figure 2) is important since it describes in a simple theory how wars may conclude. In the first instance war may end or continue. Should it continue, belligerents remain (A) absorbed in war. If fighting stops and both belligerents remain, it may be by mutual agreement. If only one remains, then one of the belligerents has made the other incapable of continuing the fight by (E) extermination or expulsion. If there is an explicit agreement, then it is endorsed by both parties. If there is no explicit agreement at the end of combat, then both parties withdraw. When there is an explicit agreement, it could be drawn up by the belligerents or by a third party, namely an international organization (IO). If both sides negotiate the end of combat it may be done so before or after an armistice. Where negotiations are imposed, it is considered (C) capitulation.

In the case of Somalia, the United Nations was a third party international organization trying to end the conflict between the belligerents by explicit agreement. This agreement,

brokered between warring factions by the United Nations, depended for its success upon a series of United Nations resolutions, enforced by a mere 50 observers and 500 Pakistani soldiers.

**Figure 2 Types of war endings**



failed and conditions continued to degenerate, UNITAF was deployed. This deployment should have taken place earlier to forcefully impose the agreement on the Somali factions.

The Somali conflict was truly a civil war. In Pillar’s work, he conducted a survey of all conflicts between 1800 and 1980 and concluded that civil wars rarely ended through successful negotiations without dominant international oversight. Belligerents in a civil war deeply mistrust each other and it is normally a fight to the end. Nevertheless, in this case the Somalia conflict was highly internationalized and the world community was prepared to assist.

Conflict termination and conflict resolution are not synonymous. Conflict termination occurs when “all parties believe that coercive military force is no longer the best method to

achieve their current goals.”<sup>93</sup> Conflict termination does not imply that all issues between belligerents have been resolved. It merely stops fighting and allows for other mechanisms to be applied in finding solutions to various problems. Conflict resolution on the other hand, does imply the solving of issues that led to the conflict. “Conflict resolution is an extensive discipline encompassing the sociological aspects of interpersonal, community, domestic, organizational and international disputes.”<sup>94</sup> Conflict termination requires the application of political and military power and is therefore a role for political organizations such as the United Nations. Conflict resolution is a long-term process and is primarily a civil problem. It also encompasses aspects of nation building such as re-establishing governance, law, police and public servants.

The conflict in Somalia matched the above model. World attention was drawn to the plight of the Somali people. The war between factions was internationalized, one of the requirements for civil wars to end. The United Nations negotiated an initial agreement for the deployment of UNOSOM. The agreement did not hold, and UNITAF was deployed to impose the international will on the various Somali warlords. This effort in peace enforcement failed, and the country remains absorbed in conflict.

When designing a campaign, whether a coalition or a United Nations mission, it is imperative that conflict termination and conflict resolution be considered from the outset. It is necessary for political leaders to clearly articulate the political end state. Heads of state of coalition countries must agree to a common campaign goal. The United Nations Security Council must agree to the political end state. As eloquently stated by Clausewitz, civilian decision makers must be clear on what they are trying to attempt. Only after this has been clearly defined can military leaders devise a campaign to end the conflict on terms favourable to

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<sup>93</sup> United States Army Peacekeeping Institute. *Termination and Peace Operations*. Presentation to Canadian Forces College November 2002.

the coalition. Likewise, governmental and non-governmental organizations need to be engaged early in the process, since they have an indispensable role in conflict resolution once the fighting has been terminated.

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<sup>94</sup> Rampy, Michael R. *The End Game: Conflict Termination and Post-Conflict Activities*. p.44.

## IMPACT FOR CANADA

The situation in Somalia in 1992 was a complex problem not unlike the many conflict resolution challenges that face Canada to this day. Nevertheless, the operation was a strategic failure, and lessons must be drawn from this experience to ensure that future missions are more successful. In analyzing the mission and its outcome, it is necessary to look at several different aspects. First, the Government of Canada must only accept missions that are consistent with our foreign policy goals. Second, there must be strategic guidance and a long term vision of conflict termination and resolution. Third, Canada requires a more robust and rational national security decision-making process for committing Canadian resources to international operations. Each of these issues will be discussed in detail.

The Government of Canada must only commit Canadian resources to international operations if it is in Canada's national interest. Therefore, Canada's foreign policy goals must be linked to our national interest. "If the foreign policy of the state is not based on its national interest, it can become arbitrary, quixotic or even a personal indulgence of its leader."<sup>95</sup> Canada's participation in UNOSOM seemed to coincide with our national interest by appearing to promote and protect Canadian interests and values around the world. This paper contends that the Government did not clearly explain what Canada's interests and values were in Somalia, and furthermore, the Canadian vision for the mission was not sufficiently broad to have made this foreign policy goal a reality in Somalia. Only providing humanitarian assistance did not eliminate the underlying reasons for the conflict, and therefore, did not provide the necessary environment to inculcate lasting Canadian values and cement Canada's interest in the Horn of Africa.

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<sup>95</sup> Gotlieb, Allan. *Macleans*. p.42.

Somalia remains a failed state with little improvement post the UNOSOM mission. The documentation reviewed shows no evidence of any decision or analysis of what Canada's national interest in Somalia was. It would be necessary to extrapolate the national interest from foreign policy documentation, as the Departments of National Defence and Foreign Affairs failed to apply any meaningful analysis to why Canada should deploy resources and what should be achieved over the long term.

Once a decision has been made to commit national resources to an international cause, it is absolutely essential that strategic guidance be provided. The Government of Canada, in conjunction with the Department of National Defence, Foreign Affairs and other government stakeholders, should have developed Canadian strategic guidance. This guidance should have been communicated to the United Nations, such that a series of robust Security Council resolutions could have been drafted. Short of possibly supporting Canada's position of multilateralism and promoting Canadian values, there does not appear to be any strategic perspective of why Canadians were deployed to Somalia, other than to deliver humanitarian aid as a short term solution to several long standing problems. This might have been the beginning of what Allan Gotlieb<sup>96</sup> speculates is the beginning where multilateralism has evolved from a process to a goal and from a preference to a condition of legitimacy.

Unfortunately, Canada did not develop any strategic guidance and there is no documentation that Canada had any influence in developing the various United Nations Resolutions. Ideally, these resolutions should have provided strategy which "consists of developing and using the military, political, economic, psychological, technical and other elements of national power during both peace and war to attain desired national goals."<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Allan Gotlieb is a former Canadian Ambassador to the United States.

<sup>97</sup> Newell, Clayton R. *The Framework of Operational Warfare*. p.10.

Unfortunately, they did not amplify the requirements in sufficient detail. In light of the geopolitical factors affecting Somalia, one can now recognize that the various United Nations resolutions were far too narrow in scope to provide any meaningful solution in Somalia.

Resolution 733(1992) called for the implementation of a general and complete embargo on all delivery of weapons and military equipment to Somalia. Resolution 751(1992) went incrementally further, calling for the immediate deployment of 50 United Nations Observers to monitor a 3 March 1992 ceasefire. Then on 27 July 1992, Resolution 767(1992) was passed, requesting airlift operations in support of humanitarian assistance. This was followed by Resolution 775(1992), increasing the size of the force to enhance security. Finally on 3 December 1992 Resolution 794(1992) authorizing the United States to establish an operation to create a secure environment, acting under Chapter VII to use all means to establish, as soon as possible, a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia.

In all five resolutions, the United Nations Security Council provided no strategic guidance for a long term solution to the Somali problem. A United Nations strategy should have been formulated, clearly articulating the conditions for success and the various strategic, economic, political and social objectives necessary to achieve that strategic end state. Only with clear and concise strategic guidance can military and civil planners develop a campaign plan to meet the conditions set out.

Once again there is no evidence to support the contention that either the Departments of National Defence or Foreign Affairs pursued these issues with the United Nations under UNOSOM, or with the United States under UNITAF. In fact, the goals and objectives for Canada, and the decision making process to deploy the Canadian Forces to Somalia, were missing from the entire process.

The Somali problem is so politically and geographically complex that employing military force to deliver food could never have corrected the underlying issues. The dispersion of the Somali people in the Horn of Africa, language, governance, limited economic capacity, clan loyalties and degraded infrastructure are but a few of the most pressing problems that needed to be solved to stabilize the region. Solving these issues required diplomatic, economic, humanitarian, military and civil efforts. Canada like other nations in the United Nations was simply concentrating on the immediate humanitarian crisis.

Tied closely with the need to carefully craft the campaign plan is the imperative to consider conflict termination and conflict resolution in the strategic end state. To be successful, the center of gravity for the campaign, and enabling decisive points need to be identified. The delivery of humanitarian aid was certainly a decisive point in the overall campaign. But there were others. The establishment of law and order, national reconciliation, government and constitutional reform, and the reintegration of all Somali peoples are but a few of the decisive point that required careful sequencing in order to lead to a successful solution in Somalia. The execution of a successful campaign in Somalia would require a significant international commitment. Similar to the Marshall Plan in Germany after the Second World War, a “Somali Plan” could easily span several decades. The reconstruction commitment in the Balkans is a current example. In any campaign of this nature the leadership of countries involved must have domestic public support, as the cost of such operations is not trivial. In the case of Somalia, there was overwhelming public support in Canada and around the world.

The Canadian Government should have been more proactive in developing strategic guidance in conjunction with the United Nation for UNOSOM and UNITAF. A more robust, transparent process for determining why Canadian assets, be they the Canadian Forces or other

government resources would be deployed in support of international organizations, was lacking. The national interest and the effects that Canadian resources were to achieve, should have been clear from the outset. The decision making process to deploy Canadian Forces to Somalia was frail and irrational. Public documents suggest a haphazard approach in deciding what and why Canada should have contributed resources. Criteria for dispatching soldiers was vague and highly subjective, while the long term goals in Somalia were never articulated. A robust process must evaluate future peace enforcement scenarios against criteria which measure the prospects for enduring success. There is an urgent requirement for an overarching Canadian national security policy to be formulated by a standing National Security advisor. It is only through such a process that defence and foreign policy can be harmonized and a modicum of continuity and expert advice be provided to the Prime Minister in order to make rational decisions.

A rational Canadian decision making process is critical since Canadian resources are not infinite. Resources, especially the Canadian Forces, are finite, and therefore Canada needs to direct its energies where the country can make a significant difference. By careful analysis of the geopolitical situation and strategic imperatives, the government is better able to assess the impact that Canada can make. Somalia presented Canada and the world with such an opportunity, but unfortunately, it was not seized, and a limited campaign was waged for minimal long term impact.

The Somalia situation presented Canada and the world with an opportunity to rescue a failed state. The process would have required significant long term diplomatic, economic, humanitarian, military and civil efforts. Canadian troops were 'loaned' to the United States for *Operation Restore Hope* without a clear, comprehensive strategy and long-term goal. The

United States was left to define the outcome. Although Canadians did an outstanding job in relieving human suffering, this was but one dimension that required resolution.

To cease providing assistance to Somalia after the delivery of humanitarian aid was truly a strategic failure. The country remains a failed state ten years after the initial United Nations deployment. A lack of international resolve has perpetuated the plight of the Somali people. The current liberal government under Prime Minister Jean Chretien recently promoted a campaign of assistance to the African continent at the 2002 G7 summit in Canada. There is clearly scope for international assistance to Africa, however, the strategic model displayed in Somalia, if replicated will again be doomed to failure. When future peace enforcement missions arise, Canada, as an established force within the United Nations, must determine an affordable, enduring endstate and then coach the international community along the long road to success.

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