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A HESITANT FIREFIGHTER: SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA AND CANADA'S POST-COLD WAR INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Major A.T. Spott

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Master of Defence Studies

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By Maj A.T. Spott

Word Count: 21,984

Compte de mots :

ABSTRACT

Many of the issues currently plaguing sub-Saharan Africa are a product of the two tumultuous decades since the fall of the Berlin Wall. Although the early 1990s released the region from the Cold War's ideological struggle, the dawn of the new millennium witnessed a prevalence of famine, genocide, poverty, disease and war which have largely continued until the present day.

Canada, one of the few Western nations unaffected by lingering Cold War and colonialist legacies, has proven to be a mercurial international policy actor. This paper will argue that post-Cold War Canadian engagement in sub-Saharan Africa has been decidedly inconsistent, with a marked ebb and flow which has demonstrated an abdication of a middle power leadership role within the region. Based upon the cumulative narrative of over 20 years of defence, development and diplomacy policy, sub-Saharan Africa has only intermittently risen to the fore of Canada's conscience. Now more than ever, Canada has shown itself to be a hesitant international policy actor in the region whose initiatives are governed more by political expediency than by selfless humanitarianism.

To delineate the erratic nature of Canadian international policy, the nation's major initiatives over the last twenty years will be critically and chronologically reviewed. The paper will culminate with a summary of Canada's historical international policy record in sub-Saharan Africa and the lessons learned from its previous military involvement on the continent. Prospects for future engagement will also be addressed as Canada cannot accrue long term interests, goodwill or influence in sub-Saharan Africa without both an assumption of risk and a renewed commitment to reinvigorate the nation's foreign policy towards the region.

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Africa is a continent in flames. And deep down, if we really accepted that Africans were equal to us, we would all do more to put the fire out. We're standing around with watering cans, when what we really need is the fire brigade.[1]

Bono, Bono's Call to Action for Africa

INTRODUCTION

Bono's 2005 TED Prize[2] acceptance speech provides poignant insight into the international community's response to modern Africa's plight. Many of the issues plaguing the continent are a product of the two tumultuous decades following the fall of the Berlin Wall. The early 1990s released Africa from the Cold War ideological struggle between the world's superpowers. Later, as the 20th century waned, conditions of famine, genocide, poverty, disease and war progressively worsened for the inhabitants of sub-Saharan Africa.   As the region slipped further into despair, political scientists such as John W. Harbeson adroitly underscored that "one bitter legacy of the Cold War's end became the stark reality of collapsed and gravely weakened states wherein effective governance ceased, nearly vanished, or dissolved in civil war."[3]

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[1] TED.com, "Bono's Call to Action for Africa," http://www.ted.com/talks/bono_s_call_to_action_for_africa.html; Internet; accessed 01 February 2011.

[2] TED stands for Technology, Entertainment, Design and was started as a 1984 conference to bring together professionals from the three constituent sectors. The TED prize is an annual award to a prominent member who receives $100,000 and an opportunity to present a wish for possible follow-on action by the TED community. See TEDPrize, "About the Ted Prize," http://www.tedprize.org/about-tedprize/; Internet; accessed 06 May 2011.

[3] John W. Harbeson, "Intimations of an African Renaissance," in *Africa in World Politics: Reforming Political Order*, ed. John W. Harbeson and Donald Rothchild, 1-15 (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2009), 5. The effects that the end of the Cold War had on those developing nations which inhabited regions such as sub-Saharan Africa is a common thread throughout Canadian foreign policy literature. Also see Brian W. Tomlin, Norman Hillmer, and Fen Osler Hampson, *Canada's International Policies: Agendas, Alternatives, and Politics* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2008), 162.

Canada, one of the few Western nations unaffected by lingering Cold War and colonialist legacies, has been an inconsistent international policy actor in sub-Saharan Africa. At best, Canada has proven to be a hesitant fireman. Instead of leading international efforts to douse the flames consuming the continent, it has been more apt to liberally sprinkle some well-intentioned, albeit ineffective, water on the blaze. This reluctance to seize a more consistent leadership role is puzzling given the level of political freedom and manoeuvrability enjoyed in the region. This paper will show that the nation's actions seldom meshed with an international view of Canada as an "ambitious middle power"[4], or our self-estimation as a "charitable society . . . [and] good citizen doing its part along with other wealthy OECD states . . . ."[5]

In part, the last two inconsistent decades can be attributed to the seemingly insurmountable challenges confronting the nation in formulating a cohesive, long-term foreign policy approach for sub-Saharan Africa. The changing political stripes of federal governments, sweeping deficit cutting measures and startling United Nations' failures in Somalia and Rwanda have been drivers behind "apparent signs of Africa's long-term marginalization among Canadian foreign policy priorities"[6] in the 1990s.

Likewise, the dawn of the new millennium has ostensibly offered only fleeting hope that sub-Saharan Africa would return to prominence in Canada's collective

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[4] Wilfried von Bredow, "The Revolution in Military Affairs and the Dilemma of the Canadian Armed Forces," in *Canada's Foreign and Security Policy: Soft and Hard Strategies of a Middle Power*, ed. Nik Hynek and David Bosold, 169-188 ((Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2010), 169.

[5] Steven Kendall Holloway, "Canadian Foreign Policy: Defining the National Interest (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2006), 236.

[6] David Black, "Leader or Laggard? Canada's Enduring Engagement with Africa," in *Readings in Canadian Foreign Policy: Classic Debates and New Ideas*, ed. Duane Bratt and Christopher J. Kukucha, 379 – 396 (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2007), 380.

consciousness. Momentum gained through Canadian support of the concept of human

security, and Prime Minister Chrétien's efforts to bring Africa to the fore of G8

discussions in 2002, has been lost. In the wake of September 11th, 2001, Canada's whole-

of-government effort in conflict-ravaged Afghanistan has demanded a lion's share of the

nation's foreign policy focus, much to the detriment of Canadian activity in the rest of the

Developing World.

Canada's international relevancy as a vital global actor, however, is dependent

upon the application of effort in the realms of defence, diplomacy and development

beyond Afghanistan. The nation's peripheral and intermittent interest in resolving

conflicts and humanitarian crises within sub-Saharan Africa, therefore, would seem to run

contrary to the national interest. The lack of sustained action to address these issues

appears to be at odds with the value-based foundation upon which our international

diplomacy is supposedly fabricated. Moreover, the nation's foreign policy, in order to

placate "the expectations entrenched in Canadian political culture that puts a premium on

activism in foreign policy"[7], must maintain a truly global focus which includes sub-

Saharan Africa. Inconsistent Canadian engagement in the region over the last two

decades has satisfied neither viewpoint.

Certainly, if one accepts the pragmatic notion that Canadian foreign policy

towards sub-Saharan Africa is more about the "us" than it is about the "them" Canada is

faltering. David Black clearly articulates this stance as he describes Africa as a "text on

which we write favourite narratives about ourselves, often with relatively little reference

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[7] Kim Richard Nossal, "Mission Diplomacy and the 'Cult of the Initiative' in Canadian Foreign Policy," in *Worthwhile Initiatives? Canadian Mission-Oriented Diplomacy*, ed. Andrew F. Cooper and Geoffrey Hayes, 1-12 (Toronto: Irwin Publishing Ltd., 2000), 11.

to the repercussions of our policies for those Africans they are ostensibly designed to assist."[8] If such is the case, our text has been superficial at best.

This paper will argue that post-Cold War Canadian international policy engagement in sub-Saharan Africa has been decidedly inconsistent, with a marked ebb and flow which has demonstrated an abdication of a middle power leadership role within the region. Based upon the cumulative narrative of over 20 years of defence, development and diplomacy policy, sub-Saharan Africa has only intermittently risen to the fore of Canada's conscience. Now more than ever, Canada has proven itself to be a hesitant foreign policy actor in the region whose initiatives are governed more by political expediency than by selfless humanitarianism.

In order to delineate the erratic nature of Canadian foreign policy, the nation's major initiatives over the last twenty years will be chronologically and critically reviewed. Chapter 1 - A Move to Marginalization, will explore the ramifications of the end of the Cold War and resultant shifting world order on sub-Saharan Africa. It will also highlight the direction of Canadian defence, official development assistance (ODA) and diplomatic efforts under Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the Progressive Conservative government in the early 1990s.

Chapter 2 – Darkness and Light, will analyze tangible shifts in foreign policy following the transition of federal power to Chrétien's Liberals in late 1993. Specific attention will be directed to the concept of human security in Canadian policy efforts in sub-Saharan Africa and the reinvigorated interest in the region displayed by Chrétien near the end of his tenure. Central to this examination, and one tangible indication of renewed

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[8] Black, "Leader or Laggard . . ., 379-380.

commitment to the region, was the Chrétien's role in pushing Africa to the fore of the 2002 Kananaskis G8 Summit's agenda.

Following Chrétien's retirement in 2003, the efforts of Canada's next Liberal Prime Minster, Paul Martin, will be scrutinized in Chapter 3 – A Return to the Periphery. Significant developments in the defence, development and diplomatic sectors regarding sub-Saharan Africa will be stressed during the 2003-2006 timeframe. This chapter will also include an assessment of a perceived return to regional marginalization following the rise to power of Prime Minister Stephen Harper and the Conservatives in 2006.

The analysis conducted in the previous chapters will provide a chronological and conceptual framework around which to analyze four of Canada's major military and diplomatic engagements in sub-Saharan Africa in the post-Cold War era. Accordingly, Canadian involvement in Somalia, Rwanda, Zaire and Sudan will be critically dissected in Chapter 4 – A Record of Failure. As the majority of these crises are perceived as both critical United Nations (UN) and Canadian interventionist failures, national actions will be reviewed for each.[9] Such analysis will better frame Canadian-specific outcomes and will highlight those lessons learned which constrained foreign policy action in sub-Saharan Africa.

This paper will culminate with a summary of Canada's historical foreign policy record in sub-Saharan Africa. The lessons learned from its previous military involvement on the continent and the prospects for future Canadian engagement in sub-Saharan Africa will also be briefly addressed. This will include an assessment of the nation's ability to

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[9] Karin Dokken, *African Security Politics Redefined* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 6, 150-152.

undertake a leadership role in the region through a productive and coherent foreign policy agenda; one reflective of our value-based foundation international diplomacy, internal political expectations and the selfless desire to be a good, global citizen.

CHAPTER 1 – A MOVE TO MARGINALIZATION

1.1   Introduction

Canadian foreign policy came into its own during the more than forty-year trajectory of the Cold War (1946-89). It relied on a clear delineation of good and evil. Canadians knew where they stood, as did their government. . . . That world, however, no longer exists.[10]

Michael Hart, *From Pride to Influence . . .*

The sudden end of the Cold War had broad implications for both Canadian foreign policy and sub-Saharan Africa. For Canada, the collapse of the struggle against Communism removed the well-worn structure within which its foreign policy had navigated since the close of World War II. Tom Keating, while commenting on the tumultuous effect of a new, ambiguous international order, highlighted that the loss of both identifiable threats and a global structure had effectively undermined Canada's role as an active middle power.[11] For sub-Saharan Africa, however, the ramifications of a new world order would be far greater than the loss of identity suffered by Canadian foreign policy.

The Cold War, with its competing superpowers, provided the governments of sub-Saharan Africa support beyond that offered by their former colonial masters. The forces of democracy and communism, however, brought with them more than a choice between state sponsorship and styles of government; through them streamed considerable financial

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[10] Michael Hart, *From Pride to Influence: Towards a New Canadian Foreign Policy* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2008), 103.

[11] Tom Keating, "Whither the Middle-Power Identity? Transformations in Canadian Foreign and Security Policy," in *Canada's Foreign and Security Policy*, ed. Nik Hynek and David Bosold, 3-19 (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2010), 3-5.

assistance and military aid. Without doubt, then, the collapse of Soviet interests in the region and a shift in American foreign policy efforts towards the disintegrating Eastern Bloc, largely left sub-Saharan Africa to its own devices at the onset of the 1990s.[12] A.B. Assensoh and Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh emphasized that in the wake of the departing superpowers, violence frequently filled the void:

> . . . just as the nations of the former Iron Curtain, or socialist Eastern Bloc, were struggling for their very survival, the nations of the African continent were, themselves, engulfed in their own political, economic, and social crises. These were eventful upheavals that would pave the way for the reason and excuses military officers . . . would use to plot and topple several old regimes on the continent . . . ."[13]

The ensuing violence and chaos which dominated Africa would present both a unique challenge and opportunity for Canadian foreign policy engagement in the post-Cold War era.

1.2   Defence

From a defence perspective, Canada was ill-equipped to deal with the Cold War's end and looming trouble in sub-Saharan Africa. The Progressive Conservative government under Brian Mulroney was largely reliant upon its 1987 Defence White Paper, *Challenge and Commitment: A Defence Policy for Canada*, to guide defence policy in the 1990s. A child of the Cold War era, *Challenge and Commitment*, as an expression of government policy, was exclusively European and NATO focussed. Only

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[12] Crawford Young, "The Heritage of Colonialism," in *Africa in World Politics: Reforming Political Order*, ed. John W. Harbeson and Donald Rothchild, 19-38 (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2009), 33.

[13] A.B. Assensoh and Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh, *African Military History and Politics: Coups and Ideological Incursions, 1900 – Present* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 129.

passing reference was offered to Canadian peacekeeping operations, with a meagre assurance that "[our] widely recognized support for the United Nations and its pursuit of global security represents an important contribution to world stability and thus to Canadian security."[14] Sub-Saharan Africa was a non-entity in Canadian defence policy.

Subsequent to *Challenge and Commitment*, little progress was made in the 1988-1989 *Defence Update* to recognize imminent changes in the world's structure. The only mention of any tangible Canadian Forces (CF) involvement in Africa was for a single officer in the United Nations Technical Survey Mission in the Western Sahara.[15] However, what the *Defence Update* lacked in terms of global foresight was compensated for by 1992's *Canadian Defence Policy*. In his introduction to the document, Marcel Masse, the Minister of National Defence, clearly recognized the worldwide impact of the collapse of the Soviet Union:

> The past few years have marked a turning point in global affairs. The world in which Canada must seek its security has undergone profound changes. As a result, many of the assumptions which underpinned our security policy for over forty years are no longer valid. . . . significant uncertainties accompany the rapid and far-reaching social, economic and political transformations of the international scene, and new sources of regional conflict and global instability surface with disconcerting regularity.[16]

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[14] Department of National Defence, *1987 Defence White Paper* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1987), 25.

[15] Department of National Defence, *1988-1989 Defence Update* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1987), 21.

[16] Department of National Defence, *1992 Canadian Defence Policy* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, April 1992), 1.

Canadian Defence Policy was a departure from its predecessors in that it indicated growing awareness of the shifting world order and highlighted key themes which would dominate international affairs for the next two decades. [17] However, as a visible example of government defence policy and priority considerations, it continued the trend of ignoring the African continent. Canada's focus remained on North America, NATO and Europe, although the Asia-Pacific region began to make inroads into defence considerations based on largely economic considerations. Unsurprisingly, only token reference was made of the CF's minor personnel contributions to United Nations' (UN) peacekeeping missions in the Western Sahara and Angola. [18]

The ambivalence of Canadian defence policy towards Africa, and in particular sub-Saharan Africa, would be eliminated with the government's 28 August 1992 agreement to deploy CF assets as part of the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I).[19] As a seminal moment in Canadian peacekeeping operations and engagement in Africa, as well as an example of the Mulroney government's multilateralist approach to foreign policy, Canada's involvement will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 4 of this paper.

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[17] *1992 Canadian Defence Policy* would discuss many critical post-Cold War themes affecting global security such as nationalism, the environment, globalization, rising regional conflicts and humanitarian assistance.

[18] Department of National Defence, *1992 Canadian Defence Policy*, 6-10, 32.

[19] Allen G. Sens, *Somalia and the Changing Nature of Peacekeeping: The Implications for Canada* (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1997), 104.

1.3   Development

Regrettably, the uneven nature early 1990s of Canadian defence policy was
replicated within the realm of development assistance for sub-Saharan Africa.
Paradoxically, while the necessity for Western aid to fend off the spread of communism
in the Third World had evaporated, a growing demand for assistance to rebuild Eastern
Europe began to impinge upon existing funding for the world's poorest regions.[20]
Recession, inflation and deficit cutting measures loomed. David R. Morrison in *Aid and
Ebb Tide: A History of CIDA and Canadian Development Assistance* (1998), categorized
the early part of the decade as a time of great ambiguity for the nation's ODA.
Essentially, Canada's development assistance was caught in the midst of a perfect storm
of international and domestic pressures which would weaken government support for the
funding and delivery of ODA throughout the decade. [21]

Internationally, Canadian development assistance was unprepared to react to the
sweeping changes wrought by the collapse of the Soviet empire. "[The] rise of regional
trading blocs and global financial markets, and growing anxiety about the fragility of
efforts to achieve sustainable development. . . ." all undermined the foundation upon
which ODA delivery had been built.[22] Moreover, much like defence policy, the structure
and principles applied to the provision of development assistance were predicated upon
an out-dated policy document. *Sharing Our Future: Canadian International*

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[20] Steven Kendall Holloway, *Canadian Foreign Policy: Defining the National Interest*
(Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2006), 227, 235.

[21] David R. Morrison, *Aid and Ebb Tide: A History of CIDA and Canadian Development
Assistance* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1998), 313.

[22] *Ibid*.

Development Assistance (1987) had been designed to refocus Canadian policies on

multilateralism, a "new" Third World, and the approaching 21st century.[23] Nevertheless,

the Cold War's end would neuter many of these objectives.

The fact that *Sharing Our Future* was the sole policy document on development

assistance guiding the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in the early

1990s should have augured well for recipient nations in sub-Saharan Africa.[24] Indeed, the

region was a de-facto focus with Canada pledging to dedicate 45% of its bilateral aid with

the impoverished African continent over a subsequent five year period. Additional

progress was also made to mitigate previously restrictive practices such as 'tied aid' –

forcing the beneficiary of aid funding to reciprocate via the purchasing of required

commodities from the donor nation.[25]

Sharing Our Future, however, foreshadowed threats to the level of ODA provided

to sub-Saharan Africa. The inclusion of 'Debt and Structural Adjustment' as a new

consideration for CIDA program delivery in the late 1980's would have great significance

in the 1990s.[26] David R. Morrison was less than optimistic on the effect 'structural

adjustment' would have on Canada's donor-recipient relationship with Sub-Saharan

Africa.

> Provided that the dominant rules of the game were accepted – with neo-liberal
> economic reform at the top of the agenda – some nations of the South gained

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[23] Canadian International Development Agency, *Sharing Our Future: Canadian International Development Assistance* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1987), 16.

[24] Office of the Auditor General of Canada, "1993 Report of the Auditor General of Canada," Chapter 12, Article 12.12, http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca/internet/English/parl_oag_199312_12_e_5951.html#0.2.L39QK2.DVW2PL.R2HQFE.JH; Internet; accessed 12 February 2011.

[25] Canadian International Development Agency, *Sharing Our Future* . . . 51, 63.

[26] *Ibid*., 51, 57.

greater opportunities for full incorporation within the global economy. Others, especially the poorest in sub-Saharan Africa with little to offer international capital, faced the prospect of falling further by the wayside even if those in power had no wish to disengage.[27]

Morrison's dire predictions regarding the risks to development assistance would come to pass, but not immediately. The Canadian government was largely able to meet its stated bilateral goals.   During the 1991 to 1993 period, Canada had 'untied' between 30 and 31% if it's ODA to sub-Saharan Africa.[28] Moreover, throughout the early 1990s, Canada would actually exceed its objective of directing 45% of its bilateral aid to the continent, achieving a slightly elevated level of 48% under the Progressive Conservatives.[29]

This progress was achieved from 1989-90 to 1993-94 within a context of growing bilateral and multilateral aid, and despite a languishing ODA/GNI ratio. Specifically, this timeframe witnessed an increase in overall ODA from $2.849.9 million in 1989-90 to $3,075.3 million in 1993-94 (cresting at $3,182.5 in 1991-92), while the nation's ODA/GNI ratio marginally fell from 0.45 to 0.44 (with a peak of 0.49 in 1991-92). [30] This success, however, would be fleeting.

Unfortunately for both Canada and sub-Saharan Africa, the early 1990s were marked by a "deep economic malaise . . . slow growth, relatively high unemployment,

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[27] Morrison, *Aid and Ebb Tide* . . . 315.

[28] *Ibid.*, 352.

[29] *Ibid.*, 348.

[30] Canadian International Development Agency, *Statistical Report on Official Development Assistance: Fiscal Year 2004-2005* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2006), 1.

and large fiscal deficits"[31] which would dominate Canada's political landscape for the remainder of the decade. Forced into a deficit cutting mode distinguished by deep reductions in federal spending, the Conservative government would be denunciated for initiating "the beginning of ODA's demise."[32] An unfair generalization given the fiscal pressure to reduce spending and to address the deficit, a 10% cut to Canada's international assistance envelope announced for both the 1993-94 and 1994-95 fiscal periods was not wholly unexpected.[33] The manner of accomplishing the reduction, however, was.

Through its *1993-94 Estimates*, the government would undertake targeted bilateral aid cuts to sub-Saharan Africa. These cutbacks, although caveated with the need to alleviate Canadian fiscal issues in order to better sustain long-term development assistance,[34] revealed a clear inability to maintain a sustained approach to Canadian policy in the region. This lack of coherence was summarized by Morrison in his description of how several sub-Saharan nations would bear the brunt of CIDA's reduction plan:

> . . . conventional bilateral assistance to Central and East Africa would be phased out. . . . However, the decision to withdraw from Tanzania, CIDA's largest country program in Africa since the mid-1970s, was shocking. By terminating conventional bilateral aid in Ethiopia as well, the Agency pulled back from the world's second and third poorest countries in terms of per capita income.[35]

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[31] Black, "Leader or Laggard . . ., 380.

[32] Brian W. Tomlin, Norman Hillmer, and Fen Osler Hampson, *Canada's International Policies: Agendas, Alternatives, and Politics* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2008), 191.

[33] Canadian International Development Agency, *1993-94 Estimates, Part III Canadian International Development Agency* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1993), 27.

[34] *Ibid*.

There were several factors driving the methodology applied to cuts suffered by Central and East Africa. 'Structural Adjustment' was a common theme throughout CIDA's *1993-94 Estimates, Part III* document. Paradoxically, while the ability of structural adjustment to induce economic and export growth in low income nations was questioned, the government continued to direct aid through both bilateral and multilateral channels to nations pursing such an adjustment agenda. Specifically for sub-Saharan Africa, regional integration, including a component of structural adjustment, was cited as a growing effort for CIDA's Africa and Middle East Branch.[36]

Ironically, the government's shift was explained as an effort to achieve long term policy sustainability and cohesiveness via its 1992 planning document, *Africa 21: A Vision of Africa for the 21st Century*.[37] Although Morrison acknowledged the impact of *Africa 21* on the Africa and Middle East Branch's decision making process vis-à-vis cuts to its bilateral programming, he posited that decisions were ultimately based on an amalgam of domestic and international policy issues. Domestic issues such language and national unity conspired with international trade, commerce, multilateralism and security concerns to marginalize the neediest nations in favour of the most economically desirable and politically expedient ones.[38] Such action was hardly in keeping with CIDA's core principle to 'put poverty first'.[39]

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[35] Morrison, *Aid and Ebb Tide . . .* 372.

[36] Canadian International Development Agency, *1993-94 Estimates . . .*, 27-28, 34, 65-66.

[37] *Ibid.*, 65-66.

[38] Morrison, *Aid and Ebb Tide . . .* 372-373.

The *1993 Report of the Auditor General of Canada* (OAG) clearly identified the internal conflict within CIDA between addressing poverty while simultaneously accounting for "commercial and political objectives that do not always lend themselves to dealing with poverty in a direct way and that encourage external dependency."[40] Unfortunately for sub-Saharan Africa, conflicting priorities would continue to hamper the delivery of ODA in the region long after the demise of the Mulroney administration.

1.4   Diplomacy

Just as the reductions to, and shifting priorities for, ODA at the end of the Conservatives rule resulted in a murky report card for their overall development efforts, major diplomatic initiatives in the region were also meagre. A lack of government initiative in the region was not entirely a by-product of disinterest, however. Early in the decade, monumental international events such as the collapse of the Soviet empire, a global recession and the first Gulf War necessitated prolonged diplomatic effort in regions apart from sub-Saharan Africa. These foreign policy considerations, which gave way to a litany of domestic watershed moments, left little manoeuvre room for an activist Canadian foreign policy agenda in the region.[41]

Nevertheless, Canada was not wholly disengaged. The government, under Prime Minster Mulroney, was active in multilateral organizations such as the Commonwealth

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[39] Canadian International Development Agency, *1993-94 Estimate*s . . ., 21.

[40] Office of the Auditor General of Canada, "1993 Report . . ., Article 12.31.

[41] Intense government focus would be required during the last years of Mulroney's tenure to manage pivotal issues such as the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accord failures, a growing Quebec separatist threat, the Oka crisis, GST implementation and the North American Free Trade Agreement.

and la Francophonie – both of which boasted significant sub-Saharan Africa membership. In particular, Canada championed for the inclusion of human rights and democracy values in the Commonwealth, including their successful adoption in the 1991 Harare Declaration.[42] Canadian activism at the Zimbabwe meeting, however, displayed a tinge of Western moral supremacy, as Mulroney admittedly addressed the attending heads of state with a ". . . stern lecture on the need for many to improve the human rights situation in their own countries . . ."[43]

Harare allowed Mulroney to advocate on behalf of human rights to the point of linking the ability of a nation to receive aid to its human rights record.[44] Canadian efforts were also indicative of the subdued level of international activism the nation was willing to engage in. This was unsurprising given that the government had recently emerged from a leadership role advocating for the end of Apartheid. Through multilateral venues such as the Commonwealth, Canada had strongly supported sanctions against South Africa, and had adopted a confrontational posture with critical opponents such as the United Kingdom and the United States.

By the dawn of the new decade, Apartheid was on the verge of being dismantled, Canada's stance had been validated, and the nation was content to bask in the afterglow of its diplomatic efforts on the issue. In his historic speech to Parliament on June 17th, 1990, Nelson Mandela recognized Mulroney's uniquely multilateralist efforts in support of his cause:

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[42] Black, "Leader or Laggard . . ., 382.

[43] Brian Mulroney, *Memoirs: 1939-1993* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 2007), 835.

[44] Tomlin, *et al*, *Canada's International Policies . . .*, 190.

Mr. Prime Minister, our people and organization respect you and admire you as a close friend. We have been greatly strengthened by your personal involvement in the struggle against apartheid with the UN, the Commonwealth, the Group of Seven, and the Francophonie summits. We are certain that you will, together with the rest of the Canadian people, stay the course with us, not only as we battle to end the apartheid system, but also as we work to build a happy, peaceful, and prosperous future for all the people of South and southern Africa.[45]

At the onset of the 1990s, Canada had already expended considerable political capital in 'fighting the good fight' against Apartheid and did not aggressively pursue the issue of sanctions further. The ability of Canada to live off the enduring goodwill of Africans because of its pro-active stance meant that it required very little "initiative-minded"[46] diplomacy to enhance its status in the region. Indeed, the Conservative's tenure would draw to a close with little else beyond a futile mission in Somalia to pad its list of major initiatives in sub-Saharan Africa.

1.5   Conclusion

As 1993 drew to a close and the Conservatives prepared to transition power to the recently elected Liberals under Jean Chrétien, Canada's post-Cold War foreign policy performance in sub-Saharan Africa was markedly inconsistent. The Cold War's demise had not substantially shifted defence policy focus away from priorities such North America, NATO and Europe. Nevertheless, sub-Saharan Africa would briefly become a focal point for Canada in 1992 with its military contribution to UN peacekeeping forces in Somalia.

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[45] Mulroney, *Memoirs . . .*, 766.

[46] Nossal, "Mission Diplomacy . . ., 3.

From an development perspective, Canada met its stated bilateral objectives for Africa during the 1991 to 1993 period, and had 'untied' between 30 and 31% if it's ODA to sub-Saharan Africa. Nevertheless, the Conservative's record would ostensibly be judged both on the introduction of 'structural adjustment' as a guiding principle for aid delivery and through its 10% cut to CIDA's 1993-1994 budget. This reduction, of which sub-Saharan Africa would bear an unexpected and significant portion, would do much to undermine Canada's charitable reputation in the region.

The early 1990s would witness a perfect storm of pressing foreign and domestic issues which would hamper Canada's ability to undertake an expanded diplomatic role beyond North America and Europe. Canadian diplomacy, apart from that demonstrated within its defence and aid policies, was unimpressive. Although the government practiced its traditional approach of multilateralism through its advocacy for human rights and democracy, it brought little initiative or leadership to sub-Saharan African issues. Henceforth, the stage would be set for Jean Chrétien's Liberals to chart a much different path for Canadian defence, development and diplomatic efforts in the region.

CHAPTER 2 – DARKNESS AND LIGHT

2.1   Introduction

Canadians, via the 1993 federal election, provided Jean Chrétien and the Liberal Party with a populist mandate to take the country in a new direction, both domestically and internationally. The domestic political environment, however, was substantially different than that faced by Mulroney's Conservatives at the beginning of their reign. The new government's room for maneuver was initially constrained by a "combination of limited resources, a domestic climate of fiscal austerity and continuing Canadian global-mindedness."[47] Nevertheless, by the end of 2001, the financial shackles binding Liberal foreign policy efforts had been lifted, and the Western world was coming to grips with the fallout from the attacks of September 11th.[48]

Africa had been on the agenda of the incoming government, with the *Liberal Foreign Policy Handbook* (1993) promising to address poverty, development and trade issues, as well as a lack of regional democratic institutions. Post-election efforts on the continent were intended to be conducted with an emphasis on a democratization of foreign policy. Human rights and the environment were projected to be at the forefront of Canadian diplomatic and development assistance efforts, linking the provision of aid to a country's performance in both areas.[49] Promise of improved consistency and focus for Canada's foreign policy in sub-Saharan Africa would be short-lived, however.

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[47] Tomlin, *et al*, *Canada's International Policies . . .*, 11.

[48] *Ibid.*, 193.

[49] Liberal Party of Canada, *Liberal Foreign Policy Handbook* (Ottawa: Liberal Party of Canada, 1993), n.p.

2.2   Defence

Liberal defence policy concerning Africa was constructed in the shadow of Canada's military involvement in Somalia; a difficult CF mission (UNOSOM I / UNITAF) which the Chrétien government had inherited. A multilateral undertaking initiated by the Conservatives, Canadian performance in Somalia would create a bitter legacy for the nation's armed forces. It would also serve as a seminal moment in the nation's peacekeeping record which would influence future Canadian engagement in the region. The ramifications of Somalia, and those missions to sub-Saharan Africa which followed, will be explored in Chapter 4.

From a defence policy perspective, sub-Saharan Africa would receive scant more consideration under the Liberals than had been paid to it by the Conservatives. The principal defence policy document issued by the Chrétien government, the *1994 Defence White Paper*, proved adept at two things. First, it was a vehicle through which the government could implement deep budgetary cuts within the CF and Department of National Defence in support of its deficit reduction program. Secondly, it provided a comprehensive Liberal vision of the international environment and the position which sub-Saharan Africa would occupy within both it and Canada's defence policy.

The *1994 Defence White Paper* was clear in its assessment that "Canada faces an unpredictable world, one in which conflict, repression and upheaval exist alongside peace, democracy and relative prosperity."[50] Within this schizophrenic environment Canadian defence policy appeared to marginalize Africa, and by default sub-Saharan

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[50] Department of Defence, *1994 Defence White Paper* (Ottawa: Canada Communications Group, 1994), 3.

Africa, as a priority for its limited resources. Ironically, this relegation occurred despite

government recognition of the international security threats posed by failed states,

resurgent ethnic tensions and religious extremism; all of which were prevalent within the

region.[51]

The most undemanding explanation for Canada's non-committal approach to sub-

Saharan Africa is that within a constrained resource envelope, the ability of defence

policy to consider effective global engagement was curtailed. Tough prioritization

choices had to be made under what Michael Hart referred to as the "lash of restraint."[52]

Commentators such as Douglas L. Bland, however, would highlight that in fact in the

1994 Defence White Paper, "[f]or the first time since [Minister of National Defence]

Claxton's statement, there was no mention of priorities nor any listing of defence

objectives."[53]

Priorities or no, the *White Paper* projected a global expansion in regional

relationships entered into by the Canadian military. Joel J. Sokolsky remarked that:

> . . . it would appear that in the post-Cold War era, Ottawa intends to conduct a
> security policy more global in scope than it has for the last 50 years, one firmly
> anchored in North America but reaching out to new regions.[54]

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[51] *Ibid.*, 1-6.

[52] Hart, *From Pride to Influence . . .*, 295.

[53] Douglas L. Bland, "Introduction to 1994 Defence White Paper," in *Canada's National Defence: Volume I Defence Policy*, ed. Douglas L. Bland, 281-288 (Kingston, ON: Queen's University, School of Policy Studies, 1997), 284.

[54] Joel J. Sokolsky, *Canada, Getting It Right This Time: The 1994 Defence White Paper* (Carlisle Barracks. PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1995), 10.

Of particular note is that the Liberal's *1994 White Paper* was thematically similar to the Conservative's *1992 Canadian Defence Policy*. North America, NATO, Europe and the Asia-Pacific region all competed for the attention of Canada's military, as did participation in UN multilateral activities. Within this range of actors, potential regional partnership opportunities were highlighted. The Liberals committed Canada to engagement in Central and Eastern Europe through participation in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Canadian involvement in security and defence matters for the Asia-Pacific region would grow, including engaging the member nations of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Finally, Canadian defence policy would assume a proactive focus in Latin America security concerns, including bilateral engagement or through participation in the Organization of American States (OAS).[55]

Despite Canada's recent Somalia experience and the shocking genocide witnessed in Rwanda,[56] Africa was an after-thought in national defence policy vis-à-vis its contributions to international security. In contrast to the expansion envisioned in other regions, Canada provided only a lukewarm pledge to "encourage the development of a regional capability to undertake peacekeeping missions, both on a bilateral basis and through programs being undertaken at the Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Training Centre."[57] If not outright disengagement, then at a minimum

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[55] Department of Defence, *1994 Defence White Paper . . .*, 36-38.

[56] Canadian engagement in both Somalia and Rwanda are comprehensively discussed in Chapter 4 to this paper.

[57] Department of Defence, *1994 Defence White Paper . . .*, 38.

Canada, was leaving regional peacekeeping responsibilities in the hands of Africans, with Canada showing them "how it was done."

Given that the *1994 Defence White Paper* was the only such policy document issued by the Chrétien government, the marginalization of sub-Saharan Africa in defence matters would have been a logical thematic arc throughout his tenure. Certainly the 1995 foreign policy document*, Canada in the World: Government Statement*, proffered no additional hope for a definitive place for Africa in defence policy. Echoing the *Defence White Paper's* narrative, the statement cited UN failures in Somalia and Rwanda as drivers behind the increased provision of Canadian diplomatic, military and policing expertise to the international body. Little new was offered up directly to the continent. The government simply reiterated Canadian support to regional conflict prevention measures and reinforced its desire to use multilateral organizations such as the Commonwealth and la Francophonie to advocate a human rights and democracy agenda.[58]

Surprisingly, the lack of rhetoric on, and marginalization of, sub-Saharan Africa within Canadian defence policy does not fully support Canada's military involvement in the region. Rwanda (1994), Zaire (1996) and Eritrea (2000-2001) all witnessed military commitments or initiatives during Chrétien's tenure. Likewise, the Central African Republic (1998-1999), Sierra Leone (1999-2005), Uganda (2003), Democratic Republic of Congo (2003) and Liberia (2003) experienced deployments smaller in scope, time and personnel. Paradoxically, all of these military commitments arose during a period when

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[58] Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Canada in the World* (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group. 1995), 27-28, 31.

Canada appeared to have pushed the African continent to the back benches of its defence

policy. The nation's fervent devotion to UN multilateral peacekeeping operations is only

one logical explanation for this policy-action gap. Consequently, an analysis of the

government's impetus behind these deployments, specifically regarding Rwanda and

Zaire, will be undertaken in Chapter 4.[59]

2.3   Development

Unlike defence, sub-Saharan Africa occupied a critical position within Liberal

development policy from the beginning of Jean Chrétien's government. Human rights

and the environment had become prominent refrains in Canadian ODA, and had created a

new version of 'tied aid' with country performance linked directly to their recipient

eligibility.[60] Moreover, beyond a thematic return to the issues of poverty and

development, the Liberals also committed themselves to a different approach to the

delivery of bilateral aid:

> In contrast to the Conservative government, a Liberal government will not
> arbitrarily and without consultation cut off aid programs to entire regions of the
> world, such as East Africa, that continue to face desperate poverty and
> deprivation. A Liberal government will conduct a comprehensive and public
> policy review of Canada's foreign aid priorities to ensure that a clear policy
> framework is in place for distributing Canadian aid.[61]

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[59] National Defence and the Canadian Forces, "Past Operations," http://www.cefcom.forces.gc.ca/pa-ap/ops/pastops-eng.asp; Internet; accessed 05 March 2011.

[60] Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Canada in the World . . .* ,40-42.

[61] Liberal Party of Canada, *Creating Opportunity: The Liberal Plan for Canada* (Ottawa: Liberal Party of Canada, 1993), 108.

Despite a strong policy focus, the Liberal record throughout the 1990s would not differ substantially from that of the Conservatives. ODA would continue to be ravaged by sustained cutbacks undertaken in support of government deficit cutting measures, and a desire to push for ODA levels to 0.7% of Canada's GNP would never materialize.[62] These reductions would only be reversed towards the end of Chrétien's tenure as he attempted to build a lasting legacy based upon his personal leadership on African issues.

Within the context of deficit cutting measures and a dependence upon 1987's *Sharing Our Future* for guidance, CIDA's *1994-95 Estimates*, *Part III* propelled the federal government along a path to cut Canada's International Assistance Envelope (IAE) by 2%.[63] Paradoxically, the Liberals also announced a foggy commitment to "eventually achieving the ratio target of 0.7% of Gross National Product for Official Development Assistance."[64]

It is hard to envision the *1994-95 Estimates* as the first indicator of a series of reductions to Canada's ODA, and in particular to that associated with sub-Saharan Africa, that were characterized as "draconian".[65] This is particularly true when the document explicitly acknowledged that the heavily indebted region relied on development assistance for 70% of its financial inflow. Moreover, with a budget of $396.4 million, CIDA's Africa and Middle East Branch represented the organization's largest geographic

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[62] Liberal Party of Canada, *Liberal Foreign Policy . . .*, n.p.

[63] Canadian International Development Agency, *1994-95 Estimates, Part III Canadian International Development Agency* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1994), 4-5

[64] *Ibid*., 4.

[65] Black, "Leader or Laggard . . ., 380.

program, with a responsibility to deliver aid to 55 countries, including 19 sub-Saharan

Africa core countries.[66]

Notwithstanding later pledges within *Canada in the World* that "Africa [would]

continue to receive the highest share of resources in keeping with the immense challenges

facing that continent,"[67] initial cracks in Canada's ODA program had already formed.

Western Africa had been negatively impacted by the *1994-95 Estimates* reprioritization of

regional projects and a reduction in bi-lateral support to 5 core nations.[68] The real threat

to a consistent, long term development assistance policy for sub-Saharan Africa, however,

was the stability of CIDA's yearly funding envelope. As will be seen, this envelope was

anything but constant under Chrétien and the Liberals.

The magnitude of the cutbacks to Canada's IAE, and the subsequent impact on

development assistance provided to sub-Saharan Africa, is revealed through an analysis

of the remainder of the decade. Examination of the historical record quickly shows that

Canada's commitment to uphold Africa as the principal recipient of the nation's bi-lateral

ODA remained intact. Nevertheless, its predominant share was still a diminishing one

within the context of an even faster shrinking IAE.

The cutbacks to the bilateral aid portion of Canada's IAE received by sub-Saharan

Africa were stark. From 1990 until 2000, there was a yearly reduction in the amount of

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[66] Canadian International Development Agency, *1994-95 Estimates . . .*, 27, 52. The 19 core countries included Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cameron, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Senegal, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

[67] Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Canada in the World . . .*, 43.

[68] Ibid., 59. Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Ivory Coast and Niger would be the affected nations.

bilateral ODA delivered to the region of 6.5%. In real financial terms, although sub-

Saharan Africa had received $728.5 million in 1990-91 (year 2000 prices), this total had

been cutback to $371.6 million in 2000-01. Notwithstanding the argument that Canada

was 'holding the line' in terms of where the majority of its ODA dollars were being spent,

Africa and sub-Saharan Africa bore the brunt of government reductions, as the figure

below illustrates:[69]

Figure 1 - Bi-lateral ODA Reductions by Region (1990-2001; millions Cdn $)
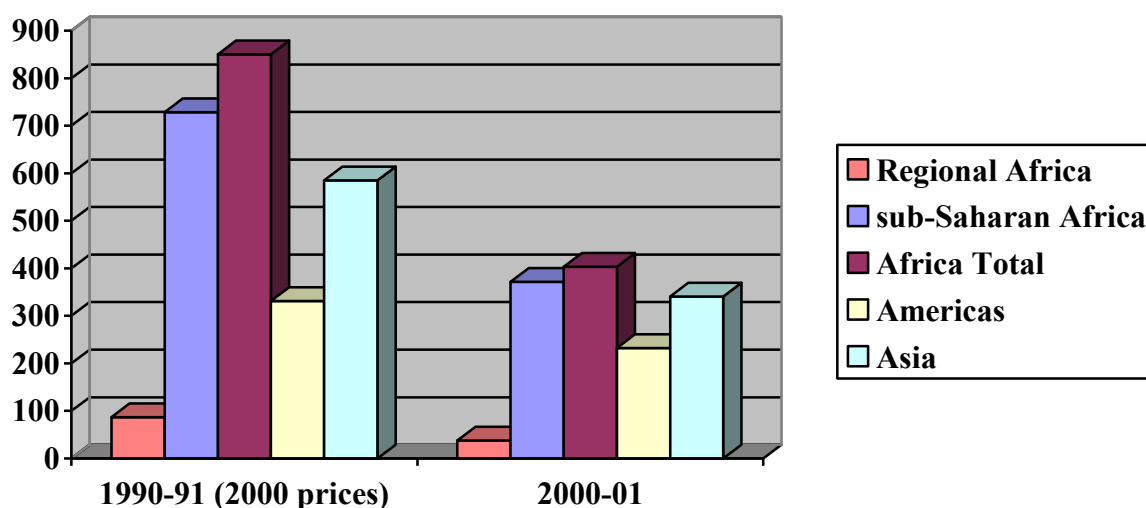
Source: The North-South Institute, *Canadian Development Report 2003: From Doha to Cancun: Development and the WTO*, 79-81; http://www.nsi-ins.ca/english/pdf/cdr2003_e_5.pdf; Internet; accessed 06 March 2011.

Cuts to ODA to sub-Saharan Africa were not unique. They were, however,

proportionally greater than to other regions. These reductions also occurred during a

period which saw Canada's ODA/Gross National Product (GNP) ratio plummet from

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[69] The North-South Institute, *Canadian Development Report 2003: From Doha to Cancun: Development and the WTO* (Ottawa: The North-South Institute, 2003), 78-79; http://www.nsi-ins.ca/english/pdf/cdr2003_e_5.pdf; Internet; accessed 06 March 2011.

0.44% in 1993-94 to a mere 0.25% in 2000-01 – the lowest point in Canada's history

since its 0.22% mark in 1965-66.[70] Figure 2 below charts this dramatic and rapid decline

from 1990-91 until 2000-01:

Figure 2 - Canadian ODA/GNP Ratio Reductions (1990-2001)
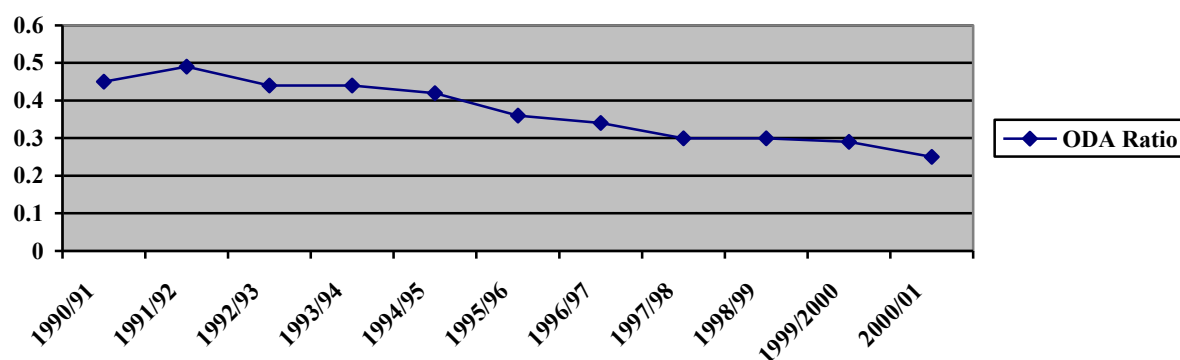
Source: *Canadian International Development Agency, Statistical Report on Official Development Assistance: Fiscal Year 2004-2005*, 1; http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/INET/IMAGES.NSF/vLUImages/stats/$file/Stat_rap_04-05.pdf; Internet; accessed 07 March 2011.

By 2000-2001 development assistance for sub-Saharan Africa had reached its

nadir. Whereas in 1990 six of the top ten recipients of ODA were from the sub-Saharan

region, only one nation held that distinction in 2000 – a significant component of a

disturbing trend of the unfocussed provision of aid to the world's poorest and least

developed nations.[71] A near decade of severe reductions was undertaken with little

opposition from either the public or the media, and despite a majority of Canadians

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[70] Canadian International Development Agency, *Statistical Report on Official Development Assistance: Fiscal Year 2004-2005* (Gatineau, QC: Canadian International Development Agency, 2006), 1; http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/INET/IMAGES.NSF/vLUImages/stats/$file/Stat_rap_04-05.pdf; Internet; accessed 07 March 2011.

[71] The North-South Institute, *Canadian Development Report 2003 . . .*, 78. Ethiopia was the remaining sub-Saharan Africa nation.

expressing their continued support for the provision of ODA.[72] The only resistance was supplied by Canadian Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs); a community described by David Black as being "battered and weakened through the 1990s."[73] The NGOs ability to slow the decline in overall development assistance, as well as to that specifically designated for sub-Saharan Africa, was negligible.

The negative aftershocks from the Liberals' drastic cuts would extend beyond simple numbers. Canada's failure to maintain balance in its long term development assistance would send a clear message about the disingenuous nature of its commitment to alleviating the suffering of one of the world's poorest regions. The reductions would also, as David Black would point out, diminish the nation's accumulated political capital, goodwill, trade and human security initiatives in sub-Saharan Africa.[74]

Fortunately, the narrative for development aid during the Chrétien era would improve significantly during his last years in office. However, a recovery in Canada's official development assistance to sub-Saharan Africa did not occur in isolation from other foreign policy efforts. It is better understood within the context of major 1990s diplomatic efforts in the region which led to a period of international leadership on African-specific issues by Chrétien prior to his 2003 retirement.

2.4   Diplomacy

The Liberal's first foreign policy document, *Canada in the World*, set the tone for Liberal diplomacy in sub-Saharan Africa after 1995. Government objectives would

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[72] Tomlin, *et al*, *Canada's International Policies . . .*, 168, 173-174.

[73] Black, "Leader or Laggard . . ., 381.

[74] *Ibid.*, 387-388.

centre on the "promotion of prosperity and employment; [t]he protection of our security, within a stable global framework; and [t]he projection of Canadian values and culture."[75] Emphasis was also given to the uncertain post-Cold War security environment, the growing importance of globalization, economic strength, and trade, as well as the need to address global poverty, inequality and human rights issues.[76]

Diplomatic efforts in sub-Saharan Africa would be of a peripheral nature during the waning years of the 20th century. This was a by-product of declining development assistance and the adoption of the concept of human security as a central tenet of the nation's foreign policy. Human security's principle architect and champion within the government was Lloyd Axworthy who served as Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1996 until 2000. Axworthy described the concept as:

> . . . the lens through which to view the international scene. The security risk to individuals was our focal point, and around that we developed a strategy for working towards new standards of international behaviour, using the soft-power tools of communication and persuasion. While simple in concept, in some ways it was revolutionary, since it set the notion of human rights against deeply held precepts of national rights.[77]

Although the Chrétien government would not issue another comprehensive international policy statement, human security would permeate through other aspects of Canadian foreign policy and diplomacy in the late 1990s. A joint Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) and CIDA venture, *Peace in Progress:*

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[75] Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Canada in the World . . .*, i.

[76] Ibid., 1-7.

[77] Lloyd Axworthy, *Navigating a New World: Canada's Global Future* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2003), 4-5.

Canada's Peacebuilding Initiative (1998) was one such example. It highlighted the central importance of human security and the Canadian penchant for multilateral UN peacekeeping, to resolving many of the world's security crises. Although not a major policy document, it did highlight specific sub-Saharan Africa initiatives. These included use of a CIDA administered Peacebuilding Fund designed to support individual and regional peace efforts in the Horn of Africa, Great Lakes region, Southern Africa and Mozambique. In coordination with the UN's War Torn Societies Project, Somali post-conflict reconstruction efforts were also supported. [78]

Human security, though, would find its legs with the release of *Freedom from Fear: Canada's Foreign Policy for Human Security* (2000). A clearer articulation of the concept's position within Canadian diplomacy, *Freedom from Fear* outlined the nation's human security agenda. In the new millennium, Canada's foreign policy would be guided by five overarching priorities, including protection of civilians, peace support operations, conflict prevention, governance and accountability, and public safety.[79]

Freedom from Fear would also highlight specific Canadian initiatives in sub-Saharan Africa stemming from work within larger diplomatic venues. Key among these were chairing the UN's Angola Sanctions Committee and leading a resolution before the Security Council to implement the Committee's recommendations. Capability building

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[78] Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Peace in Progress: Canada's Peacebuilding Initiative* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1998), 3-4, 6-7, 10.

[79] Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Freedom from Fear: Canada's Foreign Policy for Human Security* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2000), 2-3. Through emphasis placed upon human security and the possible requirement for intervention to attain it, *Freedom from Fear* would foreshadow an inevitable conflict with concept of state sovereignty. This friction point would be explored further within the idea of Right to Protect (R2P). See International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. *The Responsibility to Protect: Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001.

within the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for the protection and treatment of war-affected children was also supported. Canada's adoption of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-personnel Mines (Ottawa Convention) also held a place of prominence.   Given the Ottawa Convention's potential impact to protect civilians from the danger of landmines, *Freedom from Fear* also announced the creation of a Canadian Landmine Fund to assist demining activities in sub-Saharan nations such as Mozambique.[80]

At the end of the 20th century, Canada had utilized the concept of human security to undertake what Kim Richard Nossal referred to as "mission diplomacy". As "a tradition that puts a value on . . . taking the initiative, and getting involved to solve a problem that confronts the international community,"[81] mission diplomacy was a perfect characterization of Canadian efforts on global landmine and war affected children issues. What Canadian initiative did not provide in these indisputably important areas, however, was enough substantial injects directly to sub-Saharan Africa to overcome the accumulated negative implications of Canada's rapid decline to its ODA. Diplomacy in the region, writ large, was still largely understated, and was undertaken through its traditional multilateral ties with the UN, Commonwealth and la Francophonie.

Early in the new century, however, Liberal diplomatic efforts in sub-Saharan Africa would drastically alter course, and Canadian development assistance would follow suit. Whether out of new fund availability following the deficit's elimination, shame stemming from a decade of ODA reductions, naked self-interest and legacy building, or

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[80] *Ibid*., 4-5, 9.

[81] Nossal, "Mission Diplomacy . . ., 1.

an altruistic attempt to aid the long-suffering people of sub-Saharan Africa, a campaign of

reinvigorated Canadian leadership on regional matters was led by Prime Minster

Chrétien.

That Chrétien was able to take up the cause of Africa in the 21st century was

largely a result of a permissible fiscal environment that allowed the government to revisit

issues such as ODA after years of restraint and reductions. Similarly, Canada's advocacy

for its human security agenda also provided a suitable contextual backdrop for renewed

international leadership. Notwithstanding these considerations, there were two critical

factors facilitating the emergence of Canada as a leader on sub-Saharan Africa issues.

The first was Chrétien's personally stated interest in addressing the serious problems

plaguing the nations of the region, many of whom belonged to la Francophonie or the

Commonwealth.[82] The second was Canada's role as chair for the June 2002 G8 Summit

in Kananaskis, Alberta.

Beyond a failed attempt to lead a multinational peacekeeping force into Zaire in

1996, there was little evidence prior to 2000 that Chrétien's empathy for the suffering of

sub-Saharan Africa had manifested itself beyond limited human security and

peacekeeping endeavors. Nevertheless, markers were subsequently established in the

new millennium to indicate re-engagement. Albeit highly symbolic, Canada's

commitment to the September 18th, 2000 *UN Millennium Declaration*[83] reiterated support

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[82] Jean Chrétien, *My Years as Prime Minister* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 2007), 356. Chrétien emphasized that he had taken up the cause of Africa shortly after taking office and had advocated on African issues in the G7 Summits at Naples (1994), Denver (1997) and Genoa (2001).

[83] Canadian International Development Agency, *Canada Making a Difference in the World: A Policy Statement on Strengthening Aid Effectiveness* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2002), 1-2, 4.

for democracy, ODA, the elimination of poverty, and the fight against HIV/AIDS on the continent.[84] Likewise, Canada participated in the World Trade Organization's November 2001 Doha Ministerial Conference. The Ministerial Declaration which followed recognized the role of trade in the economic development of the world's poorest countries, and pledged to better integrate into them into the international market system.[85]

The first concrete Canadian diplomatic activity prior to Kananaskis supporting improved ODA for sub-Saharan Africa was demonstrated during the Monterrey, Mexico 2002 International Conference on Financing for Development. Monterrey provided Chrétien a global stage on which to announce a .08% increase to Canadian ODA, an initiative over and above the 3 year/$500 million fund for Africa announced in 2001.[86] Chrétien's declaration served to distinguish Canada amongst its peers, while simultaneously aligning him with a leaders' consensus to renew development efforts by:

> . . . mobilizing domestic resources, attracting international flows, promoting international trade as an engine for development, increasing international financial and technical cooperation for development, sustainable debt financing and external debt relief, and enhancing the coherence and consistency of the international monetary, financial and trading systems.[87]

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[84] United Nations General Assembly, *55/2 United Nations Millennium Declaration* (New York: UN, September 18, 2000), 7-8; http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.pdf; Internet; accessed 09 March 2011.

[85] World Trade Organization, WT/MIN(01)/DEC/1 *Ministerial Declaration* (Geneva: WTO, November 20, 2001), 1; http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/minist_e/min01_e/mindecl_e.pdf; Internet; accessed 09 March 2011.

[86] Canadian International Development Agency, *Canada Making a Difference in the World . . .*, 2.

[87] United Nations, *Monterrey Consensus of the International Conference on Financing for Development* (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 2003), 5; http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/monterrey/MonterreyConsensus.pdf; Internet; accessed 11 March 2011.

Following Monterrey, there was substantial international momentum for the Africa agenda put forth by Chrétien for the 2002 G8 Summit. By the time the world's leaders congregated in Kananaskis, an entire day of the two day program had been dedicated to Africa's plight. Central to the Africa component of the Summit was Canada's inclusion of the heads of state of Algeria, Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa in discussions surrounding the alignment of the G8's proposed Africa Action Plan with the objectives of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).[88] To Chrétien, the assembled NEPAD leadership represented a clear African desire "to consolidate democracy and sound economic management on the continent, to promote peace and human rights, to foster education and health, and to introduce the legal and infrastructure requirements for sustainable growth."[89]

The crown jewel of the Kananaskis Summit was the G8's adoption of its Africa Action Plan. Designed to focus the G8's assistance efforts on those NEPAD members who demonstrated good financial and political stewardship over their citizens, the plan included measures to improve governance, trade and to combat poverty. It also pledged support across a wide spectrum of other critical issues. These included: promotion of peace and security; strengthening institutions and governance; fostering trade, investment, economic and sustainable development; implementing debt relief; expanding knowledge, including improving and promoting education and expanding digital opportunities; improving health and confronting HIV/AIDS; increasing agricultural productivity; and

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[88] G8 Information Centre, "The Kananaskis Summit Chair's Summary," http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2002kananaskis/summary.html; Internet; accessed 10 March 2011.

[89] Chrétien, *My Years as Prime Minister*, 358. Further details on NEPAD can be found at www.nepad.org and within their 2001 framework. See NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency. "The

improving water resource management. Most importantly, and from a hard fiscal perspective, the G8 pledge to dedicate half of the approximately 12 billion USD promised at Monterrey exclusively for Africa.[90]

Kananaskis represented a pivotal moment for Canada to assume a global leadership role on African issues – something that had been absent from the nation's foreign policy since the fight against Apartheid in the 1980s. David Black characterized the success of Canada's Africa-centred agenda as having obligated the "governments of the richest countries [to give] more, and more sympathetic, attention to the challenges and opportunities confronting Africa than ever before."[91] Conversely, other such as Lawrence Martin, described an alternate view of Kananaskis as a case of style over substance. This belief was predicated upon Chrétien's failure to achieve his ultimate goal of new financial commitments for Africa due to reticence amongst the world's leaders, particularly President Bush, to commit more resources to the continent.[92]

Despite potential disagreement on the long-term impact of Canada's G8 leadership, the subsequent effect on refocusing CIDA's development assistance efforts on sub-Saharan Africa was indisputable. Issued shortly after the Summit, the last CIDA policy statement under Chrétien, *Canada Making a Difference in the World: A Policy Statement on Strengthening Aid Effectiveness* (2002), drew broad themes from previous

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)." Abuja, NG: NEPAD, October 2001; http://www.nepad.org/system/files/framework_0.pdf; Internet; accessed 10 March 2011.

[90] Canada International Gateway, "G8 Africa Action Plan," 1-19; http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/g8/assets/pdfs/2002Kananaskis/afraction-en.pdf; Internet; accessed 10 March 2011.

[91] Black, "Leader or Laggard . . ., 384.

[92] Lawrence Martin, *Iron Man: The Defiant Reign of Jean Chrétien Volume 2* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2003), 380-381.

Canadian commitments at Doha, Monterrey and Kananaskis. Africa, and sub-Saharan Africa by default, became primary beneficiaries of new direction contained within the policy statement.

Incorporating key commitments from the G8 Africa Action Plan and heavily referencing NEPAD, *Canada Making a Difference in the World* laid out a new development assistance trajectory for Canada. Initiatives included the Canada Fund for Africa, a $500 million addition to the nation's existing ODA budget for Africa. Directly linked to the Africa Action Plan and NEPAD, the Fund was placed under the administrative charge of CIDA. Ultimately, the selection of recipient countries would be predicated upon "their use of aid effectiveness principles . . . commitment to democracy, good governance and human rights."[93] Furthermore, Canada also committed itself to the provision of $6 billion over a five year period for African-specific ODA. A new start for a new millennium, *Canada Making a Difference in the World* offered hope that Canada had finally dedicated itself to a substantial, long-term program of ODA for sub-Saharan Africa after almost a decade of marginalization. [94]

2.5   Conclusion

As Chrétien's tenure drew to a close in December of 2003, Canadian efforts in sub-Saharan Africa in the realms of defence, development and diplomacy remained, as a whole, largely inconsistent. From a defence standpoint, Canada's hard policy approach differed minimally from that of the previous Conservative administration. Focus

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[93] Canadian International Development Agency, *Canada Making a Difference . . .*, 26.

[94] *Ibid.*, 24-27.

remained on traditional areas of interest such as North America, NATO, Europe and the Asia-Pacific region. Ultimately, and despite Canada's experiences in Somalia and Rwanda, the threat posed by failed states, ethnic warfare and religious extremism held little sway in terms of demanding a long-term focus of policy and resources on regional security issues.

Nevertheless, a substantial gap between Liberal policy and short-term CF engagement in sub-Saharan Africa existed over the decade of Chrétien's rule. Rwanda, Zaire and Eritrea all witnessed significant Canadian military commitments or diplomatic initiatives while numerous other countries experienced smaller missions characterized by limited scope, time and personnel. Canada's historic affinity for UN multilateral peacekeeping operations would, in large measure, explain the policy-action gap.

Regarding development assistance, Liberal deficit cutting measures and priority setting had pushed sub-Saharan Africa to the margins of Canadian ODA policy by the end of the 20th century. Although the domestic political repercussions of such a shift were minimal, Canada's accumulated political capital and goodwill were jeopardized by a near decade of neglect. Fortunately for both Canada's reputation and sub-Saharan Africa, the nation's ODA policy would strike a new path under the concerted leadership of Prime Minster Chrétien. Predicated upon the flurry of diplomatic initiative in 2002, ODA commitments would be reinvigorated through a reversal of the downward spiral of both Canada's ODA/GNP ratio and its hard financial commitments to Africa.

Finally, from a diplomatic perspective, the Liberals emphasized the importance of an uncertain security environment, globalization and trade. As the decade progressed, Canadian advocacy for its human security agenda would bring global concerns such as poverty, inequality and human rights issues into sharper focus. Subsequent leadership on

high-profile international files such as the Ottawa Convention would be testament to the ascendancy of human security as a fundamental tenet of Canadian foreign policy.

Canada's human security agenda and the personal leadership of Chrétien merged at the 2002 G8 summit at Kananaskis to produce a zenith for Canadian foreign policy. The resultant Africa Action Plan affirmed Canada's ability, at least temporarily, to focus the attention of the G8 on the plight of Africa. It also confirmed that sub-Saharan Africa had been rescued from prolonged marginalization to assume a role of prominence in Canadian diplomacy and development assistance policy. This would be the legacy inherited by Canada's next Liberal Prime Minster, Paul Martin, and shortly thereafter, by Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper.

CHAPTER 3 – A RETURN TO THE PERIPHERY

3.1   Introduction

As former Finance Minister Paul Martin assumed the role of Prime Minister from Jean Chrétien on 12 December, 2003, he would inherit more than the mantle of leadership. Unlike his predecessor, the domestic political environment Martin faced was substantially more stable. Following almost a decade of deficit cutting, a growing economy and the withdrawal of the separatist threat in Quebec freed Martin to build upon an activist foreign policy agenda. Correspondingly sub-Saharan Africa would continue to retain its position of prominence in Canadian foreign policy; one previously established by Chrétien.

Although Martin's tenure as leader would be short, he articulated a variation of the nation's foreign policy for sub-Saharan Africa. In particular, although he would still adhere to the Africa-centric aid initiatives pledged by the Chrétien administration, he would also introduce a strong element of national security into the realms of defence, development and diplomacy policy which would indirectly affect Canadian engagement in the region.

Nevertheless, despite having just been elected to a minority government in the summer of 2004, Martin would yield control of the country to Stephen Harper and the Conservative Party during the January 2006 election. The ability of Prime Minister Harper to put a clear Conservative stamp on Canadian foreign policy, however, would be limited given his government's minority status. In reality, there would only be superficial differences between the trajectory of much of Canada's foreign policy under Harper than

under Martin. One variance, however, would be the tact adopted by the Conservatives in addressing sub-Saharan Africa issues, particularly with regards to development assistance. Both through the Conservatives approach to ODA funding, and through their handling of African issues within multilateral venues such as the G8, the continent was once again relegated to the periphery of Canada's foreign policy agenda.

3.2   Defence – The Martin Years

Turning back to Paul Martin and defence, review and potential reform of Canadian foreign policy was a personal priority. As such, and reflecting the long shadow that the events of September 11th, 2001 had cast onto the 21st century, national security had become a focal point for foreign policy. Issued in April of 2004, *Securing an Open Society: Canada's National Security Policy* (2004) was a precursor to the impending Liberal International Policy Review and the subsequent release of an International Policy Statement in 2005. It was also characterized by Martin as being "Canada's first-ever comprehensive statement of our National Security Policy."[95]

Although not specifically a defence-centric document, *Securing an Open Society* offered potential tasks for the CF which appeared tailor made for sub-Saharan Africa. This was the case regarding the importance placed upon the threats of failed and failing states to Canada's third fundamental national security interest, Canadian contributions to international security. For Martin, Africa (and sub-Saharan Africa by default) was a

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[95] Privy Council Office, *Securing and Open Society: Canada's National Security Policy* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2004), iii. Measures in support of *Securing and Open Society* would be largely taken in the 2005 Budget and *Canada's International Policy Statement: A Role of Pride and Influence in the World* (2005). These would be detailed in the 2005 follow up to *Securing and Open Society*. See Canada. Privy Council Office. *Securing and Open Society: One Year Later: Progress Report on the implementation of Canada's National Security Policy*. Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2005.

logical priority for Canadian foreign policy as "[n]owhere on earth are there so many failed and fragile states whose populations need the support of the international community."[96]

Defence remained a critical component of the government's 3D (defence, diplomacy, development) approach to international security operations in those nations falling under the failed and fragile states banner. [97] The challenges posed to national security by the failed-failing states nexus would be met through government initiative to increase both Canadian military and civilian capacity. Specifically, this translated into a requirement for an agile, multi-dimensional, combat capable CF able to effectively operate with Allies across a full spectrum of military operations. This force was envisioned to assume the more traditional role of peacekeeper or peacemaker as necessary, and would work hand-in-hand with the efforts of both civilians and Canadian police to support democracy in the area of conflict.[98]

This new path for the CF was an articulation of three emerging themes in Canadian foreign policy. The first two consisted of the 'three block war' and the '3D model' to foreign policy. The three block war represented the coordinated employment of the CF (defence), in conjunction with diplomatic and development personnel (i.e. 3D), on humanitarian, peacekeeping and combat missions within the same geographic area; a model the government had already employed with self-assessed success in Afghanistan.[99]

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[96] Paul Martin, *Hell or High Water: My Life In and Out of Politics* (Toronto: Douglas Gibson Books, 2008), 331.

[97] *Ibid*., vii, 7, 47.

[98] *Ibid*., 49-51.

[99] Waisová, "The Transformation of Canada's Development . . ., 87-88.

The third was 'Right to Protect (R2P)', a concept that had originated from the human

security work undertaken by Lloyd Axworthy during his tenure as Chrétien's Foreign

Affairs Minister. Providing insight into the potential path foreign policy would follow

during his tenure, Martin succinctly described the components of R2P:

> The first was the responsibility of the international community to prevent outrages
> against human rights before they happen – to act . . . second was the responsibility
> to act in the first instance by political, economic, and diplomatic means, perhaps,
> but ultimately militarily if necessary. . . . third was a responsibility to rebuild after
> the crisis was over.[100]

If specifics on the three block war, the 3D concept, R2P and the employment of

the Canadian Forces in sub-Saharan Africa were lacking in *Securing an Open Society*,

most of these deficiencies were better addressed in *Canada's International Policy*

Statement: A Role of Pride and Influence in the World (2005). Although not an

indictment of the international sacrifices made by the previous Liberal administration

while stabilizing the nation's fiscal situation, *A Role of Pride and Influence* recognized

that Canada had to adopt a more activist role on the global stage.[101]

A Role of Pride and Influence would lay out a vision for Canadian foreign policy

that had imbedded the themes of the three block war, the 3D model, R2P and an expanded

Canadian Forces. Unquestionably intertwined, the government's focus on the use of the

three block war, 3D and R2P concepts as a means to build international security and

stabilize failed states necessitated a strengthening of the CF. Given the nation's history,

though, Martin was quick to point out that this new approach "was not a rejection of our

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[100] Martin, *Hell or High Water . . .*, 339.

[101] Government of Canada*, Canada's International Policy Statement: A Role of Pride and
Influence in the World: Volume 1 Overview* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada,
2005), 1-3.

peacekeeping tradition but a revision to suit tougher times."[102] To this end, the Liberals

committed $13 billion over five years to the Forces in their 2005 Budget.[103] Without

doubt, defence played an increasingly significant role in foreign policy under Martin.

The Defence component of *Pride and Influence,* therefore, was especially

important as it would be the closest substitute for a Defence White Paper since the 1994.

While it mirrored a commitment to pursuing capabilities in support of three block war,

3D and R2P operations, it also offered a clearer articulation of the threat posed to Canada

by failed and failing states:

> Failed and failing states pose a dual challenge for Canada. In the first instance, the
> suffering that these situations create is an affront to Canadian values. Beyond this,
> they also plant the seeds of threats to regional and global security. They generate
> refugee flows that threaten the stability of their neighbours, and create new
> political problems for their regions. More ominously, the impotence of their
> governing structures makes them potential breeding grounds or safe havens for
> terrorism and organized crime.[104]

What the document did not indicate, however, were potential areas of operations

beyond where CF personnel were already engaged. Sub-Saharan Africa was not

explicitly singled out as a regional area of concern. Notwithstanding, limited Canadian

contributions to African peace and stability operations were highlighted through

Canadian Forces support to the Military Training Assistance Program (MTAP). Africa

was also a focus of the Forces' international defence diplomacy efforts.[105]

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[102] Martin, *Hell or High Water . . .,* 329.

[103] Canada*, Canada's International Policy Statement: Volume 1 Overview . . .,* 14.

[104] Government of Canada*, Canada's International Policy Statement: A Role of Pride and Influence in the World: Volume 3 Defence* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2005), 5.

Pride and Influence was not nearly as non-committal as to the potential of future, largely non-military, Canadian engagement in sub-Saharan Africa. The government promised to "mobilize the international community, including Africans, to stop the ethnic cleansing and massive abuse of human rights in the Darfur region of Sudan."[106] Canadian efforts in Darfur would also extend to the delivery of humanitarian aid, training support to African Union (AU) forces and funding of International Criminal Court (ICC) activities related to war crime investigations.[107]

For Martin, Darfur was his principal 'African issue' which defined Canada's relationship with sub-Saharan Africa during his tenure. It generated an increase in the rhetoric for a significant refocusing of Canadian efforts in the region, albeit not necessarily of a military nature. Prior to *Pride and Influence*, CF involvement had been limited to a small number of CF personnel involved in training, UN observer, UN Standby High Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG) and AU support missions in nations such as Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia/Eritrea and Sudan. In sharp comparison to the over 2,000 Canadian Forces personnel deployed to Afghanistan, CF personnel in sub-Saharan Africa totalled a mere 26 members.[108]

After the release of *Pride and Influence*, and due to the strong language used within it, Canadian efforts in Darfur would be judged in a harsher light. Ultimately, Canada's claim to a leadership role within sub-Saharan Africa was undermined by the

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[105] *Ibid.*, 27-28.

[106] Canada*, Canada's International Policy Statement: Volume 1 Overview . . .*, 13.

[107] *Ibid.*

[108] Department of National Defence, *2005-2006 Estimates, Part III National Defence* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2005), 100-101.

limited support provided to Darfur, including from a military perspective. This narrative will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 4 – A Record of Failure.

3.3   Defence – The Harper Government

Upon assuming power in February 2006, Stephen Harper inherited military missions spread across sub-Saharan Africa, including Darfur. The resultant effect of the Conservative victory on CF activity in Africa would be largely negligible, due in part to a 2005-2006 election that commentators characterized as being primarily domestic in nature.[109] This apparent defence policy continuity extended across the breadth of the CF's worldwide commitments. It also included Canada's largest and most complex combat mission in Afghanistan.[110]

The Conservative approach to CF overseas operations was unsurprising given the scant attention paid to matters of defence policy in the Conservative's *Policy Declaration* (2005). With a strong domestic and continental defence focus enshrined within a Canada First Defence Policy, Canadian support to global humanitarian, peace and security missions was a distinct third priority for any administration under Stephen Harper.[111]

Two years after their election, the Conservative government released the first Defence White Paper since 1994, the *Canada First Defence Strategy* (2008). Flowing directly from the Conservative election platform, the document adhered to an emphasis

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[109] Adam Chapnick would discuss the domestic tilt of the Conservatives 2005-2006 election platform in more detail. See Adam Chapnick, "Caught In-between Traditions: A Minority Conservative Government and Canadian Foreign Policy," in *Canada Among Nations 2006*, ed. Andrew F. Cooper and Dane Rowlands, 58-75 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 60-61.

[110] Waisová, "The Transformation of Canada's Development . . ., 91, 94.

[111] Conservative Party of Canada, *Policy Declaration: March 19, 2005* (Ottawa: Conservative Party of Canada, 2005), 40.

on domestic and North American security. Although third on the government's priority list, its commitment to international peace and security demanded that the Canadian Forces were ready to effectively operate within the 'whole of government' model (i.e. 3D) adopted from the previous Liberal administration. Diverse missions, always conducted under a multilateral umbrella, would run a wide-ranging gamut from combat to humanitarian assistance. As would be expected, Afghanistan remained the central focus for the defence community. Africa, however, was relegated to an 'unresolved conflict' bracket along with the Balkans, South Asia and the Middle East.[112]

Unsurprisingly, in the period since Martin vacated 24 Sussex Drive and the CFDS was published, Canadian military involvement in sub-Saharan Africa has remained unaffected. In March of 2011, CF force levels comprised 53 personnel in the region on similar missions as were being carried out during Martin's reign. Military personnel continue to be involved in training, UN observer, and UN-AU support missions in nations such as Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sudan (Darfur and Southern Sudan). In stark contrast, 2,922 CF members are deployed in support of operations in Afghanistan.[113] The present government's defence priority, albeit little different from the previous Liberal administration, could not be more clear.

Although the end of Canada's Afghanistan combat mission, and consequent force drawdown, looms large for the CF in 2011, there has been no clear indication that the government is actively seeking an expanded role for the CF in sub-Saharan Africa.

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[112] Department of National Defence, *Canada First Defence Strategy* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, June 2008), 6, 8-9.

[113] Canadian Expeditionary Force Command, "International Operations," http://www.cefcom.forces.gc.ca/pa-ap/ops/index-eng.asp; Internet; accessed 14 March 2011.

Indeed, ambiguity reigns. Early in 2010 media outlets prognosticated that CF involvement in the DRC was a non-starter due to UN mandate weaknesses, host nation reticence, and financial and personnel shortages; although reminiscent of Rwanda, the government was considering a UN request to send a Canadian general to take command of the mission.[114]

Nearly six months later, other sources reported that "Canadian soldiers may trade fighting the war in Afghanistan for a more traditional UN peacekeeping mission in Africa . . . [the] military has quietly begun angling to take command of the UN's largest peacekeeping mission, which is in Congo . . ."[115] Yet still others cited the need for Canada to undertake a more robust peacekeeping and leadership role in Sudan in the wake of a national referendum on southern independence and American desires for greater Canadian participation in stabilizing the nation.[116] At present, neither option appears imminent. Consequently, opportunities for any potential large-scale military mission for sub-Saharan Africa remain speculative, at best.

3.4   Development – The Martin Years

In many ways, the trajectory of the nation's defence policy vis-à-vis sub-Saharan Africa over the Martin and Harper years would be replicated by Canadian official

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[114] Allan Woods, "Canadian Deployment to Congo Unlikely, Observers Say," *The Toronto Star*, 21 April 2010; http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/article/798828--canadian-deployment-to-congo-unlikely-observers-say; Internet; accessed 14 March 2011.

[115] Matthew Fisher, "After Afghanistan, Canadian Troops May Provide Peacekeeping in Congo," *The Vancouver Sun*, 08 October 2010; http://www.vancouversun.com/news/After+Afghanistan+Canadian+troops+provide+peacekeeping+Congo/2737731/story.html; Internet; accessed 14 March 2011.

[116] Ian Elliot, "Canadian Military Likely Headed to Sudan: Ex-Diplomat," *Toronto Sun*, 23 January 2011; http://www.torontosun.com/news/canada/2011/01/23/17002891.html; Internet; accessed 14 March 2011.

development assistance. The *2004 Budget Plan*, the first under Martin, offered a clear indication that the 'new' government would not deviate from the development assistance objectives decided upon by Chrétien prior to leaving office. Canada's IAE would increase by .08% ($248 million) in 2005-2006, just as it had the previous year. The government also vowed to honour Chrétien's Kananaskis pledge by focussing a minimum of half of any IAE growth to Africa. Subsidized anti-HIV/AIDS drugs and a suspension of debt for Rwanda and the DRC were all Africa-centric initiatives tabled within the budget.[117]

As can be seen by Figure 3, Martin was committed to continuing the reversal of fortune for sub-Saharan Africa in Canadian ODA policy that had commenced late in Jean Chrétien's tenure:

Figure 3 - Total and Sub-Saharan Africa Bilateral ODA (1989-2005; thousands Cdn $)

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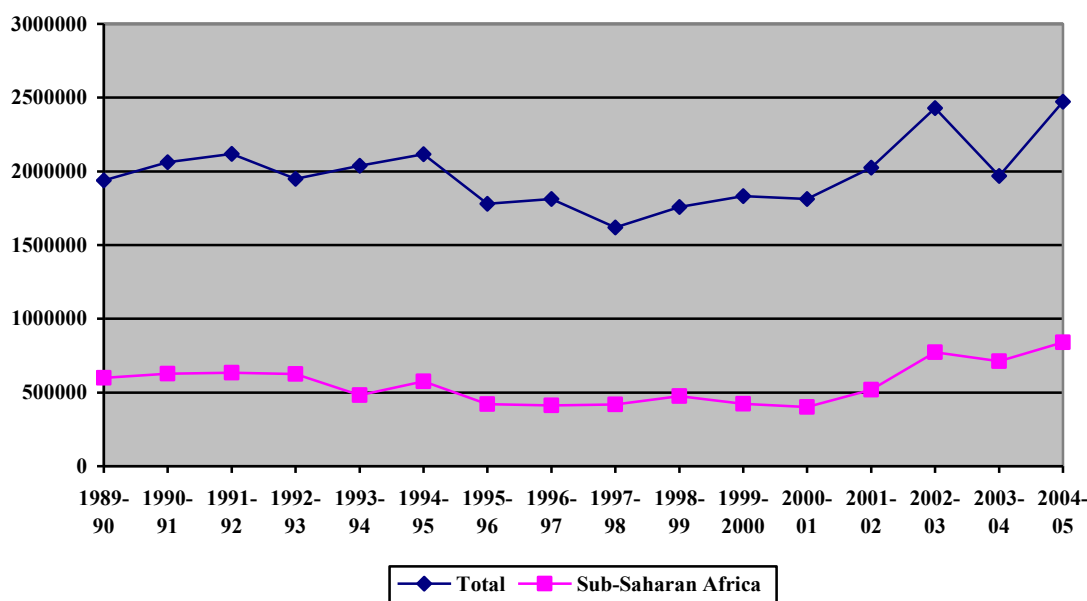
[117] Department of Finance, *The Budget Plan 2004: New Agenda for Achievement* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2004), 197-198.

Source: The Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Overcoming 40 Years of Failure: A New Road Map for Sub-Saharan Africa*, 133; http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/SEN/Committee/391 /fore/rep/repafrifeb07-e.pdf; Internet; accessed 08 May 2011.

This revival is further illustrated through sub-Saharan Africa's rising percentage share of Canada's total bilateral ODA:

Figure 4 - Sub-Saharan Africa Share of Bilateral Canadian ODA
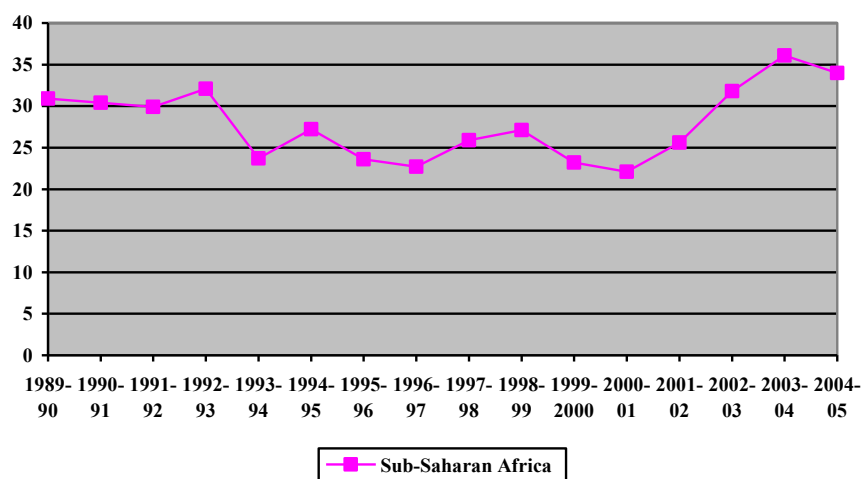
Source: The Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Overcoming 40 Years of Failure: A New Road Map for Sub-Saharan Africa*, 133; http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/SEN/Committee/391 /fore/rep/repafrifeb07-e.pdf; Internet; accessed 08 May 2011.

On the surface, Canada's altruistic actions on the debt front were impressive. With the addition of Rwanda and the DRC to a list of seven other nations under a debt service moratorium, a total of eight sub-Saharan nations benefited from Canadian action under the auspices of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative. The total debt frozen for these eight countries amounted to $451.8 million. However, as an

indication of competing national priorities, Canada also announced its intention to provide debt relief on the bulk of Iraq's $750 million debt.[118]

As previously discussed, *Securing an Open Society* followed on the heels of the 2004 Budget. Although lacking an explicit African focus, it did highlight a vision of development assistance that was fully integrated with defence and diplomatic efforts as part of Canada's '3D' approach to engaging failed and failing states. Under Martin, ODA was cast as preventative tool to ward off conflict in these nations. Moreover, portions of Canada's IAE were hived off to DFAIT to fund the generation of counter-terrorism capability in the world's poorest countries. Once again, although no explicit mention was made of sub-Saharan Africa, the instability of many of the region's nations foreshadowed a potential transition in CIDA's method of ODA delivery.[119]

The dual themes of security and Africa were prominent throughout CIDA's 2004-2005 *Report on Plans and Priorities*. The issue of security would surface as one of the organizations 'new directions'; effectively advancing the human security agenda initiated under Axworthy and Chrétien:

> A key strategic objective of CIDA's poverty reduction efforts over the next few years will be the promotion of peace and security, especially in Africa, focussing on conflict prevention and building bridges from post-conflict reconciliation to long-term development. [120]

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[118] *Ibid*., 199. In the 2005 Budget Plan Canada stated that it would forgive a total of $570 million of Iraq's $750 million debt over a three year period. See Department of Finance, *The Budget Plan 2005* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2005), 212; http://www.fin.gc.ca/budget05/pdf/bp2005e.pdf; Internet; accessed 15 March 2011.

[119] Privy Council Office*, Securing and Open Society: Canada's National Security Policy* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2004), 47-51. Sárka Waisová attributed one of the first indications of a potential securitization of Canadian development assistance to CIDA in its *Performance Report 2003*. See Sárka Waisová, "The Transformation of Canada's Development Policy through the Security-Development Approach," in *Canada's Foreign and Security Policy*, ed. Nik Hynek and David Bosold, 81-100 (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2010), 87.

Not all observers were in agreement, however, that the introduction of "[c]onflict prevention, post-conflict reconciliation, peacebuilding, and security"[121] into CIDA operations was simply an institutionalization of the human security concept within Canadian foreign policy. Political scientist Sárka Waisová posited that security language laden with failed state, counter-terrorism and conflict prevention references within both CIDA documentation and *Securing an Open Society* was proof that national security concerns were superseding Canada's human security focus.[122]

Despite the jockeying of human and state security themes, Africa still dominated the 2004-2005 *Report on Plans and Priorities*. The cornerstone of CIDA's commitment to the continent remained its adherence to Canadian pledges made at Kananaskis, including the desire to "direct at least half of the incremental resources ($6 billion in new and existing resources, including the $500 million Canada Fund for Africa) for Africa's development over five years."[123] Linked to this ODA was the commitment to include NEPAD considerations within CIDA planning, as well as to rely on the organization to highlight continental poverty reduction strategies. Geographic focus would also be a significant factor affecting the short-term future of development assistance to Africa, and specifically sub-Saharan Africa. Predicated upon demonstrated adherence to good

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[120] Canadian International Development Agency, *2004-2005 Estimates, Part III Canadian International Development Agency* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2004), 5.

[121] *Ibid*.

[122] Waisová, "The Transformation of Canada's Development . . ., 87.

[123] Canadian International Development Agency, *2004-2005 Estimates* . . ., 5. Although an African focus was listed as a 'new direction' for CIDA in 2004-2005, it was not. Practically the same text was used to describe Africa as a three-year 'new direction' and 'focus' for CIDA in its 2003-2004 Estimates. See

governance and poverty reduction, six of the nine nations chosen for greater ODA concentration originated from the region.[124]

The Africa-centric focus for program delivery, and the development assistance portion of the 2004 Budget, would lay the groundwork for an expanded level of continental effort planned for by Martin in 2005. The *2005 Budget Plan* was rife with commitments to the deliver ODA to the world's poorest nations. Although only $100 million of 'new' money was allocated for the 2005-2006 fiscal period, the budget laid out an aggressive scheme to double the nation's international assistance by 2010-2011 via the injection of an additional $3.4 billion dollars over five years:[125]

Figure 5 - 2005 New Resources for International Assistance

Source: Department of Finance, *The Budget Plan 2005*, 211;
http://www.fin.gc.ca/budget05/pdf/bp2005e.pdf; Internet; accessed 15 March 2011.

Canadian International Development Agency, *2003-2004 Estimates, Part III Canadian International Development Agency* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2003), 20.
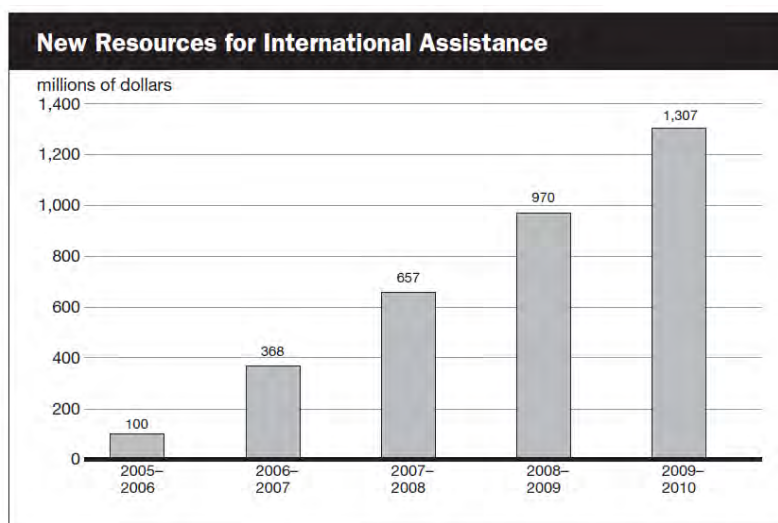
[124] *Ibid*., 4-5.

[125] Department of Finance, *The Budget Plan 2005*, 210.
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Africa would, in many respects, monopolize the government's plans for its

development assistance program, and any associated budgetary increases to it.   Key

initiatives included a Canada's 'Beyond HIPC' debt relief proposition, a combined $342

million for vaccination, immunization and disease programs (AIDS, Tuberculosis,

Malaria and Polio), and $100 million over 5 years for peace and security programs

(including $20 million to support African Union operations in Darfur, Sudan).[126] The

budget also promised to double Canadian ODA to Africa from 2003-2004 levels over a

five year period:[127]

Figure 6 - 2005 Projected Growth of Canadian Assistance to Africa
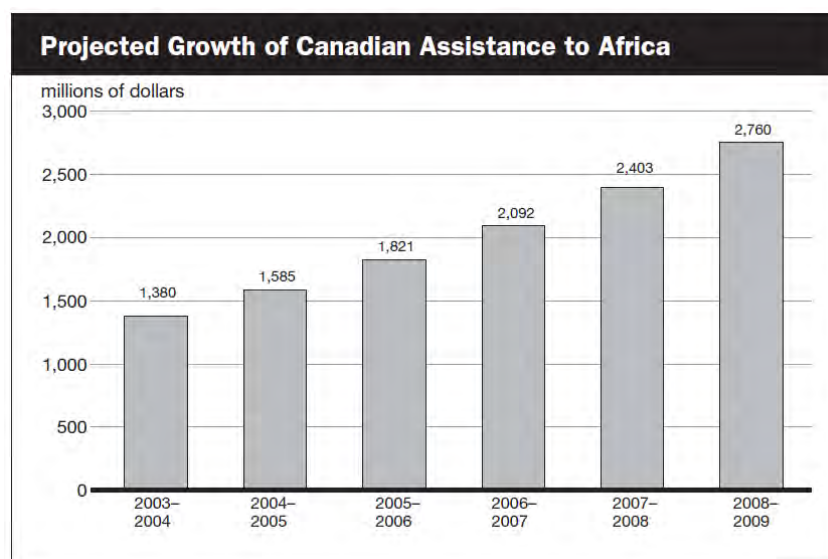
Source: Department of Finance, *The Budget Plan 2005*, 213;
http://www.fin.gc.ca/budget05/pdf/bp2005e.pdf; Internet; accessed 15 March
2011.

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[126] *Ibid.*, 211-214. 'Beyond HIPC' sought to provide 100% multilateral debt-service relief for HIPC certified and human rights abiding countries until 2015. Over a five year period $172 million was to be used to pay for the Canadian portion of selected nation's debt service costs to the World Bank's International Development Association and the African Development Bank's African Development Fund.

[127] *Ibid.*, 213.

Flowing directly from the 2005 Budget, CIDA's 2005-2006 *Report on Plans and Priorities* brought little new to the fight beyond what had already been tabled in Parliament or contained within previous CIDA policies. Lending further credence to the importance placed upon African-focussed development assistance, the report did critically note that sub-Saharan Africa was lagging behind in almost all of the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDG), including primary education, child mortality and the 50% reduction of extreme poverty by the year 2015.[128] One Canadian commitment in support of the MDGs that the document did choose to highlight, though, was the government's efforts to increase untied development assistance from its 2003 level of 52.6%.[129] Otherwise, little clarification was provided on earlier pledges of support.

The capstone foreign policy document generated by the Martin government in 2005 was the International Policy Statement, *Pride and Influence*. On the development assistance front, it would prove to be a complex amalgamation of elements from 2002's *Canada Making a Difference in the World* and 2004's *Securing Our Future*. Of particular note was that *Pride and Influence* retained a heavy security focus. As "the first line of defence in a new global system of collective security,"[130] the policy statement

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[128] Canadian International Development Agency, *2005-2006 Estimates, Part III Canadian International Development Agency* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2005), 14. In 2000 world leaders had agreed to 8 Millennium Development Goals which were subsequently utilized by developed countries and international organizations to judge both the effectiveness of development assistance and the action of recipient nations to meet set targets. See United Nations Development Programme, "Millennium Development Goals – Basic Facts," http://www.undp.org/mdg/basics.shtml; Internet; accessed 16 March 2011.

[129] *Ibid*., 15.

[130] Government of Canada, *Canada's International Policy Statement . . . Overview*, 3.

seized on the impact ODA could have in stabilizing failed and failing states before they could pose a threat to international, and thus Canadian, security.[131]

Pride and Influence signalled that 2005 would be a pivotal year for Africa, in part due to its security emphasis, but also attributed to a "new consensus both on the targets for poverty reduction and development – represented by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) – and on the best means for achieving targets."[132] Nevertheless, Canada acknowledged the current inability of the sub-Saharan Africa to meet its MDG goals, including failures to decrease extreme poverty, grow per capita GDP, or rein in its HIV/AIDS epidemic.[133] Consequently, Africa was highlighted as an ongoing priority and previous pronouncements on Canada's pledge to double African ODA by 2008-2009 (from 2003-2004 levels) were firmly imbedded within the statement. New initiatives were largely absent, although *Pride and Influence* did signal an increased focus on conflict ravaged Darfur, as well as the introduction of a Canada Investment Fund for Africa to support continental private sector expansion.[134]

Another crucial component of *Pride and Influence* which would affect sub-Saharan Africa was its commitment to refocus Canadian ODA on a smaller number of 25 'Development Partners'.[135] Sub-Saharan Africa, which had already been receiving approximately 39%, or $1.1 billion, of the entire Canadian ODA budget in 2003-2004,

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[131] *Ibid.*, 1.

[132] *Ibid.*, 3.

[133] Government of Canada*, Canada's International Policy Statement: A Role of Pride and Influence in the World: Volume 4 Development* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2005), 3-4.

[134] Government of Canada*, Canada's International Policy Statement . . . Overview*, 3, 13, 21-23.

[135] *Ibid.*, 23.

encompassed a greater proportion of 'Development Partners' than any other region. It was hoped that the 'Partner' nations would benefit from a Canadian objective to dedicate a minimum of two-thirds of the nation's bilateral ODA to them by 2010.[136]

Pride and Influence, from a development assistance standpoint, was the culmination of Liberal foreign policy dating back to the work of Jean Chrétien. It provided Canada and the world a clearer vision of Canada's development assistance policies, one within which the nations and people of sub-Saharan Africa occupied a position of focus and prominence. It also furnished the new Conservative government under Stephen Harper a starting point upon which to craft its own approach to ODA priority setting and policy making.

3.5   Development – The Harper Government

The Conservatives 2005-2006 election platform, however, contained little information on development assistance. Beyond standard boilerplate as to the role of Canadian values and interests in the delivery of ODA, few new ideas beyond the concept of a legislated legal framework for CIDA were presented. There was nothing substantive offered to effectively pre-judge which direction the new government would take foreign development policy.[137]

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[136] Government of Canada, *Canada's International Policy Statement . . . Development*, 6, 22-23. Canada's 'Development Partners' in sub-Saharan Africa were: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Tanzania and Zambia. See Parliamentary Information and Research Service, *Canadian International Development Agency's 25 Development Partners* (Ottawa: Library of Parliament 10 June 2005), 3; http://sn141w.snt141.mail.live.com/default.aspx?wa=wsignin1.0; Internet; accessed 17 March 2011.

[137] Conservative Party of Canada, *Policy Declaration . . .*, 39-40.

Conservative Budget Plans from 2006-2010 appeared to take on a minimalist

approach to ODA. The first budget in 2006 offered up a mere page and a half on

Canadian International Assistance. Previous Liberal commitments to double ODA by

2010-2011 (from 2001-2002) were restated (a trend that would continue in future

budgets), although an additional $320 million for largely disease-related purposes was

announced contingent on the federal surplus exceeding $2 billion. There was no mention

made of pledges to sub-Saharan Africa or the African continent.[138] The second budget,

The Budget Plan 2007: Aspire: To a Stronger, Safer, Better Canada, offered more

substantive details on the efforts to increase the focus, efficiency and accountability of

Canadian ODA. It also, to the exclusion of other nations and regions of the world,

signalled the ascendancy of Afghanistan to the top of the government's development

assistance priority list.[139]

In 2008, although the government openly acknowledged that "Afghanistan is a

central focus of our international assistance . . ."[140], it also trumpeted that Canada would

"double its aid to Africa in 2008-09 from its 2003-04 levels, making it the first G8

country to deliver on this commitment, more than a year ahead of other countries."[141]

This would be the only mention of Africa, however. The ensuing 2009 Budget, due

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[138] Department of Finance, *The Budget Plan 2006: Focusing on Priorities* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2006), 137-138.

[139] Department of Finance, *The Budget Plan 2007: Aspire: To a Stronger, Safer, Better Canada* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2007), 261-264; http://www.budget.gc.ca/2007/pdf/bp2007e.pdf; Internet; accessed 17 March 2011.

[140] Department of Finance, *The Budget Plan 2008: Responsible Leadership* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2008), 181.

[141] *Ibid*.

mainly to an intense focus on the global economic meltdown and the Canadian economy,

continued this trend as it lacked any real development assistance direction on any front.

The Conservative's fifth budget in power, *Budget 2010: Leading the Way on Jobs and Growth*, was pivotal for sub-Saharan Africa for numerous reasons. First, the government announced that it had reached the previous Liberal commitment to double Canadian ODA by 2010-2011 through an increase of 8% ($364 million) to the nation's IAE. Second, it reaffirmed that Canada had previously achieved its pledge to double its development assistance to Africa in the 2008-2009 budget. Third, the Conservatives stated that the IAE would be frozen at the 2010-2011 level of $5 billion. This action would generate a projected costs savings of $1.8 billion to the government by discontinuing the annual 8% per year increase to ODA which had been factored into previous Harper, Martin and Chrétien budgets. Moving forward from 2010, and pending any non-forecasted increases to Canada's IAE, ODA levels for recipient nations in sub-Saharan Africa had plateaued.[142]

Backtracking to evaluate the impact of budgetary trends on CIDA programming, Chris Brown and Edward T. Jackson summarized the effect of Conservative rule on development aid policy as the "African focus of only a few years ago . . . being replaced with a new emphasis on the Americas."[143] This new focus, though, did not make an immediate appearance within CIDA's *Reports on Plans and Priorities* for the 2006-2007

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[142] Department of Finance, *Budget 2010: Leading the Way on Jobs and Growth* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2010), 142-144; http://www.budget.gc.ca/2010/pdf/budget-planbudgetaire-eng.pdf; Internet; accessed 17 March 2011.

[143] Chris Brown and Edward T. Jackson, "Could the Senate Be Right? Should CIDA Be Abolished?" in *How Ottawa Spends, 2009-2010: Economic Upheaval and Political Dysfunction*, ed. Allan M. Maslove, 151-174 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 163.

and 2007-2008 periods. Vestiges of the previous Liberal emphasis on Africa remained. This included a 2006 government pledge that bilateral ODA to Africa would be 'significant', even as Canada focussed its aid efforts on a reduced number of nations. Canada also vowed to dedicate $100 million to AMIS and expand ties with regional African development organizations such as ECOWAS, the South African Development Community (SADC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD).[144]

Despite an acknowledgement of sub-Saharan Africa's development issues, and Conservative announcements of $150 million for basic education and $450 million over 10 years for health systems, 2007-2008 witnessed the withdrawal of the region from the forefront of CIDA priorities.[145] By 2008-2009, Afghanistan had supplanted Africa as CIDA's top priority:

> The Canadian role in Afghanistan is one of our most important foreign engagements in many decades. The priority to Afghanistan is also reflected in the 2007 Speech from the Throne. This political and military commitment is supported by CIDA's largest and most complex aid program.[146]

Afghanistan's prominence was undeniable. In 2008-2009 alone, it absorbed 18%, or $219.7 million dollars, of Canada's bilateral aid with its countries of focus.[147] Its

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[144] Canadian International Development Agency, *2006-2007 Estimates, Part III Canadian International Development Agency* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2006), 6, 22, 36.

[145] Canadian International Development Agency, *2007-2008 Estimates, Part III Canadian International Development Agency* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2007), 17.

[146] Canadian International Development Agency, *2008-2009 Estimates, Part III Canadian International Development Agency* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2008), 6.

[147] Canadian International Development Agency*, Statistical Report on International Assistance: Fiscal Year 2008-2009* (Ottawa: Canadian International Development Agency, 2010), 10; http://www.acdi-

ascendancy was also accompanied by an emerging region of priority in the Americas, which the government described as a "renewed commitment . . . [that] will contribute to building a more prosperous, democratic, secure and safe hemisphere."[148]

In contrast to both Afghanistan and the Americas, there appeared to be an element of "mission accomplished" for Africa. The government lauded its fulfillment of Canada's vow to double ODA to the continent by 2008-2009,[149] with $2.16 billion of ODA being directed to Africa that fiscal year.[150] Nevertheless, this claim has been ridiculed by Paul Martin. He accused the government of basing their claim on a lower baseline than he had used, resulting in a final ODA number approximately $700 million less than has been promised by the Liberals.[151]

Regardless of partisan disputes over figures, development assistance to sub-Saharan Africa was still substantial at a 2008-2009 level of $536.2 million, or 44% of Canada's development assistance to its focus countries.[152] Nevertheless, under the auspices of the government's 2009 Aid Effectiveness Agenda, ODA recipient numbers were pared down such that 7 of 20 designated focus countries originated from sub-Saharan Africa (Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali, Mozambique, Senegal, Sudan and Tanzania as

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cida.gc.ca/INET/IMAGES.NSF/vLUImages/stats/$file/STATISTICAL-REPORT-2008-2009_ENG.pdf; Internet; accessed 17 March 2011.

[148] Canadian International Development Agency, *2008-2009 Estimates . . .*, 7.

[149] *Ibid*.

[150] Canadian International Development Agency, *Statistical Report on International Assistance: Fiscal Year 2008-2009 . . .*, 5.

[151] Tonda MacCharles, "Is Africa on Stephen Harper's Radar," *The Toronto Star*, 11 June 2010; http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/article/822694--is-africa-on-stephen-harper-s-radar; Internet; accessed 18 March 2011.

[152] Canadian International Development Agency, *Statistical Report on International Assistance: Fiscal Year 2008-2009 . . .*, 5.

per Figure 5 below).[153] Additionally, by 2010 a regional focus was dismissed in favour of

per capita Gross Income Based country brackets, including 'Low-income countries'

which included six of the seven sub-Saharan Africa nations selected in 2009.[154]

Figure 7 - Canadian Sub-Saharan Africa Countries of Focus 2009

Source: Canadian International Development Agency, "Sub-Saharan Africa," http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/acdi-cida/ACDI-CIDA.nsf/eng/NIC-5595719-JDD; Internet; accessed 17 March 2011.

At first glance, the cumulative effect of the Martin and Harper years on

development assistance for sub-Saharan Africa would appear to be ambiguous. Not only

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[153] Canadian International Development Agency, "Countries of Focus," http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/acdi-cida/ACDI-CIDA.nsf/eng/JUD-51895926-JEP; Internet; accessed 17 March 2011. Canada's Aid Effectiveness Agenda included a concentration of aid in fewer countries than in previous decades as a means to achieve aid effectiveness, focus and accountability. See Canadian International Development Agency, "Aid Effectiveness Agenda," http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/acdi-cida/ACDI-CIDA.nsf/eng/FRA-825105226-KFT; Internet; accessed 17 March 2011.

[154] Canadian International Development Agency, *2010-2011 Estimates, Part III Canadian International Development Agency* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2010), 14; http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/rpp/2010-2011/inst/ida/ida-eng.pdf; Internet; accessed 17 March 2011.

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has Canada reached its objective of doubling its ODA budget by reaching the $5 billion

plateau in 2010-2011, it also accomplished its goal in 2008-2009 of doubling its

development assistance to Africa. Moreover, as Figure 6 below illustrates, sub-Saharan

Africa has been a principal recipient of Canadian increases to its development assistance

budget over the 10 year period from 1997 to 2007. With a total of $951.85 million,

Canada increased its overall ODA to the region by a yearly average rate of 9.21%.[155]

Figure 8 - Canadian All Source ODA by Region (2007 prices; millions Cdn $)
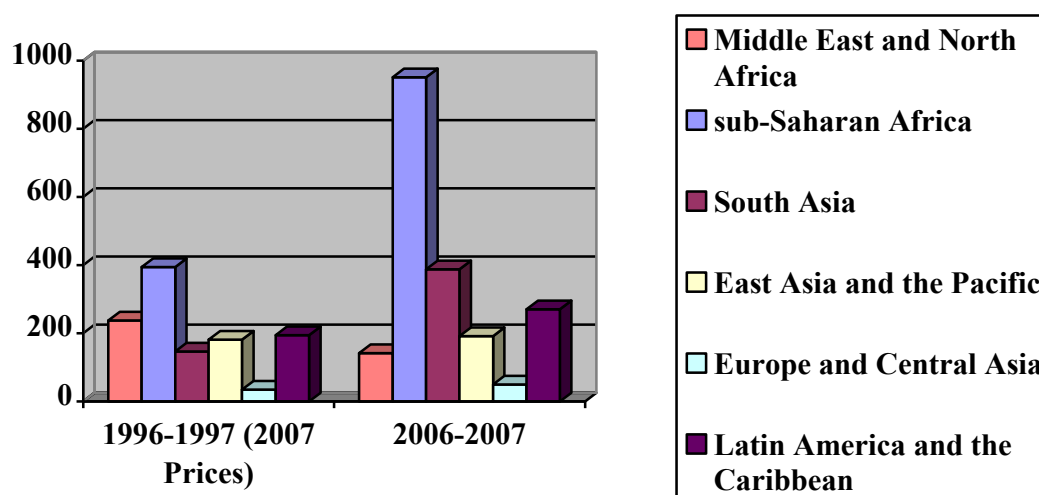
Source: The North-South Institute, *Canadian Development Report 2010: A Global Crisis of Development: Responses and Responsibilities*, 88-91; http://www.nsi-ins.ca/english/pdf/1919-NSI-CDR-2010-ENG-LR.pdf; Internet; accessed 17 March 2011.

Nevertheless, the broader picture does not make as compelling a case for

significantly improved ODA commitments to sub-Saharan Africa in the future.

Government prioritization of Afghanistan and the Americas as preferred development

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[155] The North-South Institute, *Canadian Development Report 2010: A Global Crisis of Development: Responses and Responsibilities* (Ottawa: The North-South Institute, 2010), 88; http://www.nsi-ins.ca/english/pdf/1919-NSI-CDR-2010-ENG-LR.pdf; Internet; accessed 17 March 2011.

assistance recipients does not bode well for short to medium term ODA growth. This also becomes damaging to the region's long term prospects given the cap of the IAE at its 2010-2011 level of $5 billion; resource allocation within the envelope quickly becomes a zero-sum game based on established departmental priorities. Nor does the freeze bode well for a reinvigorated Canadian push towards the long sought after 0.7% ODA/GNI ratio marker.

As budgetary increases to development assistance have not outpaced growth in the nation's GNI, The North-South Institute has characterized Canada's ODA/GNI ratio growth (as per Figure 7 below) as poor.[156]

Figure 9 - Canadian ODA/GNI Ratio (2000-2008)
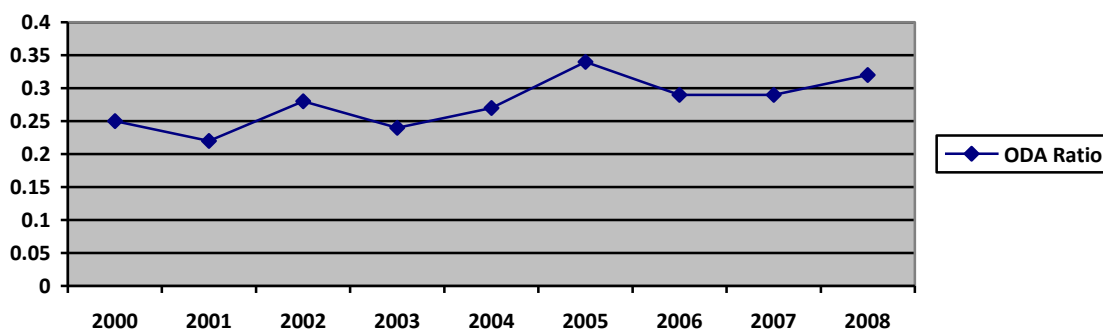
Source: Canadian International Development Agency, *Statistical Report on International Assistance: Fiscal Year 2008-2009*, 38; http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/INET/IMAGES.NSF/vLUImages/stats/$file/STATISTICAL-REPORT-2008-2009_ENG.pdf; Internet; accessed 17 March 2011.

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[156] *Ibid*., 27. Canada's 2007 ODA/GNI ratio of .29 ranks it well below the DAC Average Country Effort of .48 and tied for 16th out of 22 DAC countries. See Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD Journal on Development: Development Co-operation Report 2009, Volume 10/1 (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2009), 148; http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/download/fulltext/4309011e.pdf?expires=1302498154&id=0000&accname=guest&checksum=960E708404C5F190C333C04FB06459B4; Internet; accessed 18 March 2011.

The net result of this lack of growth was that in 2008, Canada's ODA/GNI ratio of .32 was only slightly better than during the dismal 1997-2000 period under Chrétien. In reality, Canada's lauding of its successful doubling of both its overall and African levels of development assistance remains largely self-congratulatory rhetoric. This becomes abundantly clear when considering that an idle ODA/GNI ratio, ODA budgetary freeze, and adjustment of regional priorities all fly in the face of formal Canadian recognition that not one sub-Saharan Africa nation will achieve all of its MDGs by 2015.[157] Clearly, Canada lacks the political will to allocate the necessary financial resources to truly contribute to meaningful development progress in support of the world's "bottom billion."[158]

3.6   Diplomacy – The Martin Years

Political will would be a primary theme of Canadian diplomacy concerning sub-Saharan Africa over the tenure of both Prime Ministers Martin and Harper. For Martin the expression of that will manifested itself within the contents of the *2005 International Policy Statement*, his advocacy in support of international intervention in Darfur, and his involvement in the July 2005 G8 Summit in Gleneagles, Scotland. Stephen Harper's intentions, however, are more difficult to discern given the lack of consistent diplomatic focus by the Conservative administration on sub-Saharan Africa matters. Nevertheless,

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[157] Canadian International Development Agency, *2009-2010 Estimates, Part III Canadian International Development Agency* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2009), 5; http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/rpp/2009-2010/inst/ida/ida-eng.pdf; Internet; accessed 18 March 2011.

[158] Brown and Jackson, "Could the Senate Be Right . . ., 152-153.

analysis of Canadian diplomacy conducted within the confines of multilateral institutions such as the G8 offer some insight into Harper's track record.

Unlike his predecessor and successor, Martin's room for diplomatic manoeuvre and initiative on matters concerning sub-Saharan Africa was stunted by his short time in office. Regardless, *Pride and Influence* represented both a course correction for Canadian foreign policy and an articulation of potential Canadian action on matters pertaining to sub-Saharan Africa. Waisová characterized the course correction as a requirement to address the gap between how Canada viewed itself as an international actor in the wake of 1995's *Canada in the World,* and the nation's actions following the events of 9/11:[159]

> What Canada *should* do had been declared in *Canada in the World* and backed up by government statements. What Canada was actually doing was less mirrored in ministerial documents and more reflected by Canada's activities in Afghanistan.[160]

Pride and Influence, therefore, contained many convergent themes which affected Canada's diplomatic approach to dealing with sub-Saharan Africa. First among these was a belief in multilateral governance as a means to achieving the nation's core priorities of prosperity, security and responsibility. Effective multilateral governance also included a strong focus on the threat of failed and failing countries vis-à-vis human security. In other words, the international community, including Canada, had to be prepared to intervene when all preventative measures had failed to avoid a state breakdown and resulting human security crisis.[161]

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[159] Waisová, "The Transformation of Canada's Development . . . , 86-87.

[160] *Ibid.*, 87.

[161] Government of Canada, *Canada's International Policy Statement . . . Overview*, 5, 13.

This was the formalization of R2P within Canadian foreign policy. Although some observers would deem R2P as either unattainable or an impingement on state sovereignty,[162] R2P language was prevalent throughout *Pride and Influence*. It was a key international initiative to be championed by Canada within the UN's reform agenda.[163] The concept was also a driving force behind the inclusion of Darfur as an identified priority for the nation. Canada was to take the lead to "mobilize the international community, including Africans, to stop the ethnic cleansing and massive human rights abuses in the Darfur region of Sudan."[164]

Darfur would dominate much of *Pride and Influence's* discussion on how Canada intended to formulate its foreign policy approach to address failed and failing states in an uncertain international security environment. Although Canada cited its own "whole of Sudan"[165] approach to dealing with the crisis, it also envisioned a potential leadership role which would encompass:

> . . . acting as a catalyst for international action by focusing effort and resources on some critical areas of diplomatic activity to reinvigorate the peace process; reinforcing the African Union mission ins Sudan in critical areas . . . ; advancing the protection of civilians through additional commitments for humanitarian, peacebuilding and reconstruction needs; and supporting the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution on the International Criminal Court.[166]

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[162] Andrew Godefroy, "Canada's International Policy Statement Five Years Later," *Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute* (Calgary: Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, November 2010), 4. Godefroy posits that it is virtually impossible to intervene based on the R2P unless it coincided with the interest of a major power.

[163] Government of Canada*, Canada's International Policy Statement . . . Overview*, 26.

[164] *Ibid.*, 13.

[165] Government of Canada*, Canada's International Policy Statement: A Role of Pride and Influence in the World: Volume 1 Diplomacy* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2005), 10.

[166] *Ibid.*, 11.

The themes of human security, R2P, multilateralism and Canadian leadership all coalesced around Canada's approach to sub-Saharan Africa, writ large. *Pride and Influence* identified that the nation's goal was to "reverse . . . social, economic and political marginalization, and to drastically improve all indices of African development, peace and security, and governance."[167] In support of this aim, Canada not only pledged continued activism on issues such as R2P in traditional multilateral venues, but expressed a desire to engage a regional power such as South Africa; one which could bring a uniquely African perspective to Canada's approach to dealing with sub-Saharan Africa issues. The African Union was also singled out as a regional organization capable of undertaking an expanded peace support role on the continent, such as in Darfur, if properly supported by Canada.[168]

Clearly, *Pride and Influence* laid out a long term vision of Canadian engagement in sub-Saharan Africa. However, in the short term, Martin's focus was on the conflict in western Sudan. Although many of his efforts will be discussed in Chapter 4, it is worthwhile to analyze his involvement in the 2005 G8 Summit at Gleneagles as a multilateral setting where he advanced key African issues, including Darfur.

When compared to the leadership exhibited by Canada on the world stage at Kananaskis, Canadian performance at Gleneagles was unexceptional. This was due, in

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[167] *Ibid.*, 27.

[168] *Ibid.*, 27-28. Although not explicitly designed for use exclusively in sub-Saharan Africa, Canada also forecast a role for its Global Peace and Security Fund and Canada Fund for Africa in alleviating the economic and political problems plaguing the region.

large measure, to Martin's pre-summit stance that Canada would not commit to increasing its development assistance levels to 0.7% of its GDP by 2015:

> While the goal of having G8 nations commit to increasing aid to 0.7 percent of GDP by 2015 was a noble one, I knew that was very unlikely to happen. For Canada reaching the goal of 0.7 per cent by 2020 would have been possible, but it was barely obtainable even on the most optimistic of assumptions by 2015. I preferred setting realistic two-year targets increasing our aid on a track toward 0.7 per cent, building on success as we went.[169]

Martin's refusal to commit Canada to a timeline to achieve the 0.7% yardstick resulted in the nation being branded as "an also-ran, or even a laggard . . ." on African issues.[170] Nevertheless, Martin was able to somewhat counter this portrayal by announcing several of the Africa-centric initiatives that had been included in Canada's 2005 Budget to the assembled G8 leadership. These included the doubling of development assistance by 2010, doubling ODA to Africa by 2008-2009, providing $342 million for disease measures, the $200 million Canada Investment Fund for Africa and $280 million in support of African Union peace support operations in Darfur (including $90 million attributed to humanitarian aid).[171]

Within the broader context of the summit, Canada's offerings were not insignificant and meshed with a G8 vow to double aid by approximately $25 billion by 2010. In fact they aligned closely with the institutional commitments made by the larger

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[169] Martin, *Hell or High Water . . .*, 356. Martin would adopt the same tact at the UN Millennium Summit in September 2005. See Erin Simpson and Brian Tomlinson, "Canada: Is Anyone Listening?" *The Reality of Aid* (Canadian Council for International Cooperation, 2006), 1; http://www.ccic.ca/_files/en/what_we_do/_002_aid_2006_roa_canada_chapter.pdf; Internet; accessed 19 March 2011.

[170] Black, "Leader or Laggard . . ., 385.

[171] Canada's G8 Website – 2005 Gleneagles Summit, "Africa," http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/g8/summit-sommet/2005/africa-afrique_05.aspx; Internet; accessed 19 March 2011.

G8 body to provide increasing support of African peacekeeping, democracy building, health and education, disease treatment, and economic and trade growth.[172] Moreover, Canada was also able to reap some political capital given the contents of the *Progress Report by the G8 Africa Personal Representatives on Implementation of the Africa Action Plan* (2005). The report highlighted Canadian financial support to AMIS, the Canada Investment Fund for Africa, the doubling of total and African ODA, Canada's largest donor status of the World Health Organization's "three by five" Initiative, the nation's contributions to the HIPC Program, and financial aid to agriculture development.[173]

Although Martin's tenure as Canada's leader was limited, he made a moderate diplomatic impact on the world stage advocating for sub-Saharan Africa issues. More importantly, his diplomatic overtures were driven by the incorporation of significant Africa related issues within both the nation's budgets and foreign policy documentation.

3.7   Diplomacy – The Harper Government

The use of existing government policy and budget planning as indicators of Canadian international activism, unfortunately, does not provide a sufficient barometer with which to gauge Conservative diplomatic efforts vis-à-vis sub-Saharan Africa since 2006. Lacking a formal Conservative international policy statement, and given the marginalization of regional issues within existing budgets and policy documents, there is insufficient material to consider.

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[172] G8 Information Centre – Gleneagles Official Documents, "Chair's Summary," http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2005gleneagles/summary.html; Internet; accessed 19 March 2011.

[173] United Kingdom, Department for International Development, *Progress Report by the G8 Africa Personal Representatives on Implementation of the Africa Action Plan* (London: Stairway Communications, 2005),7, 14, 20, 23, 27, 29; http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/g8/assets/pdfs/g8_AfricaProgressReport-en.pdf; Internet; accessed 20 March 2011.

Predicated upon the pre-established trends of sub-Saharan Africa's stagnation in defence policy and marginalization within the development assistance realm, it would be expected that the region would lack visibility within Conservative government diplomacy. Certainly, it appeared that this would be the case within traditional multilateral venues such as the G8 where Canada, through summit diplomacy, had been able to exert leadership in the past. The G8 Summits during the 2006-2010 period do offer potential for an assessment of the position of sub-Saharan Africa within current Canadian diplomacy.

Certainly the Conservatives' 2005-2006 *Policy Declaration* offered little insight into any drastic changes to the conduct of foreign policy under Harper. Beyond the synchronization of foreign, trade and defence policy, little else of substance was included[174]. Brian W. Tomlin, Norman Hillmer and Fen Osler Hampson would note, however, that the Conservative approach to foreign policy "seemed very different, and certainly more muscular, with an emphasis on alignment with the US and a strengthened military."[175] Nevertheless, without drawing a direct link back to the *Policy Declaration*, they observed that the Conservative desire for foreign policy harmonization did provide for some continuity with the previous administration; the new 'whole of government' model was simply the Liberal 3D model rebadged.[176]

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[174] Conservative Party of Canada, *Policy Declaration . . .*, 39.

[175] Tomlin, *et al*, *Canada's International Policies . . .*, 199.

[176] *Ibid*. Prime Minister Harper did also announce an increase in Canadian support to Africa's education sector from a 2005-2006 level of $100 million to $150 million by 2010-2011. See Prime Minister of Canada Stephen Harper, "The 2006 G8 Summit," http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1251; Internet; accessed 20 March 2011.

The 2006 G8 Summit in St. Petersburg, Russia offered Harper his first multilateral occasion to demonstrate a 'new' Canadian stance on sub-Saharan Africa. In this respect, however, he did not deliver. Canada would stick to a Liberal script; few new financial and political commitments were presented and Canadian engagement remained low-key. Funding announcements concentrated on health and disease initiatives of significance to Africa, including the Advance Market Commitments project, the Global Fund, the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI) and several AIDS related vaccine programs.[177] Beyond financial pledges to these specific health issues, no substantial Canadian initiative or leadership would be forthcoming on sub-Saharan Africa issues.

Following St. Petersburg, and in the wake of the 2007 G8 Summit in Heiligendamm, Germany, many observers, including the Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC), began to question the place of Africa in Canada's foreign policy agenda. Certainly Heiligendamm had proven itself to be another quiet summit on the Africa front. Canadian announcements were limited to a rehashing of previous pledges and the nation's cumulative contributions to peace support operations in Darfur.[178] The Africa-Canada Forum of the CCIC noted with alarm the absence of Africa in any foreign policy statements, as well as the emergence of competing international priorities in both Afghanistan and the Americas. Moreover, although the Forum acknowledged ongoing Canadian contributions to peace, stability and democracy in the Great Lakes Region, DRC and Sudan, it still solicited the government to devise a new

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[177] G8 Information Centre – St. Petersburg Summit Documents, "Update on Africa," http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/summit/2006stpetersburg/africa.html; Internet; accessed 20 March 2011.

[178] Prime Minister of Canada Stephen Harper, "The 2007 G8 Summit," http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1688; Internet; accessed 20 March 2011.

strategy for Canadian engagement. It was hoped that a new, coherent, long-term strategy

predicated upon human rights and MDGs objectives, would put Canada 'back on

track'.[179]

If Canada was indeed 'off track', critics of the government attributed it to a

broader Conservative "movement away from the familiar Liberal traditions of soft power

and eager multilateralism."[180] Yet others, such as John Kirton, were not so dismissive.

Kirton argued that the diplomatic efforts of the Prime Minister had indeed "created a

recognizable agenda on democracy, human rights and open markets"[181], and that Africa

would be on an expanding foreign policy agenda in the coming years.[182]

On track or off, the Conservative government was consistent in its approach. The

low-key pattern established at St. Petersburg and Heiligendamm regarding sub-Saharan

Africa was replicated at both the 2008 Summit in Hokkaido Toyako, Japan and the 2009

Summit in L'Aquila, Italy. At Hokkaido Toyako, Harper reiterated previous Canadian

commitments to ODA funding goals for Africa. He also retained a development

assistance focus on health and disease issues through the provision of an additional $450

million for the Global Fund to Fight Aids.[183] With the exception of continued support for

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[179] Africa-Canada Forum, "Briefing Note, Africa-Canada Forum: Where is Africa in Canada's Priorities?" (Canadian Council for International Co-operation, November 2007), 1-4; http://www.ccic.ca/_files/en/working_groups/003_acf_2007-11_africa_briefing_note.pdf; Internet; accessed 20 March 2011.

[180] Peter Shawn Taylor, "The Harper Doctrine," *Maclean's Magazine*, February 5, 2007, n.p.; http://www.macleans.ca/article.jsp?content=20070205_140347_140347; Internet; accessed 20 March 2011.

[181] *Ibid*.

[182] *Ibid*.

[183] Canada's G8 Website – 2008 Hokkaido Toyako Summit, "Progress Report by the G8 Africa Personal Representatives (APRs) on Implementation of the Africa Action Plan," 11; http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/g8/assets/pdfs/Progress_Report_APRs_implementation_Africa_Actio

the G8 Water Action Plan, the L'Aquila Summit featured no new ODA pronouncements or political commitments of significance.[184]

Akin to Kananaskis, the 2010 G8 Summit at Muskoka, Ontario, did offer Prime Harper an opportunity to make up for lost time. Certainly, at Muskoka, Canadian leadership on issues of importance to African would re-emerge. Harper seized home field advantage to promote maternal and child health issues; two MDGs where the developing world, and specifically sub-Saharan Africa, had made little progress.[185] Consequently, a key initiative to materialize, and one which Canada could take a large share of responsibility for as the Summit Chair, was the G8 Muskoka Initiative on Maternal, Newborn and Under-Five Child Health.

The Muskoka Initiative was ambitious. Its aim was to assist developing nations in meeting their MDG 4 (Child Health) and MDG 5 (Maternal Health) objectives, including reducing the under-five child mortality rate by two-thirds, cutting the maternal mortality ratio by three-quarters, and ensuring universal access to reproductive health services.[186] With a target of 61 deaths for every 1,000 live births for children under five, sub-Saharan Africa's 2007 level of 146 deaths/1,000 live births was a formidable obstacle to overcome. More daunting was the region's inability to make progress on reaching the

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n%20Plan-eng.pdf; Internet; accessed 20 March 2011. The $450 million committed was over a subsequent 3 year period.

[184] Canada's G8 Website – 2009 L'Aquila Summit, "Progress Report on the Implementation of the G8 Water Action Plan," 9; http://www.g8italia2009.it/static/G8_Allegato/Water_Group,0.pdf; Internet; accessed 20 March 2011. Canadian commitments mostly consisted of a culmination of Liberal and Conservative expenditures during the 2003-2004 and 2007-2008 periods, as well as funds sources from the pre-existing Canada Fund for Africa.

[185] The North-South Institute, *Canadian Development Report 2010 . . .*, 75.

[186] United Nations Development Programme, "Millennium Development Goals – Basic Facts," http://www.undp.org/mdg/basics.shtml; Internet; accessed 12 April 2011.

maternal mortality rate MDG goal of 230 deaths per 100,000 live births; in 2005 sub-Saharan Africa's level was 900 deaths.[187] As a consequence, significant financial resources would be required to meet the challenges faced by the developing world prior to the looming MDG 2015 deadline. In this regard, the Muskoka Initiative secured pledges from the G8 membership for $5 billion in new funding over the 2010-2015 period.[188]

Although praised by many, including the Executive Directors of both the UN Population Fund (UNPF) and UN Children's Fund (UNICEF),[189] Canada's work on the Muskoka Initiative was not universally heralded. Jeffrey Sachs, an MDG advisor to the UN Secretary-General, remarked that the Muskoka Initiative was an aberration within the broader context of Canadian ambivalence to supporting MDG achievement. He also questioned whether the financial and political commitments made by the G8 leaders would hold up over time.[190] Nevertheless, as of early 2011, Canada was the only G8 nation to fully comply with its Muskoka Initiative commitments, allocating $284.6 million in fiscal year 2010-2011 against its five year pledge of $1.1 billion.[191]

[187] The North-South Institute, *Canadian Development Report 2010 . . .*, 75. In fact, under five mortality rates had only dropped to 146 deaths/1,000 live births from a 1990 level of 184 deaths/1,000 live births. The inability to make any progress on the maternal mortality ratio was even more troubling when considering that the 1990 level was 900 deaths/100,000 live births.

[188] Canada's G8 Website – 2010 Muskoka Summit, "G8 Muskoka Declaration: Recovery and New Beginnings," 3, 13-14; http://canadainternational.gc.ca/g8/assets/pdfs/2010-declaration_eng.pdf; Internet; accessed 20 March 2011.

[189] UN News Centre, "UN Agencies Welcome G8 Initiative on Maternal and Child Health," http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=35167&Cr=unfpa&Cr1=; Internet; accessed 20 March 2011.

[190] Joanna Slater, "Canada Chided for 'Lack of Interest' in World's Poor," *The Globe and Mail*, 9 November 2010, n.p.; http://m.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/africa-mideast/canada-chided-for-lack-of-interest-in-worlds-poor/article1714041/?service=mobile; Internet; accessed 20 March 2011.

[191] G8 Information Centre – Analytical and Compliance Studies, "2010 Muskoka G8 Interim Report," 31, 33-34; http://www.g8.utoronto.ca/evaluations/2010compliance-interim/02-10-interim-health-funding.pdf; Internet; accessed 20 March 2011.

Other critics such as Gerald Caplan, questioned Harper's altruistic motives behind championing maternal health. He alluded to the Muskoka Initiative as nothing more than pragmatic political posturing by Harper in advance of Canada's ultimately unsuccessful bid for a seat on the UN Security Council:

> Stephen Harper is desperate to win for Canada a rotating seat on the Security Council later this year. Will his well-promoted maternal-child musings win him votes from grateful nations around the world? Or will it remind other governments just what they can expect from Mr. Harper's Canada if it wins that seat.[192]

The veracity of Caplan's claim, however, is disputable. This is true in light of Harper's agreement to take on co-chair responsibilities with Tanzania for the UN sponsored commission charged with tracking maternal health pledges. In the wake of Canada's Security Council failure, his participation does allude to maternal health as an ongoing issue of personal concern to the Prime Minister, and not just a political ploy as his detractors would suggest.[193]

Canada's Muskoka Initiative, then, has muddied the waters when formulating a definitive assessment of major Canadian diplomatic efforts concerning sub-Saharan Africa over the last 5 years. Certainly, summit diplomacy under Stephen Harper, after

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[192] Gerald Caplan, "The Sad Truth about Harper and Maternal Health," *The Globe and Mail*, 26 March 2010, 2; http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/second-reading/gerald-caplan/the-sad-truth-about-harper-and-maternal-health/article1513829/page1/; Internet; accessed 20 March 2011.

[193] Campbell Clark, "Harper to Track World's Child, Maternal Health Aid Pledges," *The Globe and Mail*, 16 December 2010, n.p.; http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/harper-to-track-worlds-child-maternal-health-aid-pledges/article1841594/; Internet; accessed 21 March 2011. Prime Minister Harper attended his first meeting as co-chair in Geneva, Switzerland on 26 January 2011. His attendance coincided with an announcement by the federal government that it would be supporting three new maternal health initiatives, including assisting HIV-positive pregnant women and children in Mozambique and supporting nutrition programs in Ethiopia for pregnant and nursing women. See CTV.ca, "PM Predicts 'Wave of Hope' As He Opens UN Meeting," http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/World/20110126/maternal-child-health-meeting-110126/; Internet; accessed 07 May 2011.

initially mimicking past Liberal financial pledges, appeared to focus less on African issues in successive G8 venues. However, with maternal health, the Prime Minister may have an issue with deep relevance to sub-Saharan Africa that can be championed on the world stage. The test will be to see whether the momentum gained in 2010 can be carried forward, and to what degree, if any, the Muskoka Initiative will influence future Conservative diplomacy on sub-Saharan Africa issues.

3.8   Conclusion

In the final analysis, the divide between the Martin and Harper administrations within the areas of defence, development and diplomacy for sub-Saharan Africa are not as stark as many would believe. More so than any other area, defence policy epitomized an uneasy continuity between the two governments, and manifested itself in the jockeying between state and human security concerns in Canadian defence policy.

This conflict was of particular concern to sub-Saharan Africa, which was relegated to relative obscurity in defence policy under both Prime Ministers. In an earlier time, the untold human suffering and numerous conflicts being waged across the continent would have pushed Canada towards the commitment of CF personnel for any number of UN peace support operations. However, in the wake of 9/11, national security concerns drove the demand for a continued presence of the CF in Afghanistan; a commitment that would endure over the 7 combined years of power shared between Martin and Harper. Other humanitarian concerns such as Darfur, although lasting nearly as long as the Afghanistan conflict, have remained on the periphery. Ultimately, Canada has made no progress in focusing additional defence resources or political will to resolve regional security issues.

From a development assistance standpoint, the path travelled by both Martin and Harper predominantly followed the one laid out by their predecessors. Regardless of the political affiliation of the leader making them, ODA commitments made were largely commitments kept, and neither leader strayed from the program. In many ways this unlikely continuity between the administrations of Jean Chrétien, Paul Martin and Stephen Harper was of some benefit to sub-Saharan Africa. During the span of less than a decade Canada was able to double its ODA to Africa and expand on its regional commitments in the areas of health and debt relief.

Early continuity, however, came at a cost. Neither Martin nor Harper would undertake fundamentally new commitments to assist sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, with Canada's goal of doubling both its total ODA envelope and its aid to Africa being realized, there now appears to be a dearth of future opportunities for development assistance in the region in the future. With a ceiling on Canadian ODA implemented for 2010-2011 and beyond, development assistance levels for sub-Saharan Africa have at best, plateaued. At worst, they now run the risk of reduction to satisfy competing priorities emanating from Afghanistan and the Americas.

The final element of foreign policy under consideration, diplomacy, initially followed a similar path between the Martin and Harper governments. Martin lacked the time to generate a long-term diplomatic impact on sub-Saharan Africa issues. Nevertheless, within multilateral venues such as the G8, he championed the Darfur conflict and African development assistance requirements. Subsequently, Prime Minister Harper initially took his cue from his predecessor, and the Conservative's summit diplomacy on sub-Saharan Africa issues mirrored that of the Liberals. Unlike development policy, the growing trend in successive G8 Summits to marginalize the

region through limited, low-key financial and political commitments was reversed, at least temporarily, by Canadian leadership at Muskoka in 2010. Questions still abound, however, concerning Harper's Muskoka Initiative. It remains either an aberration to a trend of recent diplomatic efforts which have progressively sidelined sub-Saharan Africa, or as a sign of renewed foreign policy interest in the region's fortunes.

CHAPTER 4 – A RECORD OF FAILURE

4.1 Introduction

When assessing on Canada's engagement in sub-Saharan Africa over the last two decades, it becomes clear that the nation's foreign policy approach has been decidedly inconsistent. Intermittently, the ebb and flow of this narrative was interrupted by humanitarian crises which necessitated more focused foreign policy action by the government. Realistically, "Africa never threatened to disappear from the Canadian public imagination, principally because of the riveting humanitarian disasters in Somalia and Rwanda."[194]

At some point, every Prime Minister from Brian Mulroney to Stephen Harper became engaged by an unfolding humanitarian crisis in sub-Saharan Africa. Consequently, an examination of post-Cold War events in Somalia, Rwanda and Zaire in the 1990s, and Darfur early in the new millennium, is warranted. Through this analysis, an understanding of the motives, development and application of Canadian foreign policy concerning these crises will be gleaned. Furthermore, a common thread of relative disengagement from large scale peace enforcement type missions in the continent, based on Canada's early experiences in Somalia, will be revealed.

4.2 Somalia

The civil war and humanitarian crisis faced by Somalia in the early 1990s would pose the first major post-Cold War challenge for Canada's foreign policy on the

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[194] Black, "Leader or Laggard . . ., 381.

continent. Jane Boulden in *Peace Enforcement: The United Nations Experience in Congo, Somalia, and Bosnia* (2001), provides a concise description of the challenges faced by the Somali people in 1991 and early 1992:

> During this year of anarchy and fighting, conditions throughout the country deteriorated dramatically. A drought exacerbated the food situation, which had been thrown into crisis by the effects of the war, particularly by the destruction of livestock and water supplies . . . The war also generated massive population dislocations in all parts of the country, further exacerbating the food shortage. As the food crisis worsened, people were again on the move, now heading towards major cities in search of food. In Mogadishu, the influx of refugees in the context of the fighting there only served to make a very bad situation much worse.[195]

In response to this mixture of internal warfare, drought, famine and internally displaced persons (IDPs), the UN decided to act. Its response, however, was unique within the context of its history. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, then Secretary-General of the United Nations, characterized the "United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I and II) and the United Nations-sanctioned and United States-led Unified Task Force (UNITAF) . . . [as] one of the rare cases in which an international military force was deployed in large measure to deal with a humanitarian crisis."[196] It was also, as Ioan Lewis and James Mayall noted, "the first time . . . statelessness was acknowledged to be a threat to an international society composed of sovereign states."[197]

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[195] Jane Boulden, *Peace Enforcement: The United Nations Experience in Congo, Somalia, and Bosnia* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishing, 2001), 53.

[196] Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Introduction," in *The United Nations and Somalia, 1992-1996* (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1996), 3.

[197] Ioan Lewis and James Mayall, "Somalia," in *The New Interventionism, 1991-1994: United Nations Experience in Cambodia, Former Yugoslavia and Somalia*, ed. James Mayall, 94-124 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 94.

Given the magnitude of the suffering in Somalia, and Canada's affinity for multilateral UN operations, the nation should have been at the forefront of countries calling for immediate international intervention. Canada, however, was not. As Grant Dawson highlighted, Canadian contributions to UNOSOM I were not offered by Prime Minister Mulroney until August of 1992, almost three months after initial overtures were made by the UN requesting Canadian forces.[198]

This time gap was explained by domestic political pragmatism. Dawson posited that although an initial Canadian refusal to contribute military personnel was officially predicted on risk, a more realistic explanation contained the elements of an immature mission and a lack of public interest. Despite an assessment by some observers that "the [Somalia] tragedy simply did not produce the collective concern provoked by the Ethiopian disaster seven years before,"[199] government reticence was eventually overcome after media seized on the humanitarian aspects of the issue and public support for engagement grew. This swell in public pressure afforded Mulroney the opportunity to appease Canada's self-styled peacekeeping tradition by offering up CF personnel to the fledgling mission. It also facilitated a Mulroney gambit to prop up the popularity of his government.[200]

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[198] Grant Dawson, *"Here is Hell": Canada's Engagement in Somalia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 4, 51, 167.

[199] Kim Richard Nossal, *The Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy*, 3rd ed. (Scarborough, ON: Prentice Hall Canada Inc., 1997), 114.

[200] Dawson, *"Here is Hell"* . . ., 3-4, 7, 167. Sherene H. Razack explores peacekeeping as both a Canadian vocation and mythology extensively in *Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism*. See Razack, Sherene H. *Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press: 2004.

There were specific foreign policy reasons behind the deployment of CF personnel to Somalia. None of them, however, were tied directly to either that country or sub-Saharan Africa. Primary amongst them were Mulroney's ardent support for multilateralism, humanitarianism and a resurgent UN in a post-Cold War world. That Canada should be a proponent of multilateralism and humanitarianism was unsurprising given the nation's history of UN peacekeeping endeavours. Through multilateralism, it was believed, a middle power such as Canada could acquire more influence with the world's major decision makers than if it acted unilaterally. Through humanitarianism, it gained the ability to 'do good'.[201]

That the Conservatives embarked upon the Somalia operation to bolster the UN was not out-of-character. Mulroney, who viewed recent victory in the Gulf as "cementing the role of the United Nations as the world's premier body in preventing aggression"[202], ensured Canada's proclivity for the UN remained at the forefront of Canadian diplomacy. Canadian engagement in Somalia was based on an interest in an interventionist UN, and not necessarily because it was a nation in distress. This belief would be foreshadowed in Mulroney's opening remarks at the 1991 G-7 Summit in London, England. The Prime Minister's statements summarized Canada's push for what Kim Richard Nossal referred to as a "more muscular and interventionist role for the United Nations"[203]:

> The end of the Cold War has given the UN the opportunity to bring about a more stable world order: we must use it and strengthen it. In Canada at least, the

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[201] *Ibid.*, 5-8, 78-79.

[202] Mulroney, *Memoirs . . .*, 835.

[203] Nossal, *The Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy . . .*, 183.

involvement of the UN in the Gulf War made the difference in public opinion:
without it, we could not have sustained a military commitment.[204]

During the summer of 1992 then, Canada's initial contribution of airlift assets and

a commitment for the provision of ground forces for UNOSOM I was a means to support

the UN's operation, demonstrate that Canada was not focussed exclusively on its Balkans

commitment, and to obtain a domestically popular humanitarian assistance role for CF.[205]

Canadian participation was designed to provide more alignment with foreign policy

imperatives (i.e. visible support of a UN multilateral peacekeeping and humanitarian

mission) and what was domestically palatable, than an altruistic imperative to aid the

Somali people.

As UNOSOM I became increasingly ineffective and crumbled, Canada

transitioned its troop contribution to the newly formed UN sanctioned, but United States

led, Unified Task Force. UNITAF was assigned broader Chapter VII use of force powers

under UN Security Council Resolution 794, 3 December 1992, to ensure the provision of

humanitarian aid to the Somali people.[206] Canadian participation in the US dominated

force, however, deviated from an affinity to operate primarily within the UN as a means

to "make its mark independently of the United States."[207] Dawson, however,

hypothesized that Canadian involvement in UNITAF still supported Canadian interests in

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[204] Mulroney, *Memoirs . . .*, 861. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, UN Secretary-General, commented on the sense of optimism that dominated the UN following the end of the Cold War leading to, among other things, growth in UN peacekeeping missions. See Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Introduction," in *The United Nations and Somalia, 1992-1996* (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1996), 4-5.

[205] Dawson, "*Here is Hell*" . . ., 68-69.

[206] Boulden, *Peace Enforcement . . .*, 58-59.

[207] Tomlin, *et al*, *Canada's International Policies . . .*, 8.

multilateralism, humanitarianism and peacekeeping. Moreover, by assisting the US and

adding to the Task Force's multilateral component, Canada enhanced its bilateral

relationship with its American neighbour. Within UNITAF, Canada's major foreign

policy interests had aligned.[208]

Although only recently committed to UNITAF, Canada was soon confronted with

the dilemma of deciding on participation in a follow on mission, UNOSOM II, authorized

by UN Security Council Resolution 814 on 26 March 1993. UNOSOM II represented the

one of the first times that a UN mission mandate would include a diverse range of

humanitarian, nation building, peacebuilding and peace enforcement elements.[209]

Surprisingly, Canada would not sign on.

Canada's decision to withdraw its forces revealed a confluence of domestic

political considerations and foreign policy priorities. Although a strong supporter of

initial UN efforts, the complexity of the mission, as reflected in the UNOSOM II

mandate, deterred continued Canadian engagement. In April of 1993, the converging

issues of declining public support, push-back from a military establishment straining

under the pressure of multiple deployments, and a clear lack of national interest beyond

the precepts of humanitarianism and peacekeeping, conspired to lead Canada out of

Somalia.[210]

A consideration which had not yet risen to the fore of the consciousness of

Canadian decision makers was the Somalia Affair; undisciplined actions undertaken by

members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment during its UNITAF deployment, including

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[208] Dawson, *"Here is Hell"* . . ., 132-133, 165-166.

[209] Boulden, *Peace Enforcement* . . ., 60-61.

the torture and murder of Shidane Arone, a Somali citizen. The subsequent political and

military fallout from the Somalia Affair is well known, having been comprehensively

documented in the media, literature and the *Commission of Inquiry into the Deployment*

of Canadian Forces to Somalia (1997). While a full evaluation of the Somalia Affair is

beyond this paper's scope, it is important to note that the government's decision to

withdrawal in June of 1993 was not directly based upon the CAR's actions.[211] It would,

however, colour the judgement of decision makers in both DFAIT and DND when

considering the number, size and scope of CF deployments to sub-Saharan Africa in the

future.[212]

There were foreign policy lessons which emerged for Canada from its

involvement in Somalia. Dawson provides a concise summary:

> Canada lacked economic interests in Africa and had almost no relations with
> Somalia at all. Somalia's civil war briefly became a foreign policy priority partly
> because of Canada's interest in multilateralism and peace.[213]

In the broadest sense, then, Somalia represented Canadian foreign policy opportunity

which facilitated the merging of all of the nation's aforementioned policy priorities with a

desire to improve the US-Canada bilateral relationship.

Domestically, Canada utilized its lack of economic and colonial ties with Somalia

to delay engagement until such time as the media and public made addressing the crisis in

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[210] Dawson, "*Here is Hell*" . . ., 3, 5, 144-145.

[211] *Ibid*., 45.

[212] David R. Black, "Canada," in *The International Politics of Mass Atrocities*, ed. David R. Black
and Paul D. Williams, 232-248 (New York: Routledge, 2010), 237.

[213] Dawson, "*Here is Hell*" . . ., 7.

the nation's interest. Likewise, waning public and media support allowed the Conservative government to bow out of Somalia and UNOSOM II without enduring a political backlash. In the end, foreign policy action based on principle, such as which Canada undertook in Somalia predicated upon multilateralism, peacekeeping and humanitarianism, seldom persists. A clear national interest must be at stake for the Canadian government to retain long term domestic support for its foreign policy efforts and the expenditure of Canadian blood and treasure. This was not the case in Somalia in 1992-1993.

Before transitioning to an examination of Canada's involvement in the next sub-Saharan Africa crisis in Rwandan in 1994, two crucial foreign policy implications which arose from the UN's intervention in Somalia require mention. First, with the 3 October 1993 deaths of eighteen US military personnel following a violent clash with Mohamed Farrah Aidid supporters, the term 'Mogadishu line' was introduced into the lexicon of Western military and political establishments. Simply put, the 'Mogadishu line' referred to the point at which peacekeeping operations swiftly and violently transitioned to war.[214]

The second broad implication taken from Somalia was the emergence of the 'Somalia Syndrome'. A result of the negative experiences, frustration and loss of personnel suffered by the US and other Western nations operating in Somalia, the 'Somalia Syndrome' "instilled a reluctance for participation in subsequent contingencies with a similar geographic or political context."[215] The 'Somalia Syndrome' included, and

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[214] Kenneth R. Rutherford, *Humanitarianism Under Fire: The US and UN Intervention in Somalia* (Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press, 2008), 181-182.

[215] Allen G. Sens, *Somalia and the Changing Nature of Peacekeeping: The Implications for Canada* (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1997), 88.

was a manifestation of, the 'Mogadishu line', and comprised a generalized belief that the UN was out if its depth overseeing large, complex, military-centric missions.[216] Given the prevalence of conflict throughout sub-Saharan Africa, the 'Somalia Syndrome' and 'Mogadishu line' would have grave implications for subsequent Canadian involvement in the region.

4.3   Rwanda

If engagement in Somalia was an example of the opportunistic nature of post-Cold War Canadian foreign policy, then a failure to decisively engage on the issue of the Rwandan genocide highlighted how selective that opportunism could be.[217] The plight of Rwanda certainly presented another occasion for aggressive humanitarian interventionism by the UN and the countries of the developed world. Nevertheless, Canada proved to be a restrained actor in a crisis where an UN estimated 1 million Rwandans were massacred in one of the worst cases of genocide since the close of the Second World War.[218]

Although the inability of Canada and other nations to react has been characterized as a "[failure] to match sufficient resources and political good will to intentions"[219], Canadian foreign policy considerations were not so straightforward. At best, Canada's

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[216] *Ibid*., 88-89.

[217] Some commentators, such as Lawrence Martin, posit that Canadian engagement in Rwanda was driven by Chrétien's desire to restore a modicum of honour to Canada and its military in the wake of the Somalia Affair. See Martin, *Iron Man . . .*, 194.

[218] Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Section One: Introduction by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations," in *The United Nations and Rwanda, 1993-1996* (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1996), 4. Final casualty figures continue to vary and an alternate figure of approximately 800,000 is frequently provided. See UN News Centre, "Rwandan Dead Must Be Honoured By Ending Genocide - Ban," http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=30411&Cr=rwanda&Cr1; Internet; accessed 07 May 2011.

[219] Tomlin, *et al*, *Canada's International Policies . . .*, 11.

efforts gave the impression of a middle power constrained by limited financial, military

and diplomatic resources. At worst, the nation viewed decisive engagement in yet

another humanitarian disaster in sub-Saharan Africa as not in the national interest.

Certainly the government was aware of the warning signs which preceded the

widespread violence in Rwanda. As early as 3 March 1992, Canada's ambassador met

with the Rwanda's president, Juvénal Habyarimana, to express concern on an earlier mass

killing of Tutsis.[220] Shortly thereafter, further evidence of impending disaster quickly

accumulated in the form of a report by the International Commission of Inquiry into

Human Rights Abuse in Rwanda. Released on 8 March 1993, the report singled out the

Rwandan government for its role in ongoing human rights abuses against Tutsis and

political opponents alike. Nevertheless, Canada's immediate response to reduce

development assistance to Rwanda was decidedly meek. Instead of taking a forceful

stance by publicly linking the funding withdrawal to the ongoing violence, Canada took

action based on less scandalous issues such as domestic budgetary pressures and an

alleged Rwandan mishandling of Canadian ODA.[221]

Canadian reticence to highlight troubling developments in Rwanda in 1994 was

not unique within the international community. Although some authors such as Alan J.

Kuperman argued that "many close observers of Rwanda doubted warnings of looming

genocide"[222], few nations could declare that they were not cognizant of what was

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[220] Fred Grunfeld and Anke Huijboom, *The Failure to Prevent Genocide in Rwanda: The Role of Bystanders* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2007), 64.

[221] Alison Des Forges, *"Leave None to Tell the Story": Genocide in Rwanda* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999), 93-94. Despite the cuts to development assistance, Peter Uvin pointed out that Canadian ODA to Rwanda was still at a higher level than it had been during the 1980s. See Peter Uvin, *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda* (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 1998), 91.

occurring. Paul LaRose-Edward, International Policy Advisor, summarized this finding

in his report to DFAIT in November 1994:

> Substantial and sufficient Rwandan early warning intelligence existed for years,
> and peaked during 1993 and early 1994. Nevertheless, many states and UN
> leaders did not see the need for themselves or the UN to get involved. They hoped
> the issue would simply resolve itself.[223]

The UN and the world, however, would inevitably and reluctantly be drawn into

unfolding events. However, to state that Canada eagerly followed would be an

exaggeration. Canada would remain a player in Rwanda throughout 1993 and 1994, and

any enthusiasm to effectively partake in another multilateral UN peacekeeping effort was

lacking. The nation could boast that it had supplied Major-General Roméo Dallaire, the

Force Commander for the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda

(UNOMUR) established on 22 June 1993, but little else.[224] The Canadian role in the

Arusha Accords, the peace negotiations between the Rwandan government and Rwandan

Patriotic Front (RPF) which culminated in August of 1993, was also muted. While other

nations such as Belgium, Germany, France and the US took a leadership role in the

proceedings, Canada passively watched events unfold via its embassy.[225]

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[222] Alan J. Kuperman, *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda*
(Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2001), 104.

[223] Paul LaRose-Edwards, *The Rwandan Crisis of April 1994: The Lessons Learned*, Report
Prepared for the Regional Security, Arms Control, and CSCE Affairs Bureau, Department of Foreign
Affairs and International Trade (Ottawa: International Human Rights, Democracy and Conflict Resolution,
30 November 1994), 58. Fred Grunfeld and Anke Huijboom also lament that warnings, including those
issued by Canadian ambassadors and diplomats, were not heeded by the international community leading
up to the events of April 1994. See Fred Grunfeld and Anke Huijboom, *The Failure to Prevent Genocide . .
.*, 79.

[224] Boutros-Ghali, "Section One: Introduction by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the
United Nations," in *The United Nations and Rwanda . . .*, 19. UNOMUR was approved via UN Security
Council Resolution 846 (1993).

The signing of the Accords, however, did produce another prospect for leadership within the context of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). Created by UN Security Council Resolution 872 (1993) on 5 October 1993,[226] UNAMIR featured Dallaire as its Force Commander. Notwithstanding this contribution, Canada shirked military custom and an expanded UNAMIR role by refusing to support Dallaire through the deployment of a CF combat element. Dallaire fittingly noted that DFAIT had chosen to seek the prestige associated with one Canadian playing a high-profile role while avoiding the national cost associated with additional troop commitments.[227]

Leading up to the genocide, Rwanda was never a high priority for the nation. Although Canada would push for the enactment of the Arusha Accords,[228] the period before, during and following the crisis demonstrated that Canadian diplomatic and military priorities lay elsewhere; the former Soviet Bloc countries and the Balkans remained areas of importance for DFAIT. DND was also a willing contributor to Rwanda's marginalization. Confronted with an impending budget reduction at the hands of the Liberal government and a demanding peace keeping operation in the former Yugoslavia, the department had little appetite for another engagement in sub-Saharan Africa. Additionally, with the details of the Somalia Affair coming to light, and an

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[225] Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide* (New York: Zed Books, 2000), 53

[226] Boutros-Ghali, "Section One: Introduction by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations," in *The United Nations and Rwanda . . .*, 27.

[227] Roméo Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda* (New York: Carroll and Graf Publishers. 2005), 85.

[228] Peter Uvin, *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda* (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 1998), 95-96.

unstable security situation in Rwanda, the 'Somalia Syndrome' was undoubtedly influencing Canadian decision making.[229]

Nevertheless, following the deaths of the presidents of Uganda and Rwanda on 6 April 1994, and ensuing ethnic violence against the Tutsis, Canada undertook several half measures to address the genocide. Dallaire noted that Canada was the only nation to reinforce UNAMIR with a small number of staff officers, military observers (MILOBS) and two critically important CC-130 Hercules aircraft.[230] Diplomatically, and despite Chrétien's assertion that he pushed for intervention at the June G7 meeting in Naples,[231] the nation generally maintained a middling response to Rwanda. Canada would remain in the background while the Security Council deliberated on methods to halt the violence, but would find occasion to emerge to consent to the provision of personnel and equipment to any endeavour. Surprisingly, Canada actively advocated that any intervention should be of a Chapter VII nature.[232]

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[229] Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil . . .*, 84-85, 206-207. The US House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, through hearings conducted by its Subcommittee on Africa, acknowledged the view that the Canadian Forces were heavily tasked in the Balkans and were likely not able to play a more prominent role in Rwanda. See United States, 103rd Congress, House of Representatives, *The Crisis in Rwanda: Hearing before the Subcommitee on Africa of the Committee of Foreign Affairs* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1995), 33.

[230] *Ibid.*, 207, 296. The CC-130s provided UNAMIR's lifeline during this period. Linda Melvern posited that without the CC-130 support, UNAMIR would have been forced to withdraw. See Melvern, *A People Betrayed . . .*, 236. Dallaire provided a more poignant description citing "the mere sound of the aircraft engines gave a tremendous boost to our morale." See Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil . . .*, 403.

[231] Chrétien, *My Years as Prime Minister*, 355. Ultimately, on 22 June 1994 UN Security Council Resolution 929 authorized a Chapter VII multinational force under French command to deploy to Rwanda. Named "Operation Turquoise", this force was to ensure the delivery of humanitarian relief through the provision of security to internally displaced persons and civilians using all available means, including force. See Boutros-Ghali, "Section One: Introduction by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations," in *The United Nations and Rwanda . . .*, 53-55.

[232] LaRose-Edwards, *The Rwandan Crisis of April 1994 . . .*, 15-16. Canada would eventually commit communications, air traffic control, logistics and medical personnel to UNAMIR II but their arrival in late July and August of 1994 was a case of "too little, too late" to significantly impact events on the ground. The bulk of the genocide had already occurred and Dallaire was replaced by Canadian Major

Despite these initiatives and others such as the push to have the UN Human Rights Commission examine the Rwandan crisis on 25 May 1994,[233] Canada was ineffectual in dealing with the genocide. Whereas foreign policy priorities such as multilateralism, an interventionist UN, and humanitarianism had pushed it into Somalia, these themes were conspicuously absent at the start of the crisis. Consequently, Canada had missed, downplayed or disregarded opportunities to shape events on the ground prior to April of 1994. Once the killing commenced and Canadian foreign policy principles moved to the fore, it found itself largely powerless to act. Canada could not influence pivotal actors such as the US, which was also heavily influenced by the twin conceptual obstacles of the 'Mogadishu line' and 'Somalia Syndrome'[234], nor could it significantly impact events within Rwanda itself.[235]

Canada was not alone in its inaction, a trait attributed to practically every member of the UN.[236] Consequently, there would be long term negative impacts on three Canadian foreign policy imperatives; a strong UN, humanitarianism and peacekeeping:

> There was a time when the sight of a single blue helmet at a checkpoint flying the UN flag was a symbol of peace, security and a determination to impose standards of justice that were understood the world over. The peacekeeper's weapon was not

General Guy Tousignant on 19 August 1994. See Dallaire, *Shake Hands with the Devil . . .*, 443-444, 485, 490-491, 502, 505.

[233] Des Forges, *"Leave None to Tell the Story" . . .*, 647.

[234] LaRose-Edwards, *The Rwandan Crisis of April 1994 . . .*, 14. The repercussions from Somalia in US foreign policy would also be found in President Clinton's Presidential Decision Directive 25 (PDD25). PDD25 would impose strict limits on US involvement in, and support for, UN peacekeeping operations. See *Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations during the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda*, Ingvar Carlsson, Chair (New York: United Nations, 15 December 1999), 27.

[235] Canadian military contributions such as the reinforcement of a small number of staff officers and the provision of two CC-130 Hercules aircraft distinguished Canada amongst its peers and were of crucial tactical importance to keep UNAMIR on life support during its darkest hours. However, they provided no operational impact to stem the tide of killing sweeping the nation.

[236] LaRose-Edwards, *The Rwandan Crisis of April 1994 . . .*, 58.

the rifle slung over the shoulder but his credibility; the peacekeeper represented a world community of states and the Security Council's will for peace. After Rwanda that symbol may have been irreparably tarnished.[237]

Although domestically there were no political repercussions given that the "horror of Rwanda sparked no collective anger comparable to that of Tiananmen [Square]"[238], there would be an international price to pay for inaction. This bill would take the form of the collective feeling of responsibility within the international community for having not prevented the genocide. For Canada, this guilt would materialize in efforts to lead a humanitarian UN peacekeeping force into Zaire only two short years later.

4.4   Zaire

Canada's decision in late 1996 to accept a leadership role in commanding a UN sanctioned Multi-National Force (MNF) designated for Chapter VII intervention into eastern Zaire provides a short, but revealing, foreign policy narrative. Although observers such as Howard Adelman and Laurence J. Baxter posit that there was no evidence to suggest that Chrétien sought out the Zaire issue, or that Canada was persuaded to assume a leadership position by both the US and France, the truth incorporates both perspectives.[239] It also encompasses the re-emergence of several

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[237] Melvern, *A People Betrayed . . .*, 236.

[238] Nossal, *The Politics of Canadian Foreign Policy . . .* 116. There would be no negative political repercussions given the lack of a substantial Rwandan community within Canada. Nevertheless, Canada did convict and imprison Rwandan Désiré Munyaneza to life with no opportunity for parole for 25 years for his role in the genocide. Munyaneza's case was the first for Canada's Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes Act. See Andrew Chung, "'Kill, Rape and Pillage': Rwandan Gets Life In Jail," The Toronto Star, 30 October 2009; http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/article/718493---kill-rape-and-pillage-rwandan-gets-life-in-jail; Internet; accessed 07 May 2011.

[239] Howard Adelman and Laurence J. Baxter, "The Multi-National Force for Eastern Zaire: The Conception Planning and Termination of Op Assurance," in *War and Peace in Zaire/Congo: Analyzing and*

Canadian foreign policy imperatives in what James Bartleman, Chrétien's diplomatic advisor at the time, referred to as Canada's "single greatest problem in 1996 . . . ."[240]

Zaire held the rapt attention of the Canadian government for slightly less than 60 days. During this timeframe, Canada would be incited to react to a refugee and humanitarian crisis that had developed in eastern Zaire. Hundreds of thousands of Hutu refugees had been displaced within the region in the wake of continuing violence between the Zairese military, Banyamulenge (Zairese Tutsis), Interahamwe (Rwandan Hutu militia), Forces Armées Rwadaise (Hutu FAR), the Tutsi dominated Rwandan military, and various other tribal groups. Although the violence and resulting humanitarian disaster had been developing for months, if not years, the international community did not decisively push for intervention until late 1996.[241]

Canada's decision to shoulder a MNF leadership role was made by Chrétien who, in the aftermath of Rwanda, stated that he "would do everything possible not to allow [that] sort of tragedy to happen again."[242] Clearly, the aforementioned guilt associated with general Canadian inaction vis-à-vis the genocide, and Canada's affinity for humanitarian causes, pushed Chrétien to action. What did not occur, as Bartleman was quick to highlight, was direct pressure from the Prime Minister's nephew, Raymond

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Evaluating Intervention: 1996-1997, ed. Howard Adelman and Govind C. Rao, 253-280 (Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press, Inc., 2004), 262-263. James Bartleman would shed light on the role played by the United States in Canada's assumption of a multinational force leadership role. See James Bartleman, *Rollercoaster: My Hectic Years as Jean Chrétien's Diplomatic Advisor, 1994-1998* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 2005), 183-204.

[240] James Bartleman, *Rollercoaster: My Hectic Years as Jean Chrétien's Diplomatic Advisor, 1994-1998* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 2005), 41.

[241] Adelman and Baxter, "The Multi-National Force for Eastern Zaire . . ., 253-256.

[242] Chrétien, *My Years as Prime Minister*, 355.

Chrétien, who had been dispatched to the region as a special envoy to the UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali.[243]

Initially Canada neither asked for, nor sought, leadership of a MNF which, by 6 November 1996, the Secretary-General had already requested and Chrétien had already directed Canadian participation in. Nevertheless, following a 7 November 1996 offer to place US military personnel under Canadian command, extensive consultation within and outside the government, and a confirmatory Cabinet decision on 11 November 1996, Canada announced on 12 November that it was ready to command a MNF mission into Zaire.[244] In Chrétien's own words, Canada "had helped assemble an international force of about fifteen thousand soldiers and raised over $100 million to pay for it."[245]

Canada's desire to participate can be explained within the context of traditional foreign policy imperatives such as multilateralism, peacekeeping, humanitarianism and support for the UN. However, the assumption of a leadership role, and the international community's willingness to accept Canada in such a position, warrants further scrutiny.

Canada was not the first choice for MNF command. The mantle of leadership fell to the nation given US reluctance to reengage in sub-Saharan Africa. US reticence was based on the prevalence of the 'Somalia Syndrome' within the Clinton administration, as well as bias concerns based upon previous American support for Zairian President Mobutu. Canada, however, provided a palatable alternative to super or great power

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[243] Bartleman, *Rollercoaster . . .*, 181-182. US Ambassador Raymond Chrétien had departed for the region on 05 November 1996.

[244] *Ibid.*, 183-187. Bartleman describes the US offer as being relayed through President Clinton's National Security Advisor, Tony Lake.

[245] Chrétien, *My Years as Prime Minister*, 355.

leadership given the nation's penchant to pursue the very foreign policy principles required to make any coalition work. As a middle power lacking colonial baggage and strategic national interests in sub-Saharan Africa, a strident proponent of UN peacekeeping, and a multilateral actor with considerable exposure to the region through the Commonwealth and la Francophonie, Canada was uniquely placed to lead.[246]

In the end, Canada's leadership announcement was the zenith for the government as the mission quickly unraveled after 7 November. The passing of UN Security Council Resolution 1078 authorizing a Chapter VII MNF intervention in eastern Zaire,[247] combined with a Canadian led coalition, compelled Rwanda and its allies to end the refugee crisis. Confronted with UN intervention, the Rwandan military and Banyamulenge drove off the Interahamwe and FAR forces, and thus facilitated the voluntary return of the majority of Hutu refugees. The Canadian Force Commander, Lieutenant-General Baril, pre-empted any MNF deployment when he reported on 10 December that "the MNF mission has largely been accomplished and therefore the mandate should come to an end."[248]

That the MNF's mission had been prematurely cut short was fortuitous. According to David Black, the mission had "[become] something of a fiasco . . . ."[249] Certainly, Canada had learned some hard foreign policy lessons during their abbreviated

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[246] Adelman and Baxter, "The Multi-National Force for Eastern Zaire . . ., 262-264.

[247] *Ibid.*, 260.

[248] Department of National Defence, Access to Information Request Number (A) 96/1168, "Request Information Re Canada's Decision in the Fall of 1996 to Propose and Lead a Peacekeeping Force to Zaire As Well As The Subsequent Decision to Withdraw the Force," (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 02 February 1998), 00097.

[249] Black, "Leader or Laggard . . ., 386.

time in the spotlight; lessons which would dim Chrétien's rosy assessment that a "major crisis had been averted – in part because Canada had moved quickly and forced a commitment from other nations . . . ."[250] First, although James Bartleman was quick to laud Canada's willingness to utilize force in Zaire,[251] the nation was not. Canada continued to be plagued by the 'Somalia Syndrome' as much as any other Western nation. Chrétien's commitment to the MNF was not substantially different from that which had been offered for Rwanda.[252] Canada was prepared to assume the high-profile role of leadership, but without the cost of a combat troop commitment. Other military personnel were to assume the inherit risks associated with the use of force, but Canada was unwilling to dedicate its own soldiers to the task. Such a hypocritical stance would serve to undermine Canada militarily and politically as the lead nation for the MNF.[253]

Canada also learned that the qualities which made it suitable to lead also negatively affected its performance in that role. As a middle power with no colonial history or regional strategic interests, Canada may have been an acceptable 'neutral' leader. However, its size, neutrality and lack of regional importance also meant that it lacked the economic, political and military resources necessary to coerce nations to 'fall

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[250] Chrétien, *My Years as Prime Minister*, 356.

[251] Bartleman, *Rollercoaster . . .*, 171.

[252] Canada had committed to the provision of transport aircraft and a field hospital. See Bartleman, *Rollercoaster . . .*, 182.

[253] James Appathurai and Ralph Lysyshyn, *Lessons Learned from the Zaire Mission* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1997), 11. Dr. Michael A. Hennessy reinforced this view by commenting that with the exception of Canada, none of the 14 nations which comprised the UN Steering Group for Zaire had placed troops under the multinational force commander. This included powers such as the US and France. Moreover, without a Canadian contribution of combat personnel to the mission, Canada possessed no leverage to force other nations to honour their commitments. See Michael A. Hennessy, "Operation 'Assurance': Planning a Multi-National Force for Rwanda/Zaire," *Canadian Military Journal* 2,

into line' with MNF objectives.[254] James Appathurai and Ralph Lysyshyn in their

Lessons Learned from the Zaire Mission (1997) correctly noted that:

> Canada had few levers, beyond moral suasion, to pressure larger nations, a
> problem made worse because some of those nations had national agendas and
> geopolitical interests in the region which were often in opposition to Canadian
> intentions. Other, smaller members of the coalition also had their own sets of
> goals and interests which did not necessarily coincide with those of Canada.
> Canada was similarly unable to convince the parties on the ground to cooperate in
> any meaningful way with the MNF.[255]

There was also an associated element of naivety in Canada's foreign policy vis-à-

vis Zaire. The government assumed that it could effectively lead an international

coalition without contributing its own combat troops or taking into account the

geopolitical interests of its partners. Bartleman typified Canada's innocence as that of an

international boy scout. In the crisis' waning weeks, Canada concerned itself with

unconfirmed non-repatriated Hutu refugees while regional actors and coalition partners

were either pulling their support or preparing to capitalize on any implosion of the Zaire

government.[256]

Finally, to effectively assume any position of international military leadership,

Canada found itself susceptible to pressure from, and heavily reliant upon, the US. The

government's willingness to agree to the American proposal for Canadian leadership

went beyond a mere affinity for multilateral peacekeeping and humanitarian operations

under UN auspices. Bartleman's assumption that "the Clinton foreign-policy team

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no. 1 (Spring 2001): 15; http://www.journal.dnd.ca/vo2/no1/doc/11-20-eng.pdf; Internet; accessed 07 May
11.

[254] *Ibid*., 2-4.

[255] *Ibid*., 4.

[256] Bartleman, *Rollercoaster . . .*, 200.

worked well with us, trusted us, and wanted our help"[257] may have been partially true, but Canada's desire to foster its bilateral relationship with the US was also a driver behind its consent.

Consequently, by accepting the American offer, Canada found itself bound to US interests and was unable to exercise an independent policy approach to both Africa and the crisis. If the MNF was to proceed under Canadian leadership and with American support, Canada would have to consent to US limitations on use of force; restrictions derived in the shadow of both Somalia and Clinton's Presidential Decision Directive 25 PDD25.[258] Canada possessed no leverage to force the US to act differently. Given the prevailing view that any MNF intervention in Zaire had to include both US support and forces,[259] Canada was effectively bound to the dictates of US foreign policy throughout the crisis.

By the start of 1997, and although the MNF had not deployed, Canada could claim that unlike Rwanda, it had reacted while others had not. Canada's role in Zaire also witnessed the re-emergence of foreign policy priorities such as multilateralism, peacekeeping, humanitarianism and the UN. Although positive developments, Canada discovered that these altruistic foreign policy drivers, as well as its international stature as a middle power, left it ill-equipped to effectively deal with nations with true national and geopolitical interests in the region.

With little room to maneuver politically or militarily, Canada relied on the US to maintain the MNF's forward momentum, and was forced to acquiesce to American

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[257] *Ibid.*, 184.

[258] *Ibid.*, 193-194.

foreign policy interests in the process. When the US and other nations withdrew their support for the MNF, Canada, as its leader, was "left holding the bag and bore the blame for allegedly forsaking hundreds of thousands of Hutu refugees."[260] Canada had learned that the acclaim associated with international leadership was fleeting. It would carry these lessons forward and apply them to engagement in Darfur, sub-Saharan Africa's first major crisis of the new millennium.

4.5   Sudan

For Africa, Sudan represents a "cockpit [*sic*] where the Muslim and sub-Saharan African worlds have collided for centuries, pitting religious, racial antagonisms, economic expansion, and colonial exploitation against one another."[261] Within this context, the civil war and state sponsored violence that has plagued Darfur has not been a new phenomenon. Nevertheless, Canada would not take an active interest in the Darfur conflict until Paul Martin assumed power. Subsequent Canadian involvement would represent an amalgam of altruistic humanitarianism, hesitant foreign policy opportunism and what David Black would refer to as "good enough international citizenship."[262]

That Martin chose to take up Darfur's cause was strange. Julie Flint and Alex de Wall, authors of *Darfur: A Short History of a Long War* described the conflict as "the problem no one wanted to acknowledge."[263] Indeed, the 300,000 deaths, 1.8 million

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[259] Appathurai and Lysyshyn, *Lessons Learned from the Zaire Mission*, 5.

[260] Bartleman, *Rollercoaster . . .*, 202.

[261] Peter Pigott, *Canada in Sudan: War Without Borders* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009), 18.

[262] Black, "Canada," 234.

internally displaced persons (IDPs) and 200,000 refugees that Darfur had generated by the end of October 2005 represented a problem of Rwanda-like proportions.[264] Therefore, the UN Security Council and Western World were content to invoke the 'Brahimi Principle' and let the African Union (AU) assume a regional leadership role in Darfur.[265]

Canada would be included in the list of nations lined up behind the AU in Darfur instead of positioning itself to lead an interventionist MNF as it had in Zaire. Notwithstanding this initial hesitancy, Sudanese government sponsored ethnic cleansing against Darfur's black tribes, and the resulting refugee crisis, invoked guilt in the Prime Minister over Canadian inaction in Rwanda ten years earlier. Consequently, Martin was emotionally moved to more substantial action to alleviate the violence and suffering occurring within Darfur while other world leaders waffled.[266]

Martin's altruistic proclivity for humanitarian action in Darfur is well documented. Reminiscent of Chrétien's work at Kananaskis, he raised the issue during the 2005 G8 Summit at Gleneagles. Darfur would also occupy a prominent position within foreign policy documentation such as *Pride and Influence,* and in CIDA budgets,

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[263] Julie Flint and Alex de Wall, *Darfur: A Short History of a Long War* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2005), 127.

[264] Ruth Iyob and Gilbert M. Khadiagala, *Sudan: The Elusive Quest for Peace* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2006), 158.

[265] Flint and de Wall, *Darfur: A Short* History . . ., 127. The Brahimi Principle advocated for regional organizations of states to take a leadership role in resolving humanitarian and security issues within their geographical area of influence.

[266] Martin, *Hell or High Water . . .*, 331-332. J. Millard Burr and Robert O. Collins discuss that by 2004 the international media had begun to compare the situation in Darfur to that of Rwanda just 10 years earlier. Media exposure of the ongoing violence undoubtedly put increasing pressure on the UN and world leaders, including Martin, to react. See J. Millard Burr and Robert O. Collins, *Darfur: The Long Road to Disaster* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2008), 295. Nick Grono also indicts leader inaction in the face of evidence of ethnic cleansing highlighted by Human Right Watch and the International Crisis Group. See Nick Grono, "Darfur: The International Community's Failure to Protect," in *Explaining Darfur*,

during Martin's tenure. However, the benefits gleaned from his philanthropic activism on

the diplomatic and development fronts were limited, at least for the people of Darfur.

Certainly the Canadian public could be placated with language and images of Canada

'promoting good in the world', but the nation's pronouncements "were little more than

empty rhetoric for whom the principal audience [was] domestic."[267]

The Canadian rhetoric-action gap in Darfur stems from the nation's stringent

international promotion of the R2P concept juxtaposed against its actual commitments to

improving regional security. Given Canada's long-standing advocacy of R2P, and its

visible leadership on Zaire, an expectation from both national and international audiences

for substantive Canadian action in Darfur was natural. Canada had certainly portrayed

itself as a leader with a mission to "mobilize the international community, including

Africans, to stop the ethnic cleansing and massive human rights abuses in the Darfur

region of Sudan."[268]

Without doubt, Canada had cause to act. Given the scope of the ongoing death

and dislocation, the case had been made several times that the continuing violence in

Darfur met the criteria for international intervention on humanitarian grounds:

> Most observers now agree that the current situation in Darfur is genocide and
> meets the Genocide Convention's legal "definition and acts" thresholds. In
> addition, through its failure or inability to date to stop genocide in Darfur, the
> government of Sudan had abdicated its responsibility to protect its citizens.[269]

Agnes van Ardenne, Mohamed Salih, Nick Grono and Juan Méndez, 39-48 (Amsterdam, Vossiuspers UvA, 2006), 39-40.

[267] Black, "Canada," 233.

[268] Government of Canada, *Canada's International Policy Statement . . . Overview*, 13.

[269] Brent Beardsley and John Schram, "Lessons Learned? Credible International and Canadian Responses to the Crisis in Darfur," in *Darfur: Reflections on the Crisis and the Responses*, ed. J. Andrew Grant, 77-92 (Kingston, ON: Centre for International Relations, Queen's University, 2009), 81-82.

So, although Canada's has never classified the killing in Darfur as genocide,[270] Martin's humanitarian altruism and opportunism would intersect over suffering in the region. Darfur would be a test case for Canadian engagement under the R2P umbrella. Combining Canada's lack of a colonial past with its leadership on R2P, the Prime Minister saw a "perfect opportunity for Canada to play a leadership role on keeping with [his] broader philosophy of [Canadian] foreign policy."[271] This stance, however, would highlight Canada's contributions; exposing them, the nation and R2P to judgement in relation to their effect on influencing conditions in Darfur.

In comparison to the passionate language used by Martin in addressing the Darfur crisis in the UN General Assembly, and in his bilateral relations with Sudanese President Bashir,[272] Canada's contributions to the AU's peacekeeping force in Darfur were limited. This rhetoric-action gap would serve to stunt the 'good press' Canada hoped to achieve in Darfur. It also contributed to a perception that although Canada was indeed an international 'leader' on Darfur, it was leading from the rear.

Canada's approach to leadership coalesced around the provision of financial and equipment support to AMIS, and the follow-on UN-AU Mission in Darfur (UNAMID). Unquestionably, Canada's cumulative $441 million financial contribution to the AU

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[270] Brent Beardsley, "Lessons Learned or Not Learned from the Rwandan Genocide," in *The World and Darfur: International Response to Crimes Against Humanity in Western Sudan*, ed. Amanda F. Grzyb, 41-60 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 44.

[271] Martin, *Hell or High Water . . .*, 332. Brent Beardsley also discusses the potential use of Darfur as a test case for the application of R2P principles. See Beardsley, "Lessons Learned or Not Learned . . ., 42.

[272] Pigott, *Canada in Sudan . . .*, 195-197. Prime Minister Martin's visit to Sudan on 25 November 2004 was the first by a Canadian leaser. Pigott, *Canada In Sudan . . .*, 27.

during the 2004-2008 period was not inconsequential.[273] Nor was the donation of

personal protective equipment and armoured vehicles, as well as the funding of AU fixed

and rotary wing support, intensely ridiculed.[274] However, the very nature of Canada's

ongoing commitment, one that excludes a substantial CF component, has led David Black

to state that regarding Darfur "in practice the Canadian government has taken the safe

road of international respectability and 'helpful fixing', foregoing the harder and riskier

path of leadership by example."[275]

A reticence to deploy substantial numbers of military personnel to Darfur has been

a consistent characteristic of Canada's engagement in Darfur under both Martin and

Harper. At the height of AMIS operations in 2007, a mere 11 CF members were

supporting the mission in diverse locations such as El Fasher, Khartoum and Addis

Ababa. By 2010, and under the auspices of UNAMID, this number had been reduced to 7

personnel in El Fasher.[276]

This aversion to increasing troop support stems from many issues, including the

nation's existing commitment to Afghanistan, the lingering effects of the 'Somalia

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[273] *Ibid*., 27.

[274] Black, "Canada," 233.

[275] *Ibid*. Black bases his assessment on the substantial gap that exists between Canada's historically strong advocacy of R2P and the actual commitments the nation has made to resolve the Darfur crisis. Without understating Canada's overall effort, he argues that at the same time it cannot truly be viewed as being exceptional, particularly in the in either the practical or diplomatic realms. See Black, "Canada," 243.

[276] Canadian Expeditionary Force Command, "Canadian Forces Operations in Sudan," http://www.cefcom-comfec.forces.gc.ca/pa-ap/nr-sp/doc-eng.asp?id=2568; Internet; accessed 06 April 2011. These numbers do not include support, movements and training personnel deployed to Senegal who were involved in the initial deployment of the armoured personnel carriers to Darfur. CF personnel numbers had been further reduced to 2 by 7 May 2011. See Canadian Expeditionary Force Command. "International Operations." http://www.cefcom.forces.gc.ca/pa-ap/ops/index-eng.asp; Internet; accessed 07 May 2011.

Syndrome', and conformity to the AU's wishes to keep Darfur an African issue.[277]

Nevertheless, Canada's consistent refusal to agree to a more dynamic role, including

potential participation in a UN Standby High-Readiness Brigade (SHIRBRIG)

deployment to Darfur,[278] has served to undermine Canada's claim to leadership and its

support of R2P.[279]

If Canada's contributions and leadership in Darfur have not measured up to

previous initiatives in other sub-Saharan states such as Somalia and Zaire, they have

served to appease Canadian and international audiences as being 'good enough'. Despite

the best efforts of Canadian social movements and NGOs to raise the domestic profile of

Darfur, it has never been a foreign policy issue capable of seizing the nation's

conscience.[280] No political price was paid for initiating Canada's limited approach to the

region. Nor has the Harper administration, which has largely maintained the Liberal's

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[277] Samuel Totten, "Saving Lives in Darfur, 2003-06?: Lots of Talk, Little to No Action," in *The World and Darfur: International Response to Crimes Against Humanity in Western Sudan*, ed. Amanda F. Grzyb, 183-214 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 206. In addition to AU reticence over the deployment of non-African troops to Darfur, the Government of Sudan has taken a largely obstructionist stance on the issue. It currently holds a veto over the nationality of troops within the United Nations African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID). See Frank Chalk and Danielle Kelton, "Mass-Atrocity Crimes in Darfur and the Response of Government of Sudan Media to International Pressure," in *The World and Darfur: International Response to Crimes Against Humanity in Western Sudan*, ed. Amanda F. Grzyb, 112-151 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 127-130.

[278] H. Peter Langille, "Preventing Genocide and Crimes against Humanity: One Innovation and New Global Initiative," in *The World and Darfur: International Response to Crimes Against Humanity in Western Sudan*, ed. Amanda F. Grzyb, 280-327 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 293-294. SHIRBRIG would eventually be utilized in southern Sudan. See Walter Dorn, "Canadian Peacekeeping: Proud Tradition, Strong Future," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 12, No. 2 (Fall 2005), n.p.; http://www.walterdorn.org/pub/32; Internet; accessed 07 May 2011.

[279] David R. Black discusses the various challenges to the international community's application of R2P to Darfur, including the prominence of state sovereignty, an intractable Sudanese government and a general unwillingness of Western powers to intervene militarily in another Arab nation following the war in Iraq. See Black, "Canada," 237-238.

[280] David R. Black and Paul D. Williams, *Darfur's Challenge to International Society*, Behind the Headlines Volume 65, Number 6 (Toronto: Canadian International Council, December 2008), 11-12.

financial, equipment and personnel commitments, been questioned for eliminating either Martin's Darfur Special Advisory Team (SAT) or R2P rhetoric from its Darfur discourse.[281]

Internationally, given the relative inaction of the international community, Canadian contributions have not isolated Canada as a straggler in Darfur. They have been sufficient for Canada to claim a humanitarian stake in the region, as well as to be seen supporting an UN sanctioned multilateral peacekeeping endeavour. However, given the ongoing limitations on troop commitments, Canada's engagement has only served to "maintain a veneer of respectability around an international effort that is utterly inadequate to the nature and scale of the challenge in Darfur . . . ."[282]

Ultimately, the international community's involvement in Darfur has been a failure. As part of this community, Canada must shoulder its share of responsibility for a continuing inability to resolve the conflict. Limited financial, equipment and troop commitments may have been sufficient to assuage any guilt associated with Canada 'not doing its part', but they also revealed the extent to which R2P remains an ineffective concept. While Canada, the UN and the West remain hesitant to decisively intervene, UNAMID will be left undermanned and ill-equipped to deal with the ongoing humanitarian crisis. With talks between the government of Sudan and rebel groups yet to yield any results,[283] lasting peace and long-term stability remain elusive.

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[281] Black, "Canada," 242-244.

[282] *Ibid*., 234. David R. Black and Paul D. Williams characterize much of the international community's contributions in Darfur as being "truncated and risk averse". See Black and Williams, *Darfur's Challenge . . .*, 17.

4.6   Conclusion

Taken in its totality, Canada's approach to sub-Saharan Africa's major crises illustrates a gradual disengagement from large UN peacekeeping and humanitarian missions. Somalia set the stage for this withdrawal. It taught the government the political costs of the nation's humanitarian opportunism and eager support for UN multilateral peacekeeping operations. Conversely, Rwanda illuminated to Canada the human cost associated with not seizing opportunities for humanitarian intervention. International disengagement predicated upon the 'Somalia Syndrome' resulted in an unacceptable loss of human life as acts of genocide continued unimpeded. The UN, Canada and the West, through their inaction, were left with blood on their hands.

Canada's attempt to assume a leadership role in Zaire only two short years after the Rwandan genocide demonstrated that it had learned, albeit temporarily, the costs of disengagement. The government was also educated on the constraints of middle power activism for a nation lacking any colonial history or geopolitical interests in sub-Saharan Africa. Finally, Canadian involvement in Darfur represented a return to a slow trajectory of military disengagement from regional crises. Foreign policy priorities such as humanitarian interventionism and multilateralism remain present, but their effectiveness under an R2P umbrella is questionable. Canada has chosen to maintain an arms-length approach to Darfur; providing just enough diplomatic, financial and equipment support to

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[283] UN News Centre, "UN Envoy Urges People of Darfur to Participate in New Dialogue Initiative," http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=37630&Cr=Darfur&Cr1; Internet; accessed 07 April 2011.

maintain its humanitarian reputation while avoiding the real 'blood and treasure' costs

associated with direct and decisive engagement on the issue.

CONCLUSION

Tracing Canada's post-Cold War international policy approach to sub-Saharan Africa reveals a distinctly inconsistent path characterized by interspersed periods of relative neglect and intense focus. Initial optimism that the cessation of the Cold War's ideological struggle would afford a middle power such as Canada greater international manoeuvrability did little to sway it from well-worn priorities such as North America, NATO and Europe.

Late in Brian Mulroney's tenure, sub-Saharan Africa began to fade from focus. Domestic crises restrained the scope of diplomatic initiatives in the region while fiscal pressures conspired to force reductions in the nation's ODA. Military involvement in Somalia, albeit brief, served only to illustrate the pitfalls of eager humanitarian opportunism and support of an interventionist UN. Sustained regional engagement would be one of Somalia's many casualties.

Initially, Jean Chrétien did not exercise the leadership necessary to reverse regional marginalization. During his tenure, development assistance to sub-Saharan Africa plummeted to its lowest levels on record. While defence policy stagnated, military engagement under the auspices of the UN was mercurial. Plagued by hesitancy and the 'Somalia Syndrome,' Canada had largely forsaken Rwanda during the throes of its genocide. Conversely, it later accepted a leadership role in Zaire to avert a humanitarian crisis and to briefly assuage the nation's guilt over its inaction in Rwanda. Smaller missions emphasizing limited engagement and risk, as well as UN support, were frequently undertaken.

The nation's reputation was barely restored through the personal leadership of the Prime Minster at the 2002 G8 Summit at Kananaskis. Chrétien's advocacy of the G8's Africa file expedited the adoption of the Africa Action Plan, signaling a commitment by the body for sub-Saharan Africa assistance and development. It also demonstrated that Canada was attempting to reverse years of marginalization through an allocation of a regional prominence within Canadian diplomacy and development assistance policies.

In large measure, Paul Martin inherited this African focus and did not deviate from it. Although Martin lacked sufficient time to carve out a lasting legacy for himself on the diplomatic front, he ensured that the ODA commitments made by the previous administration were adhered to, setting the stage for the eventual doubling of Canadian ODA to Africa by 2008-2009.

From a defence perspective, national security concerns drove Canada to maintain a continued CF presence in Afghanistan; one that pushed potential missions in sub-Saharan Africa to the periphery. Darfur, Martin's personal African project, was a victim of this. Although limited Canadian involvement confirmed foreign policy priorities such as humanitarian interventionism and multilateralism, Canada hesitated to lead and risk the true 'blood and treasure' cost to decisively engage to resolve the humanitarian crisis. Canada's international humanitarian reputation may have remained intact, but its genuine support for the R2P concept was circumspect.

Stephen Harper's Conservative government, although it provided initial continuity with the foreign policy trajectory established by both Martin and Chrétien, has once again marginalized the region. The only permanence remaining between the Martin and Harper administrations has been the inability of the government to focus the necessary political

will and military resources to assist in resolving the Darfur conflict; a crisis which has ebbed in intensity while still lacking long-term resolution.

This lack of will largely characterized the Conservative approach to sub-Saharan Africa development and diplomatic matters. Although the doubling of ODA was accomplished under Harper, the freezing of funding at 2010-2011 levels has ensured at least the short term stagnation of regional development assistance. Conservative diplomacy, on the other hand, has never possessed an African emphasis. The true implication of Harper's recent Muskoka Initiative, given its inherent focus on improving the region's ability to meet its 2015 MDG 4 and 5 goals, remains to be seen. It will either be a diplomatic aberration or an initial signal of renewed Canadian leadership.

Although sub-Saharan Africa largely remains on the periphery of Canada's foreign policy agenda, it does not have to remain there. The coming years will present a confluence of opportunities for Canada to truly re-engage in the region. The looming withdrawal of Canadian combatant forces from Afghanistan, and the lack of a similar mission demanding CF participation, will allow Canada to evaluate an expanded military role in sub-Saharan Africa.

Certainly the methodology and resources of the whole of government approach which has dominated foreign policy efforts in Afghanistan could be applied elsewhere. The Congo, Darfur and southern Sudan all provide viable multilateral options for engagement more aligned with Canada's historical affinity for UN Chapter VI peacekeeping missions. Given the accrued operational experience and expansion of CF force and logistical capabilities since the mid-1990s, robust participation in a more demanding mission such as the Congo should not prove daunting. Likewise, with pre-existing involvement in both the Darfur and southern regions of Sudan, Canada could

build upon current contributions in the realms of defence, development and diplomacy within a familiar UN structure.

Regardless of any contribution, Canada must be wary of pursuing multinational force command or leadership opportunities without the commitment of combat troops. As demonstrated during the nation's brief time in the international spotlight as head of a multinational force for Zaire, Canada will always lack the colonial past, diplomatic influence and geopolitical interests to effectively leverage other states. Hard power and political will, as represented by a commitment of combat forces, can fill this void. It must be understood that human security and soft power advocacy do not equate to realistic influence within a multinational military force. Canada can ill afford to undermine its legitimacy with partner nations by seeking leadership while avoiding the associated risks to Canadian human and fiscal resources.

The realms of development and diplomacy offer a potentially more risk adverse path towards Canadian leadership. Canada has already proven in Kananaskis that it can help shape an international agenda on sub-Saharan Africa issues. Framing a unilateral or multilateral initiative around the coming 2015 deadline for the region to meet its Millennium Development Goals is both practical and timely. Prime Minister Harper has already demonstrated a partial commitment to the MDGs through his Muskoka Initiative, and sub-Saharan Africa has proven unable to make substantial progress in meeting them. An easy and visible humanitarian initiative would be to lift the cap on ODA, permitting the nation to announce new MDG focussed commitments to the region, or expand existing assistance to Canada's countries of focus.

Despite the nation's inconsistent foreign policy and recent disengagement, Canada remains uniquely positioned to 'do good' in sub-Saharan Africa. As a middle power, it

has emerged from the global recession on sounder financial footing than much of the developed world. Following Afghanistan, the Canadian Forces possesses a wealth of combat experience and force capabilities that permit it to take on more difficult peacekeeping missions. All of the traits which have made Canada ideal to lead in sub-Saharan Africa in the past, a lack of a colonial past or neo-colonial ambition, bilingualism, the absence of geopolitical interests in the region, a peacekeeping past, and a preference for multilateral UN action, remain.

Realism, however, is paramount. Sub-Saharan Africa does not have to be the nation's predominant foreign policy priority, but a consistent vision on what it desires to accomplish in the region is required. Canada cannot hope to achieve a vision, or a long term foreign policy effect, if both are subject to shifting priorities and political expediency. A substantive impact, particularly one stemming from development and diplomatic initiatives, will require an assumption of risk and a long term commitment. Canada cannot hope to accrue long term interests, goodwill and influence in sub-Saharan Africa if it does otherwise.

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