

how to mobilize a MNF, and in particular how a middle power can lead a MNF. This was a unique situation internationally and for Canada specifically.

The agreed-upon, consensus style decision making used in the International Steering Group highlighted the differing interpretations of the MNF mandate and precluded final resolution on this issue of clarity of purpose. A lack of consensus ultimately led to a unilateral Canadian decision, closing down the operation and withdrawing its command at the end of December, 1996.

These international machinations were also evident on an interdepartmental basis. Here the longer term humanitarian objectives are juxtaposed with the shorter term military goals. This tension was apparent at a political level, and in many ways can be seen to be the result of the mandate embedded in the respective departments. These issues were managed within the Interdepartmental Task Force.

Interdepartmental tensions aside, there was some confusion within DFAIT over the scope of the multinational operation. It is not to say the question was openly debated. Rather, the interview process revealed an underlying tension pertaining to differences in the interpretation of the objectives.

Was the department responding to a multinational crisis on African soil or an African crisis requiring multinational involvement?

This is not a trivial distinction or question. A crisis of multinational concern on African soil implies a punctual deployment of humanitarian and military instruments to prevent and alleviate suffering in the refugee camps and provide refugees with safe passage back to Rwanda. This perspective calls for a short term operation that deals marginally with the region's geopolitics.

Conversely, an African crisis requiring multilateral involvement would imply international intervention on different fronts in the region's geopolitics. This calls for longer term involvement as it acknowledges dealing, not only with the humanitarian crisis, but negotiating issues such as regional destabilization, territorial disputes, ethnic violence, peace building and societal reconstruction. It is a perspective that does not preclude, of course, punctual deployment of operations.

The variety of objectives for this department, as presented in section 3.1,