

WAR WITH IRAQ

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CANADA'S STRATEGY IN THE PERSIAN GULF
1990–2002

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The Martello Papers

The Queen's University Centre for International Relations (QCIR) is pleased to present the twenty-fourth in its series of security studies, the *Martello Papers*. Taking their name from the distinctive towers built during the nineteenth century to defend Kingston, Ontario, these papers cover a wide range of topics and issues relevant to contemporary international strategic relations.

"War with Iraq," whether as a call to arms, a slogan of dissent or a matter for more detached speculation, has been the dominant motif of international debate in the latter half of 2002. The casual observer might be excused for concluding from this that we are not already at war. Sean Maloney reminds us here that, in the absence of Iraq's full compliance with the arms control regime and other conditions of the 1991 ceasefire which ended Desert Storm, a *de facto* state of war has continued to the present, albeit in a sporadic and inconsistent way. To frame the conflict in the Gulf this way does not make the current strategic, political, and moral choices facing governments any easier, but it may serve to better inform a wider audience as to the background and the stakes.

Nowhere is this reminder more needed than in Canada. Maloney's second contribution is to highlight how, in a modest but useful way, Canada has always been a part of that campaign, now into its second decade. Canadian military forces have, for example, taken part in UNIKOM, a UN operation to monitor the Iraq-Kuwait border, and a Canadian frigate has played a support role in air operations against Iraqi radar and missile sites. Whatever Canadians may wish to believe, this is not peacekeeping but a form of war — a continuation of the enforcement authorized by the UN under Chapter 7 of the Charter.

Pushing his thesis farther, Maloney argues that Canada's actions in the Gulf cannot be explained simply by the traditional reflex to "be there" or to have a "seat at the table." There is, he says, evidence of a coherent regional strategy at work, driven by palpable economic and security interests. Canada's behaviour over the past decade, when it comes to putting its limited military assets at risk, shows the Gulf to be its prime strategic concern beyond the Euroatlantic region.

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Charles C. Pentland
Director, QCIR

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Glossary

AAA	Anti-Aircraft Artillery
ACE	NATO's Allied Command Europe
ALCM	Air Launched Cruise Missile
AOR	operational support ship which provides logistics to naval forces
ARG	Amphibious Ready Group
AWACS	Airborne Warning and Control System
B-52	heavy bomber carrying air-launched cruise missiles
BW	biological warfare
C-130	Lockheed Hercules tactical transport
CANUKUS	tripartite intelligence-sharing arrangement between Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States.
CDS	Chief of the Defence Staff
CF	Canadian Forces
CF-18	Canadian version of the F-18 fighter-bomber
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPF	Canadian Patrol Frigate, City-class FFH
CW	chemical warfare
DDE	anti-submarine destroyer, not equipped with a helicopter
DDH	destroyer equipped with one or two helicopters
DFAIT	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

DMZ	demilitarized zone
DND	Department of National Defence
E-3, E-3A, E-3N	Sentry AWACS aircraft
EOD	explosive ordnance disposal
F-117	Nightstalker Stealth fighter-bomber
FFH	frigate carrying a helicopter
HD	a type of blistering agent, also known as Mustard Gas
HEU	Highly-Enriched Uranium
HMCS	Her Majesty's Canadian Ship
HMS	Her Majesty's Ship
IADS	Integrated Air Defence System
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
JIC	Joint Intelligence Committee (UK)
KCC-13:	aerial tanker version of the C-130 Hercules
KDP	Kurdish faction
MFO	Multinational Force Observers, non-UN peacekeeping force
MIF	Multinational Interception Force
MiG	Soviet or Russian-built fighter aircraft
MRBM	Medium-Range Ballistic Missile
NAEWF	NATO Airborne Early Warning Force
NBCW	Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Warfare
NDHQ	National Defence Headquarters
NORAD	North American Aerospace Defence Command
ONW	Operation NORTHERN WATCH
OSW	Operation SOUTHERN WATCH
P5, Perm Five	UN Security Council permanent members
PGM	Precision Guided Munition
PKK	Kurdish terrorist group
PUK	Kurdish faction
GUIDELINE	NATO code-name for Soviet-built SA-2 anti-aircraft missile
SAA	Shatt al-Arab

SAM	Surface to Air Missile
SCUD	NATO code-name for Soviet-era designed and built ballistic missile
SEAL	US Navy Sea-Air-Land special operations unit
SJSL	Saint John Shipbuilding Limited
SNFL	NATO's Standing Naval Force Atlantic
SOF	Special Operations Forces
SRBM	Short-Range Ballistic Missile
TEL	Transporter Erector Launcher
UNFICYP	United Nations Forces in Cyprus
UNIIMOG	United Nations Iran-Iraq Observer Group
UNIKOM	United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission
UNMO	United Nations Military Observer
UNSCOM	United Nations Special Commission
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
USS	United States Ship
UXO	unexploded ordnance
VX	a type of nerve agent
WMD	Weapons of mass destruction (biological, chemical, nuclear)

1. Introduction

The attack and defence of overseas expeditions are governed in large measure by the principles of attack and defence of trade. In both cases it is a question of control of communications, and in a general way it may be said, if we control them for the one purpose, we control them for the other.

Julian S. Corbett, *Some Principles of Maritime Strategy*

There are cease-fire, truce and stand-still arrangements, and agreements not to use force in a given situation. Wise men should not scorn devices or expedients of this kind which can gain time for more fundamental solutions to mature, and which may avoid a war which is unlikely to be kept 'conventional' and which could quickly spread across oceans and continents.

Lester B. Pearson, *Democracy and World Politics* (1955)

The imminence of war in the fall of 2002 forces media commentators and national security analysts to focus on the immediacy of events in the Persian Gulf region. Saddam Hussein's Iraq, the relationship between his regime and the events of 11 September 2001, the role of the United Nations, and the possible participation of Canada's armed forces all combine to dominate the dialogue. Yet nowhere has there been any discussion of the context of Canada's military involvement, nor has there been any examination of Canadian regional objectives in the past and the relationship between the two.¹ This state of affairs is compounded by the dearth of strategic conceptualization of this regional conflict, particularly for the past decade. This study will, therefore, provide a discussion of Canadian military activity in the region, and a framework for understanding this involvement in and around Iraq from a Canadian perspective. It is critical that any discussions or decisions regarding Canadian participation in the future be based on something other than emotional and reactive responses to the pressure of the present trying circumstances.

2. *Canadian Operations in the Persian Gulf Before 1990*

With the exception of the odd Royal Canadian Navy port visit, there appear to have been no Canadian operations conducted in the Persian Gulf region or around Iraq during the first 30 years of the long Cold War. As part of pre-NATO American-British-Canadian global war planning, Canadian representatives nearly earmarked two divisions to the Middle East before they were reined in by the then-Minister of National Defence Brooke Claxton.² Canadian strategic focus generally lay in NATO operations in Western Europe, NORAD operations in North America, and UN operations in the Third World. Canadian UN operations in Central Asia and the Middle East were related to the interdiction of Soviet and other communist influences in peripheral areas like Yemen, Lebanon, and the Kashmir, and the maintenance of peace around Israel. Indeed, the Persian Gulf was a relatively stable area under British, and then American, influence.³

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Iranian Revolution forever altered this state of affairs in 1979. The Cold War context of the Soviet move is obvious: Soviet long-range aircraft based in Afghanistan could now threaten oil shipping in the Straits of Hormuz. The surprise collapse of Iran's Shah, a stalwart American ally, and the replacement of his regime with a fundamentalist Islamic regime led by the Ayatollah Khomeini produced a situation where the entire shipping route could be interdicted by Iranian forces. The possibility that revolution exported from Iran into the other Gulf states was very real.⁴

Canada's first operations in the region were responses to the Iranian revolution. Operation BATON, a non-combatant evacuation operation, was mounted from Canadian Forces Base Lahr, West Germany, and staged through Ankara, Turkey. BATON included one 707 and four C-130 transports, plus a 105-man unit which consisted of transport, maintenance and intelligence personnel. Throughout January and February 1979, the Canadian unit evacuated over 400 civilians

from NATO-member nations under extremely dangerous and chaotic conditions as Iran entered a state of near-anarchy.⁵

In 22 October 1979, the United States took in the ailing Shah and severe rioting broke out. The next month, armed radicals seized the American embassy and its 66 occupants. A number of Americans who were not in the embassy were taken in by Canadian embassy personnel and hidden. Canadian military personnel operating from the embassy were involved in a number of covert operations to evacuate these people. They also provided intelligence and other support functions for the planned American hostage rescue operation, *EAGLE CLAW*, before withdrawing from Tehran. However, *EAGLE CLAW* collapsed after a series of accidents at the Desert One site, prompting the ignominious retreat of the joint hostage rescue force.⁶

From 1979 to 1988, Iran and the United States were locked in what amounted to a twilight war which in some ways prefigured the post-1991 phase of the Iraq War. Conducted under the umbrella of the Cold War insofar as it relates to the protection of petroleum resources in the Persian Gulf and frustrating Soviet aims in Central Asia, the Iranian-American campaign is in many ways a separate category of events which resemble a type of war, and was also conducted simultaneously with the Iran-Iraq War (1980–88). Starting with the seizure of the American embassy and its occupants in Tehran in 1979, radical Iranian revolutionaries embarked on a series of operations against the United States and its interests in the region.

Iranian interference in Lebanese affairs and support for radicalized Palestinian factions in part produced the 1982 Israeli intervention in that country. The deployment of a multinational force (United States, Italy, France) to keep a peace that did not exist in the wake of the Israeli withdrawal gave Iranian-backed groups targets they could not resist in October 1983. The deaths of US Marines, French and Italian troops in truck bomb attacks and the subsequent US Navy bombardment and air operations against the factions supporting those efforts were but two of the results.⁷ The subsequent kidnapping and murder campaign against American journalists, CIA operatives, and military personnel lurched periodically into public view, as did attacks against civilian airliners, including one carrying American MFO peacekeeping personnel⁸ returning through Canada from Egypt and another carrying American intelligence personnel. For the most part, however, the Iranian-American antagonism in the 1980s was played out in the shadows or exemplified by American intelligence and material support for Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War.⁹

In 1987, US naval forces were deployed to protect re-flagged tankers moving from Kuwait through the Straits of Hormuz which were put at risk due to Iran-Iraq hostilities. Iran shifted to a covert mining campaign designed to disrupt western oil tankers moving through the Persian Gulf and to challenge American forces. Over the course of the next year, American and French forces conducted a campaign designed to strip Iran of its ability to do so. US special operations forces

seized Iranian minelayers, while French and American fighter aircraft duelled with the Iranian air force on a number of occasions, one of which resulted in the destruction of an Iranian F-4 in August 1987. In time, American naval commanders developed a comprehensive strike plan to destroy Iran's power grid and oil production facilities which amounted to 70 percent of the Iranian economy.¹⁰

Though the plan was never implemented, the firing of Iranian Silkworm anti-ship missiles and the mining of a US warship in April 1988 produced Operation PRAYING MANTIS in which three US Navy surface action groups raided and destroyed two major Iranian oil platforms and then destroyed half of the Iranian navy when the latter attacked American-flagged shipping.¹¹

The accidental destruction of the Iran Air airliner and its passengers by the American Aegis cruiser USS *Vincennes* in 1988 produced some pause, as did the end of the Iran-Iraq War and its mediation by the UN. Though an act of terrorism was conducted against the cruiser's captain and his family, Iranian operations against American targets wound down and the events of the 1990–91 Gulf War signalled an end to overt clashes involving military forces.¹²

Canada's role in the Iranian-American campaign, with the exception of concealing the details of the Arrow Air crash and the deaths of several hundred US MFO troops at Gander, Newfoundland, was limited to assisting in the overlapping end-game as the UN was called upon to broker the Iran-Iraq peace. According to the UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, Canada played no significant role in the diplomacy ending the war: the P5 members of the Security Council saw that any continuance of the wars was inimical to everybody's interests and acted accordingly.¹³ As a non-P5 member, a non-combatant, and a non-regional player, however, Canada was in an ideal position to help generate stability by contributing to the United Nations' Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG). With a long-standing tradition of acting as a western representative and surrogate in Third World UN operations,¹⁴ Canada took a leading role in ensuring the effectiveness of the UN disengagement force by providing a 525-man signals unit which was delivered to the region using C-5A US strategic airlift to Iraq and then Soviet airlift into Iran (Operation VAGABOND).¹⁵

From a Canadian perspective, effective participation in UNIIMOG contributed to normalization of Canadian-Iranian relations which had been strained since 1980.¹⁶ It also assisted western interests since the implementation of a functional ceasefire and disengagement by an effective UN force increased the stability in the region with attendant benefits vis-à-vis oil shipping. This signals capability was provided to UNIIMOG by policymakers who knew that doing so seriously degraded Canada's ability to meet Canada-US and NATO commitments.¹⁷ Contributing the initial signals capability and thus the backbone of UNIIMOG was a significant move and is therefore indicative of increased Canadian interest in the Persian Gulf region.¹⁸

Canadian UN Military Observers (UNMOs) were also active in UNIIMOG. Once the signals regiment re-deployed to Canada in December 1988, the UNMOs

were the only Canadian representatives in the region. As part of the observer mission, these men were in a position to gather valuable information about the belligerents' military capabilities, particularly the Iraqi Republican Guard. Unfortunately, the collation of this information was not at all systematic and consequently any use of it in the 1990–91 hostilities was squandered.¹⁹ According to advice given to the minister of national defence by the deputy minister and chief of defence staff, the benefits of keeping the Canadian UNMOs in place after Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990 outweighed the risks to their personal safety. It appears as though these benefits may have been more than symbolic.²⁰

3. *Canada and Phase I of the Iraq War*

We are used to categorizing the events of 1990–91 as the Gulf War: most if not all commentators suggest that the conflict started when Iraq invaded Kuwait and ended with the Safwan ceasefire in 1992. Given subsequent events over the next decade, however, we should perhaps label the 1990–91 increment as the first combat phase of a protracted war which continues today. In the decade following the Safwan ceasefire, Iraq has behaved aggressively enough to have been subjected to near-continuous aerial bombardment, covert operations, and other coercive military operations. The sheer number of operations, Canadian included, conducted to contain and compel the Hussein regime is extensive: it is Orwellian to call it anything but a war.

Canadian military involvement in the 1990–91 period is well-documented, given the Canadian Forces' limited role in comparison to the other coalition partners.²¹ After Iraq invaded and overran Kuwait in August 1990, the United Nations called for comprehensive sanctions. These included UNSCR 661 which established the embargo and UNSCR 665, calling for naval forces to enforce the embargo. On 10 August, the Mulroney government approved the deployment of a naval task group consisting of a DDH, HMCS *Athabaskan*; a DDE, HMCS *Terra Nova*; and an AOR, HMCS *Provider* as well as embarked Sea King helicopters (Operation FRICTION).

Why? The Persian Gulf was not a traditional area of Canadian interest. The established Canadian interest in maintaining Persian Gulf stability and thus keeping the oil flowing was clearly the most significant factor.²² With the winding down of the Cold War system and the heightened belief that the United Nations would play a greater role in global conflict resolution, however, a strong Canadian commitment to demonstrate its disapproval for such aggression in the New World Order was another reason.²³ Indeed, there was a resurgence of Canadian involvement in UN activity in the late 1980s after an almost 15-year hiatus.²⁴ At

another level, the US Navy history of the Gulf War explains, “maritime interception operations provided an opportunity for nations leery of ground commitment on the Arabian Peninsula to join in the international effort. The multinational nature of the blockade sent a clear signal to Saddam Hussein that the global community was unified in its determination to end his occupation of Kuwait.”²⁵

As the situation deteriorated, DND planners worked on seven contingency plans for expanded CF operations in the Gulf in case the politicians asked.

These included:

- evacuation of Canadian nationals from the Gulf region;
- deployment of CF-18s from Germany to Turkey;
- sustainment of the Op FRICTION task group;
- rotation of the Op FRICTION task group;
- provision of in-theatre air lift to support pan-Arab forces;
- logistical support to multinational forces in the Gulf region; and
- deployment of ground combat forces.²⁶

On 25 August, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 665 which permitted the use of military force to enforce the economic sanctions. By September, an expanded CF-18 squadron was authorized by the government to support the FRICTION task group from Qatar. Called Operation SCIMITAR, it included 24 CF-18s and an infantry company for force protection. The CF-18’s initial role was to provide top cover for the task group.²⁷ UN Security Council Resolution 678, passed in November 1990, authorized states to use all means necessary to ensure that Iraq comply with the 1 August UNSCRs. The details of Canadian naval and air operations and of Operation DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM are covered elsewhere.²⁸

There was no Canadian ground combat component in DESERT SHIELD or DESERT STORM, though one was planned. Operation BROADSWORD was designed to deploy an enhanced 4 Canadian Mechanized Brigade Group to Saudi Arabia where it was to operate as part of VII(US) Corps. Several factors conspired to prevent the BROADSWORD deployment. Most of these were related to the Canadian Forces’ stagnant ability to plan and execute an expeditionary operation of greater than company or battalion size as opposed to specific political opposition to fighting on the ground. Conditioned as the Canadian Forces was to preparing for a war against the Warsaw Pact in the NATO Central Region, there was only a nascent joint planning structure, little strategic lift, no mobilization capability for sustainment, and high expectations for revitalization of several equipment programs cancelled after the 1989 budgetary reassessment by the Mulroney government. Scaremongering casualty predictions based on outdated estimate processes were used by a minority of bureaucrats within DND who opposed ground operations in the mistaken belief that it would compromise Canada’s (mythical) peacekeeping image or tradition. All of this added to the inability

of the elected officials to make a timely decision on deployment doomed Op BROADSWORD. Instead, a field hospital with an infantry company group to protect it joined the DESERT STORM forces in 1991 (Op SCALPEL).²⁹

Canada participated in the 1990–91 hostilities through its NORAD commitment. US Defense Support Program (DSP) satellites serving NORAD to detect Soviet ballistic missile attacks during the Cold War had their software modified and were used to spot Iraqi SCUD launches. NORAD personnel monitored the Middle East and passed warning information to US Space Command liaison teams with CENTCOM and then to Patriot missile batteries. NORAD also handled satellite communications supporting this activity. Ballistic missile warning was passed to NDHQ in Ottawa and then to Canadian units in Bahrain.³⁰

Canada also participated in the coalition air campaign, again through the NORAD connection. Eleven E-3 Sentry AWACS aircraft tasked for NORAD air defence operations were deployed to Turkey and Saudi Arabia. Usually seven of the 40 to 50 crew members Canada assigns to the AWACS force were sent on regular rotations with the USAF AWACS squadrons.³¹ Similarly, Canadians serving with the NATO Airborne Early Warning Force (NAEFW) deployed to Turkey when the NAEWF sent E-3A Sentry's to Turkey along with NATO's ACE Mobile Force (Air) in 1990–91.³²

A series of small sub-operations were conducted by Canadian forces to support various Persian Gulf efforts. These included Operation SPONGE, where C-130 aircraft were deployed to move environmental clean-up equipment; Operation UNCLENCHED FIST which logistically assisted American units in Germany; Operation UNARMED WARRIOR, which was prepared to assist American medical units in Germany if casualties started pouring in. Canadian engineers were deployed to Kuwait City to restore the Canadian embassy (Operation NECESITY).³³ These sub-operations were of a supportive tactical nature.

NATO's Standing Naval Force Atlantic (SNFL) contributed to Operation MED NET. This operation was designed to monitor the Mediterranean and its approaches for "ships of special interest" in the event that Iraq used terrorism against the sea lines of communications supporting DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM. CinCAFSOUTH assessed the threat to consist of

Iraqi merchant ships, seven of which were located in the Mediterranean at the commencement of hostilities, and those of Iraq's potential allies, who in addition possessed other capabilities in air, surface and subsurface warfare. Iraqi merchant ships, hired flags of convenience or even commandeered ships might be used for mining choke points or blocking the Suez Canal.... Few ships in which NATO took an interest remained unobserved for any significant period.³⁴

A Canadian destroyer, the usual contribution to SNFL, participated in this operation.

Despite acrimonious debates over the use of force and the staffing problems inherent to any headquarters with a calcified expeditionary capability, Canada's

1990–91 operations demonstrate increased interest in the region and an expansion beyond that envisioned in 1988. The same goal, however, underlay both efforts: military stability of the Persian Gulf region was important for economic reasons.

4. The Iraq War: Phase II

The 3 March 1991 ceasefire at Safwan and the 31 March Iraq agreement to comply with UNSCR 686 ended the first phase of the Iraq War. In April, however, the basis for the second phase was laid. UNSCR 687, which prohibited Iraq from manufacturing or possessing nuclear, biological or chemical munitions and the means to deliver them went into effect on 3 April. Two days later, UNSCR 688 was passed. It demanded that Baghdad end the repression of the Kurdish population of northern Iraq. To complicate matters, Iranian aircraft attacked Kurdish rebel bases in Iraq and Iraq responded with air action, which broke the coalition-imposed ban on flying.³⁵

On 27 April 1991 Iraq admitted that it had lied about the existence of stocks of nuclear materials in its possession and stalled on the specifics of how the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) would go about its business in the country. With much prevarication, Iraq finally agreed to a Status Agreement for UNSCOM on 18 May. Continued Iraqi obstruction produced UNSCR 707 which demanded that Iraq cease any nuclear weapons developments, fully disclose all information, and allow UNSCOM teams to move without prohibition.³⁶

Unlike a traditional war where the defeated country is completely occupied and stripped of its military capability, the Iraqi regime was left in power and retained its conventional military capability. The debate over why this was done is beyond this study and will undoubtedly occupy historians for many years to come. In any event, the decision by the Hussein regime to continue repressive actions and violate human rights, to retain weapons of mass destruction (WMD) capability, and to flaunt the sanctions by importing prohibited goods and illegally exporting oil set the stage for continued coalition military operations in the 1990s.

Operation ASSIST and PROVIDE COMFORT

Canada's first military involvement beyond the ceasefire related to the coalition Operation PROVIDE COMFORT. The Kurdish people occupy areas in southern

Turkey, northern Iraq, and western Iran. In March 1991, Iraqi Kurds rose up and attacked Iraqi forces. Within two weeks, the uprising was crushed and several hundred-thousand Kurds were driven into Turkey.³⁷ In a situation reminiscent of the Kosovo crisis of 1999 where Kosovar Albanians were driven into Macedonia, the presence of these Kurds in southern Turkey threatened to destabilize Turkish control with negative consequences for coalition operations.³⁸

Broadly stated and on the surface, Op PROVIDE COMFORT was a multinational humanitarian assistance operation designed to alleviate the suffering of some 300,000–700,000 people living in 43 separate locations in extremely inhospitable terrain. The security problem was multi-faceted: it included Iraqi military actions, threats from the Turkish DEFSOL terrorist group, and PKK (Turkish Kurds) terrorism. PROVIDE COMFORT included 10,926 military personnel from NATO countries plus Australia. It included nearly three light infantry brigades in addition to logistics, engineering, medical, and aviation assets.³⁹

Canada's initial response was to task a C-130 aircraft to transport relief supplies on behalf of the Canadian Red Cross.⁴⁰ The Department of External Affairs was then involved in discussions in NATO over the efficacy of providing security for the displaced Kurds. One concept under discussion among coalition members (Canada included) was a protective enclave in northern Iraq with the obvious conclusion that coalition forces would provide the security.⁴¹

The professional behaviour of 4 Canadian Mechanized Brigade's 4 Field Ambulance in Operation UNARMED WARRIOR during the 1990–91 phase led US European Command to ask Canada to send 4 Field Ambulance to join the efforts in Turkey. This request was granted and Operation ASSIST was launched. Canadian and American airlift moved 4 Field Ambulance from Lahr, Germany to the region where it used its Unimog ambulances and medical staff to help stabilize the situation in conjunction with coalition forces. Two Canadian C-130 transports joined the effort.⁴²

Op PROVIDE COMFORT had additional objectives, however, and Canada was kept apprised of them. A combined American-British-French plan to establish safe havens in northern Iraq using force was under consideration and this could only proceed once the humanitarian situation stabilized. The objective here was to "provide Kurds with [a] visible demonstration of protection to induce [the] population to move from the mountains to flat ground and humanitarian assistance camps." The tri-nation effort caught the UN secretary-general by surprise, particularly when it was "neither discussed within the Perm 5 nor having received segen approval at the time of the announcement. UK/France/USA maintain that UNSCR 688, para 6 ... provides legal basis for initiative."⁴³ Canada did not seriously object. Ultimately, the plan was to establish a UN peacekeeping force to protect the Kurds and replace the coalition force. Iraq was not willing to comply and started to make linkages between the lifting of sanctions and the presence of UN forces. The coalition was unwilling to succumb to such blackmail.⁴⁴ Indeed, "the UN was no match for coalition forces in being able to deploy logistics,

personnel, and funding quickly” and the UN peacekeeping force proposal was shelved.⁴⁵

Op PROVIDE COMFORT included an armed component from its inception to December 1991. On 10 April, Iraq was warned not to interfere with any coalition activity in northern Iraq and a no-fly zone was established north of the 36th parallel. On occasion, coalition aircraft were engaged by Iraqi air defence forces.⁴⁶

These facts were understood by those formulating Canadian policy toward the Persian Gulf region. Though small and innocuous, Op ASSIST contributed to coalition objectives which were related to putting pressure on the Hussein regime to comply with UN Security Council resolutions.

It was clear to those who realistically viewed the situation that the development of any Kurdish enclave in northern Iraq protected by coalition forces could have other purposes. For example, Iraqi sanctions-busting operations used routes through the mountainous region to sell oil illegally to recipients in Turkey. If it was possible to smuggle oil out, it was equally possible to smuggle UN-banned materials, specifically WMD materials, in. Observing and interdicting such activity contributed to UN and coalition objectives. In a less benign view, such an enclave could be used as a base for further anti-Hussein operations. And it was.⁴⁷

For example, covert intelligence support was provided to pro-western Kurdish factions to assist in their operations against other Iranian and Iraqi-backed factions. In 1995, an elaborate *coup d'état* attempt was coordinated by CIA assets operating from Qalat Cholani and Irbil. Information on Iraqi troop movements in northern Iraq was also collected, with an eye toward providing early warning if Iraq attacked Turkey or its other neighbours. Iraqi officers were recruited, including one with detailed information on Iraq's WMD programs and the location of hidden SCUDs which were eluding UNSCOM. CIA personnel were even involved in UNMO-like tasks to arrange truces and ceasefires between Kurdish KDP and PUK factions. These operations also related to maintaining connections between a functional Iraqi opposition outside the country and its supporters still based in Iraq.⁴⁸

Operation RECORD: UNIKOM

The United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) is an often overlooked component of the strategy to contain the Hussein regime. UNIKOM's mandate was established under UNSCR 687 and included monitoring of the Khawt Abd Allah and the demilitarized zone (DMZ); deterring violations through presence in and surveillance of the DMZ; and observing any hostile or potentially hostile action. A further UNSCR, 806, reinforced UNIKOM with an infantry battalion to prevent or redress small-scale violations of the DMZ; violations of the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait; and to deal with “problems that might arise

from the presence of Iraqi installations and Iraqi citizens and their assets in the DMZ on the Kuwaiti side of the newly-demarcated boundary.”⁴⁹

On the surface, UNIKOM resembles traditional UN interpositional peace-keeping operations like UNEF and UNFICYP (at least in its post-1974 incarnation). For example, UNIKOM’s personnel wear blue helmets or berets, they patrol a demilitarized zone and report to New York. Canadian involvement with and observations on the process by which UNIKOM was created, however, tell a slightly different story.

Canada was excluded from UNIKOM planning by Marrack Goulding at the UN in February 1991 since Canada was, in Goulding’s view “a belligerent.” Pressure brought to bear by Ambassador Yves Fortier eventually permitted Canadian involvement in the planning process.⁵⁰ At the same time, contingency planning in NDHQ included the possibility of making a combat engineer unit available for humanitarian relief operations in Kuwait or Iraq. There was also an option to send in an engineer unit to augment the field hospital. Neither option was under UN auspices and the exact origin of the request for the contingency plans is obscure.⁵¹ It is likely that they were related to their American and British counterpart plans which were designed to restore essential services and facilitate the resumption of power by the Kuwaiti government to stabilize the war-damaged country. British motivation was multi-faceted: they were also after potentially lucrative reconstruction contracts which were also connected to maintaining British influence in the Gulf region.⁵² Whether Canada’s Department of External Affairs was capable of similar thinking remains open to speculation: Operation PROMENADE (see below) and the attempt to sell Saudi Arabia Canadian Patrol Frigates indicated that it was.

When UNSCR 687 was passed on 3 April 1991, a quick and informal assessment of how it might have an impact on CF operations indicated that if a peacekeeping force was deployed, it would be structured to not only monitor the DMZ but also to deter violations of the boundary. There was still no indication as to whether Canada could participate or not. As an adjunct to a DMZ force, the resolution called for the creation of a UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) to conduct on-site inspection of Iraq’s WMD capability and then destroy it within 45 days. Canada could contribute a number of capabilities, mostly in the intelligence area. As for sanctions enforcement, the exact impact was difficult to determine for the CF, but a DDH, possibly HMCS *Huron* and her helicopters could be made available.⁵³

Over time, the plan for the UN force structure made its way into Canadian hands. It called for three 650-man infantry battalions, a 300-man engineer unit, and 100 military observers.⁵⁴ By 5 April 1991, the UN secretary-general changed his mind with regard to “belligerent” participation in UN operations subsequent to the end of the 1990–91 round of the Gulf War. Indeed, Canadian arguments that the Gulf War was in fact a “UN enforcement action” and was not incompatible with UN peacekeeping appear to have played a role in this change.⁵⁵ In

anticipation of a UN request, DND determined that Canada could provide an infantry company, UNMOs, and combat engineers to the force. The company was to come from the UNFICYP commitment in Cyprus. The CDS approved such a deployment if the UN asked for it.⁵⁶

Then the P5 killed the inclusion of the infantry battalions, apparently due to cost, but increased the number of observers to 300. Informally, Canada was sounded out about providing ten UNMOs, a combat engineer troop for explosive ordnance disposal (EOD), and “advice on [the] possible use of overhead remote sensing technologies as an aid to the observation function.”⁵⁷

This last request produced betrayed overlap in function between the projected UNIKOM and UNSCOM. The Arms Control and Disarmament Division of External Affairs saw this as an opportunity to raise its profile and generated paperwork indicating that Canadian “aerial and space-based systems” could be used to satisfy the need to handle boundary demarcation, DMZ monitoring, removal and destruction of WMD, monitoring of specified armaments and embargo operations.⁵⁸ Despite this manoeuvre, DND planners concluded that the Canadian UNIKOM contribution could eventually include a portion of the planned 1,440 personnel: an engineer unit, and infantry company, an aviation element, and logistics support.⁵⁹ In the end, however, Canada deployed a 300-man combat engineer regiment on two rotations (1 CER for the first deployment) and smaller sub-units after a year which functioned as the force engineer unit. Its stated purpose was to clear routes and destroy unexploded ordnance which interfered with UNIKOM’s observation function.⁶⁰

There is some question, however, whether UNIKOM was in fact a peacekeeping mission or not. It is clear that Canada understood that UNIKOM was different from its inception: the original Canadian discussions recognize that UNIKOM’s DMZ projects ten kilometers into Iraq and only five into Kuwait (see Figure 1). The force was to be totally based in Kuwait. It was also not a traditional “Chapter 6” peacekeeping operation and this was well-known to DND policy personnel and the minister of national defence.

UNIKOM was ... established under Chapter 7 of the Charter of the United Nations, which deals with enforcement action. This is logical, as the coalition action against Iraq had also been undertaken under Chapter 7, but it is an innovation for a peacekeeping mission.... The other innovation was the doubtful nature of Iraq’s consent to the establishment of the force: historically, stress has always been laid in the peacekeeping missions on the consent of the parties in the dispute.⁶¹

The structure of the force and its mandate belies a traditional peacekeeping operation. When one combines the facts, it is easy to conclude that UNIKOM essentially turns Kuwait into one big UN Protected Area. The DMZ plus the surveillance capabilities afforded by the UNMOs and “overhead remote sensing” can be easily interpreted as a “thin blue line” trip-wire which is in place to warn Kuwait and, not coincidentally, American and British forces stationed in the region if Iraq makes any aggressive moves in Kuwait’s direction.

The provision of Canadian UNMOs and combat engineers clearly indicates that Canada supported the concept of UNIKOM, that is, containing the Hussein regime's aggression and providing demonstrative substance to the international community's presence to warn and deter.

UNIKOM continues to play an important role in the post-war activities of the United Nations in Iraq and Kuwait. The continued presence of the peacekeeping force is necessary to prevent any deterioration of the current situation and the contribution made by the Canadian field engineer contingent helps make this possible.⁶²

It is also possible that a complementary Canadian domestic political objective was to claw back an incorrectly perceived "loss" of Canadian credibility within the UN by participating in the 1990–91 hostilities as a combatant. Certainly, the opposition was highly critical of Canadian combat operations since they argued that it would "damage" Canada's peacekeeping image.⁶³ UNIKOM looked like a UN peacekeeping operation. To all but the extremely educated observer it was, but Canada's low-key role served a number of other purposes.

UNIKOM and Operation RECORD was no "flash in the pan" or "optics" device. Even though the engineers were withdrawn by 1994, Canada continued to demonstrate its support by boosting the number of UNMOs. Canadian regional policy in External Affairs and DND by 1994 was based on the belief that:

As a result of a small number of Iraqi violations of the border in January 1993, the Security Council expanded the terms of reference of UNIKOM. This included the capacity to take action to prevent or redress small scale violations of the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait or problems that might arise from the presence of Iraqi installations ... in the DMZ ... to accomplish this [UNIKOM] was augmented with an infantry battalion in October 1993. The present calm along the Iraq-Kuwait border *should not obscure the fact that tensions persist and full peace has yet to be restored to the area.* We consider that the presence of UNIKOM remains an important factor of stability along the border in this particularly sensitive part of the Middle East/Gulf region [emphasis mine].⁶⁴

For whatever reasons, Canadian analysts in NDHQ downplayed the serious nature of these violations. Iraq continued to operate air defence systems south of the 32nd parallel against coalition aircraft and Iraqi troops repeatedly violated the UNIKOM buffer zone. President George Bush ordered punitive air strikes against 32 anti-aircraft missile and gun sites, as well as their direction and command centres, in retaliation.⁶⁵

Canadian UNMOs in UNIKOM were deployed throughout the 1990s because of the "foreseeable need to maintain a [Canadian] presence in the Middle East/Gulf region."⁶⁶

Operation FORUM: UNSCOM

UNSCOM was established under UNSCR 687. As a condition of the ceasefire agreement, Iraq agreed that a UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) would be

permitted to supervise the elimination of Iraq's nuclear, biological, chemical, and long-range ballistic missile capabilities. The UNSCR mandate was to conduct "immediate on-site inspections and destruction ... based on Iraq's declared stock-piles and locations." UNSCOM tasks were to include:⁶⁷

- Destroy, remove or render harmless all chemical and biological weapons as well as all stocks of agents and related subsystems, including all research and development, support and manufacturing facility items.
- Supervise the destruction of all ballistic missiles with a range of 150 km or greater, as well as all related parts, maintenance, and manufacturing facilities.
- Assist the UN secretary-general in implementing the plan for long-term monitoring and verification of Iraq's continued compliance with its undertaking not to use, develop, construct or acquire prohibited equipment.
- Assist the International Atomic Energy Agency with conducting on-site inspection of Iraq's nuclear capabilities and destroy or render harmless all nuclear weapons.

Canadian participation in UNSCOM flowed from the discussions over UNIKOM, arms control, and sanctions enforcement. It is clear that arms control mavens in External Affairs and DND were anxious to have Canadians in UNSCOM and that their initial analysis betrayed no understanding about the relationship between potential Canadian efforts and what was actually happening in Iraq or why.⁶⁸ The reasons appear to be multi-faceted, but were related to internal bureaucratic power expansion as much as containing the Hussein regime. The long-standing confusion in Canadian policy between the goals of arms control and disarmament and attempts to ensure the continuance of organizations created to handle NATO-Warsaw Pact arms control in the post-Cold War era were probable factors.⁶⁹

The exact numbers of Canadian Forces personnel who served with UNSCOM fluctuated. Documentation from DND indicates that 12 Canadians were earmarked to be part of Operation FORUM, but not all deployed to Iraq proper at once. These people served in a number of UN or IAEA arms control or disarmament capacities, though from 1994 to 1995, at least seven military personnel were involved directly with UNSCOM, in addition to Foreign Affairs personnel.⁷⁰

In 1994, for example, DND personnel served with UNSCOM's Chemical Destruction Group (chemical monitor positions); the Inspection Staff (nuclear, biological and chemical specialists, team leaders, and safety chiefs); and Inspection Support (photo interpreters, explosive ordnance disposal reconnaissance and disposal). A number of ballistic missile specialists and medical personnel also served.⁷¹

On a number of occasions Canadian UNSCOM personnel were involved in inspecting Iraqi SA-2 surface-to-air missile stocks. SA-2 GUIDELINE missiles are obsolescent Soviet-era weapons. There was legitimate concern that these long

missiles could be modified to deliver biological or chemical weapons. Such modifications were easily within Iraq's technological capabilities. There is a significant amount of open space in an SA-2 airframe: all that is required is a timer to cut off the fuel, more fuel tanks, and a nose-cone capable of carrying the biological or chemical agent. Essentially, the SA-2 SAM could be converted into a free flight surface-to-surface rocket with a deadly cargo that can be dispersed over a wide area. The SA-2 is mounted on a mobile launcher and can be readied for firing in 45 minutes. Canadian inspectors, released from the Canadian Forces and contracted to DFAIT, underwent special training in the United States at Huntsville, Alabama. They then deployed as part of UNSCOM and subsequently examined and tagged some 200 or 300 SA-2s to keep track of them.⁷²

Another factor in continuing Canadian participation in UNSCOM throughout the 1990s was that External Affairs was responding to an agency or ally who evidently thought that Canada could play a useful role on behalf of that agency or ally in influencing the structure and operations of UNSCOM through Canadian participation.⁷³ The purposes behind this request must remain speculative but it is logical to suggest that the ally was the United States and/or the United Kingdom. The extent of Canadian influence on UNSCOM structure is unknown, with the exception of the Information Assessment Unit established by UNSCOM's Rolf Ekeus.

The relationship between UNSCOM and national intelligence agencies became a *cause celebre* and was used as a propaganda lever by Saddam Hussein to excuse his non-compliance with the UNSCRs at various times, but most particularly after 1995.⁷⁴ Yet portrayal of UNSCOM as a mere tool of such agencies is too simplistic: that UNSCOM serves national purposes is not unusual, particularly if the national members through the UN deem that UNSCOM's activities serve everybody. Tim Trevan, an UNSCOM inspector, explains this in relation to Canada's role.

[Ekeus] assembl[ed] an Information Assessment Unit (IAU) so that UNSCOM could in future independently assess both Iraq's declarations and the various other intelligence reaching the commission. Geoff St John was recruited from Canada to head up this operation, Roger Hill from Australia, Patrice Palanque from France, and Scott Ritter from the US. The nationalities of these expert analysts was no accident. Given the sensitivity of the intelligence received, and its provenance (the vast majority from US or British sources at that stage) the decision was made to recruit from CANUKUS countries. To do otherwise would have meant that UNSCOM would simply have received much less intelligence, the providers being unwilling to hand over intelligence to countries they did not trust.⁷⁵

Canada clearly wanted UNSCOM to be as effective as possible.

The nature of UNSCOM operations in the 1990s was unlike that of any arms control verification mission undertaken by Canadians. The situation facing UNSCOM in Iraq is best characterized by UNSCOM inspector Scott Ritter.

Iraq had refused us access, defying UNSCOM and the Security Council and threatening the safety of the inspectors. Mass demonstrations of thousands of civilians, who had been handed eggs and vegetables by the eggs and vegetables quartermasters of the regime, had pelted us as we sat in our cars. This onslaught had failed to pry us loose from the perimeter of the ministry, and now the Iraqis tried a more direct tactic. They assaulted us with skewers and knives. Unarmed and with no mandate of self-defense, the team had no choice but to withdraw.⁷⁶

UNSCOM inspections were subjected to varying forms of harassment short of lethal military force and became an elaborate political theatre staged by the Hussein regime: "UNSCOM became convinced that, in 1991, Iraq had decided to create a 'concealment mechanism' designed to hide documents, computer records, and possibly items of equipment related to WMD prohibited under UNSCR 687."⁷⁷

This forced UNSCOM teams to use surprise inspection tactics, U-2 reconnaissance plane imagery, and other means to outwit the Special Security Organization and Special Republican Guard. This continuous cat and mouse game lasted from 1991 to 1998, when UNSCOM was finally withdrawn and the Operation DESERT FOX bombing commenced in December 1998.⁷⁸

UNSCOM, with effective Canadian participation, succeeded in destroying the following:⁷⁹

- 38,000 chemical weapons munitions;
- 480,000 litres of chemical agents;
- 48 operational ballistic missiles;
- six TEL's for those missiles (Transporter-Erector- Launcher vehicles);
- 30 BW and CW warheads for those missiles;
- large quantities of CW production equipment; and
- the Al Hakam BW factory, which was capable of producing 50,000 litres of anthrax and botulism.

UNSCOM also destroyed the (undeclared) Iraqi 350 mm Supergun, which ironically was designed by Canadian ballistics genius Gerald Bull. Bull had been assassinated either by Israel or Iraq for his efforts in this area.⁸⁰

UNSCOM also uncovered the Iraqi VX nerve gas program and its ability to produce VX on an industrial scale. Inspections also revealed that:

Iraq produced 19,000 litres of botulinium, 8,400 litres of anthrax, 2,000 litres of aflatoxin (which causes liver cancer) and clostridium (gas gangrene). Iraq has admitted filling ballistic missile warheads and bombs with the first three of these agents. These weapons, Iraq claims, were subsequently destroyed. It denied the existence of all these biological agents until April 1995.⁸¹

On the nuclear weapon front, the IAEA inspectors discovered that Iraq:⁸²

1. Imported a variety of uranium products from Italy, Russia, France, Portugal, Niger, and Brazil.

2. Produced its own uranium products.
3. Planned to divert highly enriched uranium that was subjected to IAEA safeguards and use the material in the production of a nuclear weapon.
4. Separated five grams of plutonium at a laboratory-scale process line.
5. Experimented with high explosives to produce implosive shock waves and produced them.
6. Developed a 32-point electronic firing system and tested it.
7. Using open-source literature and theoretical studies ran various computer codes through Iraq's mainframe computer to adapt the codes and develop the physical constants for a nuclear weapon.
8. Was aware of more advanced weapons design concepts. [Most likely thermonuclear weapons and/or boosted fission weapons.]
9. Casted a uranium sphere of about five centimeter diameter, several hemispheres of similar size and a small number of rods weighing 1.2 kg per piece from which to machine sub-calibre munitions.
10. Considered two options for a delivery system: production of a derivative of the Al Hussein/Al Abbas missile designed to deliver a one-tonne warhead to a range of 650 km and to use an unmodified Al Hussein missile with a 300 km range.

Despite the valiant efforts of UNSCOM personnel, assessments conducted after 1998 indicate that:

without monitoring Iraq could produce CW and BW in weeks, a long range missile in a year, and a nuclear weapon in five years. Iraq could [also] produce up to 350 litres of weapons grade anthrax per week — enough to fill two missile warheads. It could produce mustard CW within weeks.⁸³

Unaccounted for WMD materials include:⁸⁴ (see Figures 2, 3, 4, 5)

- Up to 3,000 tonnes of precursor chemicals, 300 tonnes of which were unique to the production of VX nerve agent.
- Up to 360 tonnes of bulk CW agent, including 1.5 tonnes of VX.
- Over 30,000 special munitions for delivery of chemical and biological agents.
- Growth media for Anthrax which is enough to produce three times the amount of anthrax Iraq admits to having made.

An IAEA analysis released in April 2002 indicated that in the nuclear weapons field, Iraq “was at the threshold of success in the production of HEU and the fabrication of the explosive package for a nuclear weapon.”⁸⁵

Figure 2: Iraqi Biological Weapons

<i>Disease</i>	<i>Weapon</i>	<i>Incubation Period</i>	<i>Fatality Rate</i>	<i>Contagious?</i>	<i>Weapons Loading?</i>
Anthrax	Vapour or powder	1–5 days	90% when weaponized	No	Missile warheads, R-400 bombs, drop tanks, helicopter dispersal
Botulism	Vapour or powder	2–36 hours	65%	No	Missile warheads and R-400 bombs
Gas Gangrene	Vapour or mist	2–36 hours	25%	No	Unknown
Aflatoxin	Powder or vapour	Hours to years	Unknown	No	Missile warheads and R-400 bombs
Ricin	Powder or vapour	10 hours	Unknown	No	Used in field trials
Plague, pneumonic	Vapour or powder	2–5 days	95%	Extremely	Unknown
Smallpox Variola virus	Vapour or powder	12 days	25–40%	Extremely	Unknown

Sources: Anthony Cordesman, *Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Middle East* (Washington, DC: CSIS, 2001); Iraq Watch Fact Sheet: "WMD Profiles: Iraq's Biological Weapon Program."

As for delivery systems, Iraq had a number of existing missiles, and plans to combine systems of less than 150-km range to circumvent the UNSCR's ban on 150 km range missiles. Some analysts believe that two SCUD-B and up to 20 Al Hussein are unaccounted for, and that the Al Samoud (tested in 2000) and J-1 (tested in 1993) programs could provide Iraq with a more than adequate WMD delivery capability.⁸⁶ CIA analysis released in 2001 suggests that numerous L-29 jet trainer aircraft have been modified into unmanned aerial vehicles for the delivery of biological and chemical weapons and that:

pursuit of UN-permitted missiles [less than 150 km range] continues to allow Baghdad to develop technological improvements and infrastructure that could be applied to longer ranged missile program.... development of the liquid-propellant Al-Samoud SRBM probably is maturing ... [witness the appearance of four Al-Samoud TELs with airframes at the 31 December 2000 Al Aqsa parade.... Ababil-100 SRBM-two

Figure 3: Iraqi Missile Systems

<i>Missile</i>	<i>Max Range (km)</i>	<i>Payload (kg)</i>	<i>Status</i>
SCUD-B	300	770	800+ acquired in 1980s, at least 2 are unaccounted for
Al Hussein	650	500	At least 20 unaccounted for
Al Abbas	800–950	300–450	Abandoned in R&D phase, apparently
Condol II/BADR-2000	1,000+	350	Not produced as a complete missile, apparently
FK 120/Sakr 200	120	?	Plants unfinished during 1990–91 hostilities
Al Fahad	300 and 500 versions	190	21 flight tests claimed, 9 missiles destroyed by UNSCOM in 1991
Al Abid	Space launch vehicle	?	Tested in 1989: failed to separate
Tammuz I	2,000	200	Abandoned in design stage, apparently
Al Samoud	150–180	300	Flight tested in June 2000
Al Ababil	150	300	Apparently not yet flight tested
J-1	150+	?	Flight tested in 1993

Source: Iraq Watch Fact Sheet: “WMD Profiles: Iraq’s Missile Program”; JIC, *Iraq’s Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Assessment of the British Government* (September 2002).

such airframes were [also] paraded on 31 December. If economic sanctions against Iraq were lifted Baghdad probably would increase its attempts to acquire missile-related items from foreign sources regardless of any future UN monitoring.... Iraq probably retains a small, covert force of SCUD-type missiles.⁸⁷

Indeed, the 1995 interception in Jordan of 240 missile guidance gyroscopes removed from dismantled Russian SS-N-18 submarine-launched ballistic missiles is an indication of how important the Maritime Interdiction Force and its significant Canadian contribution is in the effort to block the Hussein regime from covert WMD development.⁸⁸

The British government’s September 2002 “dossier,” *Iraq’s Weapons of Mass Destruction* only confirmed and refined the existing available information of Iraqi

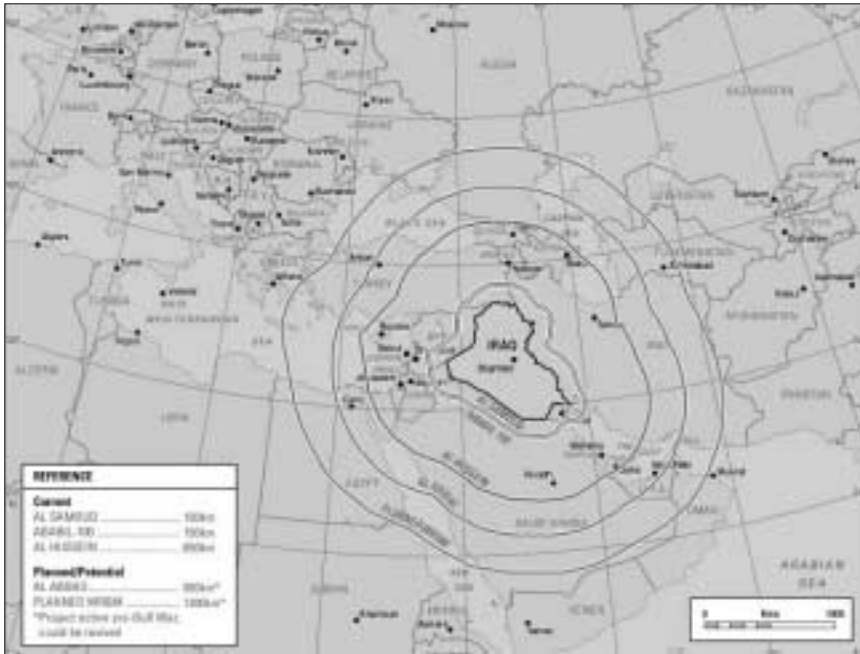
Figure 4: Iraqi Chemical Weapons

<i>CW Agent</i>	<i>Declared by Iraq (Metric tons)</i>	<i>Unaccounted for Chemicals</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
VX nerve agent	4	1.5 tonnes of bulk CW agent 300 tonnes of precursor chemicals	Iraq lied about VX production until 1995 defections disclosed program.
Sarin nerve agent	100–150	360 tonnes of bulk CW agent 3,000 tonnes of precursor chemicals	
HD blister agent (Mustard)	500–600	200 tonnes (est)	
<i>Delivery System</i>	<i>Estimated Pre-1990 Numbers</i>	<i>Unaccounted for</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Missile warheads for Al-Hussein	75–100	45–70	UNSCOM destroyed 30 CW/BW warheads
Rockets	100,000	15,000–25,000	UNSCOM destroyed 28,000
Aerial bombs	16,000	2,000	
Artillery shells	30,000	15,000	
Aerial spray tanks	?	?	

Sources: Anthony Cordesman, *Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Middle East* (Washington, DC: CSIS, 2001); JIC, *Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Assessment of the British Government* (September 2002).

WMD capabilities. For example, the number of estimated concealed ballistic missiles changed from “up to 12” to “up to 20.” The “dossier” confirmed that the 1998 predictions on Iraqi capability were in fact valid, including the belief that the Hussein regime could acquire a limited nuclear capability within one to two years from 2001.⁸⁹

Unlike previous studies, however, *Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction* added possible intent to capability. Why was Hussein so obsessed with retaining a WMD capability?

Figure 5: Iraqi Missile Ranges

Source: Joint Intelligence Committee, *Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Assessment of the British Government* (September 2002).

The intelligence also shows that the Iraqi leadership has been discussing a number of issues related to these weapons.... Saddam attached great importance to the possession of chemical and biological weapons which he regards as being the basis for Iraqi regional power. He believes that respect for Iraq rests on possession of these weapons and the missiles capable of delivering them ... Iraq's political weight would be diminished if Iraq's military power rested solely on its conventional military forces.⁹⁰

It should be also noted that *Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction* is the summation of a decade's worth of intelligence gathering and analysis and that it is highly likely that Canadian policymakers had access to the same information and conclusions through the CANUKUS intelligence-sharing mechanisms over the course of the 1990s. One could conclude that Canadian policy in the region as expressed through Canadian military operations was in part related to the serious Iraqi WMD problem and the threat it poses to regional stability and thus Canadian interests. Indeed, a CIA analyst argues that, with regard to Iraqi WMD, "the Saudi oilfields are a particularly worrisome target. A single well-placed nuclear weapon or several

less well targeted nuclear weapons could wipe out 75 to 95 percent of all Saudi oil production ... it is unclear when that capacity could be restored; it could take decades.”⁹¹

Crisis Rhythm, 1993–1999

The nature of the war with Iraq in many ways resembles aspects of the Cold War between NATO and the Warsaw Pact: shows of force, covert operations, pre-deployed equipment and reinforcement exercises, and aggressive aerial intelligence gathering.⁹² Unlike the Cold War, the allied coalition actively engaged and continues to engage enemy targets with lethal military force on a regular basis: a form of coercive airpower or “Tomahawk Diplomacy.”⁹³ From 1993 to 1999, a distinct “crisis rhythm” between the coalition and the Hussein regime emerged. It is the context for continuing Canadian military engagement in the region, given that engagement’s unique operational characteristics.

With the draw down after the 1990–91 round of hostilities, the coalition ground presence in the region consisted mainly of American and Gulf Cooperation Council forces. Drawing on the NATO REFORGER and 1990 DESERT SHIELD experiences, the decision was made to station a complete pre-positioned set of equipment in Kuwait enough for a heavy mechanized brigade and pre-position an entire armoured brigade on ships stationed at Diego Garcia, Saipan, and Guam. This was in addition to the pre-positioned US Marine Corps mechanized division-equivalent stationed on maritime pre-positioning ships at Diego Garcia. By 1996, movement was made to pre-position another heavy armoured brigade in Qatar.⁹⁴

Just having the equipment in-theatre, clearly, is not enough of a deterrent. Therefore an annual exercise series, Exercise INTRINSIC ACTION was initiated in 1992 (DESERT SPRING replaced INTRINSIC ACTION by the late 1990s). A battalion-sized unit in the United States is selected, flown to Kuwait, married up with its equipment, and then conducts exercises. In addition to acclimatizing the earmarked units to the region, it serves as a deterrent manoeuvre by demonstrating that the coalition has the capability to respond promptly to Iraqi provocation.⁹⁵

In addition to pre-positioned equipment, there was Operation DESERT FALCON: this was the code-name for the deployment and maintenance of two Patriot air defence artillery battalions to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain in October 1991. DESERT FALCON is expressly designed to counter Iraqi ballistic missile attacks. It also includes a light infantry battalion, usually an airborne battalion, as a force protection unit.⁹⁶

In October 1994, the Hussein regime decided to test the international community’s resolve by moving significant mechanized forces toward the Kuwait border. The reasons for doing so, according to a former CIA analyst,

Faced with mounting internal threats, a deteriorating economic situation, and no relief in sight, Saddam decided to try and force the issue. At the beginning of October, Iraq issued a number of ominous warnings, promising unspecified consequences if the United Nations did not lift the sanctions at the next periodic review scheduled for October 10. To back up these threats, Saddam began mobilizing Republican Guard divisions on October 2 and sending them south to the border with Kuwait. Days later, US intelligence located elements of the Hammurabi and al-Nida Armoured Divisions in place north of the Kuwaiti border (the same area from which the Republican Guard had launched the August 1990 invasion) ... Along with the regular army divisions permanently deployed near Kuwait, this amounted to roughly 80,000 troops. To this day we do not know what Saddam's intentions were.... there is strong evidence that Saddam actually intended to invade Kuwait again, to try and force the United Nations to agree to a lifting of the sanctions.⁹⁷

The UN Security Council condemned these activities and passed Resolution 949. This resolution instructed Iraq not to threaten its neighbours, prohibited it from enhancing its military capabilities in southern Iraq opposite Kuwait, and ordered it to cease interference with UNSCOM activities.⁹⁸

Led by the United States, coalition forces embarked on Operation VIGILANT WARRIOR from October to December. The operation's stated purpose was "to prohibit the further enhancement of Iraqi military capabilities in southern Iraq, to compel the redeployment of Iraqi forces north of the 32nd parallel, and to demonstrate US/coalition resolve in enforcing [UNSC] resolutions."⁹⁹

Operation VIGILANT WARRIOR was massive in scope. Over 28,000 American troops were flown into the region, including the bulk of the 24th Infantry Division. Pre-positioned ships were deployed, as well as the 15th Marine Expeditionary Unit aboard the USS *Tripoli* Amphibious Readiness Group. Some 200 additional American aircraft deployed, plus over 100 other coalition aircraft, mostly from France and the United Kingdom. The British commitment, Operation DRIVER, included large portions of a Royal Marine brigade. Some 20 non-American coalition warships were also deployed to support VIGILANT WARRIOR.¹⁰⁰ The Hussein regime caved in and by November withdrew forces north of the 32nd parallel.

During VIGILANT WARRIOR, the Canadian Forces, with Foreign Affairs (the name changed in 1993) understanding, developed a number of contingency plans to contribute to a military response. One of these was to increase the number of Canadian UNMOs in UNIKOM to increase surveillance capabilities.¹⁰¹ The others probably involved varying levels of naval activity in support of the MIF, leading to Operations PROMENADE and TRANQUILLITY (see below).

The next beat occurred in 1995. Iraqi defectors indicated to intelligence sources that the Hussein regime was preparing to attack Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.¹⁰² Alarming intelligence indicators also included unusual movements of mechanized forces which were re-deployed to menace Jordan. The USS *Theodore Roosevelt* carrier battle group and an amphibious ready group was moved to positions off Israel and in the Red Sea.¹⁰³

Operation VIGILANT SENTINEL was activated in August 1995. Three more carrier battle groups, another amphibious ready group with the 11th Marine Expeditionary Unit embarked, as well as USMC maritime pre-positioning ships were activated and deployed to the region. A US Army heavy brigade deployed by air to pre-positioned equipment in Kuwait. Exercise BRIGHT STAR, a regular joint exercise held in Egypt involving six nations was accelerated to cover Jordan.¹⁰⁴ Iraq then withdrew its forces and VIGILANT SENTINEL wound down in December.

US forces in Saudi Arabia were then subjected to two terrorist attacks. The first occurred in Riyadh on 15 November 1995 when a support complex was bombed (five killed) and the second was the Khobar Towers barracks bombing in June 1996 (19 killed). Operation DESERT FOCUS was conducted by American and Saudi forces to support intelligence efforts to track down terrorist cells and determine if there was any connection between the Iraq War and the attacks or if they were the work of other organizations. These attacks were not perceived to be random events and were considered to be asymmetric attacks probably related to operations against Iraq and designed to interfere with the American-Saudi Arabian relationship.¹⁰⁵ The perpetrators, their specific motives beyond the expulsion of coalition military forces from Saudi Arabia remain obscure.¹⁰⁶

The next round of coalition military activity was Operation DESERT STRIKE which was conducted in September 1996. The lead-up for DESERT STRIKE involved the Byzantine rivalries and politics in and around the Kurdish-held regions of northern Iraq. The two primary Kurdish factions, the KDP led by Masoud Barzani and the PUK led by Jalal Talibani, were unable to sort out their differences. The KDP had Turkish backing (the KDP assisted Turkey in tracking down members of the radical PKK Kurdish terrorist group) and the Turks were antagonistic toward the PUK, which developed a relationship with Iran. In the summer of 1996, Iranian military forces entered PUK-held Iraqi territory tracking down members of KDP-I, which was the Kurdish separatist movement inside Iran. The KDP then requested Iraqi military support. Two Iraqi mechanized divisions attacked into Kurdish territory and seized Irbil from the PUK in August. Hundreds of anti-Hussein Kurds being trained by western covert operations personnel were executed.¹⁰⁷

The coalition Military Coordination Center and Foreign Disaster Assistance office in the Kurdish region were hastily withdrawn. Operation QUICK TRANSIT was swiftly implemented by the US Air Force to evacuate 2,700 Kurdish personnel and their families to Guam. Emboldened by the seizure of Irbil, the Iraqi army attacked Shi'a settlements in southern Iraq. It was unclear how limited these operations would be and whether they posed a threat to Kuwait.¹⁰⁸

The American administration, in consultation with the other members of the coalition, expanded the SOUTHERN WATCH no-fly zone from the 33rd parallel to the 32nd. Iraq was warned to move its air defence assets out of the area. The

personnel for the armoured brigade pre-positioned in Kuwait were flown in, a squadron of F-117 was deployed to Kuwait, and a squadron of F-16L SAM-suppression aircraft was moved to Bahrain.¹⁰⁹

It is important to understand the relationship between air defence systems and ground operations. As the 1973 Yom Kippur War demonstrated, armoured and mechanized forces operating in open desert terrain are vulnerable to air strikes.¹¹⁰ These strikes are off-set by the deployment forward of missiles, radars, and anti-aircraft guns which provide an umbrella over the attacking mechanized forces. Such an umbrella, then, becomes a pre-condition for any offensive action. Therefore, if the air defence system is degraded, the ability to mount a mechanized attack is compromised.

On 3 September 1997, 14 Tomahawk cruise missiles launched from a US Navy surface action group and another 13 air-launched cruise missiles launched from B-52 bombers hit a variety of Iraqi targets and were designed to “significantly restrict Iraq’s ability to conduct offensive operations in the region and protect the safety of coalition aircraft enforcing [the no-fly zone].”¹¹¹ The next day, another 14 Tomahawks were fired from US Navy surface ships and a submarine. Operation SOUTHERN WATCH, which included British and French aircraft, went about their duty policing the no-fly zone. The French dissented with the expansion of the zone and did not fully participate (they ultimately withdrew from the no-fly zone enforcement operations by the late 1990s). PROVIDE COMFORT forces engaged Iraqi forces four times during this period in the northern area.¹¹²

The ongoing saga of UNSCOM access finally came to a head in 1998. Starting with the DESERT STRIKE period and continuing throughout the fall of 1997, Iraqi authorities became increasingly hostile toward UNSCOM activities, particularly American and British personnel. The cat and mouse game continued for months and culminated with the very public blocking of the Ritter team in January 1998. UN diplomacy relating to UNSCOM access to the so-called presidential sites (large cordoned-off areas used in a shell game to conceal WMD materials) dragged out for the next seven months.¹¹³

In addition to interfering with UNSCOM activities, the Hussein regime continuously violated the no-fly zones and then threatened to shoot down the American U-2 reconnaissance aircraft supporting UNSCOM inspections. The initial American show of force included the deployment of two aircraft carrier battle groups to the region, half of an F-117 squadron to Kuwait, half a B-52 squadron to Diego Garcia, and an additional 32 combat aircraft to Bahrain.¹¹⁴

These deployments, called Operation DESERT THUNDER, were quickly augmented with the rapid deployment of a US mechanized brigade to Kuwait. The pre-positioned equipment for an additional US Army brigade and a US Marine brigade were also moved to the region. Throughout the fall of 1997, other coalition ground forces deployed, including Australian and New Zealand special operations forces; Argentine, Danish, and Hungarian medical units; a Polish

NBCW reconnaissance unit; and other ground commitments from the Czech Republic and Romania. Additional F-117s and B-52s were also moved in.¹¹⁵

On 13 November, UNSCOM was ordered out of Iraq, though a skeleton staff stayed behind in Baghdad, prompting a Security Council demand for continued UNSCOM access to all sites. In a bid to increase pressure on Iraq, more American troops were deployed to Kuwait in January 1998, which brought the DESERT THUNDER deployment up to 35,000 ground personnel. More and more coalition naval assets deployed to ensure that sanctions remained in place in the face of increased smuggling and other sanctions-busting activities. The United Kingdom, for example, brought in two aircraft carriers, HMS *Invincible* and HMS *Illustrious* and their escorts. Ultimately, 50 coalition ships and submarines and some 200 naval aircraft were available for DESERT THUNDER.¹¹⁶

Canada's contribution to DESERT THUNDER initially included the frigate HMCS *Ottawa* which was part of the MIF. As the situation with UNSCOM got worse in January 1998, the Canadian government decided to deploy the frigate HMCS *Toronto* which was working up with NATO's Standing Naval Force Atlantic (SNFL) off Portugal. In a high-speed transit to the Persian Gulf, *Toronto* stopped off at Crete to take on nuclear biological and chemical defence equipment as well as Anthrax vaccines for the crew. Once *Toronto* reached the Straits of Hormuz, she assumed "Weapons Posture Red" and was assigned to escort a tanker to Kuwait and then was moved to within one mile of Iraq's oil terminals.¹¹⁷

The government also decided to contribute two KCC-130 Hercules air-to-air refuelling aircraft. The unstable air-basing situation in the Gulf in the event of airstrikes increased the need for air-to-air refuelling. Each KCC-130 had the ability to refuel 40 fighters per day which would have been significant in a protracted air campaign.¹¹⁸

As tensions remained high in February and March 1998, diplomatic efforts by Richard Butler and Kofi Annan succeeded in getting UNSCOM back to work in Iraq. The Hussein regime caved in and the DESERT THUNDER deployment was slowly reduced throughout the first eight months of 1998. Then in August the Hussein regime stopped UNSCOM inspections. In September, Tariq Aziz demanded that the UN lift the economic sanctions and scale back UNSCOM activities. Richard Butler presented evidence that Iraq was not in compliance with UNSCRs and continued to actively thwart UNSCOM efforts. On 31 October, the Hussein regime ended all cooperation with UNSCOM. On 14 November, US B-52 bombers were in the air 20 minutes from their targets in Iraq when the Hussein regime announced that UNSCOM would be allowed back in. This bought Iraq another month.¹¹⁹

From 16 to 19 December 1998, British and American forces conducted Operation DESERT FOX (UK code name: Operation BOLTON). Fifteen B-52H bombers with cruise missiles, 15 F-117 stealth fighters, and the aircraft from the carriers

Carl Vinson and *Enterprise* participated as well as Jaguar and Tornado fighter-bombers of the RAF. A brigade was flown into Kuwait on an INTRINSIC ACTION rotation and the British brought in special operations forces.¹²⁰

DESERT FOX attacked 100 targets in four nights. It expended 325 Tomahawk and 90 air-launched cruise missiles, in addition to airstrikes conducted from adjacent countries and the aircraft carriers.¹²¹ Targets included:¹²²

- Iraq's air defence system.
- The command and control system Saddam Hussein used to direct his military and repress his people.
- The security forces and facilities to protect and hide his efforts to develop or maintain the deadly chemical and biological weapons. These are the forces which have worked to prevent the United Nations inspectors from doing their jobs.
- His military infrastructure, including the elite Republican Guard forces that pose the biggest threat to his neighbours and protect his weapons of mass destruction programs.
- The airfields and refinery that produce oil products which Iraq smuggles in violation of economic sanctions.
- The network of communications, intelligence, propaganda, and security service headquarters.
- The L-29 unmanned aerial vehicle base.
- Ballistic missile production facilities.

The military actions taken by the coalition from 1993 to 1998 were part of a "carrot and stick" approach. The calculus appears straightforward: Iraq must eliminate its WMD programs, stop menacing its neighbours, and cease repressive measures against its citizens. If it does, sanctions are lifted, the Gulf region is stabilized and life goes on. Saddam Hussein chose not to comply: the reasons for this choice remain speculative but are more likely than not related to maintaining personal power as well as related to holding himself up to the Arab world as the next Nassar or Saladin who can stand up to "the Crusaders."¹²³

After 1998, the crisis rhythm changed. UNSCOM was gone. Efforts to coerce and contain the Hussein regime shifted to the nearly daily engagements between the coalition air forces of NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH and the Iraqi air defence system. Though little information has emerged, it is likely that covert operations conducted in northern and southern Iraq have been conducted. The MIF's grip on sea-borne imports was tightened, and Canadian involvement in its operations increased. UNIKOM's personnel continued their hot desert watch.

The war to contain the Hussein regime was conducted on many fronts. In addition to the UN operations like UNIKOM and UNSCOM, Canada's ongoing military involvement in the region in other capacities was part of this war within this context.

Air Operations: NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH from 1991 to 1998

Operation NORTHERN WATCH (ONW) is essentially a re-named PROVIDE COMFORT as of 31 December 1996 (see Figure 6). ONW enforces a no-fly zone north of the 36th parallel and is designed to enforce Iraqi compliance with UNSCRs 678, 687, and 688.¹²⁴ UNSCR 688, as we will recall, specifically condemned the Hussein regime for brutally suppressing its civilian population in the north (the Kurds) and the south (the Shi'a muslims), as well as for widespread human rights abuses. The air operations conducted under the auspices of PROVIDE COMFORT and later NORTHERN WATCH were directly related to protecting the Kurdish enclave which was established in April-May 1991.

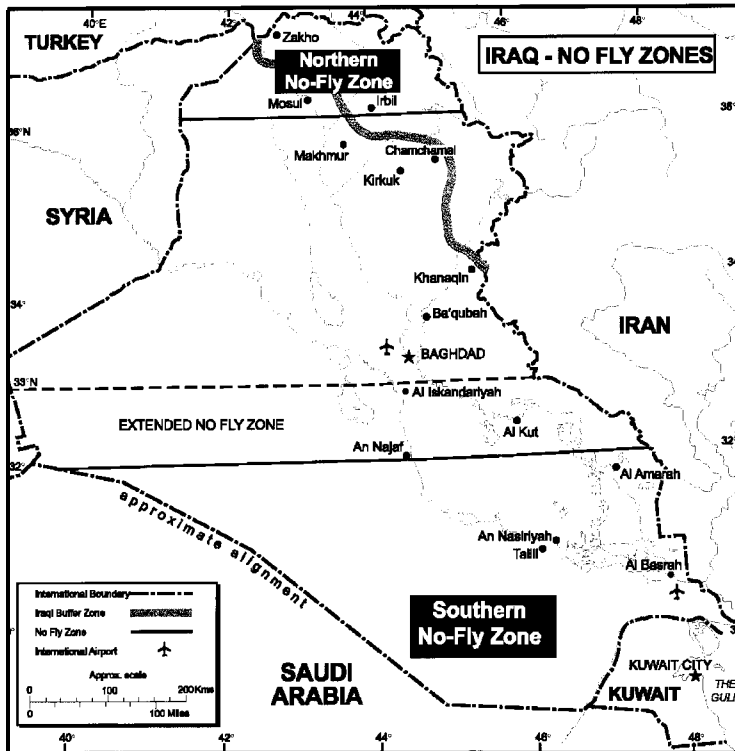
In general, PROVIDE COMFORT/NORTHERN WATCH was a quiet theatre until 1993. On 15 occasions from January to August, PROVIDE COMFORT aircraft were engaged by Iraqi air defence systems (radar lock-on, SAM firings, AAA firings) and responded 15 times. A typical example of this tit-for-tat game: on 17 January, Iraqi anti-aircraft artillery fired on two PROVIDE COMFORT F-16s. A nearby French Mirage reconnaissance aircraft was engaged, so an F-4G Wild Weasel fired an anti-radiation missile at the tracking station. Then an F-16 shot down an Iraqi MiG. US ships in the Persian Gulf then fired 45 Tomahawks at the Zarfaraniyah nuclear fabrication facility in retaliation.¹²⁵

Operation SOUTHERN WATCH was established in August 1992. Like PROVIDE COMFORT/NORTHERN WATCH, its purpose was to also to enforce UNSCR 688. Consequently, a no-fly zone was established south of the 32nd parallel.¹²⁶ Throughout early 1993, Iraq continued to defy the UNSCRs which produced responses like the employment of 75 French, British, and American aircraft against the air defence system on 18 January.¹²⁷ Time and again, coalition aircraft were engaged in an air defence war and the linkage between PROVIDE COMFORT/NORTHERN WATCH remained in place. In another incident in September 1996, Iraq launched a mechanized attack to support the Kurdish Democratic Party (see above). Thirteen ALCMs and 31 Tomahawks were launched against Iraqi targets, while SOUTHERN WATCH F-16s engaged air defence facilities with HARMs. The no-fly zone was then expanded north to the 33rd parallel.¹²⁸

In public announcements, coalition forces supporting NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH are usually listed as the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Turkey. These two operations are, however, highly dependent upon the use of E-3 Sentry AWACS aircraft to monitor the no-fly zone on a 24/7 basis and then direct combat aircraft to respond each time there is sufficient provocation. In briefing notes to the minister of national defence, Canadian participation in NORTHERN WATCH and SOUTHERN WATCH is clearly spelled out.

As part of Canada's commitment to NORAD, approximately 45 CF personnel are assigned to United States Air Force Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft. At any given time, a small number of CF personnel attached to AWACS

Figure 6: No-Fly Zones



Source: Central Command Fact Sheet.

aircraft from Tinker Air Force base in Oklahoma may be deployed for the monitoring of the No-Fly zone over Southern and Northern Iraq. The decision by France, the United Kingdom and the United States to impose and patrol No-Fly zones over Iraq is based on a combination of UNSC Resolutions 678 (29 Nov 90) and 688 (5 Apr 91).¹²⁹

At any given time in the 1990s, the Canadian contribution to NORTHERN and SOUTHERN WATCH was about seven personnel.¹³⁰ During the DESERT THUNDER phase of the war, this was probably increased to conform to the buildup in January-February 1998.¹³¹ When shooting incidents involving NORTHERN and SOUTHERN WATCH aircraft became nearly daily events after 1998, they must have been very busy directing retaliatory action.¹³²

General Tommy Franks explained in September 2000 the significance of Operations NORTHERN and SOUTHERN WATCH.

The no-fly zones are a key component of containment, and the aircrews who risk their lives daily by patrolling the skies of northern and southern Iraq are making

important contributions to US policy. For the Iraqi people who live in both the north and south, the no-fly zones provide a degree of protection from Saddam Hussein. The no-fly zones are a constant reminder of coalition resolve, and are thus a key component of America's deterrent posture. Moreover, by limiting training opportunities for the Iraqi air force, the no-fly zones have helped degrade Iraq's military capabilities. These operations also yield valuable intelligence concerning Iraqi forces, and provide an invaluable margin of early warning regarding potential threats to Kuwait. The additional warning margin afforded by the southern no-fly zone ensures that we are much better prepared today to deal with Iraqi threats to Kuwait than we were in 1990. In this regard, our readiness posture is aided by constraints on Iraqi ground deployments (thanks to the no-enhancement zone established in the south by UN Security Council Resolution 949 in October 1994).¹³³

Naval Operations: The MIF

As we have already seen, Canada contributed a three-ship task group to the Persian Gulf and assisted the coalition with another destroyer through SNFL operations. The Op FRICTION task group was assigned to Multinational Interception Force (MIF) operations enforcing UN sanctions against Iraq throughout 1990–91: these operations included monitoring shipping and boarding vessels of interest to ensure that contraband was not being delivered to Iraq. During the course of hostilities, the FRICTION task group shifted from embargo enforcement to power projection in support of the multinational force implementing DESERT STORM. This shift was connected to UNSCR 678 passed on 29 November 1991. The offensive support role remained in effect for the rest of the 1991 hostilities period.¹³⁴

HMCS *Huron*, a DDH-280 class destroyer with two Sea King helicopters embarked, left Halifax on 24 February 1991 for the Persian Gulf to relieve HMCS *Athabaskan*, which had reverted to the MIF sanctions enforcement role. The *Huron* deployment, called Operation FLAG, lasted from April to June 1991. The FRICTION task group redeployed to Canada on 7 April 1991.¹³⁵

The next Canadian commitment to the MIF was the DDE HMCS *Restigouche* which deployed to the Red Sea from March to June 1992 in order to monitor maritime traffic heading for Jordan (Operation BARRIER).¹³⁶ Jordan supported Iraq during the 1990–91 hostilities and functioned as an entry point for banned goods. Iraq's continued intransigence in cooperating with the UN Security Council resolutions throughout 1991, particularly those dealing with UNSCOM and the repression of the Kurdish and Shi'a communities, produced an increase in MIF activity in 1992. The Canadian government re-entered MIF operations to demonstrate its continued support for applying pressure to the Hussein regime.

In a 1997 report to Congress, the Clinton administration explained the importance of MIF operations and allied participation in it.

The [MIF] continues to enforce the sanctions regime against Iraq. In September and the first half of October four north-bound and five south-bound vessels were diverted to various ports in the Gulf for sanctions violations. Several of these vessels contained illegal cargo hidden beneath humanitarian shipments and over 3 million gallons of illegally exported Iraqi petroleum products were intercepted. The expeditious acceptance of these recent sanctions-violating vessels by Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates greatly contributed to our strong deterrent posture and provides further evidence that the MIF is a valuable resource in sanctions enforcement. We continue to meet one of our key foreign policy objectives by maintaining the multinational composition of the MIF. New Zealand recently sent a ship back to operate with the MIF; the United Kingdom maintains a nearly continuous presence with our forces in the northern Gulf; and we are hopeful that in early 1997 Canada, Belgium, and The Netherlands will all send ships to rejoin the MIF.¹³⁷

In general terms, MIF operations continued seamlessly from September 1990 throughout the decade. MIF contributors, including Canada, generally deployed destroyer or frigate-sized vessels. Primary contributors over the years were Australia, the United Kingdom, the United States, New Zealand, Argentina, the Netherlands, France, Italy, Belgium, Spain, Greece, Denmark, and Norway. Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates provided supporting facilities.¹³⁸

The FFH HMCS *Fredericton* conducted Operation PROMENADE in the Persian Gulf from February to April 1995, followed by the FFH HMCS *Calgary* from July to December (Operation TRANQUILLITY). These operations differed from FLAG and BARRIER in that they were the first deployment of the new Canadian Patrol Frigates (*Halifax*-class). In addition to MIF operations, the visits to the region, particularly *Calgary* to Kuwait, were “productive and very successful in showcasing [Canadian Patrol Frigate and Saint John Shipbuilding Limited] to the Kuwait Navy and in support of External Affairs initiatives to that part of the Gulf region” which involved using *Calgary* “as a platform for SJSJL Kuwait Off-shore Missile Vessel proposals and for Ambassador Poole to promote Canadian industry and technology.”¹³⁹

Operation TRANQUILLITY also served as the test bed for closer integration with the US Navy in its regional operations:

initially the challenge was to integrate [*Calgary*] into [Task Force 50] ... by day one of our MIF operations *Calgary* had been seamlessly integrated into the Fifth Fleet Area of Operations.... The second challenge for *Calgary* was the MIF operations themselves. The confined operating area, navigational hazards, proximity to potentially hostile nations, routine difficulties conducting hailings, smugglers, and sanction violators using the cover of darkness were some of the challenges.... the deep draft of the USN combatants does not allow them to operate at the mouth of the KAA or SAA. *Calgary*'s position on the tip of the spear successfully ensured day and night coverage of Iraqi waterways.¹⁴⁰

From February to August 1997, HMCS *Regina* deployed on Operation PREVENTION. Building on HMCS *Calgary*'s successes, *Regina* was integrated into

the USS *Abraham Lincoln* carrier battle group which was part of the MIF operations. Note that US Navy aircraft carriers and Tomahawk-armed cruisers and destroyers also supported Operation SOUTHERN WATCH in addition to MIF operations, so the two missions and support for them overlapped. In general terms, forces allocated to the MIF also ensured that the vital Straits of Hormuz were kept open, that is, acted in a sea control capacity as well as in a sanctions interdiction capacity.

“Integration” of a Canadian FFH and American carrier battle groups became the hallmark of successive Canadian MIF deployments. In public statements, the minister of national defence would regularly remark that:

The Canadian Forces have been participating in the enforcement of UN sanctions against Iraq for the past 10 years. Our contribution is important in promoting our national interests and is viewed as crucial by our allies.... This operation is extremely beneficial in ensuring our interoperability with our allies and particularly the United States. It will further strengthen our Navy’s relationship with the US Navy and reaffirm our commitment to peace and stability in this region.¹⁴¹

This is far different from the more rudimentary intercept and board operations conducted in the early 1990s and should be considered a significant evolution of Canada’s expression of interest in the region, though we must not forget that maintaining this level of interoperability serves a variety of other purposes in other areas like intelligence-sharing.

Operation PREVENTION gave way to Operation MERCATOR, the deployment of HMCS *Ottawa* throughout the last six months of 1998. *Ottawa*’s time in the Gulf coincided with Operation DESERT THUNDER and its Canadian component, Operation DETERMINATION. *Lincoln* and its battle group was engaged in the early stages of the show of force mission and then rotated out when two other aircraft carriers were brought into the region.¹⁴²

Starting in 1999, the integration of a Canadian frigate in the US carrier battle group operating as part of the MIF was permanently designated Operation AUGMENTATION. Between 1999 and 2001, four Canadian FFHs participated. The experiences of HMCS *Regina* (Op AUGMENTATION June-December 1999) were typical.

HMCS *Regina* set sail for her second patrol arriving in the Northern Arabian Gulf (NAG) on 30 September.... *Regina* found four smugglers in a holding area. These violators had been caught creeping out of Iraq under the cloak of darkness risking capture to cash in on the highly-priced oil market. Crammed full with crude oil these rickety tankers attempted to seek passage through the Battle Group to sell their cargo illegally. The *Constellation*’s Battle Group seized and diverted these four violators, where they awaited [diversion] to a port for prosecution. Never before had a Battle Group captured so many violators at one time.... This patrol also included two days of intensive MIO. A multi-national force consisting of *Regina*, two USN ships, a ship of the royal New Zealand Navy and several Kuwait naval and

Coast Guard vessels executed these Ops under the cloak of darkness. The intensive Op took place in the northern extremities of the Arabian Gulf. The ships launched their Rigid-Hulled Inflatable Boats for a co-ordinated take-down and search of three supervised cargo and oil smugglers that attempted to sneak past UN checkpoints. Several airborne helicopters supervised the take-down. All smugglers were apprehended and escorted to a holding area to await further processing.¹⁴³

HMCS *Regina* was also present in the region for the buildup to Operation DESERT FOX. The USS *Constellation* Battle Group covered off the SOUTHERN WATCH no-fly zone while simultaneously conducting MIF operations.¹⁴⁴

From June 2000 to October 2001, there were three Op AUGMENTATION rotations: HMCS *Calgary* (working with a US Navy surface task group); HMCS *Charlottetown* (USS *Harry S. Truman* Battle Group); and HMCS *Winnipeg* (USS *Constellation* Battle Group).¹⁴⁵ *Winnipeg*'s deployment was notable.

Of all the Canadian warships sent to the Gulf in the past decade, the *Winnipeg* has been the busiest, costing Saddam Hussein more money in lost oil revenue than in any other.... As one of the benefits of being a close friend of the United States, Canada is the only country permitted this close a working relationship.... The *Winnipeg*'s fleet commander, an American Rear Admiral, designated the Canadian ship "on-scene commander" of the northern portion of the Gulf for the week of June 17–24, a first for a Canadian warship. That essentially gave Commander Williams command of a fleet of his own, from four countries. He was responsible for five frigates and destroyers, three patrol boats, various helicopters and patrol planes and one US Navy SEAL team.¹⁴⁶

All US Navy carrier battle groups were engaged in enforcing Op SOUTHERN WATCH as well as conducting MIF operations.¹⁴⁷

What was the impact of the MIF and Operations SOUTHERN and NORTHERN WATCH? US Central Command commander in chief, General Anthony C. Zinni explained in 1998 that:

From a military point of view, it is clear that the sanctions regime established by the United Nations following Iraq's defeat in 1991 has had the effect of steadily eroding Iraq's conventional capability. In addition, it has seriously impeded Iraq's ability to reconstitute its massive program of development of weapons of mass destruction.... The sanctions have effectively prevented Iraq's military from modernizing.... we expect further erosion in readiness and capability.¹⁴⁸

As for the MIF:

The [MIF] in the Gulf, which acts according to Security Council resolutions to prevent the illegal export of Iraqi gasoil [sic], has been effective. Since 1 October 1994, 121 ships have been diverted for sanctions violations. The participation of the United Kingdom, Belgium, Canada, Australia, Italy and other coalition nations has made this operation a great success.... Alongside other coalition members, the rotating carrier battle groups, amphibious ready groups, cruise missile equipped ships and submarines enforce UN sanctions against Iraq.¹⁴⁹

A lot of attention has, over the years, been focused on the effects of sanctions on the Iraqi people by groups in Europe and North America who view the UN sanctions regime as inhumane. This attention has been accompanied by demands that the sanctions be lifted unilaterally and has also been accompanied by arguments from those wishing to excoriate the MIF participants. One regional analyst with intimate knowledge of the Hussein regime's behaviour on this matter argues that:

Iraq has launched an aggressive propaganda campaign to broadcast and exaggerate Iraq's humanitarian problems and blame them entirely on sanctions. Washington took these reports seriously and requested confirmation for the US intelligence community, which consistently reported three basic points: 1) there was unquestionable malnutrition and disease in Iraq, 2) the Iraqi government was also unquestionably manipulating and distorting the numbers, and 3) the Iraqi government had the funds to address these humanitarian problems. The intelligence agencies could also point to the slew of new palaces and military facilities Saddam was busily constructing as proof of the resources still available to the regime. Consequently, the administration's sentiment was that whatever additional suffering was occurring in Iraq was largely the result of Saddam's machinations.¹⁵⁰

5. *Is there a Canadian Strategy in the Persian Gulf Region?*

Is there a pattern to the Canadian Forces' regional involvement in the Persian Gulf or is this merely a list of reactive operations which have no connection other than geographic? It is extremely tempting to fall back on the simplistic argument that for the past ten or twelve years Canada has merely reacted to the requests of the United Nations and its organs for military forces to carry out the will of the Security Council. This assumes either a "chaos theory" of Canadian military commitment or that there is a defined UN strategy to deal with the Hussein regime and that Canada's interests are completely subordinated to it. Similar arguments may be advanced to suggest that Canada is merely reacting to American requests for involvement and that Canada has lost any freedom of manoeuvre by subordinating its actions to those of the Americans. Accepting that these positions are valid may comfort those who argue that Canadian action should always be subordinated to the United Nations or those who regularly decry "getting into bed with the Americans." Neither position permits Canada to have national interests nor a choice in the projection of its military power.

Any analysis of these questions must take into account Canada's unique approach to the employment of military forces within the context of Canadian strategic tradition. In doing so we perhaps need to move beyond generalized American or British conceptions of national strategy. It is first helpful to distinguish between three different yet overlapping elements.

Strategy, policy, and strategic tradition are all different, yet tend to be used by many commentators and analysts interchangeably. In an ideal sense, government sets foreign and defence policy, communicates it explicitly to those who must implement it and in theory the professional armed forces develop a coherent means of carrying that policy out globally and in-theatre with military forces: strategy and operations that are cast within the general tenets of the policy. There is then a dialogue between the policymakers and the strategy implementers over the course

of the conflict in question. Adjustments are made, and objectives met. Canada's conduct during the First and Second World Wars might fit into this model. The reality of the situation is that this model is too simplistic for application in the Canadian context after 1945, particularly when we are dealing with operations in the Persian Gulf in the 1990s.

This ideal model does not take into account the ambiguities of Canadian strategy development which involves Canadian strategic tradition and its unspoken yet very real influences.

Patterns of behaviour whether codified or not, emerge in those involved in making national security policy and serve as a basis for future activity. These patterns are usually interest-based.... each nation's unique geographic, economic and cultural circumstances remain constant.... Canada is part of North America — geographically an island continent — and is dominated by a nation ten times its size in population, Canada is vast, largely unpopulated and containing a great amount of natural wealth that cannot be defended by Canadian resources alone. Canada is not economically self-sufficient and must therefore trade. In part to avoid cultural and economic domination by its largest closest neighbour, Canada conducts international trade and is thus involved in the free market economies of the world.¹⁵¹

Four aspects of the Canadian strategic tradition emerge:¹⁵²

1. *Forward Security*: This is the deployment of Canadian military forces overseas to ensure that violent international activity is kept as far away from North America as possible and that Canadian interests overseas are protected.
2. *Coalition Warfare*: Canada has a comparatively small population and its industrial base is maximized for civilian purposes. Canada cannot generate large standing armed forces like its allies can.
3. *Operational Influence*: The ability to determine what deployed Canadian forces can and cannot do within the coalition and prevent their misuse by larger coalition members.
4. *Saliency*: Canada must have effective forces allocated to the coalition which have unique capabilities or employment which makes up for the lack of numbers and permits operational influence in the coalition command structures.

These strategic traditions are at least a century old and remain part of the equation in the commitment and use of Canadian forces overseas.

Let us turn to the Canadian strategy problem. The only times where Canada had a coherent national strategy were during the Second World War and for the first half of the Cold War. After 1970, however, the strategy formulation process was destroyed. Its replacement made for a great deal of confusion, not least among Canada's allies.

In essence, Canada's strategy in response to the last half of the Cold War was dominated by two defence White Papers, in 1971 and 1987. In effect, these DND

policy statements, approved by the governments of the day, posed as Canadian strategy. The military component in strategy formulation was completely subsumed by the Trudeau government's tampering with the professional civil service and the means by which Canada's senior uniformed representative gave professional advice to elected officials.¹⁵³ Foreign policy was set by an extremely vague and general 1970 series of policy statements, *Foreign Policy for Canadians*. All of these documents amounted to a misleading public "declaratory strategy" for Canada and did not seek to explain the real motives or mechanisms by which the Canadian government set its objectives and went about achieving them.

When the Cold War ended, the pattern repeated itself. The Mulroney government groped around for a time and conducted internal analysis of the new strategic environment, but did not bring forth a new policy or strategy. Only when the Chrétien government took over in 1993 did a new Defence White Paper emerge (1994), as well as a foreign policy statement (*Canada and the World*, 1995). These documents, however, are not strategy in that they do not allocate or balance military resources to achieve national interests. The 1994 White Paper and *Canada and the World* are documents that recognize that the world system has changed dramatically after 1990; they lay out some very broad principles (and hopes) for Canadian global activity, but do not specifically emphasize or give priority to one area over another. *Canada and the World*, however, contains strong elements of UN fetishism but without serious or detailed justification.¹⁵⁴

Consequently, any form of Canadian overseas military operation which was capable of actual implementation in the 1990s could be made to fit both the defence policy and the foreign policy. The practicality of this state of affairs is debatable, but its appeal is understandable. The 1994 and 1995 policy statements are hopelessly caught in between the "deep time" guidance provided by Canadian strategic tradition and something resembling Canadian strategy. They do not, therefore, serve as adequate explanations for the nature and conduct of Canadian military operations in pursuit of Canadian interests during the 1990–2002 Iraq War.

Let us examine an early attempt to come to grips with Canadian strategy and policy in the immediate post-Cold War period since it was one means to view Persian Gulf developments from a Canadian context. In late 1992, a paper called "Review of Defence Policy Governing Stability, Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Activities" was prepared by DND's assistant deputy minister (Policy and Communications). How influential this paper actually was could be debated, yet the ideas contained in it resonate with the problems of the day and it appears as though it served as part of the background for a 1993 meeting within the Privy Council Office intended to examine peacekeeping policy and Canadian Forces capabilities.¹⁵⁵ That the paper was classified "Secret" indicates that some degree of importance was attached to it (though we learned all about the tendency toward overclassification of material in the wake of the Somalia scandal).

Three defence priorities were envisioned based on a 1992 defence policy statement:¹⁵⁶ first, the defence of Canadian sovereignty and internal responsibilities; second, contribute to collective defence through NATO and the continental de-

fence relationship with the US; and third, contribute to peacekeeping and stability operations, arms control verification, and the provision of humanitarian assistance. The author and contributors understood that the strategic situation was dominated by “A New World Order more violent, anarchic, and fragmented than anticipated” and that there was in progress a “proliferation of regional conflicts ... with the UN overburdened.” It was also dominated by the fear of “proliferation of weapons and weapons technology attributable to the disintegration of the former Soviet Union” and that “economic globalization was now a factor.”

The paper noted that there was an emerging role for the UN. Notably, “In the wake of the Gulf War, the UN itself has greater confidence, UNIKOM is a form of imposed peacekeeping and there is a willingness to discuss preventative deployments and talk of peace enforcement units.” Similarly, “with increasing frequency the UN is prepared to entertain the idea of intervening in areas which would previously have been considered the purview of individual states.” Most importantly in relation to the Canadian Persian Gulf context, “the line between peacekeeping and peace enforcement is becoming more difficult to discern. Peacekeepers have always been able to use force in self-defence including protection of the purpose of the mission. In cases where there is a higher likelihood of peacekeepers being attacked, there is a corresponding greater likelihood of the need to use force in response. The basic distinction between the impartiality of peacekeeping operations and the partiality of enforcement operations still remains.” The Gulf War was seen by analysts in ADM(Policy and Communications) as a precedent for enforcement operations.¹⁵⁷

The characterization of the situation in Iraq as of October 1992 included the following points:¹⁵⁸

1. Hindering of UN inspectors, intimidation of Kurds, refusal to accept UN conditions for resuming oil exports, and attacks against Shi’a rebels together constitute a challenge of Security Council ceasefire agreements.
2. Iraq remains in a weakened position, weapons of mass destruction largely destroyed, Kurdish autonomy a reality.
3. Western establishment of an exclusion zone in the south barring flights of fixed-wing aircraft will further limit Iraqi options.
4. Threats to neighbours, despite rhetoric, remains relatively low, although pressure exerted by continued sanctions, looming partition of the country makes long-term vitality of regime difficult to predict.

It was, perhaps, overly optimistic in 1992 to suggest that coalition pressure would produce ethnic fragmentation and a regime change in the near future. The study also examined other areas of Canadian interest: former USSR, former Yugoslavia, and Somalia. Iraq was the third priority on the list of Canadian concerns after the former Yugoslavia.

To deal with conflict in the 1990s, four models of Canadian involvement were developed:¹⁵⁹

Cyprus: This model represents a situation in which a force is put in place to monitor an existing agreement.

Cambodia: The model is taken to represent a situation in which a major civic action-type program is required to create a semblance of order.

Yugoslavia/Somalia: This model represents a situation in which a force intervenes to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance and/or impose a ceasefire or settlement. An agreement may or may not exist and the intervention may require a degree of force or coercion.

Gulf model: At the high end of the spectrum is the Gulf War model in which a force is put in place to impose a settlement.

Collectively, these amounted to “stability operations” with only the Cyprus model actually equating to “peacekeeping” in the Canadian schema.

What can we distill from all of this? At the time Canada was significantly engaged in UNIKOM, UNSCOM, MIF, and AWACS operations, there was a recognition that they amounted to something that was not peacekeeping yet something that was not quite war. We can also conclude that regional stability in a number of areas around the globe was important to Canada and that the situation in Iraq was one of the priorities, though not the highest one in part due to an optimistic belief that the regime would collapse. There was also an inclination to use UN Security Council justification and UN mechanisms to accomplish Canadian objectives, but with the understanding that Canada was not necessarily going to be limited to UN-commanded mechanisms. We can also conclude that WMD proliferation was considered to be one of the most serious problems confronting global stability after the large number of conflicts raging about the newly de-communized world.

Let us posit that there was a Canadian global strategy that transcended the Mulroney and Chrétien periods of governance. Let us also suggest that there were two levels of this strategy. The first level is the inclination to commit forces to UN, NATO or other coalitions or activities that achieve or contribute to Canadian objectives, be they secret and internal or public and vague. The second level of Canadian strategy is the allocation, balancing, and sustaining of military resources to achieve those objectives, based on a fluid, changing, and mobile global situation. Let us further suggest that Canadian strategic tradition acted subliminally and that there was tacit understanding within DND and even DFAIT of these two levels of activity. Where would Canadian military operations in the Persian Gulf fit into this strategy?

Throughout the 1990s, Canada professed interests in Europe, Africa, the Caribbean, Pacific/Asia, Central/South America, and the Persian Gulf/Middle East. Canada, due to the comparatively small size of her military commitments, cannot

provide enough military forces to dominate the formulation of coalition regional strategy in each of these areas. In many cases, Operational Influence remained out of reach. Canada is therefore dependent on the agency that formulates the regional military strategy in each of those areas.

For the Balkans, that agency was the UN until 1995 and then NATO. For Central and South America, it was the UN and then only when it was involved in post-Cold War cleanup operations like ONUCA and ONUSAL. In Pacific/Asia, Australia was in the lead (INTERFET in East Timor and to a certain extent, UNTAC in Cambodia). For Africa, there was no regional strategy. Outside intervention was situational and reactive, with the UN dominating many of the processes but in a fragmented manner. In the Persian Gulf and in the Caribbean, the United States-led coalitions dominated regional strategy. The only area that Canada contributed to in the development of regional strategy was in the Balkans through NATO. It is not a coincidence that the bulk of Canadian military activity in the 1990s was in the Balkans and that there is a connection between participating in regional strategy and the numbers of forces involved.

If we envision the various regions that have Canadian stabilization commitments in them as “theatres of war” comparable to the European and Pacific Theatres of Operations during the Second World War, we could liken the Balkans to the “European” and the Persian Gulf to the “Pacific.” During the Second World War, Canada prioritized its commitments to Europe but remained engaged in the Pacific. The priority for Canada’s long-term commitment of military forces in the 1990s was the Balkans, the secondary was the Persian Gulf. Other operations like Haiti, Somalia, Rwanda, Cambodia, and East Timor were comparatively peripheral in nature to the two main efforts and were not sustained commitments (see Figure 7).

What gave the Balkans and the Persian Gulf regions priority over these other areas? Instability in the Balkans generated by a combination of ethnic tensions released after the Cold War and the designs of a totalitarian state (Serbia) threatened the de-communization process in eastern Europe and also threatened to generate problems between Turkey and Greece. After the United States, the European nations are collectively Canada’s next largest trading partners. Balkans operations are, in effect, an extension of Canadian-European stability operations going back to World War II.¹⁶⁰ In the Persian Gulf, the designs of a totalitarian state (Iraq) threatened the stability of an extremely volatile region which provides 65 percent of the world’s petroleum. Canada’s closest trading partners in a globalized economic system, the United States, Europe, and Japan, are dependent on a secure flow of petroleum for their industrial needs.¹⁶¹

Policymakers in DFAIT and DND understood throughout the 1990s the importance of these very basic facts. Canada’s most important interest in the Persian Gulf region is the continuous flow of oil through the Straits of Hormuz to Canada’s closest trading partners. If it were shut off, there would be an economic domino effect throughout the European and Japanese economies which would affect the

Figure 7: CF Operations by Region 1990–2000

Stab = stabilization		pk = peacekeeping		obs = peace observation	
Balkans					
HARMONY (Stab)	92	-----	95		
CAVALIER (Stab)	92	-----	95		
AIR BRIDGE (Stab)	92	-----	96		
SHARP GUARD (Stab)		93	-----	95	
ALLIANCE (Stab)			95	--	96
PALLADIUM (Stab)				96	----- ?
MIRADOR (Stab)				97	----- 99
BOLSTER (obs)	91	-----	94		
ALLIED FORCE (Stab)					99
KINETIC (Stab)					99 -- 00
FORAGE (Stab)					00
Persian Gulf/Middle East					
FRICITION (Stab)	90	--	91		
SCIMITAR (Stab)	90	--	91		
ASSIST (Stab)	91				
RECORD (Stab)	91	-----			99
MIO (Stab)	90	-----			?
FORUM (Obs)	91	-----			98
NORTH/SOUTH WATCH (Stab)	91	-----			?
DETERMINATION (Stab)					98
Asia/Pacific					
MARQUIS (pk)	92	--	93		
TOUCAN (Stab)					99 -- 00
Africa					
PYTHON (obs)	91	-----	94		
CORDON (Stab)	92	-----	94		
CONSONANCE (obs)		93	--	94	
LANCE/PASSAGE (pk)		94	-	95	
ASSURANCE (pk)				96	
PRUDANCE (pk)					98
REPTILE (obs)					99 ----- ?
CROCODILE (obs)					00 ----- ?
ADDITION (pk)					00 - 01
SCULPTURE (obs)					00 ----- ?
Central America/Caribbean					
SULTAN (obs)	89	-----	92		
MATCH (obs)	92	-----	95		
VISION (obs)					97
CAULDRON (Stab)		93			
FORWARD ACTION (Stab)		93	--	94	
PIVOT/STANDARD (Stab)			95	-----	97

North American economic system. Related to this was the belief that it is easier for Canada as an oil producer to go along with the existing oil industry pricing structure dominated by OPEC than it would be to establish mechanisms to compete with, say, Norway and Venezuela, particularly if the flow from the Persian Gulf was interrupted or cut off.¹⁶²

Connected to this is the diplomatic leverage (dare we suggest prestige?) that Canada enjoys when Canada is seen to be “on board” with the United States. There was a perception among Canadian policymakers that if Canada is contributing to an American-led effort, the effort *must* be important since Canada is no mere pawn of the United States and has in fact been antagonistic to American global aims at times. Naturally, this situation can be used in the ongoing Canada-US dialogue in a variety of ways profitable to Canada if leveraged properly.¹⁶³

There are potential and real spin-off economic benefits to Canada. Despite the failed bid to sell Canadian Patrol Frigates to Saudi Arabia, attempts were made, supported by DFAIT, to sell maritime patrol aircraft equipment, communications equipment developed by Computing Devices of Canada, light armoured vehicles made by GM Diesel Division, and other high technology goods produced by CAE to a number of GCC states. These moves specifically played off Canadian participation in regional presence and stabilization operations.¹⁶⁴

Peace process and humanitarian issues in the region were secondary efforts compared to these fundamental Canadian interests, but did contribute in some ways to achieving them. Indeed, the public emphasis by the foreign affairs punditocracy on Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy’s “human security” and “soft power” agenda would have Canadians believe that this policy was invented in 1996.¹⁶⁵ In fact, as we have seen in Operation PROVIDE COMFORT (and its Operation ASSIST component) in 1991 was the first of a series of armed humanitarian intervention missions that pre-date his tenure: it was followed by Bosnia in 1991, Somalia in 1993, Haiti in 1994, and others. The primary purposes of PROVIDE COMFORT, as we have seen, was to stabilize southern Turkey and establish a western-supported enclave in northern Iraq to put pressure on the Hussein regime through the use of humanitarian support backed up by military force.

The threat posed by the Hussein regime to Canadian interests was and remains obvious. Threats to Kuwait, Iran, and Saudi Arabia using military forces increases instability and fear. Repression of Kurds and Shi’a Arabs provides excuses and opportunities for outside intervention by non-coalition members in the region. Acquisition of weapons of mass destruction by Iraq provides a deterrent effect to coalition abilities to coerce Iraq to comply with UN Security Council resolutions. Indeed, WMD acquisition has prompted Iran to quietly work on its own programs. Israel maintains a nuclear capability to offset any “Islamic bomb” and will probably use its capability to prevent an Iraqi first-strike. It will probably not be a conventional strike like the Israeli Air Force’s 1981 attack on the French-built Iraqi reactor complex. The potential ever-widening effects of the Iraq problem have affected and will continue to affect Canadian interests.

Canada does not deploy a large enough military contribution to the region to dictate to or formulate regional strategy with other members of the coalition. Canada therefore relies on the American regional strategy to ensure the protection of Canadian interests, much in the way the United Kingdom does. In a distilled form, that strategy consists of:¹⁶⁶

- Securing and/or restoring freedom and security on the Arabian Peninsula in response to Iraqi posturing of combat forces along the Kuwaiti border.
- Prohibit the further enhancement of Iraqi military capabilities in northern and southern Iraq.
- Deterring potential Iraqi military aggression against Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and NATO ally Turkey.
- Securing full, free and unfettered access of UNSCOM weapons inspectors to Iraqi WMD sites.
- Significantly restricting Iraq's ability to conduct offensive operations in the region.

The American regional strategy which evolved throughout the mid-1990s was designed "to contain Iraq and prevent renewed aggression, pending the time when a different regime in Iraq is prepared to take the actions necessary for Iraq no longer to be a threat to its neighbours and international security generally."¹⁶⁷

Canada's pattern of military operations in the region is in concert with this strategy:

- Op ASSIST (PROVIDE COMFORT) stabilized southern Turkey and assisted in establishing the Kurdish enclave.
- Op RECORD (UNIKOM) contributed to protecting Kuwait and provided early warning of Iraqi aggression.
- Op FORUM (UNSCOM) contributed to disarming Iraq's WMD capability.
- Operations NORTHERN and SOUTHERN WATCH contributed to protecting portions of the Iraqi population, enforcing the no-fly zone and degrading Iraq's potential for aggression against Kuwait.
- The MIF applied economic pressure and added to the other efforts to degrade Iraqi conventional and WMD capabilities.

In each of these cases, it became evident to Canadian military and political authorities that Canadian involvement had higher purposes than merely responding to UN or American calls for Canadian flags to augment their coalitions or missions. Though not apparent in the early 1990s, this recognition emerged by at least 1993 when discussions over continued Canadian commitments to region were undertaken, specifically every six months when mandates had to be renewed and the Canadian force level re-affirmed or a new one established. The Canadian military effort in the Persian Gulf region in support of the American regional strategy was, by comparison to Canadian military efforts elsewhere, considerably smaller. Consequently, it is best to view the Persian Gulf region as a secondary

Canadian theatre within the context of a Canadian global strategy to secure Canadian interests in the 1990s global stabilization campaign.

6. *Conclusion*

Continued Canadian involvement in the Persian Gulf region and the possible expansion of Canadian military activities in it has a strong precedent. To suggest that Canada is not or has not been involved, or that Canada has no interest or business operating in the region is incorrect and short-sighted. From the early days of uncertainty in the wake of the Iranian Revolution of 1979, to assisting in disengagement of the belligerents after the Iran-Iraq War in 1988, deploying forces to fight the Hussein regime in 1990 and then providing forces to contain Iraq for the next decade as part of a US-led coalition, Canada is by no means a neutral bystander in the Iraq War (1990– ?) nor should it be. Canada has a number of defined interests in ensuring that the Hussein regime is kept under control and in no position to threaten them. Until the Hussein regime ceases to be a threat, Canada should remain committed to the Persian Gulf.

The United States is not acting unilaterally in its application of a Persian Gulf regional strategy, as is alleged by some commentators who lack an historical perspective of Canadian military activity. Canada acts and has acted alongside the United States and other members of the coalition. Canadian and American interests in the region coincide and Canada commits military forces as necessary not only to demonstrate involvement but to contribute to a military strategy to achieve Canadian policy objectives. Canada, therefore, has by no means been dragged into the problems of the Persian Gulf by the United States and has chosen several courses of action which demonstrate that the neutralist thinking endemic throughout Canada's punditocracy is not compatible with either reality or Canada's interests.

Iraq War Chronology

1990

- 6 August: UNSC imposes comprehensive sanctions.¹⁶⁸
- 17 August: MIO Ops start.¹⁶⁹
- UNSCR 661 (established economic embargo).
 - UNSCR 665 (naval forces to enforce embargo).
 - UNSCR 687 (Gulf War ceasefire, authorized shipment of food, medicine, UN approved goods).
 - UNSCR 986 (oil for food deal).
- August 1990–
April 1991: Operation FRICTION: naval task force, CF-18 squadrons.¹⁷⁰
- 29 November: UNSCR 678 authorized states to use all means necessary to ensure Iraq comply with 1 August 1990 demands of UNSC.¹⁷¹

1991

- 1991: Operation FLAG: HMCS *Huron* in PG.¹⁷²
- 1991: Operation FORUM: Canada and UNSCOM.¹⁷³
- 9 January: Aziz-Baker talks: nuclear threat made to deter Iraq chemical weapons use.¹⁷⁴
- 27 February: Coalition declares end to ground war.
- 3 March: Ceasefire talks at SAFWAN.
- 31 March: Iraq agrees to comply with UNSCR 686.
- April–May: Operation ASSIST: Canadian involvement in PROVIDE COMFORT.¹⁷⁵

- 3 April: UNSCR 687 adopted by UNSC: prohibits Iraq from manufacturing and using WMD, long range ballistic missiles.¹⁷⁶
- 5 April: UN Resolution 688 demanded that Iraq end repression of its civilian population. President Bush orders CinCEUCOM to assist the Kurds in northern Iraq.¹⁷⁷
- 6 April: Iraq accepts 687.¹⁷⁸
- 11 April: Formal ceasefire in effect.¹⁷⁹
- 12 April 1991–
April 1999: Operation RECORD Canada and UNIKOM.¹⁸⁰
- 27 April: Iraq admits to lying about stocks of nuclear materials.¹⁸¹
- 18 May: Iraq accepts Status Agreements re: UNSCOM.¹⁸²
- June: Iraq forces fire warning shots at IAEA inspectors as they try to intercept nuclear-related equipment.¹⁸³
- 15 August: UNSC Resolution 707: Iraq must cease any nuclear weapons development and fully disclose all information and allow teams to move without inhibition.¹⁸⁴
- September: IAEA inspectors kept in car park at gunpoint for four days for refusing to turn over seized incriminating nuclear program documents.¹⁸⁵
- October: Hussein regime announces that UNSCOM plans are unlawful. UNSCOM inspectors attempting to enter Ministry of Agriculture threatened. Iraq objects to UNSCOM's use of helicopters.¹⁸⁶
- October: UNSCR 715: Approves plans for UNSCOM and IAEA for the ongoing monitoring and verification to implement UNSCR 687. Iraq will not accede to this until November 1993.¹⁸⁷

1992

- 1992: Operation BARRIER: HMCS *Restigouche* in the Red Sea.¹⁸⁸
- 5 April: Iranian aircraft attack rebel bases in Iraq, Iraq responds with aircraft, breaking ban on flying.¹⁸⁹
- 26 August: Operation SOUTHERN WATCH starts.¹⁹⁰
- November: No-fly zone established to by-pass Iraqi non-compliance with UNSCR 688.¹⁹¹

1993

- January: UNSCOM not permitted by Iraq to use its own aircraft to fly into Iraq.¹⁹²
- 6 January: US UK FR RU issue joint ultimatum to Iraq: demand withdrawal of all SAMs south of 32nd Parallel.¹⁹³
- January: Continued cat and mouse games over SAMs.
- 13–18 January: Op SW attacks Iraqi IADS targets, TLAM used against targets in response to non-compliance with UN WMD inspection requirements.¹⁹⁴
- 45 cruise missiles fired at Zarfaraniyah nuclear fabrication facility.¹⁹⁵
 - 75 UK, FR, FR aircraft attack Bashiqah airfield and missile sites.
- June–July: UNSCOM attempts to install remote monitoring cameras at two key missile sites interfered with.¹⁹⁶
- 27 June: 23 TLAMs use against Iraqi intelligence facilities in response to assassination plan against Bush.¹⁹⁷
- 21 December: Ground clash between Op PROVIDE COMFORT forces and Iraqi army at Faydah in northern Iraq.¹⁹⁸

1994

- October–December: Op VIGILANT WARRIOR: Show of force operation.¹⁹⁹ (PHOENIX JACKEL is the air movement operations)²⁰⁰
- Objective: compel redeployment of Iraqi ground forces and demonstrate coalition resolve in enforcing UNSC resolutions.
 - 28,000 US troops deployed, pre-positioned equipment used.
 - 200 additional aircraft.
 - 300 coalition aircraft: GCC and French and British aircraft.
 - 20 coalition ships.²⁰¹
- 15 October: UNSCR 949: condemned Iraqi aggression, demanded Iraq withdraw forces to previous positions.²⁰²
- 20 October: US demarche, Iraq pulls back forces north of 32nd parallel.²⁰³

1995

- 1995: Op VIGILANT SENTINEL: increased alert and exercises with Jordan, movement of pre-positioned equipment from Diego Garcia.²⁰⁴
- 1995: Operation PROMENADE HMCS *Fredericton* in Abu Dhabi.²⁰⁵
- 1995: Operation TRANQUILLITY HMCS *Calgary* and HMCS *Regina* in the Persian Gulf.²⁰⁶
- 6 August: USS THEODORE ROOSEVELT Battle Group moved to a position off Israel in response to unusual Iraqi troop movements and a possible attack on Jordan.²⁰⁷
- August–December: Operation VIGILANT SENTINEL show of force.²⁰⁸
- deter potential Iraqi military aggression, demonstrate GCC unity, demonstrate resolve to enforce UNSCs.
 - validated MPPS equipment capabilities.²⁰⁹
- 15 November: Terrorist attack against OPM-SANG building in Riyadh.

1996

- March: UNSCR 1051: Iraq must declare the shipment of dual-use goods which could be used for mass destruction weaponry programs.²¹⁰
- 25 June: Khobar Towers attack, 19 killed.
- August: Operation DESERT FOCUS.²¹¹
- 31 August: Iraqi army attacked and captured Irbil in Kurdish autonomous region.²¹²
- 4 September: Operation DESERT STRIKE: ALCM/TLAM attacks against Sam and C2 facilities, hvy armoured bde, F-117, F-16 J, B-52s, all deployed to signal resolve.
- No-fly zone expanded to 32nd parallel.
 - Military targets in Iraq.
 - 74 cruise missiles, USN ships launch 14 Tomahawk, two B-52 fire 13 cruise missiles.²¹³
- Objectives:
- degrade ballistic missile production capability;²¹⁴
 - disrupt WMD security infrastructure;
 - degrade C2;

- destroy Republican Guard facilities;
- disrupt illegal export of gas and oil; and
- disrupt IADS.

11 September: F-117s ordered to the Gulf, plus 2 X B-52s.²¹⁵

31 December: Operation PROVIDE COMFORT officially ended.

1997

1 January: Turkey approved Operation NORTHERN WATCH.

February–
August: Operation PREVENTION (HMCS *Regina*).

October 97–
November 98: Operation DESERT THUNDER show of force operation.²¹⁶
(PHOENIX SCORPION is the air movement operation)²¹⁷
– in face of interference with UNSCOM, prevent WMD proliferation, secure UNSCOM access, neutralize IADS.

June: Iraq forces interfere with UNSCOM helicopter operations and threaten the safety of their crews.²¹⁸

October: Iraq demands that UN U-2 overflights cease.²¹⁹

13 November: Iraq expels US weapons inspectors serving with UNSCOM, all UNSCOM withdrawn.²²⁰

15 November: Additional carrier battle group deployed to the Gulf.²²¹

1998

January: Iraq continues to deny UN inspectors full access.²²²

January–
December: Operation MERCATOR (HMCS *Ottawa*).

1 January–
29 February: Operation DETERMINATION: HMCS *Toronto* and KC-130 to Persian Gulf.²²³

February: PHOENIX SCORPION II conducted:
– 7,800 troops moved in by air.²²⁴

23 February: UN secretary-general reaches an agreement with Hussein re: UNSCOM.²²⁵

5 August: Iraq stops inspections.²²⁶

- 31 October: Iraq announces it was ceasing cooperation with UNSCOM.²²⁷
- 11 November: Operation DESERT THUNDER deployment of forces and posture in-theatre strike forces for operations. Objective: gain Iraqi compliance with UNSCOM.²²⁸
- 50 X US ships and subs.
 - 200 naval aircraft.
- 13 November: Op PHOENIX SCORPION III.²²⁹
- aircraft pre-positioned for subsequent operations.
- 16–19
December: Operation DESERT FOX four-day operation: Targets include airfields, Republican Guard facilities, oil production, WMD facilities.
- 19 December: President Clinton announces publicly that the policy of the US government has been changed to replace the Hussein regime.²³⁰
- 30 December: OSW engagement: 8 X SAMs fired at 24 US and UK aircraft: HARMs used in response against IADS sites.²³¹

1999

- 5 January: 2 F-15 and 2 F-14 engaged four MiG-25 over the southern no-fly zone. No hits.²³²
- 7 January: F-16L engages a French-built Iraqi Roland missile vehicle with a HARM after a lock-on. 81 Iraqi military personnel executed for not defending Iraq properly during DESERT FOX.²³³
- 11 January: F-15s and F-16s engage IADS site with PGMs.²³⁴
- 12 January: Five Iraqi fighters violate in the south and two in the north.²³⁵ HARM used to engage IADS site.²³⁶
- 13 January: IADS site engaged by F-16 and F-15 with PGMs.²³⁷
- 14 January: ONW: F-16CJ and F-15E fire HARMs and AGM-130 PGMs at SAM site.²³⁸
- 23 January: OSW: US F-18 fighters engaged Iraqi MiGs.²³⁹
- 24 January: F-15E engages SA-3 SAM site; EA-6B and F-16s fire HARMs at other IADS targets.²⁴⁰
- 25 January: ONW: IADS engagement with F-16/EA-6B combination with PGMs.²⁴¹

- 26 January: three separate incidents involving IADS engagement with PGMs.²⁴²
- 28 January: ONW: 10 X F-15, 6 X F-16, 2 X EA-6B, 4 X tankers and 2 X AWACS participate in attacking five separate targets.²⁴³
- 30 January: ONW: four IADS targets attacked with PGMs.²⁴⁴
- Coalition aircraft engage Iraqi air defence system with precision guided munitions in response to hostile threats to coalition aircraft in the NORTHERN and SOUTHERN WATCH no-fly zones *on a near-daily basis* throughout 1999.²⁴⁵
- 14 February: Russia signs \$160 million deal with Iraq to supply IADS and upgrade MiG aircraft.²⁴⁶
- June–December: Operation AUGMENTATION (HMCS *Regina*).

2000

Coalition aircraft engage Iraqi air defence system with precision guided munitions in response to hostile threats to coalition aircraft in the NORTHERN and SOUTHERN WATCH no-fly zones *on a near-daily basis* throughout 2000.

June–November: Operation AUGMENTATION (HMCS *Calgary*).

2001

January–July: Operation AUGMENTATION (HMCS *Charlottetown*).

March–October: Operation AUGMENTATION (HMCS *Winnipeg*).

Coalition aircraft engage Iraqi air defence system with precision guided munitions in response to hostile threats to coalition aircraft in the NORTHERN and SOUTHERN WATCH no-fly zones *on a near-daily basis* throughout 2001:²⁴⁷

- 1 January
- 15 January
- 20 January
- 28 January
- 11 February
- 13 February
- 16 February
- 20 March
- 12 April
- 20 April
- 18 May

5 June
6 June
14 June
25 June
26 June
7 July
10 August
14 August
25 August
28 August
30 August
4 September
9 September
18 September
20 September
21 September
27 September
2 October
13 October
27 November

2002

Coalition aircraft engage Iraqi air defence system with precision guided munitions in response to hostile threats to coalition aircraft in the SOUTHERN WATCH no-fly zone.²⁴⁸

24 January
20 May
22 May
24 May
30 May
14 June
20 June
28 June
13 July
15 July
18 July
23 July
28 July
5 August
14 August
17 August
20 August

25 August

27 August

29 August

30 August

5 September

6 September Coalition aircraft attack anti-ship missile facility threatening MIF operations.

7 September

9 September

15 September

24 September

25 September

26 September

27 September

Appendices

Appendix A: Operation PROVIDE COMFORT Contributors

Australia (75 persons: administration, medical, engineers)

Belgium (155 persons: communications, medical, logistics)

Canada (120 persons: medical, aircraft, logistics)

France (2,141 persons: aircraft, helicopters, airborne forces, engineers, communications, medical, logistics)

Germany (221 persons: aircraft and helicopters)

Italy (1,183 persons: aircraft, helicopters, medical, airborne forces, engineers, special forces, military police, logistics and signals)

Luxembourg (43 persons: infantry, logistics, medical)

Netherlands (1,020 persons: helicopters, medical, Marines combat group, engineers)

Portugal (19 persons: aircraft and logistics)

Spain (602 persons: helicopters, airborne troops, signals, medical)

Turkey (1,160 persons: aircraft, helicopters, medical, bases, infantry battalion)

United Kingdom (4,192 persons: aircraft, helicopters, Marine Commando brigades, special forces, engineers, medical, logistics)

United States (18,285 persons: Aircraft, helicopters, special forces, signals, engineers, military policy, Marine Expeditionary Unit, Airborne Combat Team, aircraft carrier task force)

Source: Statement of Lt Gen John M. Shalikashvili, US Commander, Operation PROVIDE COMFORT to the House of Representatives Committee on Armed Services, Defense Policy Panel, 4 September 1991.

Appendix B: UNIKOM Contributors

Argentina (UNMOs and engineers)
Austria (UNMOs, medical unit, logistics, infantry company)
Bangladesh (UNMOs, medical team, troops)
Canada (UNMOs, engineer unit)
Chile (helicopter unit)
China (UNMOs)
Denmark (UNMOs, logistics, infantry company)
Fiji (UNMOs, infantry company)
Finland (UNMOs)
France (UNMOs)
Germany (medical unit)
Ghana (UNMOs, infantry company)
Greece (UNMOs)
Hungary (UNMOs)
India (UNMOs)
Indonesia (UNMOs)
Ireland (UNMOs)
Italy (UNMOs)
Kenya (UNMOs)
Malaysia (UNMOs)
Nepal (infantry company)
Nigeria (UNMOs)
Norway (UNMOs, medical unit)
Pakistan (UNMOs)
Poland (UNMOs)
Romania (UNMOs)
Russia (UNMOs)
Senegal (UNMOs)
Singapore (UNMOs)
Sweden (UNMOs, logistics)
Switzerland (air unit)
Thailand (UNMOs)
Turkey (UNMOs)
United Kingdom (UNMOs)
United States (UNMOs)
Uruguay (UNMOs)
Venezuela (UNMOs)

Appendix C: UNSCOM Contributors

Australia
Austria
Belgium
Canada
Chile (helicopter unit)
China
Czech Republic
Finland
France
Germany (inspectors and CH-53G helicopter unit)
Indonesia
Italy
Japan
The Netherlands
Nigeria
Norway
Poland
Russia
Sweden
United Kingdom
United States (inspectors, U-2 aircraft and support)
Venezuela

According to UN documentation, some twenty additional countries contributed small numbers of inspection personnel.

Sources: Trevan, *Saddam's Secrets*; Butler, *The Greatest Threat*; "United Nations Special Commission: Basic Facts." At <<http://www.un.org/Depts/unscom>>.

Appendix D: Maritime Interception Force Contributors 1990–2002

Australia
Belgium
Canada
Denmark
France
Greece
Italy
Kuwait
Netherlands
New Zealand
Norway
Spain
United Kingdom
United States

Most nations have provided a single frigate or destroyer per rotation, while the United States contributes an aircraft carrier battle group which can include some six to eight ships (Aegis cruisers, destroyers, and frigates). During the 1990–91 phase of the war, mine countermeasures vessels from most of these countries as well as from Japan conducted clearance operations in the Persian Gulf. Maritime Patrol Aircraft contributors have included Canada, New Zealand, and the United States). The primary contributors are Canada, Australia, Kuwait, The Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom, and the United States. Kuwait and Bahrain provide basing facilities.

Sources: Morin and Gimblett, *Operation FRICTION*; Marolda and Schneller, *Shield and Sword*; William S. Cohen, *Report to Congress on US Military Involvement in Major Smaller-Scale Contingencies Since the Persian Gulf War March 1999* (Washington, DC: Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1999).

Appendix E: Air Operations Contributors

Operation NORTHERN WATCH

Canada (AWACS personnel)

Turkey (F-104 recce squadron, ground bases, security, logistics support, radar support)

United Kingdom (Operation WARDEN: Jaguar GR3 recce half-squadron and VC-10 tankers)

United States (two squadrons of F-15 and F-16 fighter and fighter-bomber aircraft, EA-6B EW aircraft, AWACS)

Operation SOUTHERN WATCH

Bahrain (basing and support)

Canada (AWACS personnel)

France (5 X Mirage 2000-C, 2 X Mirage F-1, tanker aircraft)

Kuwait (basing and support)

United Kingdom (Operation BOLTON: one combined squadron of Tornado F Mk 3, Tornado GR Mk 1, and a VC-10 tanker; Armilla Patrol Carrier Task Group which includes 1 X aircraft carrier and its embarked Sea Harrier aircraft)

United States (1 X aircraft carrier air group (70 F-14, FA-18, EA-6B); AWACS; 40-50 F-15, F-16, F-16L, A-10 fighter, fighter-bomber and ground attack aircraft, F-4G SAM suppression aircraft, RC-135 surveillance and intelligence collection aircraft)

Sources: Alfred B. Prados, *Iraq Crisis: US and Allied Forces* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 1998); UK. House of Commons, *Defence Committee: Thirteenth Report, 2 August 2000* (London: House of Commons, 2000); UK. Defence Ministry, *Turkish Contribution to World Peace* (n/d); Anthony H. Cordesman, *The Air Defense War Since Desert Fox: A Short History* (Washington, DC: CSIS, 1999).

Notes

1. The exception, as far as I can tell, is my piece in *Maclean's* magazine, "Canada at War," 23 September 2002, pp. 20-22.
2. Sean M. Maloney, *Learning to Love the Bomb: Canada's Cold War Strategy and Nuclear Weapons, 1951-1968* (forthcoming), ch. 1.
3. See Sean M. Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means 1945-1970* (St Catharines ON: Vanwell Publishing, 2002); Michael A. Palmer, *Guardians of the Gulf: A History of America's Expanding Role in the Persian Gulf, 1833-1992* (New York: The Free Press, 1992).
4. Palmer, *Guardians of the Gulf* and Mohammad Yousaf and Mark Adkin, *Afghanistan: The Bear Trap* (Havertown: Casemate Books, 1992), pp. 47-48.
5. Sean M. Maloney, "Never Say Never: Non-Alliance Operations in the Canadian Context," *The Army Doctrine and Training Bulletin* 2, 2(1999):29-34.
6. The role of the Canadian embassy personnel in spirited away the six Americans was covered in Ken Taylor's *The Canadian Caper* (Toronto: Paperjacks, 1981). The intelligence functions of the military staff and its augmentees was passed to me in a confidential interview. For details of EAGLE CLAW, see Daniel P. Bolger, *Americans at War 1975-1986: An Era of Violent Peace* (Novato: Presidio Press, 1988), ch. 2; and James H. Kyle, *The Guts to Try: The Untold Story of the Iran Hostage Rescue Mission by the On-Scene Desert Commander* (New York: Orion Books, 1990). Kyle makes mention of the mystery of who provided the detailed intelligence that portions of the ground plan were based on (*ibid.*, p. 216).
7. Daniel P. Bolger, *Americans at War: An Era of Violent Peace 1975-1986* (Novato: Presidio Press, 1988), pp. 191-260.
8. The Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) is a non-UN interpositional peace-keeping force based on the Sinai Peninsula on the Israeli-Egyptian border. Canada has made regular contributions to MFO, usually with staff and observers, sometimes with a helicopter unit. MFO essentially replaced United Nations Emergency Force II in 1979-80. At that time, the US Army regularly deployed the equivalent of an airborne battalion group to MFO. There was speculation over the years that the American MFO contingent was used on occasion to provide support or cover for US

special operations forces acting in the region, particularly with respect to Lebanon. It is equally possible that US special operations personnel were aboard the Arrow Air jet and were taken out by Hizbollah or other declared or undeclared Iranian-backed terrorist groups. Eric L. Haney discusses (briefly) Delta Force operations in Lebanon during the 1980s in his biography *Inside Delta Force: The Story of America's Elite Counterterrorist Unit* (New York: Random House, 2002). Les Filotas in *Improbable Cause* (Toronto: McClelland-Bantam Books, 1991) makes mention of the speculative MFO-SOF connection and surmises it may have been a "hit."

9. John K. Cooley, *Payback: America's Long War in the Middle East* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1991), chs. 6 and 7; Robin Higgins, *Patriot Dreams: The Murder of Colonel Rich Higgins* (Central Point: Hellgate Press, 1999). The Arrow Air crash in Newfoundland with the US MFO battalion on board in 1985 remains controversial. Canadian investigators were prevented from officially concluding that the crash was an act of Iranian terrorism, but subsequently published a book with their analysis. See Filotas, *Improbable Cause*.
10. Palmer, *Guardians of the Gulf*, ch. 7; Gregory Vistica, *Fall from Glory: The Men Who Sank the US Navy* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1995), ch. 19.
11. Michael A. Palmer, *On Course to Desert Storm: The United States Navy and the Persian Gulf* (Washington, DC: Naval Historical Center, 1992), pp. 141-46.
12. Cooley, *Payback*, chs. 13 and 14.
13. Javier Perez de Cuellar, *Pilgrimage for Peace: A Secretary-General's Memoir* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1997), p. 178.
14. Note the similarities to the ONUC operation in the Congo in 1960-64 where Canada provided a signals unit. Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping*, ch. 7.
15. ATI DND, "Briefing Note to the Minister: Op VAGABOND," 11 August 1988.
16. ATI DND, "Advice to the Minister: Peacekeeping-Iran/Iraq," 26 July 1988.
17. Interview with BGen Ian Douglas, 11 September 1998; ATI DND, message FMCHQ to NDHQ, "Impact of UN Commitments on Operational Readiness," 9 September 1988.
18. Some may counter with the old simplistic "the UN asks, therefore Canada does" argument. As history has demonstrated, the deployment of Canadian military forces on UN missions in the years prior to 1990 has never been undertaken for purely altruistic reasons. See Maloney, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means*.
19. Confidential interview. Without this valuable information, grossly exaggerated casualty estimates based on obsolete information contributed to deterring the Canadian government from committing ground forces to fight Iraq in 1990.
20. ATI DND, memo DM and CDS to MND, "Extension of Mandate: United Nations Iran/Iraq Military Observer Group," 27 September 1990.
21. These include the DND history, *Operation FRICTION: The Canadian Forces in the Persian Gulf 1990-91* written by Jean Morin and Richard Gimblett (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997); an account of the naval operations by Duncan Miller and Sharon Hobson, *The Persian Excursion: The Canadian Navy in the Gulf War* (Clementsport: Canadian Peacekeeping Press, 1995); and accounts of the Army's "War That Never Was," Operation BROADSWORD, in Sean M. Maloney, *War Without Battles:*

- Canada's NATO Brigade in Germany 1951-1993* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1997) and Sean M. Maloney, "Missed Opportunity: Operation BROADSWORD, 4 Canadian Mechanized Brigade and the Gulf War, 1990-1991," *The Army Doctrine and Training Bulletin* 5, 1(2002):24-31.
22. Morin and Gimblett, *Operation FRICTION*, p. 27.
 23. Though more clearly articulated after the 1990-91 Gulf War in an 1992 ADM(Pol) study, these sentiments were present in the Department of External Affairs and the DND policy community. See ATI DND, "Review of Defence Policy Governing Stability, Peacekeeping, and Humanitarian Activities," 1 October 1992.
 24. See Sean M. Maloney, "ORD Project Report PR 2002/01: Canadian Forces Operation 1970-2000." These missions were, in addition to UNIIMOG, Operation NILE (humanitarian assistance Ethiopia, 1988); Operation MATADOR (UNTAG Namibia, 1989); Operation DECIMAL (humanitarian assistance Afghanistan, 1989); and Operation SULTAN (ONUCA Nicaragua, 1989-92).
 25. Edward J. Marolda and Robert J. Schneller, *Shield and Sword: The United States Navy and the Persian Gulf War* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1998), p. 86.
 26. Maloney, "Missed Opportunity."
 27. Maloney, *War Without Battles*, ch. 7.
 28. Gimblett and Morin, *Operation FRICTION*; and Marolda and Schneller, *Shield and Sword*.
 29. Maloney, "Missed Opportunity"; Gimblett and Morin, *Operation FRICTION*, ch. 9.
 30. R.W. Morton, "Space Support to Operation DESERT STORM: A NORAD Perspective," *Royal Canadian Military Institute Yearbook 1991*, pp. 6-9.
 31. ATIDND, *Canadian Forces International Operations* "Middle East: USAF AWACS," 4 April 1997; "Canadians Key to AWACS Success," *The Maple Leaf* 5, 7 (2002):2; "AWACS in Operation," At <<http://www.boeing.com/defense-space/infoelect/e3awacs/index.3.htm>>.
 32. Jonathan T. Howe, "NATO and the Gulf Crisis," *Survival* May/June 1991, pp. 246-59; Tim Ripley, "Lining Up for NATO: Airborne Early Warning Force," At <<http://www.global-defence.com/99/1998/SurveillanceCounter/nato.htm>>.
 33. See Gimblett and Morin, *Operation FRICTION*.
 34. Howe, "NATO and the Gulf Crisis."
 35. US EUCOM, "Chronology of Significant Events: Operation PROVIDE COMFORT and Operation NORTHERN WATCH," (2002).
 36. See Tim Trevan's excellent chronology in his book *Saddam's Secrets: The Hunt for Iraq's Hidden Weapons* (New York: HarperCollins, 1999).
 37. Andrew Duncan and Michel Opatowski, *Trouble Spots: The World Atlas of Strategic Information* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton Publishing, 2000), pp. 141-45.
 38. ATI DND, message ANKRA to EXTOTT, "Iraqi Refugees: UN Relief Effort," 15 May 1991.
 39. Statement of Lt Gen John M. Shalikashvili, USA Commander, Operation PROVIDE COMFORT to the House of Representatives Committee on Armed Services, Defense Policy Panel, 4 September 1991.

40. ATI DND, DCDS Tasking Order "Humanitarian Relief-Kurdish Refugees," 9 April 1991.
41. ATI DND, message EXTOTT to BNATO, "Kurdish Situation: Canadian Response," 9 April 1991.
42. ATI DND, message USCINCEUR to JCS, "Deployment of Canadian Medical Elements in Support of Combined Task Force PROVIDE COMFORT," 10 April 1991; Maloney, *War Without Battles*, ch. 7.
43. ATI DND, message PRMNY to EXTOTT, "Gulf: Humanitarian Assistance," 17 April 1991.
44. Ibid.
45. ATI DND, message ANKRA to EXTOTT, "Iraqi Refugees: UN Relief Effort," 15 May 1991.
46. US EUCOM, "Chronology of Significant Events.
47. Robert Baer, *See No Evil: The True Story of a Ground Soldier in the CIA's War on Terrorism* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2002). For another view by a CIA analyst, see Kenneth M. Pollack, *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq* (New York: Random House, 2002), pp. 68-73.
48. Baer, *See No Evil*, pp. 171-219 and Pollack, *The Threatening Storm*.
49. United Nations, "United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission: Review of Deployment and Manning Levels September 1994," September 1994.
50. ATI DND, memo DGMPO "Kuwait-Peacekeeping," 25 February 1991.
51. ATI DND, memo DMEO to dl, "Humanitarian Relief Operations Kuwait-Military Engineer Support," 28 February 1991.
52. See Peter de la Billiere, *Storm Command: A Personal Account of the Gulf War* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992) for a discussion of British objectives and interests.
53. ATI DND fax message, "UN Security Council Resolution 687(1991)," n/d. See also ATI DND, L.A. Delvoie, Briefing Note for the Minister of National Defence, "Possible Canadian Participation in United Nations Activity in Iraq and Kuwait," 4 April 1991.
54. ATI DND, "Briefing Note for the CDS: Canadian Participation in UN Activity in Iraq/Kuwait," 5 April 1991.
55. ATI DND, message EXTOTT to WSHDC, "Canadian Participation UNSC resolution 687 Arrangements," 5 April 1991.
56. ATI DND, memo DCDS to CDS, "Canadian Participation in post-Gulf War United Nations Activities," 9 April 1991.
57. AT DND, message PRMNY to EXTOTT, "Peacekeeping and Arms Control in the Gulf," 8 April 1991.
58. ATI DND, memo ACDD EAITC, "United Nations Security Council Resolution 687: Monitoring and Verification Implications," 8 April 1991.
59. ATI DND, message EXTOTT to FAX KUWAIT, "Peacekeeping in the Gulf," 15 April 1991.
60. ATI DND, "Briefing Note for DEM: Operation RECORD-Peacekeeping in Iraq-Kuwait," 15 April 1991.

61. ATI DND, Briefing Note for the Minister of National Defence, "United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) Mission Brief," 29 November 1991.
62. ATI DND, memo to MND from CDS/DM, "Renewal of Mandate-Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM)," 25 August 1992.
63. This is only obliquely hinted at in available documentation but seems eminently plausible given the nature of External Affairs, the fetish for the United Nations among many of its organs, and the nature of the personalities in the deputy minister of DND at the time. See ATI DND, draft request to MND, "Canadian Participation in Post-Gulf War United Nations Activity," April 1991; ATI DND, Advice to the Minister: Question Period, "Peacekeeping Operations in Iraq/Kuwait (UNIKOM)," n/d.
64. ATI DND, memo to MND from CDS/DM, "United Nations Iraq Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM) Mandate Renewal," 10 March 1994.
65. "Operation NORTHERN WATCH: Chronology of Significant Events," At <<http://www.eucom.mil/operations/onw/sigevents.htm>>.
66. ATI DND, memo Calder to MND Briefing Note for MND, "Current DND Peace Support Operations," 15 October 1996.
67. DND, J-3 International "Canadian Participation in Peacekeeping Operations and related Missions August 1994," pp. 3-9-1/4 to 3-9-2/4.
68. ATI DND, message PRMNY to EXTOTT, "Peacekeeping and Arms Control in the Gulf," 3 April 1991.
69. ATIDND, memo ACDD EAITC, "United Nations Security Council Resolution 687: Monitoring and Verification Implications," 8 April 1991. For information on the arms control/disarmament empire building in External Affairs during the Cold War, see Albert Legault and Michel Fortmann, *A Diplomacy of Hope: Canada and Disarmament 1945-1988* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).
70. These numbers come from a perusal of "Canadian Forces International Operations," a document put out twice a year by J-3 (International) and from an internal peacekeeping study produced for DND by the author.
71. DND, J-3 International, "Canadian Participation in Peacekeeping Operations and related Missions August 1994," p. 3-9-3/4.
72. Confidential interview.
73. ATI DND, memo Pellerin to dl, "UN Ceasefire Resolution: DND Participation," 5 April 1991. The identity of that agency or ally has been excised from the released text.
74. See particularly Richard Butler, *The Greatest Threat: Iraq, Weapons of Mass Destruction, and the Crisis of Global Security* (New York: Public Affairs, 2000) and Scott Ritter, *Endgame: Solving the Iraq Problem Once and For All* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1999). I am, of course, aware of the disputes between these two individuals (Butler refers to Ritter as "delusional" in an interview and certainly Ritter's behaviour in Baghdad in September 2002 tends to support his assertion) but both provide contrasting and useful discussions of the intelligence problem.
75. Trevan, *Saddam's Secrets*, pp. 89-90.
76. Ritter, *Endgame*, p. 37.

77. UK FCO, "The Work of the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq," 9 October 1998.
78. The UNSCOM saga is more than adequately captured in Ritter, *Endgame*; Butler, *The Greatest Threat*; and Trevan, *Saddam's Secrets*. So far, no detailed Canadian UNSCOM account has emerged.
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80. See Dale Grant, *Wilderness of Mirrors: The Life of Gerald Bull* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1991). For those inclined to mock the seriousness of the concept and potential capabilities of a supergun for WMD delivery, consult G.V. Bull and C.H. Murphy, *Paris Kanonen: The Paris Guns and Project HARP* (Bonn: Verlag E.S. Mittler and Sohn GmbH, 1988).
81. UK FCO, "The Work of the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq."
82. IAEA, "Fact Sheet: Iraq's Nuclear Weapon Programme," 25 April 2002. This listing of achievements and capabilities assumes some knowledge by the reader of the basics of nuclear weapons design and fabrication. For a good primer, see Richard Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (New York: Touchstone, 1986).
83. UK FCO, "UK Foreign Office Paper on Iraqi Threat and the Work of UNSCOM," 4 February 1998.
84. "Written Answer by Jack Straw, UK Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary in the UK House of Commons." At <<http://www.iraqwatch.org/government/UK/Commons/uk-commons-050202.htm>>, 2 May 2002>.
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88. Vladimir Orlov and William C. Potter, "The Mystery of the Sunken Gyros," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 54, 6(1998).
89. Joint Intelligence Committee, *Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Assessment of the British Government*, September 2002.
90. Ibid.
91. Pollack, *The Threatening Storm*, pp. 272-73.
92. In his memoir *Waging Modern War* (New York: Public Affairs, 1991), General Wesley Clark refers to a state of flow or "battle rhythm" that emerged during the Kosovo War. A similar state can be identified with the Iraq War in the 1990s.
93. See Ian Rutherford, "Something Must be Done: The Theory and Practice of Coercive Airpower," unpublished MA Thesis, Royal Military College of Canada, 2002 for an expanded discussion of the effectiveness of the campaign against the Hussein regime.
94. Michael S. Tucker, "Army Pre-positioned Stocks," *Military Review*, May-June 2000, pp. 53-58; William J. Perry, *Report to the President: The Protection of US Forces Deployed Abroad* (Washington, DC: Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1996).

95. Richard Pickett and Dee Constant, "Back to Kuwait." At <<http://www.dtic.mil/soldiers/oct95/p4.html>>. DoD News Briefing, 10 December 1998. At <http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Dec 1998/t12101998_t1210asd.html>.
96. USCENTCOM, "Fact Sheet: Operation DESERT FALCON."
97. Pollack, *The Threatening Storm*, p. 69.
98. *Communication from The President of the United States: Status on Iraq* (Washington, DC: US GPO, 1997).
99. William S. Cohen, *Report to Congress on US Military Involvement in Major Smaller-Scale Contingencies since the Persian Gulf War March 1999* (Washington, DC: Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1999).
100. Anthony Cordesman, "USCENTCOM Mission and History." At <<http://www.csis.org/stratassessment/reports/uscentcom3.html>>. William S. Cohen, *Report to Congress on US Military Involvement in Major Smaller-Scale Contingencies*; William J. Perry, *Annual Report to the President and Congress February 1995* (Washington, DC: Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1995); Geoff Maple, "Operation DRIVER," At <<http://www.ukmams-assoc.fsnet.co.uk>>.
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102. Cordesman, "USCENTCOM Mission and History."
103. William J. Perry, *Annual Report to the President and Congress March 1996* (Washington, DC: Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1996).
104. Cordesman, "USCENTCOM Mission and History"; Cohen, *Report to Congress on US Military Involvement in Major Smaller-Scale Contingencies*; Third US Army, "Checking Aggression." At <<http://www.arcent.army.mil/history/checking.html>>. Perry, *Annual Report to the President and Congress March 1996*.
105. *1998 Department of the Navy Posture Statement, 10 February 1998*. At <www.fas.org/man/dod-101/ops/docs/usn-pos98-pg03.htm>; Perry, *Report to the President: The Protection of US Forces Deployed Abroad*.
106. Yossef Bodansky suggests in *Bin Laden: The Man Who Declared War on America* (Rocklin: Forum Publishing, 1999) that Iranian-backed Hizbollah groups were behind the attacks, with moral or technical support from Osama Bin Laden. Paul L. Williams assumes in *Al Qaeda: Brotherhood of Terror* (Alpha Books, 2002) that Al Qaeda conducted the attacks. Neither analyst makes a specific link between the Hussein regime and the bombings.
107. Charles Tripp, *A History of Iraq* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 272-73; Said K. Aburish, *Saddam Hussein: The Politics of Revenge* (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), p. 340.
108. *Communication from the President of the United States: Status on Iraq* (Washington, DC: US GPO, 1997); DOD News Briefing, 3 September 1996. At <<http://www.defenselink.mil/news/>>.
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111. William S. Cohen, *Report to Congress on US Military Involvement in Major Smaller-Scale Contingencies Since the Persian Gulf War March 1999*.
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117. Interview with Steven St Amant, Kingston, 10 September 2002.
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128. Ibid.
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149. *Ibid.*
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161. Michael T. Klare, *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2001), ch. 3.
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About the Author

Born in Kingston, Ontario, Dr. Sean M. Maloney currently teaches in the War Studies Programme at the Royal Military College of Canada and is a Research Fellow at the School of Policy Studies, Queen's University. Dr. Maloney served as the historian for the Canadian Army's NATO commitment in Germany and is the author of that formation's history, *War Without Battle: Canada's NATO Brigade in Germany, 1951-1993* (McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1997). Another NATO-oriented work is *Securing Command of the Sea: NATO Naval Planning, 1948-1954* (Naval Institute Press, 1995). After conducting extensive field research on Canadian UN and NATO operations in the Balkans and UN operations in the Middle East, Dr. Maloney is also the author of the groundbreaking and controversial first history of Canadian peacekeeping policy, *Canada and UN Peacekeeping: Cold War by Other Means 1945-1970* (Vanwell, 2002); *Chances for Peace: Canadian Soldiers in the Balkans 1992-1995* (Vanwell, 2002); and the forthcoming *Operation KINETIC: The Canadians in Kosovo 1999-2000*. Among his other works, he has also completed and published two other Balkans monographs dealing with Operation BOLSTER (the European Community Monitor Mission) and Operation SHARP GUARD (the Adriatic maritime interdiction force). A frequent contributor on Canadian national security issues in both professional journals and in the print media, Dr. Maloney continues to contribute to the wider understanding of Canadian Forces operations in the violent post-Cold War world.

