

Cambodian woman, but only for the duration of his posting to Cambodia, at which point he would abandon her. Some women were reported to have been abandoned as far away as Bangkok, and left to their own devices to make their way home. In addition to the emotional trauma of fake marriages, they were enormously 'shameful' for women in a society, which as in most societies, has very strict norms about what is appropriate behaviour in 'good' women.²⁵

In part as a response to the sexual harassment which prevailed during UNTAC, an open letter was delivered to the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cambodia, Mr Yasushi Akashi. In the letter, 165 Cambodian and expatriate women and men accused some UNTAC personnel of sexual harassment and assault, violence against women and against prostitutes and of being responsible for the dramatic rise of prostitution and HIV/AIDS.²⁶ Mr Akashi responded by saying that it was natural for hot-blooded young soldiers who had endured the rigours of the field to want to have a few beers and to chase 'young beautiful beings of the opposite sex'.²⁷ After an outraged response Akashi pledged to assign a Community Relations officer to hear the complaints of the Cambodian community.²⁸

Finally, and in contrast to the claims by Boutros-Ghali about UNTAC contributions to economic development in Cambodia, the UNTAC mission has been blamed instead for economic dislocation. Grant Curtis reports that with skyrocketing inflation the price of a kilogram of high quality rice rose from 450 riels to a high of 3,000 riels, and settled eventually at some 1,800–2,000 riels; the price of fish and meat rose by 80 per cent; housing rental prices increased at least four times and UNTAC personnel often paid Phnom Penh-based rents at the provincial level, resulting in increases there also. UNTAC did contribute somewhat by hiring locals, but also drew most of the few trained or experienced Khmer away from Cambodian administrative structures and into UNTAC, and salary payments to local staff comprised less than one per cent of total local expenditure. Finally, the riel was devalued by 70 per cent during UNTAC.²⁹ In situations of economic dislocation and inflation, the most vulnerable members of society become even more vulnerable still, and within Cambodia women comprise a large proportion of the vulnerable.

Such an analysis of the mission, while concerned primarily with issues of social justice and security for women in Cambodia, also has implications for those looking for policy-relevant advice. As Kien

Serey Phal notes, there are important lessons to be learned from a mission whose military focus may not have been up to the task of the larger, and more long-term, concerns of community-building, peace-building, human security and development. She writes:

There is a need for the recognition of the success of the peace process in protecting the political rights of Cambodian people and facilitating the improved political participation of women but also of the relative failure of the process to promote social and economic equality, and in particular, to prevent and mitigate violence against women and ensure the protection of fundamental human rights.³⁰

For those of us coming from countries which deploy soldiers on peacekeeping missions, the lessons should be obvious. As Cynthia Enloe notes, 'Everyone who sends troops needs to rethink what kind of soldiering works to keep the peace. Because a peace that involves sexual exploitation and sexual violence is no peace at all.'³¹

THE SOMALIA INQUIRY

Mainstream accounts of the kinds of issues raised above about the UNTAC mission are often attributed, as Janet Heininger writes, to the problems of establishing a 'common standard of behavior' among contributing countries.³² In other words, the problem is explained by the fact that some contributing countries, usually those with less experience in peacekeeping missions, send troops not well-suited to the expectations associated with peacekeeping. In the Cambodian case, the Bulgarians are cited as the chief offenders. While not to deny that particular contributing country soldiers may have caused specific sets of problems, it is important to note also that such arguments deflect attention away from more general critical concerns and turn such issues into 'technical problems'. Thus rather than ask questions about the value of relying chiefly on *soldiers* as peacekeepers,³³ ethnic arguments are deployed in such a way that the primary concern becomes 'problems of co-ordination'.

One contributor country normally excluded from any concerns about 'coordination' and which has been viewed in general as the peacekeeping country *par excellence* is Canada.³⁴ The very favourable image associated with Canadian peacekeeping has been undermined recently, however, as a result of the shooting of two Somali