

wealth" peacekeeping force of 1,500 to monitor the process. Though the force was almost entirely British, it adopted and largely maintained a neutral stand, and it stringently avoided any use of force — classic peacekeeping. Best of all, an election was planned and held during the cease-fire under British supervision and several hundred international professional observers. There were many lessons and features in this operation that could well be applied to similar situations. One of the most important factors to note, however, was that the parties agreed in advance to the arrangements. And though they pushed at the edges to gain electoral advantage, none went so far as to destabilize the process or renew hostilities.

## CONCLUSIONS

Fifty-six states in all have contributed military personnel to all peacekeeping, including observer operations. Of these, fifty-four have actually contributed to UN operations. That is a very substantial and laudable record.

Among them Canada is a prominent and consistent contributor, having participated in all UN and several of the operations of independent origin, all at considerable financial cost. Most Canadian land-based military personnel will, over time, serve on one or another peacekeeping operation. Peacekeeping will continue to be a prominent feature of Canadian foreign and defence policies.

A careful look, however, at the total record of participation shows that Western-oriented states have been and continue to be the most consistent contributors. By contrast, there has been a decrease in participation from Africa and Asia, and little participation from Communist States. Without a doubt this gives the appearance of Western dominance of peacekeeping operations.

Serious conflicts continue to disrupt the global system, some with disastrous consequences. Yet, the UN itself has not managed to use peacekeeping anywhere in the world except the Middle East since 1965. The trend, where it has occurred, has been to non-UN auspices. The basic reason is that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union is able to exert its will over the one hundred and sixty members of the UN. They therefore choose to follow unilateral policies and initiatives rather than resort to multinational means for the management of crisis. Perhaps they believe that they can independently contain and influence events more in keeping with their own national interests.

Nonetheless the history of peacekeeping demonstrates a very effective multinational approach to the management of conflict. The difficulties in maintaining a neutral force are considerable and the costs may be high, especially in cases where the conflicts are fundamentally of domestic origin with the involvement

of non-state actors, a most common characteristic of so-called international conflict since World War II. And there are occasions where peacekeeping itself is successful, but weakened in effect because the next phase of peacekeeping is not equally successful. Still, peacekeeping has achieved a prominent place on the international agenda. It is likely to be used again in the future. It is also reasonable to hope that the international political climate may be more conducive to more effective and frequent use of peacekeeping together with vigorous means of peacemaking.

## PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

### UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER OPERATIONS

Acronym	Name	Date	Location
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization	1948-Continuing	Israel/Middle East
UNMOGIP	United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan	1949-Continuing	Israel/Middle East
UNOGIL	United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon	1958-1959	Lebanon
UNTEA	United Nations Temporary Executive Authority	1962-1963	West Irian
UNYOM	United Nations Yemen Observation Mission	1963-1964	Yemen
DOMREP	Mission of the Representative of the Secretary General in the Dominican Republic	1965	Dominican Republic

### UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

UNEF I	United Nations Emergency Force	1956-1967	Israel/Egypt (Sinai Peninsula)
ONUC	United Nations Operation in the Congo	1960-1964	Congo (now Zaire)
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Forces in Cyprus	1964-Continuing	Cyprus
UNEF II	United Nations Second Emergency Force	1973-1981	Egypt/Israel (Sinai Peninsula)
UNDOF	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force	1974-Continuing	Israel/Syria (Golan Heights)
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon	1978-Continuing	Lebanon

### NON-UN INDEPENDENT PEACEKEEPING AND PEACE OBSERVING OPERATIONS

ICSC	International Commission for Supervision and Control	1954-1973	Vietnam
ICCS	International Commission for Control and Supervision	1973	Vietnam
USSM	United States Sinai Support Mission	1976-1980	Sinai/Egypt
MFO	Multinational Force and Observers	1979-Continuing	Sinai/Egypt