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CANADA AND PEACEKEEPING

When Canadians think of their country's activities abroad, peacekeeping is one of the first to come to mind. Canada has participated in an overwhelming majority of peacekeeping operations mandated by the United Nations Security Council. The Government has clearly stated that peacekeeping is a very important component of Canada's contribution to the multilateral system. It is not just a question of continuing a tradition for which Canadians have a deserved international reputation; it is a question of making a solid contribution to international peace and security.

WHAT IS PEACEKEEPING?

The United Nations experimented with various applications of military observers immediately after the end of the Second World War and deployed more substantive missions in Kashmir and Palestine in the late 1940s. However, the term *peacekeeping* did not enter the popular lexicon until 1956, when Lester B. Pearson, then Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, proposed the deployment to the Suez of international forces under the UN flag. For this visionary accomplishment, Mr. Pearson was awarded the 1957 Nobel Peace Prize.

In his 1992 report to the Security Council entitled *An Agenda for Peace*, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali defined peacekeeping as:

... the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Peacekeeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace.

Traditionally, peacekeepers were placed between hostile parties to supervise cease-fires and, on occasion, the withdrawal of forces. In recent years, however, the nature of conflict has changed and the willingness of the international community to respond to new security challenges has increased. The nature of peacekeeping has had to be adapted. Peacekeeping resources are now employed in a variety of circumstances, ranging from cease-fire supervision to the delivery of humanitarian aid, the monitoring of elections and the clearing of mines. In Cambodia (1991-93), the United Nations was charged with disarming warring factions, repatriating refugees, ensuring respect for human rights, supervising important ministries of the national government and organizing provisional elections. In Somalia (1992-93) and Bosnia (1992-), peacekeepers were deployed not to maintain a cease-fire, but rather to ensure the distribution of relief supplies and to stabilize the situation.

Thus an important civilian component has been added to peacekeeping's traditional military character, and the term itself has taken on a rather elastic meaning, involving a mixture of conflict prevention, consolidation or restoration of peace, and the political and social reconstruction of ruined societies.

"I do not exaggerate the significance of what has been done. It would be futile in a quarrel between, or in opposition to, big powers. But it may have prevented a brush fire becoming an all-consuming blaze... and it could do so again in similar circumstances in the future.

"We made at least a beginning then. If, on that foundation, we do not build something more permanent and stronger, we will once again have ignored realities, rejected opportunities and betrayed our trust."

Lester B. Pearson accepting the Nobel Peace Prize, Oslo, December 11, 1957

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Peacekeeping is just one of a range of tools the international community uses to deal with conflict. Others include:

- *preventive diplomacy*, which is action to prevent disputes from arising, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur. This may involve negotiated settlements or confidence-building and arms control measures. It may also involve *preventive deployment*, that is, the sending of forces to act as a deterrent to aggression. An example is the deployment of UN forces in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.
- *peace enforcement*, which entails the international community using force against a belligerent state in an attempt to restore the peaceful status quo ante. This was the case in the Korean War (1950-53) and the Gulf War (1990-91), where the United Nations authorized military intervention by an international coalition to deal with the aggression of one state against another. Canada contributed broadly to both operations.
- *peacemaking*, which refers essentially to diplomatic activities pursued to resolve a conflict. Examples include mediation, conciliation and adjudication.

CANADA'S COMMITMENT TO PEACEKEEPING

On Confederation Boulevard in Ottawa stands *Reconciliation*, Canada's national peacekeeping monument. Unveiled in October 1992, the monument consists of two converging walls, crumbled and overgrown with weeds, representing belligerent factions. At the convergence of the walls stand three peacekeepers, symbolizing the reconciliation of those in conflict. It is a reminder to Canadians and visitors alike that Canada takes great pride in its peacekeeping record.

With tens of thousands of Canadians having served in more than 30 separate missions, UN peace and security operations form the majority of Canada's international military commitments. While peacekeepers come from all branches of the Canadian Forces (Army, Navy and Air Force), the Army has provided the vast majority, being more suited to the tasks involved. In addition, thousands of men and women from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Elections Canada, the Canadian Red Cross and other governmental and non-governmental agencies based in Canada have served in peacekeeping missions. Over 100 Canadian military personnel have been killed, and hundreds of others wounded, in the service of peace.

Canada is one of the select group of countries to which the UN regularly turns when it requires valued peacekeeping advice and when it wants expert military contributions. Our forces are professional,

well trained and highly motivated, with a vast reservoir of knowledge and experience upon which to draw when faced with unexpected crises. Canadian soldiers have proven time and time again their ability to remain calm under the most difficult circumstances. The Canadian Forces maintains units and individuals on stand-by for deployment around the globe at the request of the UN.

WHY AND WHEN DOES CANADA GET INVOLVED?

Successive Canadian governments have attempted to ensure that international peace and security are pursued through multilateral co-operation, rather than through unilateral action. They have consistently regarded peacekeeping as one of the most important mechanisms for dealing with crises. The Canadian approach to peacekeeping is based on the view that successful conflict management requires a range of tools that seek to prevent conflicts from beginning and to resolve peacefully conflicts already under way.

The decision to establish a United Nations peacekeeping force is usually taken, in the first instance, by the UN Security Council. Since the United Nations has no armed forces of its own, the Secretary-General must ask individual member states to provide specific forces for each operation.

A Canadian decision to make a contribution includes consideration of whether:

- there is a clear, achievable mandate from a competent political authority like the Security Council;
- the parties to the conflict have accepted the presence of a UN peacekeeping operation and the participation of Canadian troops within that operation;
- the peacekeeping operation is taking place against the backdrop of a process aimed at achieving a political settlement to the conflict;
- the number of troops and the international composition of the operation are suited to the mandate;
- the operation is adequately funded and has a satisfactory logistical structure; and
- the risks to Canadian soldiers are within reasonable limits.

As well, a number of more specific considerations go into deciding whether Canada will contribute to a peacekeeping operation. The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) examines whether a Canadian contribution would be compatible with Canada's overall political relations with the country or region concerned and it evaluates the request with respect to Canada's existing multilateral engagements.

If the request is for a military contribution, the Department of National Defence assesses the availability of personnel and the Canadian capacity to fulfil the proposed requirements. If civilian police officers are requested, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and other police forces make a similar calculation. If the request involves monitoring elections, Elections Canada is consulted.

Canada has a strong desire to help the UN whenever possible. Nonetheless, resource constraints compel Canada to make choices about which operations to support and how to support them. On only a few carefully selected occasions is Canada able to contribute formed military units, as in Bosnia and Herzegovina. More often, senior officers are made available and unique Canadian capabilities are provided. Decisions about contributions are guided by several considerations.

First, Canada places an emphasis on assisting the "front end" of peacekeeping operations. This means developing ideas to make the UN Secretariat more responsive to international developments, offering personnel to the UN for explicit planning functions, helping the UN plan and co-ordinate the initial phases of operations, and offering leadership on the ground through the provision of senior officers. This focus on improving UN planning and administrative functions, which is based on Canada's extensive experience with peacekeeping, helps to ensure that operations can function with maximum effectiveness.

Second, within UN missions, Canada assumes roles that take advantage of particular Canadian strengths. For example, Canada provided communications, logistics and medical support in Rwanda and demining assistance in Cambodia.

Third, Canada makes an effort to contribute not only in the peacekeeping phase, but also in the broader reconstruction of society — the "peacebuilding" phase that follows a peaceful settlement. In Kigali, Canadian troops opened airports and helped restore vital communications. In Haiti, the RCMP provided training to help transform the local police force into a professional unit appropriate to a democratic society.

Fourth, Canada strives to act quickly when needs arise and the international community requires an urgent response.

The Prime Minister's Office is involved in every request and new UN operation. Once the above considerations have been assessed, Cabinet takes the final decision about Canadian participation.

Most of the mandates for UN peacekeeping operations are of limited duration. They expire after a certain period — often six months — and have to be extended by the UN Security Council if the operation is to continue. Thus Canadian peacekeeping commitments are also for a limited period only and are regularly reassessed before being renewed.

There is no legal requirement for Parliament to approve Canadian participation in a peacekeeping mission. However, Parliament has become more actively engaged in security matters. In recent years, the House of Commons has held a series of debates on peacekeeping issues.

Like other UN member states, Canada pays its assessed contributions to all peacekeeping operations irrespective of Canadian participation in the operation. Assessed contributions cover the UN's costs and enable the UN to reimburse troop contributors. They do not cover in-kind or other voluntary contributions, or indirect costs to member states. When Canada participates in a peacekeeping operation, the costs of Canadian personnel and equipment are higher than the reimbursements provided by the UN. These additional costs are met by the Canadian government.

THE CHANGING FACE OF PEACEKEEPING

Since the end of the Cold War, the UN has created peacekeeping missions at an extraordinary rate. Between 1991 and the end of 1994, 21 new missions were set up — three more than the total established during the preceding 43 years. By the end of 1994, there were more than 78 000 UN peacekeepers deployed around the globe — of whom over 10 000 were civilians. The increased demand for peacekeepers was due in part to an intensification of regional and local conflict. This coincided with an increased willingness by UN Security Council members to use peacekeeping as a central instrument of conflict management.

Reconstitution of governing institutions, elections monitoring and reduction of weapons stocks are but a few of the new missions in which peacekeepers are now engaged. In addition, an element of force is increasingly being introduced into Security Council resolutions mandating peacekeeping operations.

The sharp rise in the number of peacekeeping missions and the multiplication of peacekeepers' tasks pose numerous challenges for the UN and its member states. Some of these challenges are political, as the international community takes on responsibility for situations that were hitherto the internal affairs of the states involved. Others are military, as soldiers become involved in missions as dangerous as they are complex. Still others are financial, as operations come to involve tens of thousands of people, rather than the few thousands of yesteryear. The costs of peacekeeping have escalated to the point where they are considerably higher than the regular UN budget.

The UN does not presently have the human, financial or technical resources to keep up with the growing demand for peacekeeping. While the UN must continue to play the central role, regional organizations and groups can assist. Such organizations are often politically and culturally closer to the sources of insecurity and therefore have a direct interest in trying to prevent tensions from escalating into conflicts. Although most regional organizations lack the capability to mount peacekeeping operations on their own, they can undertake conflict prevention measures and preventive diplomacy initiatives that might reduce the need for peacekeeping. In cases where peacekeeping is required, regional organizations can strengthen co-operation among their members involved in the operation, thus enhancing overall effectiveness.

"[I]f the international community should do anything, it must learn from... and take the necessary steps to mandate and equip the UN to become the crisis manager in a world where conflict and humanitarian disasters appear to be a growing trend."

Major-General Roméo Dallaire,
Former Force Commander,
United Nations Assistance
Mission In Rwanda

To respond quickly and professionally to crises requiring international attention, the United Nations and its member states must thoroughly and constantly re-examine the way in which peacekeeping operations are managed. In Ottawa, in other world capitals and at UN Headquarters in New York, there is an emerging consensus that any UN action must be more clearly thought out, broadly supported and effectively financed. Member states must examine the UN's ability to organize and launch new missions, the capacity to maintain clear lines of authority and decision making between UN Headquarters and field missions, and the capacity of UN forces on the ground — often comprised of many different nationalities — to co-ordinate their efforts.

"The times call for thinking afresh, for striving together and for creating new ways to overcome crises... The changed face of conflict today requires us to be perceptive, adaptive, creative and courageous... [A]bove all it requires a deeper commitment to co-operation and true multilateralism than humanity has ever achieved before."

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Supplement to *An Agenda for Peace*

RESPONDING TO THE CHALLENGES

Canada has been at the forefront of efforts to meet the new challenges to international peacekeeping. In February 1994, the Government announced the establishment of the Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Training Centre. Located on the site of a former military base in Cornwallis, Nova Scotia, the Centre offers instruction in the theoretical foundations of peacekeeping as well as its more practical aspects.

In April 1994, Canada hosted a "brainstorming seminar" in Ottawa, at which UN officials and troop-contributing countries discussed issues associated with political direction, command and control, and the training of peacekeeping personnel. In September 1994, Canada undertook to prepare a study on a UN rapid reaction capability, for presentation to the 50th session of the UN General Assembly in September 1995. The study focussed on making practical proposals to enhance the UN's ability to react more rapidly in times of crisis.

As foreseen by Mr. Pearson, peacekeeping has become the conflict-resolution instrument of choice for many organizations. Canada, with its internationally recognized multilateral expertise and experience, is helping to adapt peacekeeping to better meet the demands of the evolving post-Cold War environment. Canada will continue to choose its contributions carefully to make the optimum use of valuable resources. The Government will also continue to ensure that Canadian involvement is firmly backed by the Canadian public and by Parliament.

Current Canadian Contribution to Peacekeeping Operations

As of May 1, 1996, more than 1070 Canadian personnel are deployed in 10 UN missions, making Canada the sixth-largest troop contributor.

Country	Operation	Canadian(s)	Began	Ends
Korea	UNCMAC	1	1953	Indefinite
Middle East	UNTSO	13	1954	Indefinite
Cyprus	UNFICYP	2	1964	Indefinite
Syria (Golan)	UNDOF	190	1974	Indefinite
Sinai	MFO (non UN)	28	1986	Indefinite
Iraq-Kuwait	UNIKOM	4	1991	Indefinite
Iraq	UNSCOM	3	1991	Indefinite
Former Yugoslavia	UNPF	5	1992	June 30, 1996
	IFOR (non UN)	1000	1996	December 20, 1996
Cambodia	CMAC	6	1992	Indefinite
Haiti	UNMIH	750	1993	June 30, 1996
Guatemala	MINUGUA	2	1994	March 28, 1996

Korea Canada contributes to the UN Command Military Armistice Commission (UNCMAC), established in 1953.

Middle East In 1954, Canada joined the UN Truce Supervision Operation (UNTSO), which was established in 1948 to supervise the cease-fire and the general armistice between Israel and Egypt, and between Israel and Lebanon-Syria.

Cyprus The UN Peacekeeping Force In Cyprus (UNFICYP) was established in 1964 to maintain law and order. Canada currently provides two military personnel to UNFICYP headquarters. This mission is financed by contributions from Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

Syria (Golan) In 1974 the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) was established to supervise the cease-fire and the redeployment of Israeli and Syrian forces. The Canadian contingent to UNDOF provides logistical, technical and communications support.

Sinai A non-UN mission, Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) monitors adherence to the 1979 Camp David Accord, a tripartite agreement among Egypt, Israel and the United States. Canada has participated in MFO since 1986.

Iraq, Kuwait Since April 1991, a Canadian team of military observers has served with the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM), stationed in the demilitarized zone on the Iraq-Kuwait border.

Iraq Canada joined the UN Special Commission (UNSCOM) in April 1991 to inspect and, if necessary, destroy Iraq's biological and chemical weapons.

Former Yugoslavia

Since March 1992, Canada has contributed one of the largest contingents to the UN forces in the former Yugoslavia. Currently some 1000 Canadian troops serve with the NATO Peace Implementation Force (IFOR) in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Canadians also serve with the UN Peace Forces (UNPF) in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in the UN Military Observer Mission in Prevlaka (UNMOP).

Cambodia

Within the Cambodian Mine Action Centre (CMAC), Canada provides six personnel to train Cambodians in demining techniques and safety standards as well as management and decision-making skills to support de-mining operations.

Haiti

The United Nations Mission In Haiti (UNMIH) was established in June 1993. In March 1995, Canada sent 100 police officers and 450 military personnel to Haiti to help the government sustain a secure and stable environment; to professionalize the Haitian army; and to create a separate police force. Currently, there are 750 Canadians deployed in Haiti.

Guatemala

The United Nations Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA) checks to see that the Agreement on Human Rights between the Government of Guatemala and the opposing rebel group is carried out. MINUGUA also co-operates with and helps strengthen institutions working for the protection of human rights in the country; and it verifies aspects of the Agreement on Identity and Human Rights of the Indigenous People.

**Major Troop Contributors to Peacekeeping Operations
(UN figures to April 30, 1996)**

Bangladesh	1682	Canada	1070
India	1180	Pakistan	989
Russian Federation	1163	Finland	981
Brazil	1118	Poland	958
Jordan	1074	Norway	914

Peacekeeping Operations over the Years and Canada's Contribution
(Note: Bold type indicates Canada is still contributing)

Country or Area	Short Form of Mission Name	Duration	Size of Mission	Maximum Canadian Contribution	Name of Operation and Mandate
Balkans	UNSCOB	1947-1951	Not available	0	United Nations Special Committee On the Balkans. Observe whether Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are complying with UN recommendations.
Korea	UNTCOK	1947-1948	30	2	United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. Supervise elections in South Korea.
India, Pakistan (Kashmir)	UNMOGIP	1949-present	102	27	UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan. (Kashmir) Supervise cease-fire between India and Pakistan.
Korea	UNCMAC	1953-present	Not available	1	UN Command Military Armistice Commission. Supervise 1953 armistice.
Middle East	UNTSO	1948-present	572	22	UN Truce Supervision Organization. Supervise 1948 cease-fire and subsequent armistice and peace.
Indochina	ICSC	1954-1974	400	133	International Commission for Supervision and Control (non-UN mission) Supervise withdrawal of French forces.
Egypt	UNEF	1956-1967	6073	1007	United Nations Emergency Force. Supervise withdrawal of French, British and Israeli forces from Sinai.
Lebanon	UNOGIL	1958	590	77	UN Observation Group in Lebanon. Ensure safety of Lebanese borders.
Congo	ONUC	1960-1964	19 828	421	UN Operation in the Congo. Maintain law and order.

Country or Area	Short Form of Mission Name	Duration	Size of Mission	Maximum Canadian Contribution	Name of Operation and Mandate
West New Guinea	UNSF	1962-1963	1500	13	UN Security Force in West New Guinea (West Irian). Maintain peace and security for UN Temporary Executive Authority.
Yemen	UNYOM	1963-1965	190	36	UN Yemen Observation Mission. Monitor cessation of Saudi Arabian support and withdrawal of Egyptian forces.
Cyprus	UNFICYP	1964-present	6410	1126	UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus. Maintain law and order.
Dominican Republic	DOMREP	1965-1966	3	1	Mission of the Representative of the Secretary-General. Observe ceasefire and withdrawal of OAS forces.
India, Pakistan	UNIPOM	1965-1966	160	112	UN India-Pakistan Observation Mission. Supervise cease-fire.
Nigeria	OTN	1968-1969	12	2	Observer Team to Nigeria. (non-UN mission) Supervise cease-fire.
Egypt, Israel	UNEF II	1973-1979	6973	1145	UN Emergency Force II. Supervise deployment of Israeli and Egyptian forces.
South VietNam	ICCS	1973	1200	248	International Commission for Control and Supervision. (non-UN mission). Supervise truce.
Syria (Golan)	UNDOF	1974-present	1340	230	UN Disengagement Observer Force. Supervise ceasefire and redeployment of Israeli and Syrian forces.
Lebanon	UNIFIL	1978-present	5900	117	UN Interim Force in Lebanon. Confirm withdrawal of Israeli forces.

Country or Area	Short Form of Mission Name	Duration	Size of Mission	Maximum Canadian Contribution	Name of Operation and Mandate
Sinai	MFO	1986-present	2700	140	Multinational Force and Observers. (non-UN mission) Prevent violation of Camp David Accord.
Afghanistan	UNGOMAP	1988-1990	50	5	UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Confirm withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan.
Iran, Iraq	UNIIMOG	1988-1991	845	525	UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group. Supervise ceasefire and forces' withdrawal.
Angola	UNAVEM	1989-1991	70	0	UN Angola Verification Mission. Monitor Cuban troop withdrawal.
Namibia	UNTAG	1989-1990	4500	301	UN Transition Assistance Group, Namibia. Assist in transition to independence.
Nicaragua	ONUSVEN	1989	Not available	5	UN Observer Mission for the Verification of the Electoral Process in Nicaragua.
Central America	ONUSCA	1989-1992	1100	174	UN Observer Group in Central America. Verify compliance to Esquipulas Agreement.
Afghanistan, Pakistan	OSGAP	1990-1993	10	1	Office of the Secretary-General in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Provide military advisory unit.
Haiti	ONUSVEH	1990-1991	65	11	UN Observers for the Verification of Elections in Haiti. Monitor 1990 elections.
Iraq, Kuwait	UNIKOM	1991-present	1440	301	UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission. Monitor demilitarized zone.

Country or Area	Short Form of Mission Name	Duration	Size of Mission	Maximum Canadian Contribution	Name of Operation and Mandate
Iraq	UNSCOM	1991-present	175	9	UN Special Commission. Inspect and, if necessary, destroy Iraq's biological and chemical weapons.
Angola	UNAVEM II	1991-1994	350	15	UN Angola Verification Mission. Monitor cease-fire.
Western Sahara	MINURSO	1991-present	375	34	UN Mission for the Referendum in the Western Sahara. Monitor cease-fire.
El Salvador	ONUSAL	1991-1995	622	55	UN Observer Mission in El Salvador. Monitor human rights, progress toward military reform, peace.
Balkans	ECMM	1991-present	300	15	European Community Monitor Mission. (non-UN mission) Monitor cease-fires.
Cambodia	UNAMIC	1991-1992	Not available	103	UN Advance Mission in Cambodia. Monitor cease-fire and establish mine awareness.
Cambodia	UNTAC	1992-1993	19 200	240	UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia. Provide communications and logistical support, establish mine awareness and monitor disarmament.
Cambodia	CMAC	1992-present	1600	12	Cambodian Mine Action Center.
South Africa	UNOMSA	1992	60	0	UN Observer Mission in South Africa. Observe pre-election period. (Staffed by UN personnel only)

Country or Area	Short Form of Mission Name	Duration	Size of Mission	Maximum Canadian Contribution	Name of Operation and Mandate
Former Yugoslavia	IFOR (non-UN) UNPF UNMOP	1992-present	24 000	2400	NATO's Peace Implementation Force in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina UN Peace Force. UN observer mission in Prevlaka.
Mozambique	ONUMOZ	1992-1995	7500	15	UN Operation in Mozambique. Provide security, monitor de-mining and cease-fires.
Somalia	UNOSOM	1992-1993	Not available	12	UN Operation in Somalia. Headquarters personnel.
Somalia	UNITAF	1992-1993	30 800	1410	United Task Force. Distribute relief supplies.
Somalia	UNOSOM II	1993-1995	Not available	9	UN Operations in Somalia. Distribute relief supplies.
Haiti	UNMIH	1993-present	6800	750	UN Mission in Haiti. Implement the Governors Island Agreement.
Georgia	UNOMIG	1993-present	135	0	UN Observer Mission in Georgia. Monitor cease-fire and investigate violations.
Liberia	UNOMIL	1993-present	303	0	UN Observer Mission in Liberia. Monitor implementation of peace agreement.
Rwanda, Uganda	UNOMUR	1993-1994	100	3	UN Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda. Verify that military supplies do not cross border into Rwanda.
Rwanda	UNAMIR	1993-1996	5900	430	UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda. Assist interim government with transition measures leading to elections.

Country or Area	Short Form of Mission Name	Duration	Size of Mission	Maximum Canadian Contribution	Name of Operation and Mandate
Chad	UNASOG	1994	Not available	0	UN Aouzou Strip Observer Group. Monitor withdrawal of Libyan administration.
Tadjikistan	UNMOT	1994	17	0	UN Mission in Tadjikistan. Assist implementation of cease-fire.
Guatemala	MINUGUA	1994-1996	339	2	UN Human Rights Verification Mission in Guatemala. Verify implementation of human rights agreements and help strengthen human rights institutions.

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