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## **BAKALÁŘSKÁ PRÁCE**

Accomplishments and Failures of Canadian Peacekeeping Missions

Úspěchy a neúspěchy kanadských mírových misí

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## **ABSTRACT**

According to the United Nations, peacekeeping is defined as a “unique and dynamic instrument developed by the Organization as a way to help countries torn by conflict create the conditions for lasting peace”. The objective of this thesis is to analyze the evolution of international peacekeeping missions, with the emphasis on the Canadian army as one of the most significant contributors to the world’s building of peace and security. In the theoretical part, the author will be dealing with the theory and history of conflict resolution. In the practical part, the author will look at relative accomplishments and failures of the Canadian peacekeeping troops during more than a half century long tradition. The author will also be focusing on some of the most significant personalities in peace maintaining, such as Lester B. Pearson and Romeo Dallaire.

## **ANOTACE**

Podle Organizace Spojených Národů je peacekeeping (česky „udržení míru“) definován jako „cesta, kterou se dá pomocí zemím rozvrácených konfliktem dosáhnout podmínek pro udržitelný mír“. Cílem této bakalářské práce bude analyzovat vývoj mezinárodních misí na udržení míru s důrazem na kanadskou armádu, jakožto jednoho z hlavních budovatelů světového míru a bezpečnosti. V teoretické části se autorka bude zabývat teorií a historií řešení konfliktů, v praktické části bude zkoumat relativní úspěchy a omyly kanadských mírových jednotek během více než půl století trvající tradice. Autorka se v bakalářské práci také zaměří na některé z nejvýznamnějších osobností v udržování míru, jako například Lester B. Pearson a Romeo Dallaire.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

I have chosen the topic of the peacekeeping missions for many reasons. The first one is that I have never been indifferent to the problems of so-called “Third World countries”. Dealing with the issues such as the lack of water and food supplies, insufficient medical care, poverty and diseases in these countries, however, would be pointless without the very essential condition - secured peace. When the peace and relative stability are guaranteed in the country, it is necessary to provide basic humanitarian aid and maintain the peaceful environment. The peacekeeping missions involve humanitarian intervention and providing humanitarian aid as well as maintaining suitable conditions for the further development of the conflict-stricken country.

On the other hand, peacekeeping missions cost a huge amount of money, manpower and last but not least lives of thousands of people. In many cases, all the expensive and frequently unquantifiable means do not prove to be worth spending on peacekeeping missions. This controversy leads to the fact that peacekeeping has become still more discussed theme in the media around the world. I dare say that the public opinion towards the peacekeeping is mostly influenced by the media which present peacekeeping in a glamorized way. I have always been skeptical about exaggerated commercial sensations and therefore I want to get my own perspective and discover the truth beyond the pamphlets praising peacekeeping and find out what is true and what is just a mere fiction presented by the press.

Another reason why I want to focus on the topic of the peacekeeping missions appeared after my attending Canadian studies where I had learned about the concept of the Canadian peacekeeping and peace building. I have always been interested in the questions of pacifism and peace maintaining in the world and therefore I found this topic as an obvious choice.

I would like to introduce the peacekeeping missions from the point of view of the superior organization, the United Nations. This rather objective viewpoint seems to me as a cliché about which there has already been published a lot. That is why I will also include other standpoints of different sources and contrast them with the official United

Nations' reports. I would like to make this thesis contributive and engaging to read for all, even those who are not interested in military actions and peacekeeping at all.

The theoretical part will focus on explanation of what the term "peacekeeping" means and what are the main aims and tasks of the peacekeeping missions in general. Further on, this part will be focusing on the evolution of the missions. A brief outline will be presented on how the peacekeeping missions have been developing since the first deployment of the peacekeeping mission. The readers will be also informed about the types of the peacekeeping missions and how the focus of these actions has changed.

The following chapter will be aimed at the peacekeeping and peace building actions of the Canadian army. The history of the Canadian peacekeeping and the current administration will be compared with the general goals of these set by the United Nations. As the part of the development of the Canadian peacekeeping, it cannot be forgotten to mention the biography and achievements of probably the greatest figure of the Canadian peacekeeping - Lester Bowles Pearson, the actual founder of the peacekeeping missions.

Another chapter will be dealing with the controversies of the missions. There have already been reported several scandals shrouding the peacekeeping and casting bad light on them. Among the controversies play the major role abuse and rape of the local people living in the conflict-stricken countries, questions of financial burdens or several-times prolonged missions. A few examples of such controversial aspects of the peace operations will be given and demonstrated on the previous as well as current missions.

The practical part will present examples of peacekeeping missions and the general goals of these missions. Among the chosen missions belong peace operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Lebanon and Rwanda. It will be shortly elaborated on the course of the mission and on what was achieved at the end of its mandate. According to the comparison of the official source from the UN and the medial reports, I will try to decide whether these missions meant a relative accomplishment or a failure for the peacekeeping. This part will also be concentrating on the most significant figure of the

present-day Canadian peacekeeping - Roméo Dallaire, a Canadian Lieutenant-General who showed great responsibility for protecting human lives in the Rwandan conflict.

The objective of this thesis is to introduce the readers into the world of peacekeeping, its benefits as well as drawbacks. The whole work will head towards the final conclusion where I would like to ask crucial questions - is it even worth it to keep on with peacekeeping missions? Is it really necessary to spend millions of dollars every year on peacekeeping? And last but certainly not the least issue arises whether the losses on lives can anyhow equalize to the achievements of the peacekeeping. Based on the readings and my own reflections, I would like to present all the pros and cons of the peace missions and - if there is any - come to a proper conclusion and find answers to these questions.



## **2. PEACEKEEPING**

In this chapter the term ‘peacekeeping’ is defined. A general overview of goals set by the United Nations is given in this section too. Other abstracts deal with the brief history and the types of the peacekeeping missions described by the official sources.

### **2.1 What is ‘peacekeeping’**

The word “peacekeeping” consists of two components; the noun “peace” and the verb “keep”. The Oxford Dictionary defines “peace” as “freedom from disturbance; quiet and tranquility” or “freedom from or the cessation of war or violence” (Pearsall 2011a). “To keep” means “to continue or cause to continue in a specified condition, position, course, etc.” (Pearsall 2011b)

According to the official server of the United Nations, “peacekeeping” is defined as a “unique and dynamic instrument developed by the Organization as a way to help countries torn by conflict create the conditions for lasting peace” (Secretary of the Publications Board 2012). Peacekeeping missions are, therefore, missions set to maintain relative calm in conflict stricken countries, secure well-being of civilians and to help government to sustain a ceasefire.

### **2.2 General goals of the peacekeeping missions**

According to Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit (2003) the very first objective concerns peace agreements. It is essential to create such conditions where the fighting sides would be willing to negotiate and head towards a compromise with the other side. Peacekeeping units participate therefore in preparations and implementation of peace agreements which would be acceptable for both sides. Peace agreements do not only represent mere documents. They stand for basic rules and laws which have to be indispensably followed. If another conflict broke out again, it would be evident who is to blame thanks to clearly defined principles in the peace accord.

The same source states that “peacekeeping troops maintain calm and cessation of hostilities after the discord” (2003:1). At this point, it is necessary to see the fundamental meaning of peacekeeping. Representing some sort of an authority, the uniforms and white vans with big black UN signs may be perceived by the locals as an international interest in their country and concrete safety guarantee.

As described by the UN Security Council (2002), peacekeepers supervise ceasefires in conflict-stricken countries. Once deployed on a mission, peacekeeping units try to minimize dangers for the civilians by suspension of weapons. Nowadays, peacekeeping troops approve the existence of army but they simultaneously keep on supervising their activities. There are many programs provided especially by Pearson Peacekeeping Centre (PPC) which specializes in training of self-sufficient armies and police officers. As a good example serves Bosnia and Herzegovina; training centers helped there to rebuild new and confident army and police.

Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit (2003) mentions another sub-mission of peacekeeping which relates to creation of secure conditions encouraging a comeback of the pre-war life of the civilians. Peacekeeping missions fulfill an important role several years after the conflict because the mandate of the mission often continues or may be prolonged. The supervision of post-war situation is provided by the peace troops, which often consist of supervisors, civilians and volunteers in this period. They stay present to guard the future development of the country.

### **2.3 History of the peacekeeping missions**

The beginnings of the peacekeeping date back to 1940’s; precisely right after the World War II. The United Nations (UN) was established on 24 October 1945 as a response to the previous two wars. World War I came as a great shock to people of the whole world not only because of its sudden involvement of the countries worldwide but as well thanks to the violence performed on the innocent civilians.

The post-war world was slowly regaining its strength back again and another global conflict, today known as the World War II, broke out. Whereas World War I was a great surprise and a shock for the civilians, World War II could not at all be compared with

its even greater brutality on a larger scale. Breaking the laws against humanity, discrimination, racial segregation, immorality and the complete loss of value of the human life were only some of the impacts of the war.

On behalf of these acts of violence of the wars, an organization was established to prevent war from bursting out again and guarding the peace on Earth. Throughout the globe, this humanitarian organization calls itself the United Nations. Since its creation, the UN has been called upon to prevent disputes from escalating into war, to persuade opposing parties to use the conference table rather than force of arms and to help restore peace when conflict breaks out. Basic Facts about the United Nations states that UN “helped to contain or end numerous conflicts in many cases through the deployment of peacekeeping operations” (UN Department of Public Information 2011:59) over the years of its existence.

The first peace operation attempt under the patronage of the United Nations occurred in 1948. Troops of so-called “blue helmets” (Little 2000:4) were sent to supervise the cessation of fighting between Israel and the Arab nations. This mission entered the history as UNTSO (The United Nations Truce Supervision Organization). According to Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit (2003) Suez Crisis in 1956 marks then the first real peacekeeping operation declared by the UN.

Little (2000) says that ever since their creation, the peace operations have changed rapidly. However, the basic ideas and roots of the missions remain the same. Basically, peacekeeping refers to the specific principle where the United Nations - either military or civilian, armed or not armed troops - stay present in the field among conflicting parties.

According to the Handbook on United Nations Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations (2003), since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the nature of the various combats throughout the globe has begun to change. Nowadays, conflicts tend to be intra-state which means that they are marked by multiple actors with different interests and mainly with ever growing number of casualties of the civilians. The number of victims on the side of women and children should be alarming. In these ‘light’ intra-

state conflicts, children and women are being more often targeted and victimized and become part of this scourge of the war.

#### **2.4 Types of the peace missions**

“Depending on its mandate, every peacekeeping mission works on a wide field of various helping sub-tasks on different levels.” (Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit 2003:1). The same source acknowledges that since the birth of the first peace operations, concepts of single actions have become diverse and every single operation works unique. Every mission requires specific governance; nevertheless there can be found two basic types of the missions.

Many of the current actions remain more or less traditional meaning military governed. In these actions, the peacekeeping units are composed mainly of the military staff. In Handbook on UN Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operations, it is stated that these “military operations are deployed in support of a political activity” and they “involve military tasks such as monitoring ceasefires and patrolling buffer zones between hostile parties”. (Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit 2003:1).

The modern missions are based on the peacekeeping and observing model of operation. These modern operations are deployed in support of maintenance of the human rights and reconstructions and “return of the normal civilian life” (Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit 2003:2). There are other differences between these two models, for example in the composition of the staff and financial funds.

Whether the mission will be led traditionally or in a modern fashion depends mainly on what is defined in the mandate for a particular mission whereas mandate corresponds, or rather should correspond, with the nature of the conflict.

### **3. CANADIAN PEACEKEEPING**

In this chapter a brief history of the peacekeeping missions of the Canadian troops is mentioned. The chapter also deals with the aspects that make Canadian peacekeeping different from peacekeeping efforts of other countries. The character of the peacekeeping missions has changed. Canadian peacekeeping has also evolved and changed in various ways. This section of the thesis gives a few examples of changes in the peace operations. The last sub-chapter describes one of the most significant personalities of the Canadian as well as the world peacekeeping scene - Lester Bowles Pearson.

#### **3.1 Specifics of Canadian Peacekeeping**

In 2006, Canadian participation in the United Nations peacekeeping operations celebrated its 50th anniversary. For the whole nation this, however, does not mean just another anniversary. According to Little's publication *The Canadian Contribution to United Nations*, Canadian peacekeeping "has always symbolized a trademark" (1992:5) and at the same time something deeply rooted in the origins of the country. In the following year, the 50th anniversary of the Nobel Peace Prize for Lester B. Pearson, the actual founder of the peacekeeping missions, was celebrated.

Since the first real peacekeeping operation was deployed in Suez Crisis more than "120,000 Canadian peacekeepers have served in over fifty operations all over the world" (Little 2000:3). Canadian forces fulfill general duties of the United Nations' peacekeeping. Little (1992) claims that among these activities belong providing shelter and protection of the civilians, securing of safe deliverance of the basic humanitarian aid, etc.

There are, however, some specific features which make Canadian peacekeeping different from other countries. Canadian troops participate in both UN and non-UN peacekeeping missions. Little (1992) gives us such examples; Canada takes part in the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO), an independent (non-UN) peacekeeping mission operating in the Sinai Peninsula. Canadian personnel have been serving in

International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. This mission is led by North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

Another difference can be demonstrated on the fact that Canadian peacekeepers have changed into “peacebuilders”. He describes peacebuilders’ job as an “attempt to reconstruct destroyed areas such as Kosovo and East Timor” (Little 1992:13). This difference which makes Canadian peacekeepers different from other peacekeeping troops might be partially caused by the long-lasting tradition of the peace missions in Canada. The experience with peacekeeping proved that “half of the countries emerging from war return to war within five years” (Little 2000:9). Responding to this fact, Canadian peacekeeping troops are, therefore, more active in the reconstruction era of the country. Three major institutions have already been established to help with building the peace that “will help to fill the void between war and peace” (Little 2000:9).

### **3.2 Changing character of the missions**

As Little (1992) writes, while the whole concept of peace operations has undergone a great change, Canadian involvement in traditional missions has gone through a certain development, too. Where as traditional peacekeeping operations were predominantly a military activity, today’s peacekeeping operations include various NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) such as CARE Canada, as well as diverse groups such as RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police), Civilian police, and many others.

Little (2000) sees another change in the peacekeeping governance in the participation in UN peacekeeping operations which has significantly decreased. Surprisingly enough, Little states that “Canada ranked 59<sup>th</sup>” (2000:13) as for the contributions to the UN operations. United Nations annual report of 2006 also stated that Canada contributes only 3 percent to the UN Peacekeeping Budget. Such trend has been probably caused by the ever growing number of nations involved in peace operations. If we take a closer look at the national representation in various missions now and earlier, the composition has altered. Nowadays, most of the soldiers and military personnel from the Third world countries wear blue helmets. As part of a new strategy, UN incorporates contingents of countries recovering from a recent conflict. Little (2000) demonstrates this policy on example with Rwandese soldiers helping in peacekeeping operations in East Timor and

Africa. Another reason for the change in Canadian involvement might be explained due to the fact that today's Canadian peacekeepers intervene in a conflict only when the involvement is publicly sanctioned.

### **3.3 Canadian contribution to the peacekeeping**

Canadian troops stood at birth of the UN peacekeeping operations. It was the Canada's Prime Minister of that time, Lester B. Pearson who, during a conflict between Egypt and Israel, suggested to the General Assembly that an international "peacekeeping force should be established to keep borders at peace" (Little 1992:5).

This conflict, called Suez Crisis, was initially progressing very badly for the Canadians. After the invasion of joined troops of United Kingdom, France and Israel in Egypt, Pearson was forced to work closely with the United States to somehow settle the corrupted relationships among the Western allies. According to the online Biography of Lester Bowles Pearson (2012) his skills manifested while he promoted an establishment of peace forces in the Suez Canal area. The UN supported this resolution and the British and French had to back down. On 14 October 1957 Lester B. Pearson was awarded by the Nobel Peace Prize for the success in resolving the Suez Crisis. The deployment of the peace force in Suez Crisis situation actually meant the first UN's designated peacekeeping mission with Lester B. Pearson as its architect.

Ward (2002) claims that Lester B. Pearson laid the very impulse for creation of the first peacekeeping mission as well as for the whole concept of today's goals of the United Nations. In his various speeches he remained loyal to his vision of the world in union, peace and international collaboration. The author of the Internet article about the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Lester B. Pearson summarizes his qualities in the statement that "his principles made him an idealist, his sensitivity a realist" (Ward 2002).

When the Expo '67 took place in Montreal on April 27 Lester B. Pearson remarked that the exhibition represents not only the achievements of the mankind but also a world itself that "belongs not to any one nation but to every nation. [...] On display of Expo we can see in inspiring actuality how much every nation has to gain from co-operation and how much to lose in conflict" (Pearson 1967:3).

Lester B. Pearson, the lecturer, diplomat, Prime minister and last but not least the peacekeeper, done so much good back at the times of his greatest political and social influence and his remarkable legacy should have never been forgotten by any of Canadian citizens as well as by anyone in the world.



## **4. PRACTICAL PART**

The first chapter of the practical part deals with controversies of the peacekeeping missions. We can learn about the negative aspects of peacekeeping mostly from unofficial sources such as various publications and the Internet. I am giving the examples of controversial sides of the peace operations such as abuse of local people and long-lasting or several times prolonged missions. Even the Canadian peacekeepers have not avoided scandals. This chapter mentions one of the most controversial scandals of the Canadian peacekeeping missions - The Somalia Affair.

In the practical part, it is elaborated on the three peacekeeping missions. These missions were not, however, chosen randomly. I have chosen these three missions because of the participation of the Canadian peacekeepers in them. First paragraphs of every mission are dedicated to the brief introduction into the history of the conflict. Later on, it is dealt with description of the mission from the official sources which are accessible to the public. On the contrary to what is written in these documents, some negative and perhaps controversial aspects from unofficial sources are given.

In the first mission described in this chapter, UNMIBH, Canadians contributed a great deal especially after the ceasefire of the conflict. The relatively successful mission is put in contrast to the relative failures within the mission. The second mission, UNAMIR, has already been condemned as the biggest failure by the official sources. This mission represents a significant event in the history of Canadian peacekeeping not only because it gave birth to the biggest personality of nowadays peacekeeping - Roméo Dallaire. The last mission, UNIFIL, has been chosen as an example of sort of an inconspicuous mission which had deprived of life four peacekeepers only because of the lack of decisiveness of the UN organs.

### **4.1 Controversies of the peacekeeping missions**

The peacekeeping missions are supposed to be deployed as a help to countries affected by an armed conflict or even a war. Peacekeepers intend to bring peace in such countries and establish suitable life conditions. However, peace operations do not only

bring positive effects; they have already proved that some negatives may arise. There are several examples of typical controversial aspects of the peace operations that raise objections. These aspects can be learnt from the Internet, television or publications dealing with the topic. The official reports on the peacekeeping missions give us only an overview of what happened or has been happening on a mission.

The long-lasting or several times prolonged mandate stands for the most often criticized point of the peace missions. Among others, also United Nations Truce Supervision (UNTSO) gained the status of permanence. Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit (2003) states that this mission, set out to supervise the ceasefire in Palestine, has more or less existed since May 25, 1948. The list of the dead peacekeepers in this conflict “contains fifty fatalities and the total number of soldiers and military observers counts 148 officers from countries all over the world” (United Nations Department of Public Information 2011:77). Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit (2003) considers United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) as the oldest functioning peacekeeping mission which was set out on March 4, 1964. Men and women in blue helmets and berets of this mission come mainly from Canada and Scandinavian countries and their efforts focus most importantly on termination of armed conflicts between the Cypriot Turks and Greeks. According to United Nations Department of Public Information (2011), 180 peacekeepers have already fallen victim but the stabilization still seems distant. As stated by the General Secretary of the UN (2011) in his report, UNFICYP aims first and foremost to prevent a recurrence of fighting, and to contribute to the maintenance of law and order and return to normal conditions. Such an approach, when successful, builds confidence between the communities and contributes to the overall UN effort in support of the peace process. The mission of good offices cannot be considered as unsuccessful, however, maintenance of the military status quo while allowing Cypriots who live and work in the buffer zone seems somehow not exactly in sight.

Cílek (2009b) deals not only with so called petrified peacekeeping missions but also with the most horrible averted side of the missions. In his regular periodical, Markéta Kutilová, a young brave journalist and founder of many projects for the help of raped women and children especially of the Democratic Republic of Congo, describes vividly her experiences in this country. She has, for example met an old badly undernourished

lady, sitting in her urine stinking hut with no windows and no people to help her around. The lady was fully immobile. The reason for such a poor state of this lady was one step on a mine left in Congo by the UN troops. This old lady is not, unfortunately the only victim who lost only her limbs and not her whole life. Cilek (2009b) writes about a huge number of adults as well as children who have already become victims of mines left in Congo. From the evidence of the local civilians, many abhorrent rape and abuses of women and underage children have been reported. These crimes carry many more far-reaching problems. Next to the mental abuses and harms done to the victims, African soldiers in the UN services are to blame for spreading of AIDS among the civilians in Cambodia. Also the number of people earning money with prostitution has risen rapidly.

Even the Canadians have not avoided scandals. The Somalia Affair - also called as Canada's National Shame - denotes a military scandal of 1993. Bercuson (1997) informs about several recurring problems with the discipline and ethical behavior in the Canadian Airborne Regiment which had been reported a year before. The series of some brutal scandals peaked in 1993 when a young teenager, Shidane Abukar Arone, was found trying to steal Canadian supplies. Instead of dealing with a meaningless attempted theft in a civilized way, "Arone was exposed to the beating, torturing and waterboarding." (Bercuson 1997:211ff.). The photographs of one of the Canadian soldiers holding dead Arone had gone public and naturally raised a wave of skepticism towards the peace missions. Naturally, not only Canada but the whole world challenged the good deeds of the peacekeeping.

According to Cilek (2009a), sexual abuse and rape of local women and children have become not so rare maladies. The quality of the diverse national contingents really differs in question of morals. There is a huge mass of people serving in the peacekeeping operations. He shows us numbers of people involved in peacekeeping missions. Statistics say in "16 missions till the November 2008 there have been 110 273 persons - 75 339 soldiers, 2516 unarmed military observers, 11 658 police officers, 5 583 civilian workers, 12 993 home personnel and 2 184 foreign volunteers" (Cilek (2009b:37f.). As stated by the same source, during the years 2004 - 2006, the United Nations investigated 310 members of UN working all over the world. It is almost impossible to watch over ten of thousands of people. The same source says that

probably the only chance how to prevent violations of basic principles is to push through the policy of zero tolerance. The exaggerated number of the staff serving for peacekeeping can be considered as the third biggest controversy which creates a stir among the public.

#### **4.2 United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH)**

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina started as a fight for independence and during the war times turned into an international armed conflict. As the result, “over 200,000 people had died, 20,000 were missing and 1.2 million were internally displaced” (UN Security Council 2002:2). Klemenčič (2004) explains that the Bosnian war broke out after the breakup of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In 2003, Yugoslavia was effectively dissolved with the establishment of the country of Serbia and Montenegro through a peace accord mediated by officials from the European Union (EU). The new arrangement gave greater autonomy to each republic.

As described in the official Report of General-Secretary on the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2002), since the deployment of the United Nations peace operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the peace troops had had to face problems within the local military units. Instead of trying to maintain security for civilians, individual members performed various acts of violence such as discrimination and threatening civilians who did not belong to their own ethnicity. The mission’s aim therefore “focused mainly on establishing the security of the civilians and effort to rectify the corruption of the police forces” (UN Security Council 2002:3). Recognizing the inextricable link between policing and an effective judicial system towards establishing the rule of law, UNMIBH created the Judicial System Assessment Programme in 1998. By the new millennia, UNMIBH succeeded in stabilizing the situation in the country. UN Security Council (2002) claims that significant number of displaced persons was enabled to return to their pre-war homes again. A two year plan for mandate implementation constituted of the baseline of concrete police and law reforms. Six core programmes were established for clearer outline for the Mission’s reporting mechanisms.

General-Secretary (2002) in his official reports informs the public about the goals of all these six programmes. Core programme one aimed on the police reform. Police officers should have regained respect and confidence of the public. Restoration of the decline in workmanship of the police officers was marked out as the second main aim of the programme. UNMIBH therefore provided hundreds of US dollars to raise the professional skills of the employees and opening new police academies. To maintain coherent legal framework between police and the criminal justice system, the Criminal Justice Advisory Unit was established by UNMIBH. Specialized courses for better quality of police crime reports have been successfully implemented in all, except one administrative cantons of the country. “Core programme four: institution building and inter-police force cooperation” (UN Security Council 2002:5) has achieved an important goal. The same source mentions that the goal was to establish a State Border Service across the border of the country reaching 1,550 kilometers. The number of illegal migrants has rapidly decreased since then. UNMIBH also assisted in creation of Interpol (National Central Bureau of the International Criminal Police Organization) in Sarajevo. Another achievement came with the establishment of the Special Trafficking Operations Programme which enhanced police capacity to combat human trafficking. “Core programme five: core awareness” (UN Security Council 2002:6) served for regaining the trust and confidence in the police force by conducting of diverse range of campaigns and various events to support public confidence and encourage recruitment of ethnic minority and both gender police officers.

According to the General-Secretary (2002), participation in United Nations peacekeeping was the aim of the core programme six. UNMIBH has considered Bosnia and Herzegovina’s participation in the UN peacekeeping operations as beneficial for harmonizing police and military cooperation in the country. A multi-ethnic civilian police contingent from Bosnia and Herzegovina has been serving in many of the United Nations peace operations, for example in East Timor, Ethiopia and Eritrea, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and others.

Along with these six core programmes, two trust funds were set up to provide resources needed for shelter, water, energy and other necessary items. Report of the Secretary-General (2002) reveals that the amount of money received for contributions totaled “\$37.1 million and more than five hundred projects” (UN Security Council 2002:7)

ensuring better care in the fields of public health and provisions of uniforms and army equipment have been implemented thanks to these contributions.

Thanks to the UNMIBH “over 80 thousand refugees had returned by 2002” (UN Security Council 2002:7). Statistics also report a considerable decrease in ethnically based incidents. Continuing with the listing of all the achievements made by the mission, Secretary-General (2002) adds that it should not be forgotten to mention establishing of the State Border Service and the State Information and Protection Agency. The peacekeeping mission also left a suitable environment for development of secure and publicly confident police force. If the corruption, organized crime and ethnical segregation are not allowed to prevail again, the whole country will definitely have a chance to overcome the post war situation and the obstacles connected with such a conflict.

While reading through the unofficial reports and publications on the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we can learn that the mission has also its controversial and, in a certain way, negative aspects. According to Alma Seraljic (2000) the reasons for such a quick and effective mission as UNMIBH were not clear and honest as they might had seemed. She claims that “because of its strategic position, Yugoslavia became important for the protection of Italy and Greece but also very interesting [...]” (Seraljic 2000:13). This might appear as a hidden reason for the deployment of the mission in such a mighty strength of the military staff.

Seraljic (2000) further elaborates on issues of failures within UNMIBH. She acknowledges that this peacekeeping mission failed to prevent problems with multi-ethnic disputes which used to be there before the war and continue still after the signing of the peace agreements. She blames the Americans for that the “pressure for an agreement was enormous and the leaders, literally locked up on the base, had to come to an agreement.” (Seraljic 2007:18). This author calls then this agreement a contribution to the basis for ethnical division within the country.

### **4.3 United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR)**

According to UN Security Council (1999), the mission was originally established to help implement the Arusha Peace Agreement signed by the Rwandese parties on 4 August, 1993 and its mandate came to an end on 8 March, 1996. UNAMIR's mandate and strength were adjusted on a number of occasions in the face of the tragic events of the genocide and the changing situation in the country.

Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit (2003) dates the origins of the conflicts back to 1950's. Two major ethnic groups of Rwanda - Tutsi and Hutus - were fighting only verbally and by means of politicians over the power. In 1960's the Hutus removed the monarchy and established the republic instead. This conflict was not religiously but ethnically motivated; although both Tutsi and Hutus share the Catholic beliefs, the church did not prevent the genocide in any way. UN Security Council (1999) speaks about a Canadian Lieutenant General Roméo Dallaire who received orders to evaluate situation in Rwanda at the beginnings of the conflict. After he had made the reconnaissance trip, he requested to send over 5 thousand troops to the country, however, the UN sent only a half of the requested military personnel and sixty civilian police officers.

The same source considers the explosion at Kigali airport, set by the Hutu extremist on April 6, 1994, the initial events of the genocide. The airplane carrying Rwandan President and the Hutu president of Burundi was shot down while landing in Kigali. Ten of the Belgian peacekeepers were taken hostages by Presidential Guard and together with the Prime Minister were later assassinated.

Dallaire (2004) describes that the killings among Tutsi and Hutu were organized and explicitly supported by the government. From the beginning, Hutus were supplied by machetes, whereas Tutsi had loaded guns by nation-wide supporters. Dallaire (2004) calls the massacres in Rwanda the real genocide. Thousands of people were either badly hurt or killed or buried alive. Women all over the country were falling victims of sexual and mental abuse as well as their children did. Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit (2003) also blames media for playing a huge role in Rwandan conflict. "History repeatedly demonstrates the lethal power of misinformation and media manipulation by parties to

conflicts. [...] Radio played a crucial role in launching, inciting and directing the Rwandan genocide which resulted in an estimated 800,000 deaths...” (Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit 2003:46). Since the population in this area appears to be relatively high literate, radio and television had a big influence on people’s opinions.

As stated by UN Security Council (1999), with the riots, killings, and violence keeping on raging in the streets, the Belgian government finally decided to withdraw their troops from UNAMIR considering it impossible to fulfill the original mandate. This source also adds that all the personnel of the mission were extensively reduced. Little (1992) says that the UNAMIR’s mandate expired on 8 March, 1996 after the completed withdrawal of the troops, although, the discussions between the UN and the Government continued. Reduced staff of The Human Rights Field Operations in Rwanda (HRFOR) yet remained some time after the end of the negotiations, however, the lack of financial means made it impossible to maintain even that number.

In 1999, a comprehensive report of Independent Inquiry into the actions of the UN during the genocide in Rwanda was made public. It has been openly admitted by General-Secretary (1999) in his report that the Rwandan genocide was a systematic slaughter of men, women and children during one of the most abhorrent events of the 20th century. “The international community did not prevent the genocide, nor did it stop the killings once the genocide had begun.” This failure “has left deep wounds within Rwandan society and in the relationship between Rwanda and the UN” (UN Security Council 1999:3f.). The Secretary-General (1999) in his statement on December, 16, said that he fully accepted the conclusions of the report. He welcomed the emphasis which the inquiry had put on the lessons to be learned and its recommendations to ensure that the United Nations and the international community could and would act to prevent or halt any other such catastrophe in the future.

The then Secretary-General of the United Nations Kofi Anan (2000) finally admitted that not preventing the Rwandan genocide meant a great failure of the peacekeeping. The lives of thousands of civilians could have been spared, if the necessary precautions had been taken in time. In 1999, he wrote in the official Report on UNAMIR that “The United Nations should acknowledge its part of the responsibility for not having done more to prevent or stop the genocide in Rwanda” (UN Security Council 1999:59).



All the horrors of the genocide in Rwanda are described in the book “Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda” written by the most competent person in this matter, a Canadian Lieutenant General Roméo Dallaire, force commander of the UN Assistance Mission to Rwanda between 1993 and 1994. In the introduction to his book, he writes that “at least 800,000 people are estimated to have been killed” (Dallaire 2004:ixvii) in the genocide at a rate - over just 100 days - that was far faster than the Holocaust of the Jews in World War Two.

As described by Dallaire (2004), the situation was developing badly in Rwanda and mainly because of UN and the world which were not attaching any extra importance to Rwanda. Lack of humanitarian assistance caused that all the UN compounds were crowded by the Rwandans seeking shelter and sanctuary and quickly shortening supplies of food and water could not have been overlooked any more. Dallaire and his men “had to watch helplessly as some of them [Rwandan refugees] succumbed to dehydration, disease and ultimately hunger. Many of the troops living among them would also fall ill: they simply could not eat what little rations they had in front of starving people, especially children, and gave what they had at the expense of their own health. Humanitarian assistance was still a long way off” (Dallaire 2004:374ff.).

Peacekeepers gave a certain hope to the local people who were defenselessly exposed to the genocide; however, this hope was false. Dallaire (2004) mentions majority of the peacekeepers who withdrew from the field to avoid risks of losing their own lives. Dallaire and his peacekeeper remained in reduced numbers. They had to witness slaughtering of innocent three-year-olds, brutal violence, and massacres and yet the peacekeepers could not do much. Dallaire (2004) compares peacekeepers only to “puppets” and the only one who is to blame is UN “red tape”. The official organs of the UN have the strings “under their control” but as well as the audience we only see the puppets - the peacekeepers - and may foolishly sentence the “pawns” (Dallaire 2004:374ff.).

#### **4.4 United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)**

Bond (2011) describes Lebanon as a former cradle of highly developed civilization of Phoenicians. Later the province of France, Lebanon had been prospering for many decades, its culture flourished and the whole country had been witnessing times of more or less calmness provided mostly by tourism and agriculture. In those times, Lebanon was even referred to as “Switzerland of the East” and the capital city of Beirut was known as the “Paris of the Middle East” (Bond 2011).

According to the same author, Lebanese financial power and cultural diversity experienced the first shocks during the Lebanese Civil War which broke out in 1975 and ended in 1990. The period of relatively sustainable prosperity lasted until a month-long conflict in 2006 between Israel and Hezbollah. The conflict has already caused deaths of many innocent civilians on both sides. Bond (2011) sees the origins of riots in the fact that the south of the country of Lebanon belongs to the Shi-ite Hezbollah militia. After the government of Lebanon did not succeed in meeting the Hezbollah led opposition’s requirements, several youth were arrested in January 2006. They were accused of causing riots by throwing bottles and stones at the U.S. Embassy employees.

UN Department of Public Information (2010) states that on March 1978, the Security Council created a mission called United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) with intention to help the Lebanese government with restorations after the armed conflicts and to enforce the Lebanese army during the withdrawal of the Israeli armed troops. Cilek (2009) points out, that on many occasions, Israel often criticized the UNIFIL troops that they are not able to effectively prevent Hezbollah from smuggling weapons which is understood as a serious violation of the Resolution of the United Nations Security Council nr. 1701 concerning disarmament of armed groups in the country. When a weapon deposit exploded on the south of Lebanon on 14 July, 2006, Israel’s accusations were decidedly confirmed. The mandate for the UNIFIL mission therefore must have been prolonged until 31 August, 2010.

The peacekeeping mission in Lebanon aspires on a useless petrified mission. Since the mission has been representing only a constant flow of money into nowhere for several years, it could be tagged as a potential failure. “Twenty UN agencies and organizations

in the country have already been established which are coordinate political efforts and the developmental and humanitarian work” (UN Department of Public Information 2010:54). However, these institutions neither visibly help nor provide clear reasons for their cancellation. In Year in Review the alarming “freeze” is described: “...the massive deployment of blue-helmeted peacekeepers as part of the UN Interim Force (UNIFIL) may be the most visible aspect of the UN presence in the south” (UN Department of Public Information 2010:54f.).

The rebellions of 2006 also brought information about four victims of peacekeepers. Cílek (2009a) mentions that among the assassinated peacekeepers was also a Canadian Major. This unfortunate incident happened during the Israeli air strikes in the Khiam area when the air forces accidentally hit the observation post of the UN. Cílek (2009a) speculates on that all four deaths could have been prevented because of series of e-mails sent by the murdered Canadian Major to his commanding officer back in Canada. Among other things, he mentioned that the warriors of Hezbollah had occupied all the strategic positions near the UN camps. In another e-mail he wrote about the shellfire and heavy bombing of the Israeli army which appear to be “not intentional but just a tactically necessary” (Cílek 2009a:37).

As stated by the same source, these warning e-mails of the Canadian Major as well as the whole situation in Western Asia were almost ignored even by the then Secretary-General of the United Nations Kofi Annan. Thirteen days before the air attacks 8 Israeli soldiers were killed on the Israeli-Lebanon borders and other two were kidnapped. Kofi Annan only challenged the Lebanese government to improve the control over the south of the country. This passivity of the Secretary-General of the UN have been probably seen by the Islamic Hezbollah as a sign of the weakness and also have functioned as a trigger for such acts of violence.

Immediately after the killing of four UN observers, Kofi Annan officially stated in his speech for Rome: "I am shocked and deeply distressed by the apparently deliberate targeting by Israeli Defence Forces of a UN Observer post in southern Lebanon" (BBC News 2006a). We can imagine how truly shocked Kofi Annan must have been when he had received all the e-mail corresponding of the Canadian officers. He was well aware

of the situation and the rising tension between the both sides. And yet, before the eyes of the world he declared his surprise and shock upon the events that happened.

The US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice seemed much more determined when she said in the same Rome meeting on Lebanon: "What we agreed upon is there should be an international force under UN mandate that will have a strong and robust capability to help bring about peace and help humanitarian efforts."(BBC News 2006b). She made good on her promises. Printing media across the globe examined her trip to Lebanon and Israel. Among other newspapers, The Daily Telegraph, China Daily, Die Welt and Al-Anwar were discussing Rice's visit. BBC compared her to "Cinderella of US Diplomacy in the search of her lost shoe, which is marked by the phrase: the new Middle East" (BBC News 2006b).

## 5. CONCLUSION

This thesis examines the accomplishments and failures of Canadian peacekeeping as well as the peacekeeping missions in general. The thesis is divided into two parts - theoretical and practical part. In the theoretical part, the notion 'peacekeeping' is described. Theoretical part deals first with the official goals of the peacekeeping missions defined by the United Nations. Secondly, goals of Canadian peacekeepers are mentioned. The practical part examines several scandals and controversies of the peace operations. Three peacekeeping missions where the Canadian troops played or have been playing a significant role are analyzed.

The title of the thesis itself raises a question - *what can be considered as an accomplishment and what means a failure of a peacekeeping mission?* It would be pointless to make rush decisions on whether a mission was (has been) a failure because of one single unsuccess in one level of its diverse tasks. Any mission can be successfully accomplished in one sub-task and at the same time deeply fail in another.

At the beginning of the research I asked the crucial question: *Is it even worth it to continue with peacekeeping?* Under the influence of what I had already learned about the peacekeeping missions so far, I took a stand against peacekeeping; at least against how it looks now. I do not dare to doubt good intentions of the missions. Peacekeepers have helped many victims of war and conflict. They have provided food and water supplies and in some cases even a mere presence of men and women in blue helmets and berets seems to have a big influence for the maintenance of peace in the critical areas. The uniforms and white vans with big black UN signs are perceived by the locals as an international interest in their country and as well as hope.

The concept of the peacekeeping missions should be changed. In my point of view, the peacekeeping missions should work on much unvarying scale. They should be reduced to focus only on one-sided aspect, and thus humanitarian missions. They should only provide supplies and education and give refugees the chance to return to their

homeland. The peacekeeping troops should also offer help to local people with both restorations of the broken country and the arrival of adequate life conditions.

Other two questions: *Is it really necessary to spend millions of dollars every year on peacekeeping? Can the losses on lives anyhow equalize to the achievements of the peacekeeping?* could be answered together. There are too many people who ineffectively parasite on supposedly good intentions of peacekeeping. In some cases, such as in Lebanon, peacekeepers seem to be absolutely useless and their presence in the country represents only a financial burden. The cost of the UN peacekeeping personnel and equipment has, in fact, already reached a staggering sum. Before my research on this thesis, I was convinced that there cannot be anything wrong about the peacekeeping missions and that it would be hard to find information about any failures. However, as I took a closer look at the achievements and the goals set before the mission, there are not actually many accomplishments to talk about in the end. On the contrary, many scandals and acts of injustice have been reported and the information about peacekeepers charged from violence on local people from conflict-stricken countries has appeared in the news all over the world. As I have already described in the chapter about the controversies of the peacekeeping missions, the peacekeepers sometimes turn out to cause more harm than help at the end. In my opinion, there are simply too many people involved in the missions to be watched over.

Once a typical peacekeeping country, Canada has recently retreated from its position as a leader on the world peacekeeping scene. According to the new policy of the UN, contingents of less developed Third world countries have been being deployed in the missions. Peacekeeping has still been a source of pride for all Canadians, however, the times of great personalities such as Lester B. Pearson and Roméo Dallaire seems to have already been gone. Nowadays, Canadian peacekeepers intervene only when the involvement is publicly sanctioned which I found commercial and maybe a little bit corrupt.

I would recommend anyone to learn more about the peacekeeping missions and to take their own stand. I will never stop reading about peacekeeping because I would like to see what the peacekeeping missions will head for in the future. I also believe that there

come the times when there will not be any failures of the peacekeeping missions to talk about.

## SUMMARY - SHRNU TÍ

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá úspěchy a neúspěchy nejen kanadských mírových misí, ale také mírovými misemi obecně. Práce je rozdělena do dvou částí - teoretické a praktické. Teoretická část se opírá o odbornou literaturu k danému tématu; tyto zdroje pocházejí z oficiálních publikací vydaných zejména OSN. V teoretické části je nejprve vysvětlen pojem „peacekeeping“ (udržování míru). Tato část se poté zabývá obecnými cíly peacekeepingu definovanými OSN a všeobecnou historií mírových misí. Kapitola též vysvětluje dva typy mírových misí - tradiční model a moderní mírové mise. Druhá kapitola zmiňuje specifické cíle kanadského peacekeepingu. Světové mírové mise prošly určitými změnami a stejně tak i kanadské mírové mise vykazují určité změny. Poslední dvě podkapitoly se věnují právě těmto změnám v mírových misích a přínosu, jaký má kanadský peacekeeping.

V úvodu praktické části je rozebíráno několik skandálů a kontroverzí mírových misí. Těmito kontroverzemi je myšleno například informace o peacekeerech obviněných z různých skandálů, bezpráví a násilných činech páchaných na lidech ze zemí postižených konfliktem. Praktická část se věnuje zejména třem mírovým misím, ve kterých kanadské mírové jednotky sehrávaly či stále sehrávají důležitou roli. Mise, o kterých se tato práce zmiňuje, jsou Mise OSN v Bosně a Hercegovině, Mise OSN na pomoc Rwandě a Pozorovatelská skupina OSN v Libanonu.

Sám název práce pokládá otázku - *co lze považovat za úspěch a co znamená neúspěch mírové mise?* Bylo by zbytečné dělat unáhlená rozhodnutí, zda-li mise byla (je) neúspěchem kvůli jedinému dílčímu neúspěchu v jedné z jejích rozličných úloh. Každá mise může být úspěšně dokončena v jedné z jejích podúloh a současně v jiné hluboce selhat.

Tato práce si též na začátku výzkumu kladla zásadní otázku: *Stojí vůbec zato pokračovat v peacekeepingu?* Pod vlivem všeho, co jsem se zatím dozvěděla o mírových misích, jsem zaujala negativní postoj vůči peacekeepingu; alespoň proti tomu, jak vypadá nyní. Neopovažuji se zpochybňovat dobré úmysly mírových misí.



Peacekeeperi již pomohli mnoha obětem války či konfliktu. Zajistili zásoby jídla a vody a v některých případech se zdá, že pouhá přítomnost mužů a žen v modrých přílbách má obrovský vliv na udržování míru v kritických oblastech. Uniformy a bílé vozy s velkými nápisy UN jsou místními lidmi chápány jako mezinárodní zájem o jejich zemi a současně také jakási naděje.

Koncept mírových misí by měl být pozměněn. Podle mého názoru by se mírové mise měly zaměřovat na daleko užší pole působnosti. Měly by být zredukovány pouze na jednostrannou činnost, a to humanitární mise. Měly by pouze zprostředkovávat zásoby a vzdělání a pokusit se pomoci uprchlíkům při návratu do jejich země. Jednotky peacekeeperů by také měly nabídnout pomoc místním lidem při obnově zničené země a návratu adekvátních životních podmínek.

Další dvě otázky: *Je skutečně nutné utrácet každoročně miliony dolarů na mírové mise? Mohou se ztráty na životech nějak vyrovnat úspěchům peacekeepingu?* by mohly být zodpovězeny společně. Na zdánlivě dobrých úmyslech mírových misí parazituje příliš mnoho lidí. V některých případech, například v Libanonu, se peacekeeperi zdají být naprosto zbyteční a jejich setrvávání v zemi představuje pouze finanční zátěž. Náklady na personál a vybavení vojáků mírových misí OSN již ve skutečnosti dosáhly šokující sumy. Před začátkem mého výzkumu jsem byla přesvědčena, že na peacekeepingu nemůže být nic špatného a že bude složité najít jakékoliv informace o nějakých neúspěších. Avšak poté, co jsem blíže prozkoumala výsledky a cíle dané před misí, jsem zjistila, že nelze ve skutečnosti mluvit o mnoha úspěších. Podle mého názoru je v mírových misích zapojeno jednoduše příliš mnoho lidí, na které je třeba dohlížet.

Kdysi typická peacekeepingová země - Kanada - v současné době sestoupila ze své pozice vůdce světové peacekeepingové scény. Podle nové strategie OSN jsou kontingenty méně vyspělých zemí Třetího světa vysílány na mírové mise. Peacekeeping je stále zdrojem hrdosti pro všechny Kanadany, avšak časy velkých osobností jako Lester B. Pearson a Roméo Dallaire se zdají být již nenávratně pryč. V současnosti se Kanadští peacekeeperi vměšují pouze, když je zapojení do mise veřejně odsouhlaseno. Tento přístup shledávám jako komerční a svým způsobem i poplatný.

Se sběrem informací z oficiálních i neoficiálních zdrojů jsem neměla žádné problémy, neboť existuje mnoho materiálů o mírových misích a peacekeepingu přístupných na internetu a ve značném množství tištěných publikací. Velice dobrá přístupnost všech zdrojů je dle mého názoru způsobena jednak tím, že se o peacekeepingu často hovoří v médiích, ale také proto, že se nadřazená organizace OSN snaží o transparentnost jejího počínání při mírových misích.

Každému bych doporučila, aby se snažil dozvědět se více o mírových misích a zaujal vlastní stanovisko. Sama nikdy nepřestanu číst o peacekeepingu, protože bych ráda viděla, kam bude peacekeeping směřovat v budoucnosti. Také věřím, že přijdou časy, kdy přestanou existovat neúspěchy, o kterých se bude hovořit v souvislosti s mírovými misemi.

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