

# POLICE IN PEACE OPERATIONS

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## Preface

Peace operations, from their beginning in the nineteenth century and increasingly since the end of the Cold War, have included varying degrees of "police activities," ranging from supervising indigenous police agencies to actually performing law enforcement duties. Until recently, this aspect of peace operations has often been overlooked or under-appreciated in favour of the military, humanitarian, and political components of such missions. The following paper gives an overview of peace operations which involved police functions — known as "civilian police," or CIVPOL, in U.N. language.

I became involved in the study of police in peace operations while I was a Senior Fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace in 1995-96. A first conference on this subject was organised at the USIP in May 1996, followed by a series of conferences and workshops convened by Ambassador Robert B. Oakley and Colonel Michael J. Dziedzic at the National Defense University in Washington D.C. in 1996-97. This resulted in their recent volume *Policing the New World Disorder: Peace Operations and Public Security*, perhaps the most comprehensive contribution to our knowledge of police aspects in peace operations.

The following paper is a summary of peace operations including police aspects, both by the United Nations and outside the U.N. framework. The information is based on a variety of sources, and is accurate as of July 1998. Two new missions have not been included: in April 1998, a U.N. operation was established for the Central African Republic (MINURCA, Mission des Nations Unies en République Central-Africaine) which includes 17 police officers. Just weeks later, two police officers were attached to the U.N. observer mission in Tajikistan (UNMOT). At the time of writing it appears too early to try and draw any lessons from these recent developments.

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## Summary

This study describes the evolution of police in international peace operations. From their very beginning in the late nineteenth century, peace operations addressing internal or ethnic conflicts have included police components.

The U.N. created "civilian police," or CIVPOL for short, when they established the Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus in 1964. Using the term "civilian" to distinguish it from military police (whose responsibilities are limited to the force itself), U.N. police monitors were to supervise the Cypriot police. From 1989 on, most U.N. missions have included police components.

In peace operations, international police rarely have the mandate to carry out law enforcement: usually unarmed, they are supposed to monitor and supervise the indigenous law enforcement agencies. This might be extended to include training and assistance of various forms. Only in exceptional cases have international police been authorised to enforce the law themselves. This is often misunderstood by the public and contributed to a negative image when international police could not prevent crimes, such as during the transfer of the Sarajevo suburbs from Serb to Bosnian-Muslim control in early 1996.

The "security gap" was highlighted in Bosnia-Herzegovina, because the military and the police components of the peace operation were handled by different agencies (NATO for the military, the U.N. for the police). They still are, but the co-operation between the two has improved. Different options to fill this "security gap" were discussed, such as military police, international constabulary forces, or a "more robust" U.N. police. For the short term, special forces of the U.S. type (i.e. "Green Berets" prepared to interact with the local population, rather than aggressively trained ranger or airborne troops) are a possible answer, as was demonstrated during the Haiti operation in 1994-96.

Building a stable and secure environment never are short-term tasks. This might conflict with the wish of Western governments to fix an "exit date" rather than an "exit state" for a quick withdrawal of forces. However, only achieving a long-lasting solution (referred to as "peace building" by then U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his Agenda for Peace in 1992) can actually justify the commitment (and possible sacrifice) of soldiers to a peace operation at all.

Police alone are just one part of a stable environment: together with a respected judiciary and a working prisons system they form part and parcel of the stable basis on which a democratic society can flourish. Therefore, international police monitors often are mandated to supervise the judiciary and the prisons, too.

A number of deficiencies have surfaced in most U.N. (and other) police operations. These include

- unqualified personnel (often lacking driving skills or policing experience),
- lack of knowledge both of the mission's working and the local language,
- lack of cultural awareness training,
- ineffective leadership (in the field as well as in New York),
- reluctance to interpret the mandate more extensively,
- lack of co-operation between the contributing countries,
- misunderstandings between officers from various countries based on cultural differences,
- high expectations among the population not matching a limited CIVPOL mandate, and
- slow or late deployment to the mission area.

Unfortunately, as Jarat Chopra wrote in a study on the Cambodia operation, "failure is not part of the institutional memory of the United Nations. . . . Obscuring mistakes has meant they have been repeated." There now exists a "Lessons Learned Unit" in the Secretariat General, but its performance has been disappointing so far. In contrast, other U.N. affiliated agencies like the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), have very critically analysed past mistakes. Also, thanks to the efforts of some dedicated officers both at U.N. Headquarters and in the field, progress has been made towards better harmonised and more streamlined selection processes for CIVPOL officers in recent years.

## **V. Police Functions in Peace Operations**

Peace operations were not "invented" by the U.N. in the Cold War, but gradually evolved in the nineteenth century out of five types of military operations:

- colonial interventions and counter-insurgencies;
- the use of military forces in occupation duties;
- the use of military forces in aid to the civil power;
- frontier operations; and
- multinational operations, e.g. against North African pirates.

Some of these missions, because of their colonial background, differed considerably from peace operations as we know them now. And not all of their lessons can be directly applied today. But as their aim often was to maintain (or re-establish) a stable environment, most of these missions, especially counter-insurgencies and occupation duties, contained elements of civilian administration and policing. For example, the U.S. Marine Corps Small Wars Manual of 1940 included chapters on "armed native organizations" and the "formation of a constabulary," as well as on administration, ending with "free and fair" elections just like the contemporary U.N. approach.

### **I.1. Police and Policing**

It appears useful first to define "police" or "law enforcement." The term "police operations" — in contrast to full-scale war, and to emphasise the aspects of maintaining law and order (or, in an international context: peace and security) — was often used for activities "other than war." Britain's "Imperial policing" of her colonies in the inter-war years comes to mind, but the Korean War of 1950-53, and the Gulf War ("Desert Storm") of 1991 were also known as "police operations." In 1956, the first U.N. peacekeeping force established for the Sinai was called a "police force." In this paper, however, "police" refers to civilian law enforcement functions.

In order to distinguish the civilian police monitors from the military police element of peace operations — which caters mainly to the needs of the military force, and has no police mandate beyond that — the U.N. introduced the term "civilian police" (or CIVPOL) in 1964. This is often confusing to outsiders: does this refer to officers in uniform, or rather to plainclothesmen? In fact, U.N. CIVPOL are always uniformed, wearing their home countries' police uniforms with additional U.N. blue berets and badges, just like their military counterparts. In most missions, U.N. police were unarmed.

In various countries, "police" denotes one or several institutions responsible for various aspects of law enforcement, often with overlapping responsibilities, sometimes including military, paramilitary, or intelligence agencies. The term "police" has different connotations in different cultures: one country's "Bobbies" are another country's death squads. To quote from a study on the U.N. Emergency Force in the Sinai undertaken in the sixties, when this force was commonly known as a "police force," it was stated that "in Egypt and in many other countries as well the word 'police' has an extremely negative connotation. It is associated with people who are brutal, who do not refrain from using torture, and in general also are corrupt. . . . For that reason the presentation of the force as a police force is probably not the happiest way of doing it." When it comes to (re-) establishing indigenous police forces which have to operate in the less than stable environment often characteristic of these missions, the military prefers the term "constabulary," which has a certain tradition going back to gendarmerie-type colonial forces, but — again — lacks clarity. In current U.S. usage, "constabulary" refers to a force organised along military lines, providing basic law enforcement and safety in a not yet fully stabilised environment — such different institutions as the Mexican "Rurales" or Canada's "Mounties" in their original configuration come to mind. Just as with the Royal Canadian Mountain Police, such a constabulary organisation can provide the nucleus for a professional law enforcement or police force.

Although prima facie a linguistic point, this issue actually touches on the orientation of the police forces which contribute officers to an international operation. Western European and North American models of law enforcement, such as the concept of "community policing," differ dramatically from police forces in other parts of the world. In many countries, police are — for whatever reasons — less professional, often brutal and corrupt, and sometimes of a paramilitary rather than a civilian nature. This reflects on the quality of their personnel seconded to U.N. missions. In several missions, U.N. police commissioners had to be careful to pair less capable personnel with more experienced officers, or to relegate them to functions of mere presence, like standing guard at polling stations in Cambodia. Individuals — and occasionally, such as in Haiti, whole contingents — had to be repatriated because their presence in a U.N. operation would have been counterproductive. Corrupt and abusive individuals have often tarnished the reputation of U.N. police missions far beyond their actual influence, rendering it far more difficult for the honest elements of a mission to establish the necessary credibility and trust both among the local communities and with the indigenous police forces — exactly the crucial element for success or failure of an international police operation. Although many participants tend to distinguish too easily between "good" officers from Europe and North America vs. "bad" ones from the Third World, it should be noted that countries like Singapore and Malaysia enjoy a high reputation for their police, whereas

sometimes officers even from highly developed countries like Germany have been disappointments.

In an international setting, different understandings of police work can create difficulties. A recent study cited the example of a Finnish police monitor, who during the U.N. operations in former Yugoslavia was appalled when he witnessed Serb police in Knin (Krajina/Croatia) beating a detainee. His partner, at the time, was not shocked at all, because he saw the beating as a necessary part of the interrogation process. As U.N. monitors usually work in mixed teams uniting officers from different parts of the world, cultural differences can cause tensions, too. To quote from the same study, some officers complained about "toilet habits as a source of frustration in one particular station, with one monitor continually cracking the toilet seat as a result of standing and squatting instead of sitting."

International police activities range from supervising and monitoring police activities, through training of and assistance to existing agencies, to actually carrying out law enforcement duties. Usually, the existing indigenous laws form the basis of any such activities. If the host country completely lacks both laws and the institutions to enforce them, some form of agreed-on law has to be established, and international police activities might in fact be limited to addressing clearly defined legal issues such as murder, rape, flagrant human rights abuses, theft, arson, etc. Even so, the mere presence of international police can help to establish some degree of security, and encourage the population to carry on. Obviously, close co-operation with local communities is crucial to the process, and indigenous laws and customs have to be understood in their cultural context. In this, peacekeepers are often hampered by their lack of knowledge of local culture, and language. Interpreters, usually hired locally, are not always perceived as neutral by the population, especially if they come from a different ethnic background (e.g. a Croat interpreter in a Bosniac-Muslim community in Bosnia). One of the leaders of the European Community Monitor Mission in former Yugoslavia remarked in 1995 that one observer speaking the local language is worth ten who don't. This applies to police functions, too.

## I.2. Filling the Security Gap

A military intervention often forms the first and crucial element of a peace operation, providing some basic stability and security, and laying the ground for all future steps. But political and defence authorities are reluctant to commit their military forces for operations which are not directly related to vital national interests, but run the risk of becoming open-ended commitments. In this context, the threat of "mission creep" — the increasing use of military resources and manpower for non-military tasks — is cited repeatedly as an argument against military involvement in these missions. "Let the U.N. do it instead!" is an often-heard phrase (often coming from the very people who denounced the U.N. as inefficient seconds earlier). But two basic principles were clearly shown in past operations:

only the military — always "ultima ratio regum" — has the necessary capacities to fill the "security gap" in unstable situations where the indigenous security forces and institutions are unable to function or insufficient to maintain law and order; and efforts at (re-) establishing a stable and secure environment are never short-term tasks.

The "security gap" is evident when assessing operations like the ones in Cambodia, Somalia, Haiti, or Bosnia. Existing law enforcement structures broke down, and it was left to the intervening military forces to (re-) establish a stable environment in which political and civilian institutions might flourish. Almost by definition, lack of security can only be substituted or provided "from the top down," i.e. by those elements in a peace operation which possess sufficient manpower and firepower to enforce stability, if necessary. In contrast, failure to do so will undermine the trust of the population in the will and the ability of the international community (or the intervening powers) to press for a long-term solution. When George K. Tanham wrote about the U.S. efforts at nation-building in Vietnam in the

sixties, he noted that "strange as it may seem, the military victory is the easiest part of the struggle. After this has been attained, the real challenge begins:" the re-establishment of a secure environment opens a new opportunity for nation-building. This point is as valid now as it was thirty years ago, albeit in a different context. Only when a peace operation succeeds in establishing a stable environment, and long-term security, can the various humanitarian and other efforts hope to achieve a lasting effect.

The tendency to limit a military intervention to a short-term restoration of a "stable environment" is an obvious consequence of the desire — indeed, in view of the democratic approval of their actions: the urgent need — of western governments to reduce long-term commitments of personnel and resources to an acceptable minimum. But while such an apparently "stable environment" might last as long as intervention forces are present, it might crumble just as easily after the withdrawal. What is needed is a political framework-in-transit in order to achieve long-term stability. A long-lasting solution (rather than a quick fix) should be the only acceptable justification for the commitment (and possible sacrifice) of a nation's soldiers to any peace operation. The more successful the international community can be in the restoration of indigenous law enforcement capabilities within an acceptable legal-judicial-penal system structure, the greater the chance that the conflict will not re-surface and therefore that a similar intervention will not be required in the future.

U.N. police monitors are an important element — often a crucial one — in the efforts to recreate a stable environment. However, they cannot fill the "security gap" alone. In recent missions, such as in Bosnia in early 1996, U.N. civilian police monitors were sometimes expected to maintain internal stability to a degree well beyond their capabilities and their mandate. In some U.N. missions, it appears that police components were included without actually knowing why, and a recent assessment of relevant experiences noted the lack of strategic tasks and analysis before deployment. Re-building a country structure is a long-term task where both military and police have their proper roles. The equation "peace = order + justice" neatly describes the necessary balance between the various components of society. Whereas the military provides the "order" part of the equation, working police and judiciary systems are needed to guarantee the "justice" part. Likewise, civilian police can never substitute for a military presence if the latter is necessary to guarantee a stable environment or act as a deterrence force. In the words of Colonel Larry M. Forster, the director of the U.S. Army Peacekeeping Institute, the macro- and micro-levels of security (represented by military and police components, respectively) are interactive, and both are necessary for the success of an operation as a whole. To include a Haitian view of the recent multinational operation there, in the eyes of the population "the intervening military forces had no role as warfighters. Instead they were there to provide stability and security during the transition to democracy and to police the country. Thus, the Haitian perception of the success of the operation was based on the coalition's ability to provide policing functions." For the people on the ground, security is indivisible.

Although this study deals only with police aspects, police alone is not enough: to provide security, and establish trust among the population, police is just one of three crucial elements: the others are a functioning judiciary, and a prison system providing adequate detention facilities. This system was once compared to a "three-legged stool" by an American officer: remove any one of the three, and it collapses. In many U.N. operations, police monitors were also tasked with inspecting the courts and the prison system.

Sometimes, police forces are considered a possible alternative for military forces in peace operations. This line of thought can be found in some writings influenced by anti-militaristic sentiments à la 1968. Nothing can be further from the truth! Police as well as the military (troops and observers) and other civilian specialists are among the various components of peace operations, and they all perform their particular, well-defined tasks. These might differ from one mission to another, and some missions might well do with just the police, or just the

military. But to expect the police to perform a military task is not only unrealistic: it means to overburden the police with non-police work, rendering their real mission even more difficult. Although this is not always adhered to in practice, there is no alternative to a proper assessment of the needs on the ground first, followed by a "tailor-made" mission for that particular assignment. There are no "blueprint" solutions.

### I.3. Policing, Monitoring, and Advising

So far, international police missions had three main forms:

- police and supervision of indigenous law enforcement organisations;
- training and various assistance to indigenous law enforcement organisations; and
- actually performing law enforcement functions taken over from either indigenous or intervention forces — the extent of police powers varying from operation to operation.

While some of these functions might overlap (such as monitoring and training), it is important to keep these distinctions in mind to avoid false expectations, and adverse public reaction. Also, it would be wrong to expect any international peace operation to completely take over police work for an extended period of time. For one, a police organisation can function successfully only in the context of long-term stability — and by their very mandate, peace operations are careful not to miss the "exit date." While they might carry out policing duties in an unstable environment for a short time, the only possibility to achieve lasting stability and security is to form an indigenous police structure — or, if at all possible, to reform previously existing organisations. "Community policing," as we know it now in Western Europe and North America, can only be performed by officers living in the community, able to communicate directly — without interpreters — with the people, gaining their trust and confidence. Good policemen cannot be trained overnight, and there is no substitute for a well-trained and experienced police officer, whether in Somalia or in Bosnia. Just as with civilian administration, it would be wrong to expect the international community to actually take over these functions completely or for a protracted period. When the Allies installed military governments in Germany and Austria in 1945, for example, they had to use — suitably "vetted" — indigenous police officers as the core of a new law enforcement system, backed by military units and the specially-formed U.S. Constabulary. By monitoring the local structures, and training and assisting the "new" police forces, international police officers can help to establish the population's trust in these institutions, and overcome initial difficulties. Police play a crucial role in securing the transfer from war to peace, enabling the people to return to their "normal" lives. Therefore, the selection, training, and supervision of these international police officers are of the utmost importance for the effectiveness of police functions in peace operations.

International police forces cannot stay forever, but advisers might and probably will have to continue even after the withdrawal of the bulk of the operation. As stressed in a conference held in 1996 on police reforms in states under transition, "police development is a long-term proposition." While going beyond the issue of international police monitoring and assistance discussed here, police advisers, usually provided on a bilateral level, have a long tradition. Already before the First World War, international police officers (besides the six European Powers, Dutch and Scandinavian officers were involved) helped train police forces in the crumbling Ottoman Empire — a tradition now carried on for example by the international assistance for the Palestinian Police created in 1995, with European and U.N. involvement. In South Africa, a small number of highly qualified police experts from the European Union served as monitors and advisers to the South African Police during the peace process leading to the elections of 1994 and beyond.

#### I.4. Experiences from previous operations

Earlier examples of international police operations include the ones in the Otto-man Empire already mentioned, or the secondment of Dutch officers to organise the gendarmerie in the newly created Albania, under international supervision, in 1913-14. International police forces were created to guard the Suez Canal in 1882, and in Shanghai in the inter-war years. The 1935 Saarland mission organised by the League of Nations also included a police component. In U.N. peace operations, police components already date back some four decades, although the first instances did not go much beyond the traditional use of military power assisting the civil authorities to maintain law and order during periods of unrest. In this paper, I describe U.N. involvement in police functions and similar missions undertaken outside the U.N. system. However, these are not the only examples of "international police" — interpreting the term in a wider sense, one might even include the augmentation of Atlanta's security services during the 1996 Olympic Games by some 2,000 foreign police officers who volunteered to go. Indeed, with public law enforcement around the globe increasingly augmented by private enterprises (in the U.S., private firms already account for about two thirds of "police" activities), it might only be a question of time before private enterprise will appear in the field of peace mission policing, too.

### V. Riot control and assisting the civil power: the early years

#### VI.2. Sinai and the Gaza Strip: The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF [I]), 1956-67

The first U.N. peacekeeping operation, the [first] Emergency Force between Egypt and Israel (UNEF I, 1956-67), lacked a police element. An Indian provost marshal unit (i.e. military police) was attached to the force, but like military police in later operations was limited to its usual duties within the force. Nonetheless, the force occasionally had to perform police functions. During the hand-over of Port Said and Port Fouad from the British and French expeditionary forces, in mid-December 1956, "nearly 75 per cent of the civil functions" were performed by the U.N. force for a short time, before being gradually transferred to the Egyptian authorities. In co-operation with the Egyptians, the U.N. troops maintained law and order, and de facto assumed temporarily police functions. A special civil affairs section was established by a team of Swedish officers in Port Said, and included a police unit. Half a year later, in March 1957, Israel withdrew from the Gaza strip and the U.N. force was to provide security there, including guarding the civilian U.N. installations such as warehouses or food depots. During the first weeks of this take-over, major demonstrations were staged throughout the strip, demanding return to Egyptian administration. To disperse the crowds, U.N. units were called in. In one incident, an officer of the mixed Danish-Norwegian (DANOR) Battalion ordered his soldiers "to fire some rounds in the air" — which worked well, although two demonstrators were injured by the bullets, one of whom later died, leading to new demonstrations. However, it was clear from the beginning that the Emergency Force's mandate related to armed conflict between states, and that any administrative or security functions it took over were entirely temporary and not its main task.

#### II.2. Congo: The Opérations des Nations Unies au Congo (ONUC) and the Nigeria Police Contingent, 1960-65

The ill-fated peace force dispatched to the Congo (later Zaire) in July 1960 had a mission completely different from that of the Sinai operation. Rather than separating two nations' armies, its original task was to replace the Belgian intervention troops and assist the Congolese government in restoring law and order. Among the first contingents was a small police unit from Ghana, although from the files in the U.N. Archives in New York it is not

clear who initiated this move. The Ghana police operated in the capital, Léopoldville (now Kinshasa), but soon became drawn into the Congo's internal political confrontations, and had to be withdrawn after a few months. The tasks of this first ever U.N. police unit included assisting the Congolese police (or, rather, what was left of it) to maintain civil order: "Local Police should be used where practicable, and should be organised if necessary in cadres with U.N. Police personnel." U.N. military troops should intervene only as a last resort, and then refrain from using force: for riot control, batons, gauze shields, and fire hose (later tear gas as well) were to be used instead of rifles. Later, U.N. military forces were repeatedly used for riot control, such as during the July 1962 unrests in Léopoldville, but "some difficulty was encountered in effectively controlling the mobs due to lack of anti-riot equipment," as Force Commander Lieutenant-General Kebbede Guebre noted in his final report. After the withdrawal of the Ghana police, a 400-strong Nigerian police contingent was sent to the Congo under a tripartite agreement between the U.N., the Congo, and Nigeria. Apparently because of a request from the Nigerian authorities, it formed part of the U.N. technical assistance program, not the U.N. Force. When the U.N. operation ended in mid-1964, the Nigeria Police stayed for another year, and "took on some of the duties performed by troops including security of lives and property of the United Nations personnel." The bulk of the Nigeria Police Contingent was stationed in the capital Léopoldville, with small units in the provincial capitals of Bukavu, Luluabourg (now Kananga), and Stanleyville (now Kisangani). The Nigerians were withdrawn at the end of 1965 — partly, because Nigeria needed these police officers "in view of the troubled situation in Western Nigeria," and partly because the Congolese government preferred to go ahead without foreign interference. Also, as the U.N. Representative in Léopoldville stated, maintaining this police contingent was "a very costly affair" — a fact which has not changed since.

### II.3. West New Guinea: The United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA), 1962-63

Whereas the Congo débacle is fairly well known, another — more successful — operation quickly faded from memory: the eight months' administration of West New Guinea (West Irian or West Papua, now Irian Jaya) in 1962-63, during the hand-over of the territory from Dutch to Indonesian rule. A United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) was established to handle the administration. The military component — referred to as the United Nations Security Forces (UNSF) — was provided by Pakistan, and the operation was financed by the two countries involved (Indonesia and the Netherlands).

The original concept was to rely on the existing administrative and police structures, with a British officer in charge of the Papua police. However, as many of Dutch police officers had left early — partly for fear of retaliation by the Indonesians — the U.N. became more involved in police functions than planned. As a U.N. official noted, some of the remaining indigenous (Papua) police inspectors were "above their ceiling," and the U.N. had to recruit additional police officers to maintain the functioning of the police force. "The U.N. Security Forces, whilst ensuring that no large-scale disorders are allowed to develop, can be no substitute for the civil police. If the [military] Security Forces are called upon to act, they will perform their task in a military manner, as they have been trained to do. What the public are entitled to look forward to, and entitled to demand, is that Police Stations throughout the country will continue to function." To appoint Indonesian officers, however, would have been perceived as biased by the population and by the Papuan other ranks, whereas American or British officers might have been denounced as neo-Colonials by the press. It was therefore decided to recruit Philippine police officers as a temporary measure. However, not all of them proved as well qualified as the U.N. officials had hoped for. A particular problem was their lack of Malay language.

A question which arose then (and later over and over again) was the carrying of arms by the police. Originally, the Dutch colonial police in West New Guinea had been unarmed, but this had changed when Indonesian units infiltrated the territory before the U.N. intervention. To show that conditions were returning back to normal, the U.N. administration ordered the police not to carry side-arms "on normal day patrols in towns and public places," because "members of the public ha[d] expressed alarm at this practice." "On 'bush patrol'," however, and "during the hours of darkness on certain duties," as well as on specific guard duties, arms continued to be worn.

#### II.4. Cyprus: The United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), from 1964

The Cyprus operation is nowadays considered as a "classic" peacekeeping ("truce-keeping") operation, with the U.N. force supervising the "Green Line" buffer zone between Greek-Cypriot and Turkish North-Cypriot territory. But this mission had a completely different character in its first decade, prior to the Turkish invasion of 1974. Cyprus had gained independence in 1960, but in late 1963 civil unrest erupted. To re-establish law and order, a British-Greek-Turkish "Peace-making Force" was established, which was succeeded in March 1964 by the "United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus" (UNFICYP). Already in February, José Rolz-Bennett — U Thant's Special Representative who had been U.N. Administrator in West New Guinea the year before — suggested to include a military police element. U Thant's military adviser, Major-General Indarjit Rikhye, answered that military police normally function only in support of the military — except in some countries, like Egypt or Indonesia, where they are employed in a gendarmerie role. Apparently, it was then the force commander, Indian Lieutenant-General P.S. Gyani (before for five years in charge of the Sinai operation) who proposed to add a civilian police component instead. A small detachment of about 30 police officers in every district should support and supervise the Cypriot police in order to reassure the population.

However, it soon became clear that it was far more difficult than expected to find the necessary police officers. Unlike military forces, law enforcement agencies have a clear peacetime mission, and few police forces, at least in Western countries, ever complain about surplus personnel. Contrary to the military, to send an existing unit would usually mean to denude a town, or district, of all its police. Therefore, police officers even from one country usually have highly diverse backgrounds, ranging from small-town police through criminal investigation branch to élite alarm units. While providing additional expertise, this sometimes creates communication problems, too. In addition, in some countries constitutional issues make it more difficult to send police abroad than military forces. In countries like Australia and Canada, only federal, rather than provincial police, were eligible for foreign service. Eventually the U.N. civilian police component of UNFICYP, from then on referred to as UNCIVPOL or CIVPOL, became operational on 14 April 1964. By June, 173 civilian police officers had arrived in Cyprus: 40 Australians, 33 Austrians, 40 Danes, 20 New Zealanders, and 40 Swedes. The U.N. police was to establish liaison with the Cypriot police and accompany and control Cypriot police patrols and checkpoints. Its tasks included "manning United Nations police points in certain sensitive areas . . . where tension exists and might be alleviated by the presence of UNFICYP police elements," as well as "investigating incidents where Greek or Turkish Cypriots are involved with the opposite community."

U.N. police officers co-operated with the Cypriot police "at grass-roots level," and helped to stabilise the situation — a crucial contribution in an atmosphere like the one in Cyprus (and, one might possibly add, in similar situations elsewhere), where even "ordinary" criminal activities were perceived as part of ethnic conflict. Among their tasks was to investigate into cases of missing persons (a major cause for mistrust between the communities), and to help

with refugee relief work. The police was organised under the force commander's civilian staff, headed by his police adviser. The military credited the U.N. police with defusing tension at a very low level. For emergencies, a "quick reaction force" was established at UNFICYP headquarters. According to one Austrian officer, the U.N. police soon became the population's "father-confessor and confidant in one person."

Most U.N. police officers had a professional experience of several years which also means that they were older — and, perhaps, more mature — than the average U.N. soldiers. The U.N. later established that police officers should be between 24 and 45 years old, and have police experience of at least five years. They usually stayed on the island for six months to two years. According to an UNFICYP evaluation, it took them about three months to become acquainted with the local situation; therefore the short period of service of Danish officers — four months — was less than satisfactory. At least in some contingents, officers tended to return for additional tours: in the Austrian contingent, for example, a total of 639 "tours" between 1964 and 1977 was shared by only 276 men — an average of 2.7 tours per officer. Sometimes police officers were rotated between different contingents (on a voluntary basis), to exchange experience and standardise procedures. In later operations, following the practice of U.N. military police, civilian police always operated in mixed teams as a matter of principle.

With the Turkish invasion and the partition of the island in 1974, the character of the U.N. operation changed. In due course, the civilian police component was reduced. At present, only twenty Australian and fourteen Irish police officers serve in the Cyprus operation.

## **V. Police Monitoring**

### **III.1. The Commonwealth Monitoring Force (CMF) in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, 1979-80**

Due to the international situation of the seventies and eighties, no new police operations were undertaken by the U.N. — all new missions were either observer or troop-separation operations relating to inter-state conflict where there was no need for police monitors. It was only in 1989 that the end of the Cold War led to a new era of U.N. operations in general, and police missions in particular. But in one case, police monitors were briefly involved in a peace operation undertaken outside the U.N. system: during the elections in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia in 1980.

Although neither a U.N. operation, nor a typical police monitoring experience, it appears appropriate to mention the Commonwealth Monitoring Force in this overview. To supervise the end of the "bush war" and the transition phase, the preparation of the elections and eventually the release of Britain's last African colony to its (second) independence (the first one of 1965 lacking international recognition), a Commonwealth peace operation was set up which consisted of a reinforced battalion group. About 90 percent of the 1,548 soldiers came from Britain, with token contingents from Australia, Fiji, Kenya, and New Zealand. To monitor the elections, an additional contingent of 300 British police officers was sent out. This operation is usually considered a success — due mainly to the basic political consensus of the parties involved, and the sufficient time for planning which enabled it to avoid the usual gap between high expectations and limited resources. The police role was strictly limited to elections monitoring.

### **III.2. Namibia: The United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), 1989-90**

The first of the new U.N. operations after the Cold War was the operation in Namibia — it started the "diversification" or, less politely phrased, the "mushrooming" of U.N. peacekeeping, with increasing involvement in internal conflicts leading to internal stability

operations. The Soviet Union's and their proxies' withdrawal from southern Africa already under Gorbachov made it possible for South Africa to consent to the independence of Namibia, formerly German South-West Africa, as part of an agreement which included the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. To supervise this process, a United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) was deployed in Namibia in 1989. The first plans had been drawn up already a decade earlier, for a military force of 7,500 men, with a civilian police element of 360. Partly due to the increase of the South African and South West African police forces during the unrest in the eighties, the number of U.N. "police monitors" was eventually increased to 1,500, whereas the military component consisted only of 4,500 troops (three battalions and 300 military observers). Even this ratio of 4:1 still overjudged the military requirements in the rather stable environment of Namibia. In addition, 2,000 civilians fulfilled various observing and administrative tasks.

UNTAG's civilian police was commanded by an Irish police commissioner, Steven Fanning, who also acted as police adviser to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Martti Ahtisaari. The country was divided into six (later seven) UNTAG police districts, with a total of 49 police stations. That U.N. planners had (despite their decision to expand the police component) largely ignored most of the changes which had taken place in the country since the original 1978 blueprint — such as the reorganisation of the indigenous police forces — this led to some problems in the early period. Also, following the South West African People's Organisation's (SWAPO) attempt to disrupt the peaceful transition process by its April attack in the north, the first deployment concentrated on the northern part of the country. Police personnel was provided by 25 countries, but the standards differed largely, and the operation was plagued by lack of language and driving skills. Different from the Cyprus operation, the national contingents were split up to achieve a more balanced and international character. While politically a sound approach, this increased the logistical problems. The U.N. police monitors closely co-operated with the South West African Police, although contacts were tense in the beginning. Especially in the north, UNTAG police at first had to borrow mine-resistant Casspir vehicles (painted white and quickly dubbed "friendly ghosts" by the population) from their South West African and South African colleagues. The U.N. police were limited to "reporting" — they monitored how the South West African/Namibian police forces conducted investigations, and their presence at political rallies — but had no powers of arrest, and could influence the standard of policing only indirectly. Nonetheless, their presence gradually included patrolling of their own, and investigating complaints about the Namibian police. Some U.N. police monitors criticised that they were not allowed to wear arms. While a traditional arrangement for neutral observers to stress their unbiased approach, and their mandate of supervising and reporting rather than enforcing, U.N. insisting on police being unarmed was unrealistic in an environment where, especially in the bush, many civilians carry weapons for obvious reasons.

Most police officers stayed in Namibia through the elections until independence (21 March 1990), but were quickly withdrawn afterwards. Unfortunately, the work of the U.N. police was never thoroughly analysed to provide "lessons learned" for future missions — observers often criticise the U.N. "ad-hocery" in peace operations. Only small police contingents from Ghana, India, Nigeria, and Pakistan, and British trainers remained under bilateral agreements with the new Namibian government. Having experienced armed incursions, and become more and more "militarised" in the process, the Namibian police had to be re-organised. As part of this, the élite counter-insurgency unit known as Koevoet was demobilised at the end of 1989.

### III.3. Western Sahara: The Misión de las Naciones Unidas para el Referendum del Sahara Occidental (MINURSO), since 1991

With the successful conclusion of the Namibia operation, Cedric Thornberry (who led the civilian component) remembered that he was asked over and over for their "blueprint for

success." His reply: there never was such a blueprint, and "if we . . . had known at the start what we knew at the end, we would greatly adapt the Namibia blueprint even for Namibia — much less propose it for anywhere else." Every operation is unique, and it would be wrong to expect "standardised" blueprints. While it would be useful to examine — and respond to — experiences from past operations, every new mission has to be organised "tailor-made" according to specific circumstances and tasks.

This became evident in an operation which was meant to closely follow the Namibian model: the U.N. interim administration of Western Sahara. The administration of the former Spanish colony by Morocco was challenged by the "Frente Popular para la Liberación de Sahara Occidental y Río de Oro" ("Frente Polisario," or "Polisario" for short), and the U.N. should prepare a referendum to decide over the territory's future. However, both Morocco and Polisario were less than co-operative, and despite several attempts the operation in Western Sahara so far failed to achieve its aims. The U.N. plans included 300 police officers to monitor the Moroccan police and assist in the voters' registration and election process, but barely 100 were deployed at any time. In mid-1997, the last police monitors were even withdrawn completely for some time. By June 1998, 78 police monitors were deployed. Although a new effort to hold the referendum is to be made in 1999, the mission's outcome remains in doubt.

#### III.4. Angola: The United Nations Missions in Angola (UNAVEM II and III, and MONUA), since 1991

Angola became independent in 1975, but soon became embroiled in a long civil war which included interventions from South Africa (protecting Namibia's northern borders) as well as from Cuba and the Soviet Union. In fact, the withdrawal of the Cuban troops became a prerequisite for the Namibian settlement of 1989-90. To monitor the Cuban withdrawal, the "United Nations Angola Verification Mission" (UNAVEM [I]) was established in December 1988. It fulfilled its task by June 1991, but when the (formerly pro-Marxist) government and the (formerly pro-Western) guerrilla movement UNITA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola) achieved a peace accord in May 1991, the Security Council duly issued a new mandate. The operation, now referred to as UNAVEM II, consisted eventually of 350 military observers to verify the cease-fire and supervise the demobilisation of the warring armies, while 90 police observers should monitor the re-integration of a new police force. The latter never really worked, however, and following the U.N.-supervised elections of November 1992 — which UNITA lost and duly rejected — fighting flared up anew. UNAVEM II continued on a low scale, with the number of police observers reduced to 18 by December 1994. Following a new peace agreement, UNAVEM — now III — was increased to a total of 6,000 troops in addition to 350 military and 225 police observers in 1995, but the situation remained tense. Hopes for a government of national unity faltered in 1997, and at the time of writing the country remains divided between government and UNITA troops (which were also involved on opposing sides in the civil war in Zaire, now again known as Congo). MONUA, as the mission was known from mid-1997, for some time comprised about 400 police and nearly 3,000 military personnel, but now includes only 92 military observers and 716 troops in addition to the 405 police monitors. The death of the Secretary General's Special Representative, Maître Alioune Blondin Beye, and other high ranking U.N. officials in a plane crash in June 1998 further reduced hopes for a fast resolution of the conflict.

#### III.5. The Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH), since 1996

Another operation involving police observers staged outside the U.N. framework is the Temporary International Presence in Hebron, which was established under Norwegian leadership in connection with the Oslo Peace Process to find a solution for the West Bank

occupied by Israeli troops in 1967. After a first presence of international observers from Italy, Denmark and Norway in the city of Hebron from May through August 1994, a new agreement was reached in May 1996, and an advance party was established in Jerusalem from April 1996. In addition to the countries already involved in 1994, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey provide personnel for TIPH, which in mid-1997 counted 59 police officers among its 139 members. TIPH's mandate lists as its first task "to provide by their presence a feeling of security to the Palestinians of Hebron," and thus includes co-operation with local law enforcement forces. Observers are supposed to gather information, but without conducting investigations of their own. TIPH observers wear grey uniforms with blue armbands and blue jackets marked accordingly; they may carry pistols for self-defence.

#### **IV. Police monitoring and training assistance**

All examples so far — including the West New Guinea operation, and with the possible exception of Angola — dealt with situations where a well-trained police force existed, and where the international police were limited to monitoring their activities, to assure the population that law enforcement would be carried out in an unbiased manner. However, the U.N. soon became involved in operations where supervision alone was not enough, and where international police officers became involved in training activities as well.

##### **IV.1. Cambodia: The United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), 1992-93**

Cambodia was — besides Namibia and Western Sahara — the third of the three original "extended," "complex" or "wider peacekeeping" operations started in the early post-Cold War years, and its task was no less than the interim administration of Cambodia by the United Nations. As the task in Cambodia was even more challenging than the one in Namibia, it was only logical to include a strong civilian police component: no less than 3,600 out of a total of 22,000 U.N. personnel (16,000 troops, and up to 2,500 civilians) were police officers, coming from 32 countries, under Dutch Police Commissioner Klaas Roos. It was planned to have one police monitor for every fifteen policemen, or one for every 3,000 Cambodians. As described in the U.N.'s official summary, "UNTAC's police component was to ensure that law and order among the civilian population were maintained effectively and impartially, and that human rights and fundamental freedoms were fully protected. Although responsibility for the management of Cambodia's police forces would continue to rest with the Cambodian factions, they were to operate under UNTAC supervision or control during the transitional period."

The U.N. police mandate included — like in Namibia — monitoring the indigenous police and assisting in the resettlement of refugees, but they were also involved in training. The Cambodian police were badly trained and even worse paid — and had therefore taken to randomly enforcing "contributions" at checkpoints, for example. This was just one of the local habits the U.N. police tried to stop (not always successfully). Eventually, the police training programme also helped to establish better relations between U.N. and Cambodian police officers — altogether, 9,000 Cambodian police officers were trained. Although at first limited to reporting and investigating, U.N. police powers later were expanded to include arrest and detention; a U.N. jail was established (but never used), and a U.N. special prosecutor was appointed (but prevented from prosecuting by the more diplomatic-minded Special Representative). By and large, U.N. police interpreted their own powers rather narrowly. To quote from Jarat Chopra's study, "it tended to report more and investigate less." In the final phase of the 1993 elections, the police observers were involved in guarding the polling stations as well.

The U.N. police suffered from the usual language problems — numerous police officers, especially those from Third World countries, understood neither English nor French, let alone

Khmer. Compared to the military, police in peace operations are generally, as one observer noted, "particularly disadvantaged. Effective policing is essentially a matter of local knowledge, trust, and small unit coherence. Foreign police dropped into a remote Cambodian town with no knowledge of Khmer, no common standards, and no experience working together faced formidable hurdles." This would have been enough to make life difficult even for the best officers. But, to cite another, more critical view, in Cambodia "CIVPOL was plagued from the beginning by more internal problems than any other component. Many donor states lacked any tradition of police respect for citizens or accused criminals, and did not send their best officers in any case. Some, including an entire group from Bulgaria, were corrupt and even criminal in their behaviour." Even UNTAC's head, the Japanese diplomat Yasushi Akashi later complained that "the quality and qualifications of police sent by different countries were rather uneven." Although the U.N. had demanded six years of police experience, this requirement proved too general, in view of substantial differences among various police forces. It took the police component eight months to reach full deployment, and valuable time was lost. The mixed composition of the U.N. police produced mixed results, and the appointment of officers into command positions based on seniority alone "was not the best arrangement for discipline and efficiency," to quote from the study published by the U.N. Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR). Most complaints by Cambodians against UNTAC stemmed from inappropriate U.N. police behaviour, including sexual harassment and rudeness. "This badly tarnished UNTAC's image with the populace. . . . Members of other components routinely criticized CIVPOL officers for neglect and incompetence." However, it would be wrong to dismiss the Cambodian experience as a total failure. Some police officers were successful in fulfilling at least some of their tasks. As Austrian gendarmerie Brigadier Manfred Bliem — in charge of U.N. police in Cambodia's western Battambang province — commented, he was surprised by the respect shown even to unarmed officers (as usual, U.N. police were unarmed) guarding party offices and polling stations, or inspecting prisons. However, more could probably have been achieved by deploying faster, interpreting the mandate more extensively, and exercising the power given to the U.N. more forcefully.

#### IV.2. Rwanda: the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR), 1993-96

Similar to Cambodia, the original concept for the U.N. mission in Rwanda, established in late 1993, called for police monitors to supervise and retrain the "Gendarmerie Nationale" and "Police Communale." But although Rwanda's population was not much smaller than Cambodia's (8.4 compared to 10.3 millions, albeit living on a much smaller territory), the police component comprised only 51 police officers from six countries. As usual, the U.N. police undertook their own as well as joint patrols, supervised the indigenous police, and investigated crimes with possible political or ethnic background. Frequently, because of the police's inactivity, the population would go directly to the U.N. police. However, the situation worsened from February 1994 on, and the mission ended prematurely when violence erupted in April, and the U.N. police monitors themselves had to be protected by the U.N. military and French intervention forces.

In due course, UNAMIR's mandate was revised to include 5,500 military personnel. Later in 1994, a new U.N. police component was deployed, numbering 30 police monitors (ten each from Ghana, Mali, and Nigeria) in October 1994, and 87 by September 1995. Their mandate included assistance for police training. The U.N. police was withdrawn in December 1995, and the U.N. operation was ended in April 1996. In view of Rwanda's problems, the future of the country remains uncertain.

#### IV.3. Mozambique: The Operação das Nações Unidas em Moçambique (ONUMOZ), 1992-95

While the operations in Rwanda and Somalia received world-wide attention (and drew more than their share of criticism), another contemporary U.N. operation in Africa rarely made the headlines (or CNN News), but is widely regarded as one of the more successful recent operations: the U.N. operation in Mozambique.

The general improvement of the political climate in southern Africa from the late eighties also led to a solution for the civil war which had plagued Mozambique ever since the former Portuguese colony reached independence in 1975. A U.N. mission was established in 1992, which at first consisted mainly of military observers and troops (eventually 350 observers and 6,100 troops). With the peace process underway, both the government and the "Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana" (RENAMO) at the end of 1993 requested U.N. monitoring of police activities, and in February 1994, the Security Council authorised the establishment of a civilian police component of up to 1,444 personnel. In late 1994, a maximum of 1,095 police monitors from 29 countries were deployed in 83 police stations throughout the country. Their mandate included monitoring of police and police reorganisation, supervising private security agencies' activities as well as human rights conditions, and providing technical support to indigenous police. This included the investigation of complaints and training assistance to the police. Maintenance of law and order, however, remained the responsibility of the Mozambique police. The operation was generally regarded as successful, mainly due to Italian leadership, and U.S. involvement behind the scenes, but U.N. police continued to receive mixed reviews. Some observers considered them totally ineffective, while others acknowledged the difficult circumstances of the operation, including lack of an effective judicial and prison system.

#### IV.4. South Africa: International observer missions and reforming the South African Police, 1992-95

Contrary to the operations cited so far, the international observer missions sent to South Africa from 1992 on did not contain uniformed police monitors. Beginning in September 1992, observers from the Commonwealth, the European Community (EC; from 1994: European Union, EU), the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations worked in South Africa to support the peace process. Of these, the Commonwealth and EC missions included police experts who co-operated with South African police authorities and, through constructive interaction, encouraged and accelerated important changes of the South African police system in the fields of training, community policing, crowd and riot control, human rights culture and police structures. According to a South African activist, these initiatives bolstered reformist elements within the South African Police, and contributed to better policing of the country, especially in the crucial phase before and during the elections of April 1994. In "Joint Operational Centres" established on regional and district levels throughout the country, international observers and South African police officers worked together with civilian administration, military officers, party and civics representatives, to ensure a smooth election process.

Following the elections and the establishment of the new South African government, the latter asked international police experts to continue with their assistance. Apart from experts from the European Union (especially Britain) and the Commonwealth, the U.S. Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) together with Search for Common Ground (an American non-governmental organisation) co-operated with the South African Police in the training of officers and the designing of conflict resolution and equal opportunity programs.

### **V. Monitoring, training, and reorganising police forces**

## VI.2. El Salvador: The Misión de Observadores de las Naciones Unidas en El Salvador (ONUSAL), 1991-94

Like Cambodia, but to an even higher degree, a number of the following "complex" U.N. operations included police monitoring as well as training elements. One of the more successful ones was the mission in El Salvador. The 1992 Peace Accords included provisions for the demobilisation of the para-military "Guardia Nacional" and the "Policia de Hacienda" (actually, they were converted into a military police and a border guard unit), as well as the re-organisation of the "Policia Nacional" and a reform of the judiciary. The U.N. observer mission established in 1991 included — besides military and human rights monitoring components — a significant civilian police element ("Observadores Policiales," ORP) charged with monitoring the re-organisation of the police, co-operating closely with the police, investigating complaints and checking police arrests. In 1992, there were 380 military observers and 631 police monitors. In addition, U.N. police officers were involved in training police cadets at the new "Academia de Seguridad Publica." In the transition phase, cadets were assigned to U.N. police posts to gain firsthand experience, while U.N. police officers accompanied patrols and helped to alleviate the material shortcomings which strained the morale of the new police in its first year. Bilateral aid programs, provided both by the U.S. Justice Department's International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP) and other countries, such as Puerto Rico, where sixty Salvadoran officers received a training program, also played an important role. Bilateral programs were hampered, however, by legal provisions in many countries restricting police aid, and from 1994 by competition for financial and personnel support for police reforms in both El Salvador and Haiti.

Just like in Cambodia, among the problems faced by police monitors was the high crime rate — referring to "ordinary," not political crimes. 1993 reports indicated a 300 percent increase in violent crime in just nine months. U.N. observers became the targets of muggings and robberies. Especially in a transition phase, the breaking down of the old law enforcement structures encouraged "ordinary" crimes, from petty theft to major organised crime activities, rendering the performance of police duties even more difficult at a moment when the population needs to have increased trust in the police structures. Occasionally, military troops were deployed as a "dissuasive presence," i.e. in a police role, in contradiction of the peace accords. The military remained rather sceptic about the police reform which it quickly recognised as a means to reduce its own influence. However, unlike in Cambodia, the international police officers were better qualified and experienced — which contributed to the U.N. operation's success. In a Spanish-speaking country, language issues obviously posed less problems than in other missions. The international support included financial, technical, and training assistance. Driven by both the direct interest of the U.S. in the reform process, and by the personal involvement of U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, this proved instrumental in establishing the new police system.

## V.2. Somalia: The U.N. and international operations, 1992-95

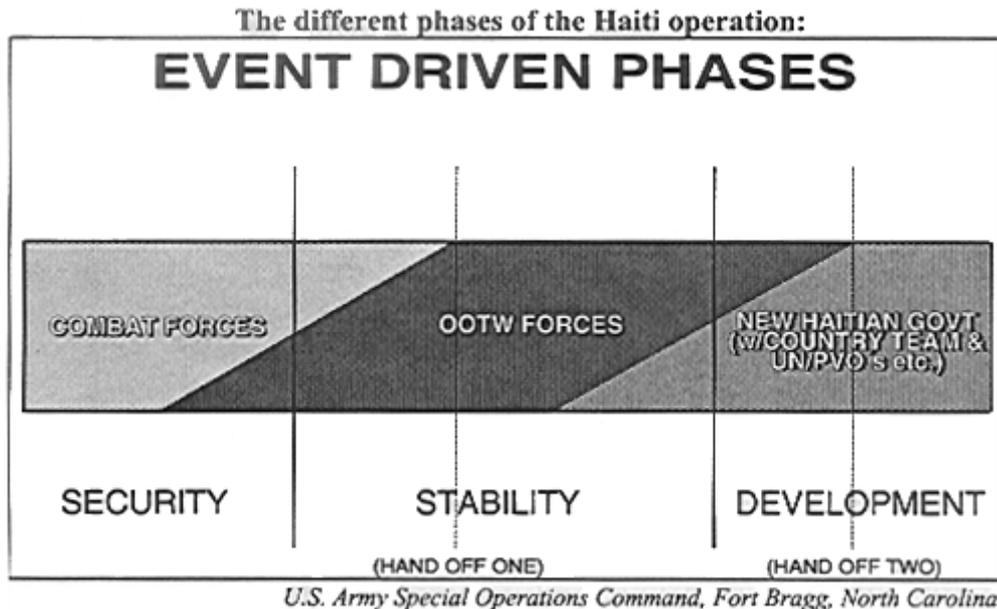
Following a protracted period of turbulence and a relatively short, but vicious civil war which brought down dictator Siad Barre, internal order in Somalia deteriorated drastically. In early 1992, the U.N. brokered a cease-fire agreement between various factions — supervised by U.N. military observers — and increased humanitarian aid to the country. In April, the Security Council established the [first] United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM [I]) to protect the humanitarian relief efforts. UNOSOM I became operational in July, but was too small to cope with factional strife or to ensure the delivery of humanitarian aid. Consequently, the Security Council authorised a U.S.-led international operation under a Chapter VII (enforcement) mandate, the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) which arrived on 9 December 1992. On 4 May 1993, UNITAF (with, at peak strength, 38,300 troops) was replaced by the [second] United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), again under a Chapter VII

mandate. But the U.N. operation — numbering up to 28,000 soldiers — proved inadequate for its task. Whereas UNITAF was to provide security for the humanitarian relief operations in certain parts of the country, UNOSOM II should disarm all factions in the whole country — which one officer involved compared to the task of disarming Texas: it was simply "impossible." The mission ended in March 1995 without having achieved its high goals, and was widely perceived as a failure. However, most observers agree that — while it proved impossible to completely re-establish law and order in Mogadishu — the situation in many parts of the country has remarkably improved as a result of the U.N./U.S. interventions. UNOSOM was — just like UNITAF — mainly a military operation in assistance of humanitarian relief work, with a very small U.N. police component (in 1994, 27 police compared to 15,000 troops). The various efforts to promote a political settlement and national reconciliation included assisting in the reestablishment of the Somali police and to assist in the restoration and maintenance of peace, stability, and law and order. Although both the U.S. military and political authorities reacted rather cautiously — and the U.N. decidedly negative — at first, UNITAF managed to re-establish the former Somali police which, different from the army, had enjoyed an excellent (and well-deserved) reputation. By mid-January 1993, the first police patrols were on the streets in Mogadishu, soon followed in other regions as well. Eventually, a 3,500 strong Auxiliary Security Force was established. Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands provided assistance for the police program which was augmented by efforts to restore the judiciary system. The U.S. representatives felt that policing was best done by the Somalis themselves — with support and, if necessary, back-up from UNITAF — to save allied resources as well as to limit confrontations between the intervention forces and the Somali factions. This differed from Boutros-Ghali's over-ambitious ideas of total disarmament, using the U.S. and allied forces to pacify the whole country completely. The UNITAF program was very successful at first, but apparently collapsed after the hand-over to UNOSOM II, together with the relapse of the security situation in general. The U.N. operation proved unable (or unwilling) to continue UNITAF's sensible and pragmatic approach — such as encouraging Somali police to act on their own while the allied military forces were available as back-up near the police stations.

#### V.2. Haiti: U.S.-led and U.N. operations, since 1994

Haiti's troubled history did not end with the U.N.-supervised elections of December 1990. The new president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, lasted for barely a year, being ousted in September 1991 by a military coup. However, he was recognised as "government-in-exile" by the Organization of American States (OAS) and the U.N. A compromise was reached between the U.N. and the ruling government in Haiti in 1993, but the latter prevented the proposed United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) from becoming operational. Finally, in September 1994, a U.S.-led "inter-American" Multinational Force (MNF) forced the government to give in; by September 27, some 22,000 soldiers were deployed in Haiti (Operation "Uphold Democracy"). UNMIH was revived and replaced the MNF by 1 April 1995, following the Security Council declaration of 10 January that a safe and secure environment had been established.

The different phases of the Haiti operation:



This briefing slide, dated 28 September 1994, illustrates well the planned gradual shift from the combat forces to the U.N. peacekeeping operation (here still referred to as OOTW - Operations Other Than War - Forces, a term since "de-emphasized" in the U.S. military) and then to the new Haitian government (with support from country teams, U.N. and private volunteer organisations - PVO - as appropriate). Handing over of authority from one operation to the other went smoothly because of timely planning and the overlapping co-ordination of various activities.

Already the first plans for the U.N. operation in 1993 had included police monitors (567 of UNMIH's total of 1,600) to supervise the demobilisation of paramilitary forces and the re-organisation of the indigenous police as well as retrain the new police. When the MNF was deployed a year later, its main task was the restoration of public order in Haiti. The existing military and paramilitary/police forces were to be replaced by a new 1,500 men army and 4,000 men police force. For political reasons, the U.N. had agreed to Aristide's demands of demobilising all former police, although this meant elimination of an important source of experienced police personnel, while putting all former police suddenly out of job (some of them eventually became criminals). Street violence against former repressors, fuelled by Aristide's own rhetoric, increased. The presence of U.S. military police, and Special Forces teams in rural areas, was crucial to stabilise the situation. An interim security force, and then a new national police force, were established with assistance from the U.S. International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP) which had been created in 1986 to provide police training assistance to Latin American countries (partly in connection with anti-drug activities). Since 1989, in the aftermath of the U.S. intervention in Panama (Operation "Just Cause"), ICITAP became increasingly involved in retraining police forces during and after peace operations. In Haiti, the new police were hampered by lack of qualified leaders — police officers were required to be high school graduates in a country where illiteracy is above 60 percent, but received only four months training. Even at the end of the international intervention, the court system was barely functional.

To perform these tasks, the MNF in the end included 821 international police monitors (IPMs) from twenty countries, commanded by former New York City police commissioner Ray Kelley. Unlike U.N. police, the IPMs wore bright yellow caps, and contingents were (again, differing from usual U.N. practice) not broken up and mixed, but retained as national entities — with outstanding ones, such as the team from Israel, being assigned to more difficult

regions. This was followed by a remarkably smooth handing-over to the U.N. operation which had 644 police among its total strength of 7,350, organised in five "divisions." Although by this time the U.N. had already gained some experience in police operations, the comments of participating officers echo rather closely those from Namibia and Cambodia: lack of preparations, lack of communications (the thrifty idea to take over the efficient IPM communications network was rejected by the U.N. administration), lack of equipment, lack of vehicles (with about one fifth being unserviceable at any time). The usual division of responsibility between the operative and the administrative element made life difficult for everybody.

But there were positive aspects as well. The heads of the mission and its military, police, and civilian components went to New York to brief representatives from troop-contributing countries before deployment. Already during the MNF phase, a core group of U.N. staff had arrived in Haiti, preparing a smooth transition. In some cases, common sense managed to overcome U.N. "political correctness." When a contingent from a Third World country proved totally unfit, the police commissioner, Canadian Chief Superintendent Neil Pouliot had them sent home, an action most unpopular with certain U.N. staff personnel. Communications between military, police and civilian components were not always satisfactory, and reputedly frictions arose between national contingents, too. Poor language and driving skills were noted among some contingents, as well as problems reflecting the different police traditions in certain countries. Under the prevailing security conditions in Haiti, police officers found it necessary to carry firearms, which the U.N. finally consented to, and which proved a major asset for the operation, giving added confidence and trust to the international police. Use of force was sanctioned when attacked, to prevent loss of life or serious threats against the mission.

UNMIH's mandate was repeatedly extended. To overcome Russian opposition in the Security Council it changed name, however, becoming UNSMIH (United Nations Support Mission in Haiti) in February 1996, and UNTMIH (United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti) in August 1997. In December 1997, the mission was re-constituted as MIPONUH (Mission de Police de l'Organisation des Nations Unies au Haiti). The military component was reduced gradually from 1,200, and the police component from 600 to 300, coming mainly from Canada, France, and Western African countries. In addition, Canada maintained a military and police presence on a bilateral basis, including thirty senior police officers in advising capacities, while Argentina now provides 150 gendarmes.

## **VI. Police operations in the Balkans, since 1991**

### **VI.1. European and U.N. operations in former Yugoslavia**

When fighting broke out first in Slovenia in June 1991, and then in Croatia, the first international efforts to negotiate and supervise cease-fire agreements in the Yugoslav War of Secession included diplomatic and military observers as well as troops, but paid little attention to the role of police. European Community monitors were dispatched to the Balkans from July 1991. They were successful in supervising the withdrawal of Yugoslav federal troops from Slovenia, which eventually managed a smooth transition to independence, but proved inadequate for the more complex situation in Croatia. From early 1992, U.N. military observers and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) were deployed to guard the Serb-controlled areas of Croatia.

It soon became clear that a lasting peace would have to include restoring trust in a police force which had become more and more involved in political and ethnic conflict. Re-establishing a functioning police was seen as crucial in the efforts to resettle refugees, and by June 1992, the Security Council authorised the inclusion of 120 police monitors in UNPROFOR's activities in Croatia. Eventually, UNPROFOR's mandate was extended to Bosnia-Herzegovina — which became the focus of its activities as well as of the world's attention — and to Macedonia. At its peak, the U.N. operation counted more than 38,000 personnel (September 1994), including 700 civilian police monitors. In Bosnia, some U.N. police officers were posted to Sarajevo, Mostar, and the "safe areas" of Srebrenica, Gorazde, and Tuzla, but their mandate was far from clear. Occasionally — especially in Croatia — U.N. police were de facto reduced to checking passports. Co-operation with the local police forces was often non-existent, and occasionally, U.N. police were taken hostage or used as human shields by one or the other faction in this protracted conflict. As a Canadian officer commented, "under such conditions . . . the value of the contribution made by Civilian Police members would be trivial" at best.

#### VI.2. The WEU's Unified Police Force in Mostar, 1994-96

Within the framework of the international activities to achieve a peaceful settlement to the conflict in former Yugoslavia, the European Union established an EU administration for the capital of Herzegovina, Mostar, from 1994 through the end of 1996. Despite much financial input, this effort failed to secure more than an uneasy truce between the Bosniac ("Bosnian Muslim") and Bosnian Croat parts of the city. To assist and train the local police, a Unified Police Force was organised by the Western European Union (WEU). However, radicals on both sides (profiting from the chaotic situation) opposed a political settlement, and co-operation from the police, especially on the Croat side, was limited, undermining all long-term pacification efforts. Unlike in U.N. operations, all contingents came from western European countries, and most maintained high professional standards. With the exception of the British contingent, the WEU police monitors carried side-arms. Co-operation between the WEU police and the EU administration was rather harmonious throughout the operation. When the EU administration ended in December 1996, police monitoring in Mostar was handed over to the U.N. International Police Task Force. Some officers remained under the new affiliation, assuring a smooth handing over.

#### VI.3. The U.N. International Police Task Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina

The Dayton Agreement (10 November 1995) and the General Framework Agreement for Peace (signed at Paris on 14 December) created a new overall situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of 1995. Annex 11 of the Dayton agreement called for a United Nations International Police Task Force (IPTF) to monitor the existing police forces and assist them in maintaining law and order. This force was established by the Security Council on 21 December 1995, and continued to function when the operation's military component, NATO's Implementation Force (IFOR), was scaled down and became the Stabilization Force (SFOR) a year later. The IPTF's mandate includes monitoring and inspecting of local judicial and law enforcement activities (including joint patrols with indigenous police), advising and training law enforcement personnel, assessing threats to public order, and advising government authorities in police matters. U.N. police urged local authorities to remove checkpoints, assisted in the exhumation of mass graves and the interrogation of alleged war criminals, tried to protect refugees returning to their former villages, and helped to supervise the elections of 14 September 1996, including voters' traffic at the inter-entity boundary line crossing points. They were also involved in the downsizing process of the Bosnian police forces. However, U.N. police were not empowered to enforce laws, and were not armed. Their task was made more difficult by some three millions landmines planted in the country

during the war. The police monitors were supported by the peacekeepers of the IFOR/SFOR operation. As usual, co-operation worked better on a personal than on the institutional level, and IFOR was loath to become tied up in police activities. Already in 1996, several initiatives to reorganise and retrain the indigenous police forces (both by European and U.S. institutions) started independently from, but in co-operation with the U.N. police.

Whereas the international military force (IFOR/SFOR) was organised by NATO, the IPTF forms part of the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) — an arrangement which enhanced rather than reduced the natural tension and communication problems between the military and civilian elements of peace operations. The Office of the High Representative (Carl Bildt, later Carlos Westendorp) had a co-ordinating role, but no authority over either U.N. or NATO activities, while supervising human rights and organising elections was left to yet another player, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). In addition, the European Union (EU) maintained a presence through its own Monitoring Mission (ECMM). The IPTF was planned to deploy 1,721 police officers (i.e., one monitor for 30 indigenous policemen) in 109 police stations throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, but it needed eight months to come close to its full strength (with the number of stations already reduced to 53). In March 1997, when it became clear that the town of Brcko (situated in the narrow corridor linking the two Serbian parts of Bosnia) would continue under international control for considerable time, an additional contingent of 186 U.N. police was authorised for this mission.

Particularly in its first months, the new operation was hampered by lack of equipment and vehicles — by May 1996, IPTF's first police commissioner Peter Fitzgerald (from Ireland, and a veteran of earlier U.N. operations in Namibia, Cambodia, and El Salvador) still had telephone communications only with his three sector commands, but not with the outlying police stations. Occasionally, colleagues from OSCE and EU missions helped out with basic office equipment, which the UNMIBH administration proved unable (as some say: unwilling) to provide. Vehicles were supplied late, in insufficient numbers, and in bad condition, often lacking basic equipment like jacks or tool kits. IPTF mobility was further restricted because of fuel shortages. (The Bosnian government insisted that the U.N. pay duties on their fuel imports.) Some observers claimed that IPTF suffered even more than U.N. police in other missions because some people at U.N. headquarters in New York considered it a U.S. invention rather than a proper U.N. operation, and were even less co-operative than usual. During the cold winter months, many officers reported sick because of unheated offices. As always, many officers arrived lacking driving and language skills. In order to reduce the high costs involved in flying poorly trained police officers — especially from some Third World countries — into Croatia for their short preparation training, only to have them repatriated after failing their driving tests, the U.N. succeeded for the first time in sending "training evaluation assistance teams" to the contributing countries before deployment. By doing this, they actually gained a voice in selecting the personnel for a mission before transfer to the operational theatre. Still, some contingents were technically inferior to the Bosnian police forces, and — to quote from one study — "their grasp of the nuances of democratic policing was apt to be equally tenuous."

The relations with the population were mixed — as Charlie Hayes, a former New York Police Department officer who served with the IPTF, explained to a reporter: "Twenty-one years a cop in New York, I can do this. . . . It's just like going against the tough guys on the corner in New York. You make it on your own." The population's expectations — that the U.N. police would help improve their situation — were often frustrated. Co-operation with the indigenous police left a lot to be desired. Whereas the pre-war Yugoslav police force, albeit Communist, had enjoyed a high professional reputation, only few trained pre-war police officers remain with the new police forces. Officers involved in the training courses for Bosnian police organised since 1996 in Austria estimated their ratio as low as 20%, the rest being made up by

people from various professions, including many teachers. Despite mistrust in the early months, U.N. police monitors in general are more readily accepted by their Bosnian counterparts than their military colleagues. Traditional police-military rivalry (and professional camaraderie among police forces in different countries) may be involved, too. In the spring of 1996, the near absence of the U.N. police monitors during the handing over of the Serb-controlled suburbs of Sarajevo to Bosnian government control was heavily criticised in the world media, at a time when only a small number of police monitors had actually arrived in the country. The media's exaggerated expectations promptly turned into accusations against the U.N. for inactivity. In the following months, both NATO and the U.N. police were criticised for refusing to act as agents on behalf of the International War Crimes Tribunal, but while NATO's troops wisely decided to stay away from this task until mid-1997, the U.N. police never had a mandate (nor the means) to do so.

Under a new leadership, the IPTF took a more active course in 1997, and interpreted its mandate more extensively than before. Also, increased powers to investigate human rights abuses and the policing of Brcko were added to the mandate in February 1997. The IPTF became more involved in training programmes for Bosnian police forces as well (by the end of 1998, some 20,000 police officers will have completed training courses). At the same time, relations with SFOR improved, and provided the IPTF with the necessary back-up capacity, the much-cited "guns behind the hill." A new "checkpoint policy" was introduced in April 1997, with the aim of removing illegal checkpoints as swiftly as possible. In August 1997, a weapons inspections programme was started, resulting in the confiscation of large amounts of illegal arms from police stations. In September, however, IPTF suffered a severe loss, when six officers, including the Deputy Commissioner, died in a helicopter crash.

When SFOR's mandate was extended in 1998, it was also given an armed police element to support the IPTF more effectively — in part a result of the discussions about "constabulary" capacities held at the National Defense University from 1996. (At some stage, it was even considered to introduce an international constabulary between SFOR and IPTF.) This does not mean that the IPTF is functioning without problems — some of the difficulties continue, and one high-ranking U.N. representative diplomatically referred to "swimmers and non-swimmers" when commenting about the qualifications of some police contingents. But the situation has much improved from the modest beginnings in 1996.

#### VI.4. The U.N. police monitors in Eastern Slavonia

While the IPTF has made the headlines — usually being criticised — another U.N. police operation in former Yugoslavia was less known: in eastern Croatia. While taking the lead in implementing the Dayton accords for Bosnia in late 1995, the U.S. refused to become militarily involved in Eastern Slavonia (including Baranja and Western Sirmium) — the last part of Croatia still controlled by the Serbs. (Croatia had re-conquered the other formerly Serb-controlled areas of the Krajina and eastern Croatia in 1994-95.) To handle the transition of political authority from local Serb leaders to full Croatian sovereignty, the U.N. Security Council authorised the establishment of the "United Nations Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium" (UNTAES) — taking over from the last remnant of the original UNPROFOR in Croatia — again with its own police component. The U.N. police's mandate there included help to establish and train the Transitional Police Force (TPF) — with assistance through the U.S. ICITAP programme — as well as monitoring the treatment of offenders and the prison system, and border supervision. When UNTAES' mandate ended on 15 January 1998, the administration of Eastern Slavonia was handed over to Croatia, under supervision from OSCE. A "United Nations Police Support Group" (UNPSG) remained in place, comprising 179 police officers. Its mandate will expire by mid-October 1998, but there are plans to establish an OSCE police presence (possibly wearing not

their usual national uniforms, but new OSCE uniforms) in its place. Like in Bosnia-Herzegovina, U.N. police in Eastern Slavonia are not armed.

#### VI.5. U.N. police monitors in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)

To prevent the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (known as "FYROM" due to Greece's objections to the use of the name Macedonia) from being drawn into the fighting in other parts of former Yugoslavia, UNPROFOR's mandate was extended on 11 December 1992 to establish a preventive presence there as well. Consisting of a U.S. and a Nordic battalion, this mission was renamed "United Nations Preventive Deployment Force" (UNPREDEP) in March 1995, and continues to this day. In addition to the military component of about 1,000 men (reduced to 750 troops and 35 military observers in late 1997, but reinforced again by 350 soldiers in mid-1998 in view of the developments in the Kosovo), a civilian police component was established, which presently includes 26 officers. UNPREDEP's mission is to prevent a "spill-over" of the conflict and thus basically resembles a "traditional" U.N. peacekeeping operation along the border between Serbia and Macedonia. The role of the U.N. police is to maintain contact with the civilian population and monitor the performance of the Macedonian police. It therefore conforms with the "classic" UNCIVPOL approach.

#### VI.6. The WEU police in Albania

With the world's attention focussed on nearby Bosnia-Herzegovina, Albania "imploded" in March 1997. Popular disappointment with the government's efforts to bring this country from Enver Hoxha's "stone-age communism" to the post-Cold War world of the nineties resulted in widespread unrest, with only six out of 40 districts remaining under control of the police. Following an appeal by the Albanian government to the European institutions to intervene, Italy organised a "Multinational Protection Force" in April 1997 ("Operation Alba"). This 7,000 strong force managed to protect Italy from further unwanted refugees and also provided cover for OSCE-supported elections in mid-1997, but withdrew already by 11 August. Already in April, the WEU (mainly to "keep a foot in the door", and prodded by the French) sent a small fact finding mission to Albania, which led to the establishment of a small "Multinational Advisory Police Element" (MAPE) by 2 May. Initially consisting of 20 officers from several European countries, the mission under French Colonel Frédéric Denis grew to 60 by early 1998. The original concept was to reform the Albanian police, using the "train the trainers"-approach; this proved unworkable under the prevailing conditions, however, and was changed to a direct training programme. In the winter of 1997/98, Albanian police units were visited by evaluation teams. Not surprisingly, the majority of Albanian police lacked training as well as morale in the difficult task to confront the often powerful gangs of criminals. In the spring of 1998, when the situation in neighbouring Kosovo province destabilised at a rapid rate, additional MAPE personnel was sent to Albania to support the Albanian border police. The total is now close to 120.

As during the Mostar operation, MAPE personnel wear their own national uniforms with a WEU brassard. Officers' salaries are paid by contributing countries, but with smaller financial incentives than in other operations, Colonel Denis deplored "the lack of motivation of candidates to join the mission." The mission budget is funded by the WEU, with a portion (0.4 out of \$2.4 millions for the first year) coming from the EU's PHARE programme. Concentrated in Tirana, MAPE provides a degree of assistance to the Albanian police, but achieving the objective "to establish a technically competent, politically neutral police force that respects human rights" still remains a long way to go. Like most police missions, MAPE suffered from language deficiencies and lack of experience among its personnel, as well as from a "deployment gap" of several months, not becoming truly operational until February

1998. MAPE's main political function is to maintain a WEU presence in the country. In addition to MAPE, police advisors are provided by European countries under bilateral agreements.

## **VII. U.N. police forces in the field**

All operations described are basically variations and extensions of the type of police monitoring operations which were first established in 1964 in Cyprus, and revived with the Namibia operation 25 years later. At the end of this tour d'horizon, I would like to mention a different scenario. Occasionally the establishment of U.N.-own security and police forces in the field is suggested as an alternative means to "fill the security gap" and to relieve the military commitments of troop-contributing countries in internal stability operations. The one example to date — the deployment of U.N. Guards to Iraq in 1991 — is not encouraging, whereas an alternative approach — the hiring of indigenous forces in eastern Zaire in 1995 — worked better. However, the idea to field a U.N. Guard force actually goes back to the early years of the Organisation: to 1948!

### **VII.1. Trygve Lie's plan of 1948**

When the U.N. Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO) — the oldest U.N. peace mission still in existence — was set up in Palestine in the summer of 1948, the U.N. contributed at first nineteen — later 51 — U.N. Guards (i.e. security personnel from Headquarters in New York) to protect the negotiators and observers. In September 1948, Secretary-General Trygve Lie reported "the need for United Nations guard force" to the General Assembly. During the discussions, experienced observers mentioned that "the presence . . . of [U.N.] personnel, particularly if they are in U.N. uniforms, would have a favourable psychological effect on both the members of the mission and the local population; the prestige and dignity of the United Nations missions would be correspondingly enhanced." The proposed guard force should eventually be several thousand strong, but initially comprise only 800 men. In 1949, a special committee was set up to study this question. Because of critique from the Assembly's third regular session, Lie had revised his proposal in the meantime, calling for the creation of a Field Service instead. While still wearing U.N. uniforms, the Field Service would be unarmed and not employed for tasks like guarding truce objectives, or supervising elections — as had been foreseen in the original proposal.

Trygve Lie's proposal was realised in a form very different from his original plans, and eventually became the U.N. Field Service, the non-uniformed administrative component of many U.N. missions — which has neither police nor military functions whatsoever. However, the Field Service officers made a very smart and professional impression indeed in the first years. For example, they served as honour guards when blue U.N. flags were presented to the national contingents taking part in the Korean War.

### **VII.2. The United Nations Guards Contingent in Iraq**

After the war in the Gulf (Operation "Desert Storm") of 1991, Saddam Hussein's forces reached out against the internal opposition to his rule — mainly the Kurds in the north but also Shiites in south-eastern Iraq. Thousands of Kurds and Shiites fled, both inside Iraq and into the neighbouring countries. Apart from the relief brought in by the allies in the context of Operation "Provide Comfort" for Kurdish refugees in Turkey and in northern Iraq, the international humanitarian assistance was mainly directed through the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The Iraqi government refused to consider any international security element to support the UNHCR efforts within the territory under Baghdad's control (i.e., outside the Provide Comfort zone), but consented to the presence in Iraq of a detachment of 500 "U.N. Guards" to protect these activities. Optimistic diplomats had hoped that eventually the U.N. Guards' presence would provide some indirect protection

for the victims of Saddam's rule, too. Although a laudable attempt to provide a degree of public order in the turmoil following the Gulf War, this operation lacked a clear mandate. To use U.N. Guards — most will remember the blue uniformed guards handling the gate controls, and serving the visitors' desks at various U.N. installations, in New York, Geneva, or Vienna — appeared at the time to be the only option Saddam would agree to. Also, this was 1991, the period of optimism for a new U.N. role after the end of the Cold War — and handling this mission directly through the Secretariat, without a mandate from the Security Council, might have appealed to some onusians as a new experiment in extending the U.N.'s possibilities for action.

The U.N. Guards Contingent in Iraq (UNGCI) eventually consisted of 60 "real" U.N. Guards and 440 additional police officers or military personnel seconded from various countries. Unlike in other U.N. operations, military or police, these were not organised in national contingents, and were even forbidden to reveal their nationality. They wore the blue U.N. Guards uniforms without any national insignia, and became known as "Blue Shirts." As an experiment, this was indeed remarkable: it was the first time a U.N.-uniformed force served in the field. However, it was not much of a force, and was plagued by organisational and administrative problems. The U.N. Guards might be adequate for handling visitors in New York — some even doubt this — but they proved incapable of managing a complex operation in the field. Especially in the beginning, logistics, infrastructure and communication were inadequate. Professional U.N. Guards (so-called "U.N.-U.N.s," i.e. permanent U.N. employees) with no police experience were put in charge of commissioned police officers. In a country where children are used to playing with AK-47s, their whole armament consisted of rusty Iraqi Tarik pistols — eventually some Guards took to "acquiring" AK-47s and even heavier weapons on the local black market. (To be fair, the original concept had included heavier armament as well, but this was duly "downgraded" in the negotiations between U.N. diplomats and the Iraqis.)

Despite the protests of several troop contributors, the U.N. Guards never received armoured vehicles, and flak jackets had to be provided by the contributing countries themselves. There were no evacuation plans, inadequate medical facilities, and lack of proper insurance coverage. For political reasons, the U.N. refused American and Russian offers of using their helicopters for medical emergencies although the mission was dangerous at times; one guard (from Fiji) was killed, and at least seven severely injured, in hostile attacks. While the Iraqi authorities usually were less than helpful — unlike in traditional U.N. operations, the U.N. Guards were not granted freedom of movement — the attitude of the Kurds became increasingly hostile as well: they had expected the U.N. Guards to provide some protection; repeatedly, they staged demonstrations against the U.N.'s inaction. It was only in those areas in the north where the Allies had deployed troops in 1991, and which were covered by Allied air patrols afterwards, that some protection existed for the local population and the refugees. By the mid-nineties, the international aid organisations in Iraq mostly relied on privately hired guards, Somalia style, for their protection.

Summing up, the U.N. Guards experiment in Iraq was interesting from an historic point of view, being the first time ever a U.N. force was put to the field in U.N. uniforms, without any reference to their national background. Beyond this, it was less than successful however, and should be discouraging enough for over-eager diplomats and politicians not to repeat the experience.

### VII.3. Zaire: recruiting indigenous security forces

A different model was established by the UNHCR in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) for the protection of the refugee camps there. Following the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, over a million and a half of refugees crossed into eastern Zaire's Kivu province. The

situation was aggravated because of the presence among the refugees of former Rwandan soldiers and militia, including many who had actively participated in the mass slaughters. The UNHCR became the lead agency there, and three models were discussed for the protection of the refugees and their camps: a multinational U.N. force, a similar force operating not under U.N. command, and hiring a private company. The first two options were discarded, because of the costs (estimated at up to \$300 millions per year), and because the countries contacted refused to provide sufficient troops (of 60 states contacted, only one was willing to participate). Even the private security company proved too expensive, with costs of about \$60 millions. Eventually, UNHCR opted for a different course: the hiring of a indigenous guard force. In negotiations with the government, a pattern for this force was agreed on, which became the "Contingent Zairois pour la Sécurité des Camps" (CZSC). The first contingent of 1,530 men started on 10 February 1995, providing security for about 50 camps in northern Kivu, and 35 camps in the south, as well as the international agencies. The soldiers were recruited by the UNHCR from the élite Special Presidential Division. They were paid three dollars a day, fed, outfitted, and trained through the UNHCR, and wore a distinctive light-brown uniform. Otherwise, the force remained a Zairois unit. Also, Zairois law was applied in the camps. They brought their own weapons (pistols, AK-47 and other assault rifles), with additional equipment such as riot control gear being bought from various sources. As soldiers, they were not perfectly suited for a police operation, lacked experience in crowd control, and occasionally intimidated rather than protected the refugees. In due course, they received additional police training by police and military officers from Benin, Burkino Faso, Canada, Guinea Bissau, the Netherlands, Senegal, and Switzerland. The different background of these officers created a good mélange. (The results were better with the first trainers being a mix of police and military, while the second group consisted mainly of military officers some of whom had difficulties understanding the police mentality.) Björn Johansson, a retired Swedish officer, was in charge of the whole enterprise. By and large, the first contingent, serving until January 1996, performed better than its replacement which came from various regular army units, with less training and leadership, and including a large group of young recruits with little experience who proved less disciplined than older men. They often behaved with little tact towards the refugees, even extorting money or forcing refugee women into prostitution. There were some improvements in June, but by then the government of President Sese Seko Mobutu had begun to crumble. In the following turmoil, the guards for the camps in the south disappeared in September, and by November 1996, the guards in the Goma area had left, too. Despite this rapid end, the overall impression of this guard force was a favourable one. It was cost-effective (costing about \$10 millions per year), made it possible for the UNHCR to maintain a degree of security in the camps, and in addition provided police training to a number of Zairois soldiers, and helped to prevent unrest within the camps. As so often, the operation suffered from the lack of criminal investigation, judiciary and prison facilities in Zaire, to "follow-up" the arrest of offenders. With little international staff involved on the side of the UNHCR, it was a "lean" operation, unlike the sometimes over-administrated U.N. missions. Despite its problems, this guard force might become a model for future activities.

### **VIII. Conclusions**

Far from being an encompassing treatise of the history and evolution of police in peace operations, this study intends to give a summary of this topic. Some problems resurfaced in most of the missions:

- lack of language and driving skills among some of the contingents;

- the diversity of police training, traditions and experiences between different nationalities (and sometimes their total lack of police background, with "police officers" turning out to be really soldiers rather than constables);
- the low professional standards of some contingents — as one experienced officer noted recently, "some contingents are less advanced in their professional development than the indigenous police force being monitored;"
- the lack of democratic background and "community policing" experience of some contingents which makes them less than perfect "role models" for the indigenous police forces they should help to reform;
- the different motivations between officers who volunteer (most participants from Europe or North America) and those who are ordered to do so (a common practice in many developing countries, but also in some East European countries), and different pay rates;
- the lack of preparation and training for specific missions, including — most importantly — cultural awareness training;
- difficulties in establishing trust between the people in the mission area and the international police — a crucial element for a successful mission — aggravated by non-familiarity with local culture and language;
- the gap between a "monitoring" mandate and the expectations of the local population (as well as the international media community) for these officers to actually exercise law enforcement functions (false expectations often stem from information about other missions with different mandates);
- the issue of whether and when international police officers should be armed;
- the inadequacy of the U.N. administrative and organisational structures, lack of equipment, vehicles, and communications;
- parallel lines of communication in the U.N. system, with administrative and logistics positions responsible to the support staff in New York instead of the commanding officer or police commissioner of the mission; and
- often lacking co-ordination among contributing countries (the noble exception here is the Haiti operation, where co-ordination was achieved very early, immensely improving the performance of U.N. police in the field).

#### VIII.1. Improving U.N. civilian police missions

Whereas U.N. police activities have often been ignored in favour of the more visible military aspects of "Blue Helmet" type operations, they made the headlines, albeit highly critical ones, in Bosnia and Herzegovina in recent years. And these Balkan missions are certainly not the last operations of this kind. Several new U.N. police operations are in the offing, and future operations in places like Cuba will have to include police elements as well. Recently, "a NATO commanded multinational police force" has been suggested for Cyprus should the two territorial entities ever be joined under a federation agreement. In 1996, then Austrian Minister of the Interior Caspar Einem proposed increased co-operation between European countries which might eventually lead to the creation of a European border police to supervise the Schengen borders. Apparently, international police operations of various kinds are a growth business.

In a recent study on the Cambodia operation, Jarat Chopra noted that "failure is not part of the institutional memory of the United Nations. . . . Obscuring mistakes has meant they have been

repeated." Only in recent years have both the U.N. and some member countries started to make advances to improve preparations and performance of U.N. and other international police missions. In 1995, the U.N. Training Unit together with the Civilian Police Unit published a useful United Nations Civilian Police Handbook, to provide "guiding instructions and performance criteria" for future missions, and to overcome the lack of common doctrine observed in earlier operations. Several conferences on this issue were held from 1995 on, to assess the lessons learned in different operations. The U.N. managed to establish minimum standards and requirements, and gained a say in the selection of police officers already in their home countries. To co-ordinate the preparation for police in peace operations, the European Union issued guidelines at a conference in Lisbon in July 1996, and Austria recently devised a suitable training package which is offered to interested countries. The performance of U.N. police has been much criticised in past years, but there is indeed more than just hope for improvements in the future.

#### VIII.2. Filling the "Security Gap"

In addition to the traditional role of U.N. police, some observers call for additional means to fill the "security gap" between the roles performed by military intervention forces and unarmed police monitors respectively. One possibility would be to establish special U.N. police units capable of independent policing, not just supervising indigenous forces. They would function in an overarching framework referred to by Jarat Chopra as "peace maintenance," and including the necessary system of transitional law. To some extent, what he calls for is similar to earlier international police forces (like the League administrations of Danzig/Gdansk and the Saarland in the inter-war years), operating under the authority of a (U.N. or otherwise) transitional administration, and supported by an independent (international) judiciary and fully responsible for maintaining law and order. Police units of this kind would, however, have to be larger and stronger than police monitors in U.N. operations have been so far; and their members would have to be trained in international service, and all new procedures, in addition to their proper professional experience at home. Considering the problems encountered in recent operations already with "ordinary" police monitors, to recruit and keep these "new world order cops" presents quite a challenge for the international community.

While the establishment of such U.N. police forces might be a tempting task in the long run, it appears possible to "fill the security gap" differently in the meantime. In recent operations, military forces have often been hesitant to act in a law enforcement role (resulting problems showed in the early days of the IFOR operation in Bosnia, while SFOR now appears better prepared to support the police). In addition, political necessities of "force protection," and the protective equipment of soldiers in the nineties, further reduce interaction between the intervention force and the local population. In Bosnia in 1996, U.S. troops in their helmets and kevlar vests quickly were dubbed "Ninja Turtles."



*Postcard, Tuzla, 1996 (with thanks to Laura Miller)*

*The need for "force protection" often makes communication between the military and the population difficult. Because of their orders to wear helmets and flak jackets at all times, U.S. peacekeepers in Bosnia became known as the "Ninja Turtles".*

In contrast, the U.S. special forces in the rural districts of Haiti presented a totally different image in 1995-96, wearing caps or berets instead of helmets, without flak jackets, and operating in small numbers. They thus effectively fulfilled a law enforcement role as well, gaining the confidence of the population, and adding to a general feeling of security and return to "normal" conditions. By drawing on these experiences, it appears expedient to employ Special Forces instead of heavily armed infantry under similar circumstances. Special Forces' training includes cultural awareness, regional orientation, co-operation with civilians, and the political context of their missions, making them, as recently stated by the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Special Operations Command, "true 'warrior-diplomats'." This makes it easier to extend the political stability achieved by the military intervention to the lower and more general level which is of day-to-day relevance to the population as a whole. Special Forces therefore appear to be the best short-time answer to fill the "security gap."

#### **Annex 1: U.N. Civilian Police, as of 30 June 1998:**

As of 30 June 1998, out of a total of 14,570 personnel on U.N. peace operation, there were 2,984 police officers. They served in the following missions:

Bosnia-Herzegovina (UNMIBH/IPTF) 1,959

Angola (MONUA) 405

Haiti (MIPONUH) 284

Croatia (UNPSG) 179

Western Sahara (MINURSO) 78

Cyprus (UNFICYP) 34

FYROM/Macedonia (UNPREDEP) 26  
Central African Republic (MINURCA) 17  
Tajikistan (UNMOT) 2

Contributing countries:

Argentina: 215 (20 Angola, 6 Croatia, 43 Bosnia, 146 Haiti)  
Australia: 20 (Cyprus)  
Austria: 48 (8 Croatia, 39 Bosnia, 1 Tajikistan)  
Bangladesh: 27 (21 Angola, 6 Bosnia)  
Benin: 8 (6 Haiti, 2 Central Africa)  
Brazil: 15 (Angola)  
Bulgaria: 60 (19 Angola, 41 Bosnia)  
Canada: 59 (6 Western Sahara, 29 Bosnia, 24 Haiti)  
Chile: 31 (Bosnia)  
Denmark: 44 (7 Croatia, 37 Bosnia)  
Egypt: 63 (19 Angola, 2 Western Sahara, 8 Croatia, 34 Bosnia)  
Estonia: 9 (Bosnia)  
Fiji: 14 (8 Croatia, 6 Bosnia)  
Finland: 43 (11 Croatia, 26 Bosnia, 6 Macedonia)  
France: 164 (122 Bosnia, 35 Haiti, 7 Central Africa)  
Gambia: 4 (Angola)  
Germany: 165 (Bosnia)  
Ghana: 96 (10 Western Sahara, 86 Bosnia)  
Greece: 15 (Bosnia)  
Guinea Bissau: 4 (Angola)  
Hungary: 44 (8 Angola, 36 Bosnia)  
Iceland: 2 (Bosnia)  
India: 184 (22 Angola, 10 Western Sahara, 149 Bosnia, 3 Haiti).  
Indonesia: 28 (6 Croatia, 22 Bosnia)  
Ireland: 59 (14 Cyprus, 10 UNPSG, 35 Bosnia)  
Italy: 22 (Bosnia)  
Jordan: 194 (27 Angola, 8 Croatia, 157 Bosnia, 2 Macedonia)  
Kenya: 16 (9 Croatia, 7 Bosnia)  
Lithuania: 8 (Croatia)  
Malaysia: 82 (25 Angola, 10 Western Sahara, 47 Bosnia)  
Mali: 54 (29 Angola, 19 Haiti, 6 Central Africa)  
Nepal: 41 (5 Croatia, 36 Bosnia)  
Netherlands: 54 (Bosnia)  
Niger: 5 (Haiti)  
Nigeria: 59 (21 Angola, 10 W. Sahara, 5 Croatia, 19 Bosnia, 4 Macedonia)  
Norway: 39 (15 Croatia, 24 Bosnia)  
Pakistan: 101 (10 Western Sahara, 91 Bosnia)  
Poland: 27 (4 Croatia, 22 Bosnia, 1 Tajikistan)  
Portugal: 123 (52 Angola, 10 Western Sahara, 59 Bosnia, 2 Central Africa)  
Romania: 7 (Bosnia)  
Russia: 40 (3 Croatia, 35 Bosnia, 2 Macedonia)  
Senegal: 26 (18 Bosnia, 8 Haiti)  
Spain: 63 (15 Angola, 48 Bosnia)  
Sweden: 91 (21 Angola, 10 Western Sahara, 10 Croatia, 50 Bosnia)  
Switzerland: 9 (3 Croatia, 2 Bosnia, 4 Macedonia)  
Tanzania: 3 (Angola)

Thailand: 3 (Bosnia)  
Togo: 6 (Haiti)  
Tunisia: 16 (13 Croatia, 2 Bosnia, 1 Haiti)  
Turkey: 31 (27 Bosnia, 4 Macedonia)  
Ukraine: 53 (5 Angola, 8 Croatia, 36 Bosnia, 4 Macedonia)  
UK: 60 (Bosnia)  
Uruguay: 24 (Angola)  
USA: 255 (24 Croatia, 200 Bosnia, 31 Haiti)  
Zambia: 29 (Angola)  
Zimbabwe: 22 (Angola)

## **Annex 2: Agreement on the International Police Task Force**

(Annex 11 of the Dayton Peace Agreement initialled on 21 November 1995)

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Republika Srpska (the "Parties") have agreed as follows:

### Article I: Civilian Law Enforcement

1. As provided in Article III(2)(c) of the Constitution agreed as Annex 4 to the General Framework Agreement, the Parties shall provide a safe and secure environment for all persons in their respective jurisdictions, by maintaining civilian law enforcement agencies operating in accordance with internationally recognized standards and with respect for internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms, and by taking such other measures as appropriate.
2. To assist them in meeting their obligations, the Parties request that the United Nations establish by a decision of the Security Council, as a UNCIVPOL operation, a U.N. International Police Task Force (IPTF) to carry out, throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, the program of assistance the elements of which are described in Article III below.

### Article II: Establishment of the IPTF

1. The IPTF shall be autonomous with regard to the execution of its functions under this Agreement. Its activities will be coordinated through the High Representative described in Annex 10 to the General Framework Agreement.
2. The IPTF will be headed by a Commissioner, who will be appointed by the Secretary General of the United Nations in consultation with the Security Council. It shall consist of persons of high moral standing who have experience in law enforcement. The IPTF Commissioner may request and accept personnel, resources, and assistance from states and international and nongovernmental organizations.
3. The IPTF Commissioner shall receive guidance from the High Representative.
4. The IPTF Commissioner shall periodically report on matters within his or her responsibility to the High Representative, the Secretary General of the United Nations, and shall provide information to the IFOR Commander and, as he or she deems appropriate, other institutions and agencies.
5. The IPTF shall at all times act in accordance with internationally recognized standards and with respect for internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms, and shall respect, consistent with the IPTF's responsibilities, the laws and customs of the host country.
6. The Parties shall accord the IPTF Commissioner, IPTF personnel, and their families the privileges and immunities described in Sections 18 and 19 of the 1946 Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations. In particular, they shall enjoy inviolability, shall not be subject to any form of arrest or detention, and shall have absolute immunity from

criminal jurisdiction. IPTF personnel shall remain subject to penalties and sanctions under applicable laws and regulations of the United Nations and other states.

7. The IPTF and its premises, archives, and other property shall be accorded the same privileges and immunities, including inviolability, as are described in Articles II and III of the 1946 Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations.

8. In order to promote the coordination by the High Representative of IPTF activities with those of other civilian organizations and agencies and of the (IFOR), the IPTF Commissioner or his or her representatives may attend meetings of the Joint Civilian Commission established in Annex 10 to the General Framework Agreement and of the Joint Military Commission established in Annex 1, as well as meetings of their subordinate commissions. The IPTF Commissioner may request that meetings of appropriate commissions be convened to discuss issues within his or her area of responsibility.

#### Article III: IPTF Assistance Program

1. IPTF assistance includes the following elements, to be provided in a program designed and implemented by the IPTF Commissioner in accordance with the Security Council decision described in Article I(2):

- (a) monitoring, observing, and inspecting law enforcement activities and facilities, including associated judicial organizations, structures, and proceedings;
- (b) advising law enforcement personnel and forces;
- (c) training law enforcement personnel;
- (d) facilitating, within the IPTF's mission of assistance, the Parties' law enforcement activities;
- (e) assessing threats to public order and advising on the capability of law enforcement agencies to deal with such threats.
- (f) advising governmental authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the organization of effective civilian law enforcement agencies; and
- (g) assisting by accompanying the Parties' law enforcement personnel as they carry out their responsibilities, as the IPTF deems appropriate.

2. In addition to the elements of the assistance program set forth in paragraph 1, the IPTF will consider, consistent with its responsibilities and resources, requests from the Parties or law enforcement agencies in Bosnia and Herzegovina for assistance described in paragraph 1.

3. The Parties confirm their particular responsibility to ensure the existence of social conditions for free and fair elections, including the protection of international personnel in Bosnia and Herzegovina in connection with the elections provided for in Annex 3 to the General Framework Agreement. They request the IPTF to give priority to assisting the Parties in carrying out this responsibility.

#### Article IV: Specific Responsibilities of the Parties

1. The Parties shall cooperate fully with the IPTF and shall so instruct all their law enforcement agencies.

2. Within 30 days after this Agreement enters into force, the Parties shall provide the IPTF Commissioner or his or her designee with information on their law enforcement agencies, including their size, location, and force structure. Upon request of the IPTF Commissioner, they shall provide additional information, including any training, operational, or employment and service records of law enforcement agencies and personnel.

3. The Parties shall not impede the movement of IPTF personnel or in any way hinder, obstruct, or delay them in the performance of their responsibilities. They shall allow IPTF personnel immediate and complete access to any site, person, activity, proceeding, record, or other item or event in Bosnia and Herzegovina as requested by the IPTF in carrying out its responsibilities under this Agreement. This shall include the right to monitor, observe, and

inspect any site or facility at which it believes that police, law enforcement, detention, or judicial activities are taking place.

4. Upon request by the IPTF, the Parties shall make available for training qualified personnel, who are expected to take up law enforcement duties immediately following such training.

5. The Parties shall facilitate the operations of the IPTF in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including by the provision of appropriate assistance as requested with regard to transportation, subsistence, accommodations, communications, and other facilities at rates equivalent to those provided for the IFOR under applicable agreements.

#### Article V: Failure to Cooperate

1. Any obstruction of or interference with IPTF activities, failure or refusal to comply with an IPTF request, or other failure to meet the Parties' responsibilities or other obligations in this Agreement, shall constitute a failure to cooperate with the IPTF.

2. The IPTF Commissioner will notify the High Representative and inform the IFOR Commander of failures to cooperate with the IPTF. The IPTF Commissioner may request that the High Representative take appropriate steps upon receiving such notifications, including calling such failures to the attention of the Parties, convening the Joint Civilian Commission, and consulting with the United Nations, relevant states, and international organizations on further responses.

#### Article VI: Human Rights

1. When IPTF personnel learn of credible information concerning violations of internationally recognized human rights or fundamental freedoms or of the role of law enforcement officials or forces in such violations, they shall provide such information to the Human Rights Commission established in Annex 6 to the General Framework Agreement, the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, or to o

2. The Parties shall cooperate with investigations of law enforcement forces and officials by the organizations described in paragraph 1.

#### Article VII: Application

This Agreement applies throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina to law enforcement agencies and personnel of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Entities, and any agency, subdivision, or instrumentality thereof. Law enforcement agencies are those with a mandate including law enforcement, criminal investigations, public and state security, or

#### Article VIII: Entry Into Force

This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature.

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\* Without the footnotes and photos of the published booklet