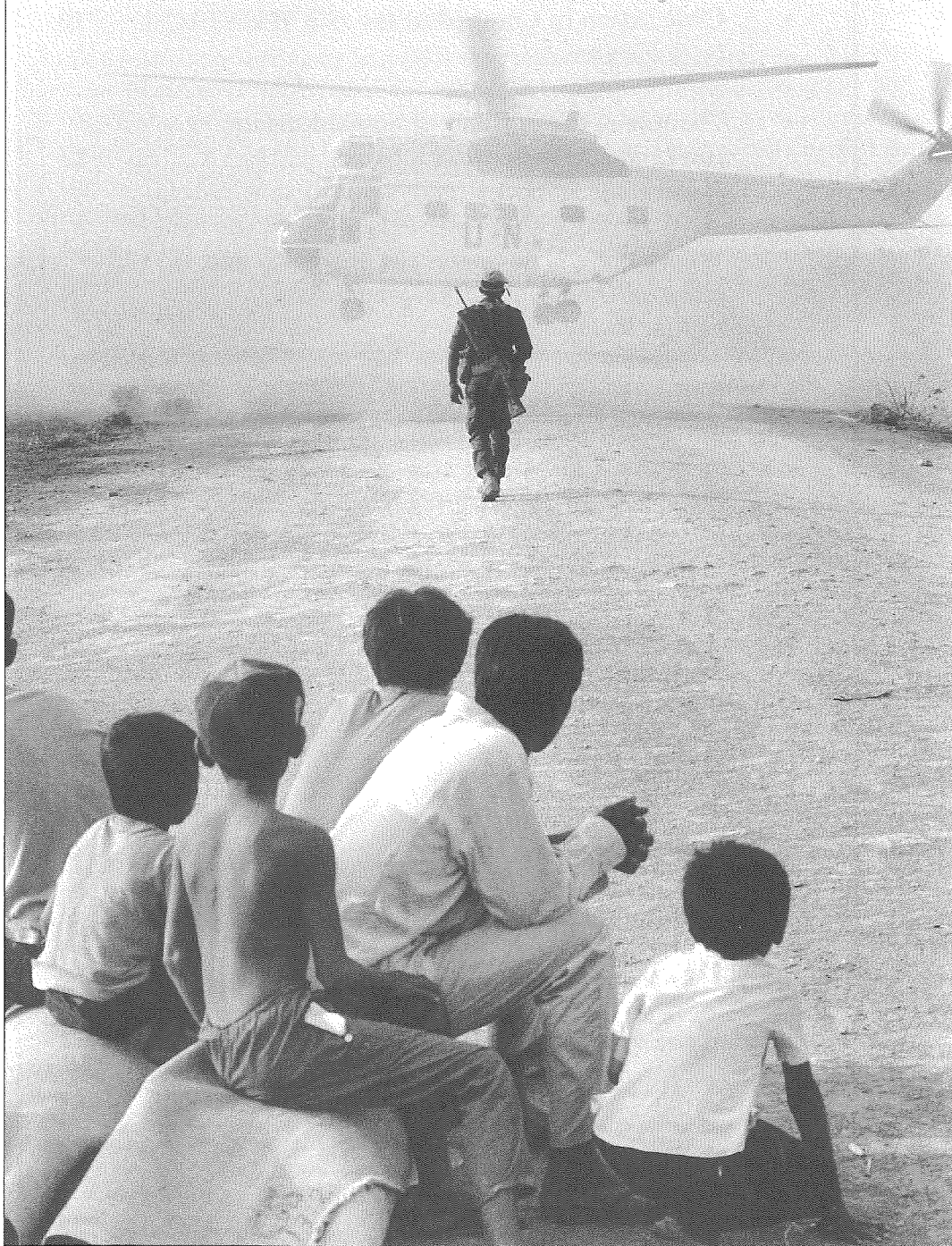


The role of the military in humanitarian work



Includes articles on:

- Use of United Nations peacekeeping forces for humanitarian purposes
- Bosnia
- The role of the military in humanitarian emergencies
- Cambodia
- Improving military-civilian cooperation
- Northern Iraq
- Haiti
- Economic implications and consequences of humanitarian aid

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- research abstracts
- conference reports
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Launch of Arabic
RPN
see p32 for details

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Editor
Marion Couldrey

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RPN
RSP, Queen Elizabeth House,
21 St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA, UK

Tel: +44 (0)1865 270722
Fax: +44 (0)1865 270721
E-mail:
marion.couldrey@qeh.ox.ac.uk

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Membership

The RPN aims to provide a forum for the regular exchange of practical experience, information and ideas between researchers, refugees and people who work with refugees.

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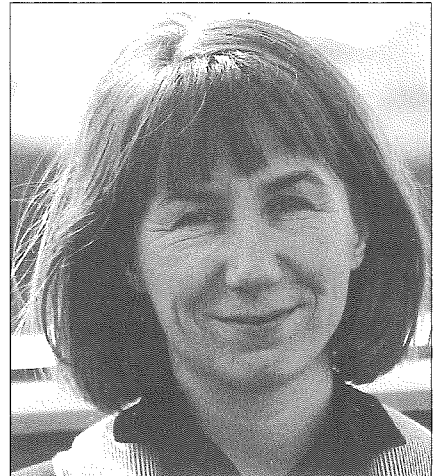
From the Editor

Can the military play a humanitarian role? Should they? The articles in this RPN discuss these questions and examine the experience of military involvement in countries such as Bosnia, Haiti, Cambodia, Iraq and Zaire.

RPN 24 will focus on *displaced children and adolescents*. Readers are invited to contribute articles (up to 3000 words), reports and letters, plus details of research findings, policy discussions and recent publications relating to this theme. The deadline for contributions is 28 April. Please do not worry if English is not your first language; your material can be edited.

RPN 25 (September-December 1997) will not have a specific theme. We welcome contributions on any issue relating to forced migration. The deadline for submission of material is 11 August 1997.

Dr David Turton took up the post of Director of the RSP in January this year. On page 40 of this RPN he writes of the challenges facing the RSP and his ideas for developing its research and training resources. Dr Harrell-Bond is now working as a University Research Lecturer, undertaking socio-legal research on refugee protection (see page 33).



We are delighted to announce the publication of the first Arabic RPN, with many thanks to the Al-Qattan Foundation for their financial support. RPN 21 (on *Education and training*) has been translated into Arabic and will be distributed in April to a range of organisations and individuals. If you would like to receive a copy, or if you know of an organisation who you think would like to receive it, please send details to the RPN Editor. We are awaiting confirmation of funding for the translation of further issues.

As the RSP prepares to start work on the digitisation of its Library collection (see page 38), we *urgently* need permission from all authors of *unpublished* materials held in the Library. If you have contributed material but have not yet completed a copyright waiver form, please complete and return the form below. Thank you.

With best wishes.

Marion Couldrey, RPN Editor

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Use of UN peacekeeping forces for humanitarian purposes

by Adam Roberts

In the post-Cold War world, and to an unprecedented extent, forces operating under a UN mandate have become involved in a wide range of humanitarian tasks. These have taken the following main forms:

- protecting humanitarian relief workers, such as those representing international agencies and NGOs, from attacks by belligerents and generally from the dangers of war;
- directly engaging in humanitarian action, for example, delivering humanitarian relief supplies, maintaining essential services and reconstructing damaged buildings;
- facilitating contacts between adversaries over such matters as resettlement of refugees and visits to grave sites;
- establishing certain designated areas ('safety zones') where a high degree of protection is intended for the inhabitants from the threat or use of force.

Such tasks were a key part of the UN's effort in several war situations, including in former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Rwanda. Peacekeeping forces have been deeply involved in such activities, sometimes as an almost complete substitution for traditional peacekeeping activities, such as manning cease-fire lines, since in these conflicts there was often little or no peace to keep. Other forces and agencies operating in association with the UN have also been involved in these various humanitarian tasks. For an international organisation such as the UN to attempt this in the midst of ongoing wars is historically unprecedented. The tasks are by nature extremely difficult, and also controversial.

This change in practice has not always been reflected in general statements about the purpose and character of peacekeeping.¹ Within the UN, against a back-

ground of multiple and difficult commitments of peacekeeping forces, humanitarian issues have not loomed large in attempts to establish criteria that should be considered before new tasks are undertaken. A UN Security Council Presidential Statement on Peacekeeping, issued on 3 May 1994, listed six factors which must be taken into account when a new operation is under consideration.

These are the existence of a threat to international peace and security, whether regional bodies are ready to assist, the existence of a cease-fire, a clear political goal which can be reflected in the mandate, a precise mandate and reasonable assurances about the safety of UN personnel.² This list contained no reference to humanitarian operations in the midst of continuing hostilities, and indeed suggested a natural desire to return to something more like normal peacekeeping. Two days later, on 5 May 1994, the Clinton administration's long-planned Presidential Decision Directive 25, on 'multilateral peace operations', did suggest that one relevant consideration for the US when voting on a military operation proposal under UN auspices would be whether there was an 'urgent humanitarian disaster coupled with violence'. There would also have to be consideration of 'the political, economic and humanitarian consequences of inaction by the international community'.³

There have been some remarkable successes in using UN peacekeeping forces for humanitarian purposes in situations of war, civil war and breakdown of government. Many lives have been saved and refugee flows limited by some of these humanitarian actions. Sarajevo, where a population of well over 350,000 was at risk during the siege, is a case in point. Despite the many failures and interruptions, the maintenance of supplies - gas, water and electricity, as well as food and material brought in by land convoys and air - did effectively mitigate

many of the extreme cruelties of siege warfare.

This achievement would have been impossible without UN peacekeeping forces. The figures for supplies brought in by the UNHCR airlift are impressive. The longest-running humanitarian air-lift in history, it lasted from 30 June 1992 to 5 January 1996. Although there were many periods when, due to Serb threats, it was not possible for aircraft to fly to Sarajevo at all, during the three-and-a-half years of the airlift there were 12,951 sorties delivering 160,677 tonnes, of which 144,827 were food and the rest non-food items (such as shelter materials and medical supplies).⁴ In other words, an average of about 125 tonnes a day was delivered. During many months of the war the airlift provided more than 85% of all assistance reaching Sarajevo. In addition, over 1,000 patients were medically evacuated by air, plus over 1,400 of their relatives.⁵

While the Sarajevo airlift was remarkable in the hostile circumstances, the overall tonnage delivered in three-and-a-half years was about the same as the average delivered each month in the Berlin airlift of 1948-49.⁶

The special problems attendant upon humanitarian efforts by peacekeeping forces in situations of great violence have been well publicised. They fall under the following headings:

- Humanitarian action often involves compromises with belligerents, making impartiality difficult to maintain. Any action in the midst of an ongoing conflict requires consent of the parties on the ground.
- Convoys cannot move, aircraft cannot fly and hospitals cannot operate if there is no such consent. Thus peacekeepers inevitably find themselves dealing closely with one belligerent or another.

• Humanitarian action often favours one side more than the other, further straining the credibility of the peacekeepers' impartiality. Relief supplies are often, and for good reasons, provided more to one side than to another; so is the protection afforded by the establishment and maintenance of specially designated safety zones.

• While the peacekeepers' impartiality is often considered essential during an ongoing conflict, it is particularly hard to maintain while conducting or authorising military actions that are seen as partial to one side - such as enforcing economic sanctions and 'no-fly zones', punishing infractions of cease-fire agreements, or pressing a recalcitrant party to accept a particular approach to a settlement.

• Personnel carrying out humanitarian work in the midst of ongoing conflict usually have to be dispersed to many parts of a war zone, making them exceptionally vulnerable to reprisals and hostage-taking by belligerents. When the personnel involved are troops supplied for a peacekeeping operation, their vulnerability can inhibit powers from taking

forceful military action even when this seems to be required.

• It can be very difficult to recruit and maintain troops with the necessary training and discipline to carry out peacekeeping/humanitarian tasks in a war zone, and generally to mobilise political, diplomatic and financial support in a long war if major powers do not see that their interests are directly affected.

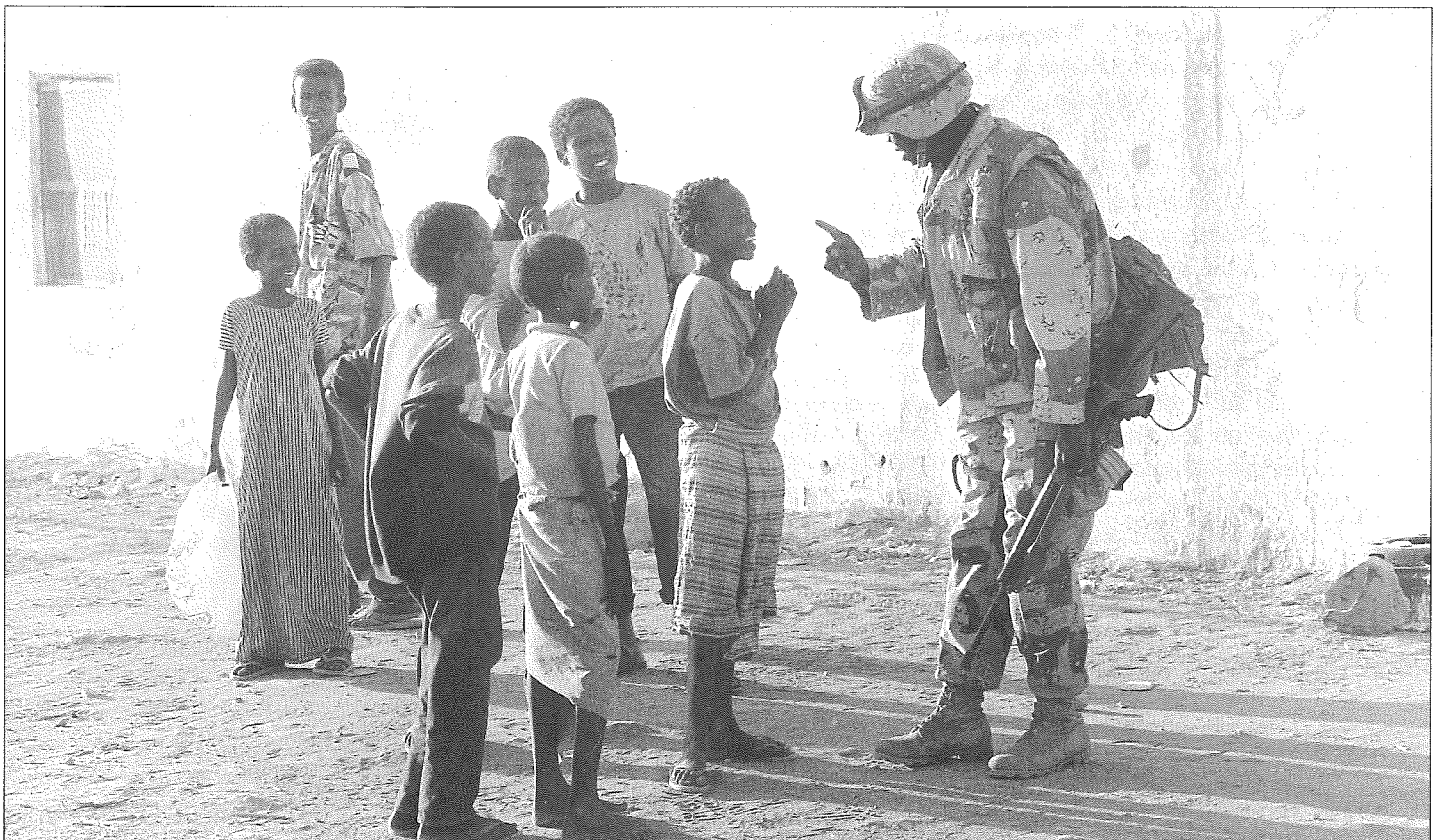
• The heavy demands of running peacekeeping/humanitarian missions in a large number of conflicts simultaneously has exposed certain limits to the UN's capacity to manage operations, and (even more dramatically) the political and resource limits within which the UN has to operate. Many states have been unwilling to provide all the forces, material and finance required for such operations. Consequently there has been pressure to handle more problems on a regional basis.

These problems proved exceptionally debilitating in both Somalia and Bosnia. The sense that humanitarian issues were among the factors that made it harder to stick to tried-and-tested notions of peace-

keeping was evident in UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's January 1995 report, *Supplement to an agenda for peace*. In the following passage he seems to hold the humanitarian cart responsible for running over the peacekeeping horse:

There are three aspects of recent mandates that, in particular, have led peacekeeping operations to forfeit the consent of the parties, to behave in a way that was perceived to be partial and/or to use force other than in self-defence. These have been the tasks of protecting humanitarian operations during continuing warfare, protecting civilian populations in designated safe areas and pressing the parties to achieve national reconciliation at a pace faster than they were ready to accept. The cases of Somalia and Bosnia and Herzegovina are instructive in this respect.⁷

Boutros-Ghali went on to indicate that 'additional mandates that required the use of force ... could not be combined with existing mandates requiring the consent of the parties, impartiality and the non-use of force. It was also not possible for



US Marine sergeant talking with Somali children in Bardera in southern Somalia, 1993. Photo: Howard J Davies.

them to be executed without much stronger military capabilities than had been made available'.⁸ This is a classic reflection of the view, drawn largely from Somalia, that it was disastrous for UN forces to cease to be impartial and to use too much force. This is not the only possible interpretation of the causes of failure in Somalia but it prevailed, leading many in the UN and elsewhere to be extremely cautious in Bosnia.

Events in Bosnia in 1992-95 suggested that the relationship between humanitarian and peacekeeping roles, while extraordinarily complex, can have positive aspects. Despite all the disappointments, the presence of UN peacekeeping forces, whose mission was largely to support humanitarian action, may have reduced at least slightly the incidence of extreme atrocities, helped prevent a process of creeping unilateral interventions in the war and may even have prepared the way for a peace settlement by demonstrating the readiness of the international community to assist and monitor such an outcome.

In the months leading up to the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina agreed at Dayton, Ohio, in November 1995, the relationship between humanitarian action and a peace settlement was especially complex and paradoxical. The Security Council repeatedly asserted that there was such a connection: 'the provision of humanitarian assistance in Bosnia and Herzegovina is an important element in the Council's effort to restore international peace and security in the area'.⁹

This may in the end have been true but with a qualification. It was not so much the attempt to provide humanitarian assistance itself but rather the Serb rejection of that attempt in the first half of 1995 which created the conditions for the serious effort of August-November 1995 to restore peace and security in the area. A more robust policy of decisive enforcement action only became possible in Bosnia after the humanitarian aid programme had practically stopped in mid 1995 due to Bosnian Serb actions. Once UNPROFOR no longer had personnel widely spread out and hence vulnerable

to Serb retaliation, it was more able to act, and once the Bosnian Serbs had shown contempt for humanitarian efforts, for the 'safe areas' and for the Security Council, there was more reason to act. Thus the Western powers, and the UNPROFOR commanders, became less cautious about authorising a major use of force by NATO, as they eventually did in Operation Deliberate Force in August 1995. In short, a humanitarian involvement, especially in the 'safe areas', had a 'ratchet' effect, leading eventually to a major NATO military campaign.



Adam Roberts is Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at Oxford University.

This extract is taken from Humanitarian action in war: aid, protection and impartiality in a policy vacuum, Adelphi Paper 305. December 1996. ISBN 0-19-828093-9. Published by Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford OX2 6DP, UK.

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Notes

1. For an analysis which does not dwell on the possible conflicts between humanitarianism, human rights and peacekeeping, see the UN Joint Inspection Unit report by Francesco Mezzalama, *Investigation of the Relationship Between Humanitarian Assistance and Peace-Keeping Operations*, distributed to the General Assembly as UN document A/50/572, 24 October 1995.
2. Statement by the President of the Security Council, UN document S/PRST/1994/22 of 3 May 1994, p2, re Secretary-General's report, *Improving the Capacity of the United Nations for Peace-keeping*, UN doc S/26450, 14.3.1994.
3. The Clinton Administration's Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations (Washington DC: US Department of State Publication 10161, May 1994), 15pp. This is virtually the text of Presidential Decision Directive 25, less some appendices. The two factors cited are both on p4.
4. Figures supplied by UNHCR, Geneva, 12 February 1996.

5. UNHCR, *The State of the World's Refugees 1995*, p126.

6. The Berlin blockade lasted from 24 June 1948 to 12 May 1949. Figures for monthly tonnages delivered varied from 70,241 (June-July 1948) to 235,377 (April 1949), delivered by 14,036 and 26,025 sorties respectively. The airlift continued until September 1949, because of a railway strike and continued traffic restrictions, with even higher tonnages delivered. Robert Jackson, *The Berlin Airlift* (Wellingborough, Northants: Patrick Stephens, 1988), p146.

7. *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations*, UN document A/50/60, 3 January 1995, paragraph 34.

8. *Ibid*, paragraph 35.

9. UNSCR 770, 13 August 1992. This point was reaffirmed in UNSCR 787, 16 November 1992.

Forced Migration discussion group

The RSP's 'Forced-Migration' discussion group now has over 400 members. If you would like to join, please follow these instructions:

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2. In the text of the message, and not in the subject field, write:

Join forced-migration first name last name (Eg: Join forced-migration John Smith)

Lameck Mwaba

Lameck Mwaba, Zambian High Commissioner for Refugees, has died. He was injured in a car accident in December 1996, was in hospital in Lusaka and then transferred to South Africa where he died in February. Lameck Mwaba was a Visiting Study Fellow at the RSP from 1989 to 1990 and also participated in the RSP International Summer School in 1990. The staff of RSP would like to express their great sympathy for his family and colleagues.

Conflict and cooperation in Bosnia

by Karen Koning AbuZayd

The operating guidelines behind UNHCR's approach in Bosnia were based on the principles of impartiality, neutrality and humanity, as recently formulated by an inter-agency working group and disseminated by the Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA). The guidelines demand that:

- the decision to involve military assets be made by the humanitarian organisations;
- military assistance be requested only where no civilian alternative exists;
- the humanitarian operation retain its civilian nature;
- military personnel respect humanitarian principles and codes of conduct;
- large-scale involvement of military personnel in direct delivery of assistance be avoided; and
- the humanitarian operation retain its international character.

In 1992 the state of war in Bosnia and the siege of Sarajevo led UNHCR to request intervention by UN forces, firstly to undertake the Sarajevo airlift and secondly to escort the subsequent humanitarian aid convoys (Security Council Resolutions 770 and 776).

The arrival of the peacekeepers, however, was not met by universal enthusiasm among UNHCR and NGO personnel.

Humanitarian agencies feared that the integrity of their principles and mandate would be compromised in accommodating the military and the potential use of force which that implied. The military in turn had to overcome their low regard for those whom they assumed to be undisciplined, amateur do-gooders and therefore an impediment to the efficient accomplishment of their tasks.

Inevitably, cooperation in Bosnia developed slowly and reluctantly.



Sarajevo, 1996. Photo: UNHCR/26013/03.1996/R LeMoyné

Mandates

Both sides had to learn to respect and make complementary use of one another's mandates and capabilities. This process is easier where there is agreement about the presence and roles of both humanitarian agencies and peacekeepers; from 1992-95, this agreement did not exist in Bosnia. For most of these three years, there was no peace to keep and the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), given tasks such as the protection of safe areas, was pushed beyond the bounds of impartiality.

From UNHCR's perspective, two aspects of the situation introduced elements which led it beyond its original mandate. Firstly, it was working in an area of conflict. Both the military and the International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (ICRC) are specifically designed to work in such environments but this is not part of UNHCR's usual directives. Secondly, the situation in Bosnia required UNHCR to work where there were no refugees; under an extension of its mandate, UNHCR was instead working to ensure the rights and wellbeing of displaced and war-affected

people, so that they would not be forced to leave their own land.

Principles and practice

Humanitarian agencies have to be perceived to be impartial. UNHCR assessed the needs of the people in Bosnia without prejudice and served them all impartially. It was only by achieving this that UNHCR was able to sustain its operations in Bosnia for so long. Carrying out the UNHCR mandate of providing protection and assistance was difficult enough in the context of charges of linkages and unfair distribution but the expectation that UNPROFOR could continue to be neutral and impartial while protecting some areas against others was completely unrealistic. Credit rather than criticism is due to UNPROFOR for having survived for as long, and for having accomplished as much, as it did.

UNPROFOR gradually took responsibility for deciding when aid convoys could move, on which routes and with what type of escort. Finally, by mid 1995, the scale of the security problems facing humanitarian operations led some UNHCR senior staff to ask UNPROFOR

to provide armoured trucks driven by uniformed and armed soldiers for the airport-to-Sarajevo run.

Problems arose when UNPROFOR moved from providing UNHCR convoy escort to advising where and when such escort was needed. The slide into the logic of war was compounded by a mandate which demanded that UNPROFOR undertake increasingly militarised action (for which their forces were unequipped). This called into question the basic humanitarian principles of neutrality and impartiality which UNHCR was attempting to maintain, because of the literal and figurative association among all UN bodies.

By the time UNPROFOR's possible withdrawal was on the agenda (late 1994, six months into a cessation of hostilities when convoys were running easily into Federation territory), UNHCR's 10 field offices were asked how their work would be affected should UNPROFOR depart. Prepared to hear that 'we would be better off without them', UNHCR instead received messages detailing all the activities in which UNPROFOR was involved, beyond establishing convoy and

personal security, which complemented and enhanced the humanitarian mission and improved the quality of life for Bosnians. These were among the confidence-building measures which contributed substantially to the gradual return to normality, particularly outside the safe areas, bringing periods of peace which in turn resulted in an interest in negotiating (until more forceful measures produced even clearer and quicker results).

Safe areas

In assessing the problems encountered by inter-agency cooperation in Bosnia, safe areas take precedence. Not only were 'safe areas' blatantly misnamed, in that there were not enough troops to guard them, but the definition of their boundaries was completely inadequate: agencies had no idea where they began and ended. This caused enormous problems for the military who, when air-strikes were being contemplated, were forced to ask whether or not such action was legitimate. The overt message to those who found themselves in such areas was that they were safe, that they were protected and therefore not allowed to protect themselves. In practice, they had no

resources to protect themselves, and remained unprotected by the UN. UNHCR found itself inside the safe area but surrounded by hostile forces and unable to protect or adequately assist the population.

Cooperation

Over time, the agencies have developed a set of guidelines designed to facilitate cooperation. These are summarised in UNHCR's 'ten steps to effective coordination':

- central coordination
- agreed reasonable expectations
- common areas of reconnaissance
- common centres of operation
- technically compatible communications
- exchange of liaison officers
- inter-agency meetings
- routine contact between desk officers
- civil-military operation cells
- joint assessment missions



A British tank, part of the IFOR force, on patrol in the Federation held area near Kluj, 1996. Photo: Howard J Davies.

Most importantly, there must be:

- **one central office or individual in charge**

(in Bosnia, until mid 1995, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, complemented by UNHCR, acted as the lead humanitarian agency);

- **daily meetings of all partners;**
- **establishment of civil-military operation cells;**
- **exchange of liaison officers; and**
- **joint determination of roles and responsibilities.**

UNHCR advocates that both the lead agency and the lead individual be civilian. It became clear that a humanitarian lead agency, in this case UNHCR, has to be the body that invites the military to participate in humanitarian operations. The military themselves cannot decide to intervene and even political actors are inappropriately placed to make such decisions. It also has to be recognised that the military should only be brought in when there is no other option: when no-one else can do the job.

Expectations of the various agencies must be realistic. On occasion, the military cannot perform their assigned roles any better than a civilian organisation and, in such cases, humanitarian agencies have an obligation to cooperate.

It is important not to stereotype either military or humanitarian staff. Many members of the military community in Bosnia were immensely enthusiastic about humanitarian work. Likewise, humanitarians can learn much by taking a positive attitude to military approaches. Sometimes the requirement for inter-agency cooperation compels a reassessment of conventional ways of working.

Conclusions

Clearly, those involved in situations of humanitarian emergency can no longer afford to separate work into discrete compartments where one takes an exclusively

humanitarian role, one a purely military function and the other only a political role. There has to be a more coordinated and cooperative approach.

Learning about one another's mandates is vital if there is to be any meaningful cooperation. ICRC, for example, has more rigid principles than UNHCR; each needed to be reminded of the function of the other and to devise ways of making these complementary.

The UN presence, however flawed, preserved Bosnia-Herzegovina. Today, Bosnia appears (sadly) to have moved far from the original multi-ethnic democratic ideal for which a savage war has been fought. But had there been no UN, providing even the limited protection and assistance of which it was capable, according to the resolutions and budgets which governed it, Bosnia would have disappeared, carved up between two more powerful and ruthless neighbours.

Where there is peace and the prospect of repatriation and post-conflict reconstruction, military and humanitarian agencies are more willing and more able to see how they can work together without offending their separate identities and competencies. However, where there is no peace or where a complex emergency exists which requires intervention by both humanitarian agencies and the military, then the principles outlined above become more important in influencing the decisions on when and how the military intervenes, and how far humanitarian agencies should go in their reliance on the military.



Karen AbuZayd was UNHCR's Chief of Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1993-95 and is currently the High Commissioner's Chef de Cabinet.

(This article is a compilation of notes and transcription of a speech by Karen AbuZayd at the RSP's Military Conference, November 1995. The notes were based on documents on the experience of military/humanitarian cooperation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, UNHCR's *Handbook for the Military on Humanitarian Operations* and DHA's *Guiding and Operating Principles for the Use of Military and Civil Defence Assets in Support of Humanitarian Operations.*)

RPN in the field

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1 Please send us the names and addresses of agencies who you think would benefit from receiving the RPN. Or copy the membership form on p39 for them and encourage them to become members. Remember it is also published in Spanish - and it is FREE (although we strongly encourage those who can afford it to pay a contribution of £25/\$30 a year).

2 We urge current members to consider *how* they use it. Do you circulate it? Copy relevant articles to staff? Use it as resource material? Do you keep it in your library, rather than on a shelf in an individual's office?

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	12	Refugee children
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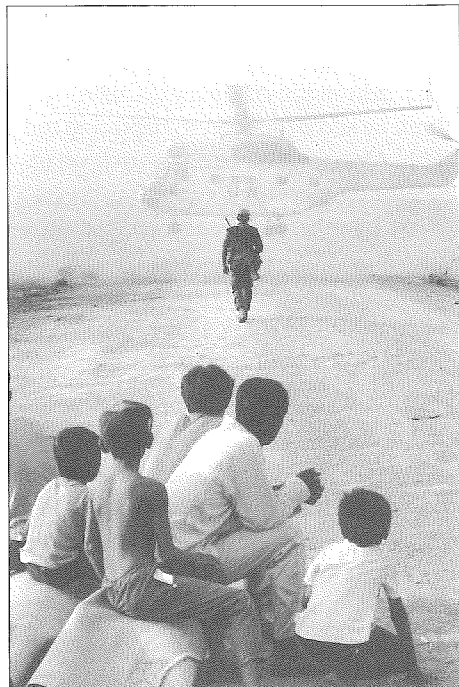
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Articles from RPNs 17 to 22 can also be accessed and downloaded via RSP's home pages: <http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk>

Civic action in Cambodia:

the role of UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia)

by Robin Davies



The question of military involvement in humanitarian operations is currently generating considerable interest, largely because of the way in which the military component of UN peacekeeping in Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia was obliged to become involved either in direct humanitarian assistance or in its support. Considering, however, that Cambodia was probably the first instance of the military playing a non-military role in a UN intervention operation, it is surprising that UNTAC's achievements have received so little attention. No previous UN military peacekeeping mission had ever created an official 'Civic Action' role for its staff or become involved in civilian 'goodwill exercises' in a systematic way. The Cambodian operation was influential in the general acceptance of the need for a humanitarian dimension in subsequent UN peacekeeping operations.

Background

The traditional view among humanitarian organisations was that military peacekeepers could not play a non-military role. Equally, many senior military personnel either felt that humanitarian action and military action were mutually exclusive or they doubted the feasibility of the military being able to take on this additional role, given that, at that time, the military still lacked training in peacekeeping skills, let alone in humanitarian work.

From the start, however, the UNTAC Force Commander in Cambodia, Lt General Sanderson, proposed that the military should have a mandated 'civilian side' with a specific budget. UNTAC military contingents would be located in parts of the country where the local population knew little or nothing of the reasons for the UN presence. If the military were to succeed in bringing warring factions together, they would need the support of the local people. (It was for the same reason that, in rural areas under their control, Khmer Rouge cadres carried out simple goodwill activities, especially during the pre-election period.) Furthermore, with the UNTAC military possessing the largest logistical and communications capability of all UN agencies in Cambodia, it was short-sighted not to consider its use for promoting UN image-building. Likewise, it was counter-productive to expect military personnel, especially in remote areas, to ignore - even if only for security reasons - the conditions under which the local people lived.

The UN in New York did not accept these reasons, arguing that civic actions were not part of the military's task and that, should supportive local projects prove necessary, they would be the responsibility of UNTAC's Rehabilitation Component. UNTAC, however, had no separate funds and all funding requests would have to be approved by UN New

York with all the delays that this would inevitably involve.

Unofficial actions

Although Lt General Sanderson's proposal was rejected, the idea did not disappear. Soon, spasmodic unofficial civic activities were being carried out by various battalions in different parts of the country. An officer was then appointed to oversee the effectiveness of these activities and in March 1993, almost a year after UNTAC's official deployment and only a few months before their departure, a small separate UNTAC Civic Action Cell was eventually established to facilitate a structured approach. All battalion commanders were instructed to set up a medical programme for the people in their catchment area and battalions which included an engineering section were also instructed to investigate how their expertise could benefit the local community.

The *fait accompli* had been officially recognised. Every sector Commander was required to appoint a staff officer as civic action coordinator and team leaders were advised to adopt a specific local project. Guidelines were drawn up which included the following points.

1. Projects should benefit and involve the target community at large and be operational before the end of UNTAC's Mission.
2. Technological input should be appropriate.
3. NGO involvement should be solicited to ensure continuity and avoid duplication.

UNTAC informed NGOs and other organisations operating in the field about its policy and capabilities, offering to cooperate in certain projects and requesting guidance, where necessary, on what was being done already before initiating separate battalion projects.

Achievements

The achievements of the different battalions varied widely, mainly due to funding availability and different conceptions as to what constituted 'civic' action.

Before UNTAC left, it was clear that there was a striking contrast in attitude towards UNTAC between the rural and urban communities. Phnom Penh (home to fewer than 10% of Khmers) benefited most from UNTAC's presence, yet the urban Cambodians' perceptions of the UN operation were invariably negative; those of the rural community, on the other hand, were overwhelmingly positive. The UNTAC military won hearts and minds in the provinces but not in Phnom Penh.

1. In the provinces

The Dutch battalion received over US\$500,000 from the Dutch Development Plan and were able to take on larger projects such as building or renovating schools and hospitals, drilling wells, digging shallow water reservoirs and establishing a malaria prevention programme. The French contingent was also fortunate; they received considerable support from French NGOs as well as funds for small quick impact projects (QUIPs) from UNICEF and UNHCR. Their projects focused mainly on small-scale structural renovation.

Several battalions such as Indonesia and India, convinced that civic action was an integral part of their military mission, received support in kind from their governments. Their activities ranged from providing medical assistance to renovating pagodas. They also established several QUIPs to refurbish schools and buildings, which were funded by UNICEF and UNHCR.

All other battalions depended largely on their own devices. The Bangladeshis, with their marked empathy for the impoverished Khmers, concentrated on low cost ideas that had worked well in their own country, with an emphasis on basic hygiene and simple farming methods. Their impact on the local community was marked. Shortage of funds did not prevent the Tunisians either

from having a substantial impact in their sectors. The Malaysian battalion's activities were on a smaller scale but also effective, especially in the field of medical treatment and assistance.

Apart from donating toys and stationery to an orphanage and schools in Takeo, however, the Japanese engineering battalion accomplished little beyond its original task, although, when the Japanese withdrew in mid September, they handed over equipment and goods worth US\$11 million. The Chinese engineering contingent also kept a relatively low profile.

2. Phnom Penh Zone

The remaining area of UNTAC military activity was in and around the Phnom Penh Zone. Here, the Ghanaian and Indonesian battalions were mainly concerned with the provision of transport to NGOs. This had little effect on urban attitudes which, due to widely reported instances of reckless driving, inconsiderate or offensive behaviour, sexual harassment and cultural insensitivity, had turned sour after the initial euphoria that greeted the arrival of the first UNTAC military group.

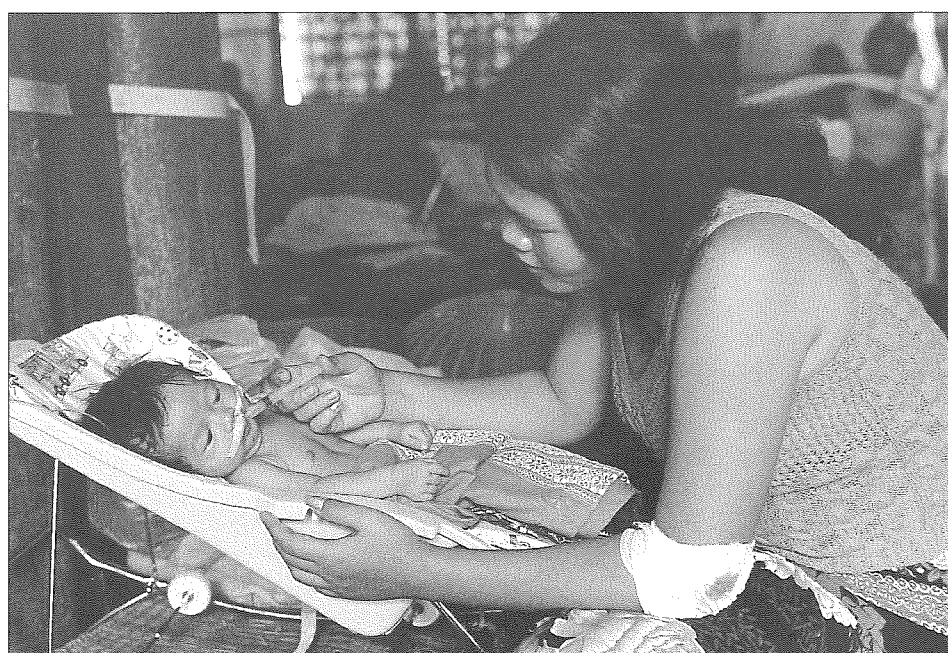
Of greater local impact were the efforts of the German medical team running the Field Hospital in Phnom Penh. Despite UN New York policy guidelines which stated that treatment should be confined

exclusively to UNTAC personnel, German military doctors and medics insisted on treating any locals who presented themselves. Thanks to the provision of additional medical supplies and funds from the German and Japanese governments, the Field Hospital treated nearly 16,000 Khmer out-patients and 1,381 in-patients up to mid August 1993. It soon became known to Khmers as the 'House of the Helping Gods'.

Overall, largely because of the original UN prohibition, the combined medical services of the UNTAC military treated only 27% of all Cambodians seeking medical attention (47,810 throughout the country). This is a surprisingly low percentage given the chronic state of the country's public health facilities especially outside the capital city.

Results

The most important advantages gained by the UNTAC military's civic actions were the enhancement of security within their area (a traditional military preoccupation) and a positive reinforcement, especially in the more remote locations, of the UN's image and reputation for impartiality. Together with the success of the electoral operation, the latter was a much needed counterbalance to the largely unwholesome image of UN troops when in Phnom Penh city. Although the official coordinated civic action programme



Cambodian refugees. Photo: UNHCR/18172/11.1988/A Hollmann

began only three months before the elections, the total effect, even in cost/benefit terms, was largely positive in the rural heartland.

However, there were ground level problems, ranging from the bureaucratic to the practical. Some NGOs initially did not wish to work with the military. Organisational 'ownership' prerogatives plus coordination difficulties both within the UN system and among NGOs were also a factor, as was the virtual impossibility of obtaining funding from the central Mission budget. Some civic actions were more of the 'hand-out' nature than self-help. Medical projects outstripped the generally poor performance of the engineering contingents. Finally, given the differences in availability of funds, there was also an inevitable disparity in what was achieved between the various sectors.

On balance, however, the experience showed that any large scale peacekeeping force, simply through its professional planning capacity and its logistical capability for rapid deployment, has advantages that *must* be used outside the purely military sphere, if the operation is to be a success from the viewpoint of the country concerned.

Lessons

- To be effective, the military must have a civic mandate and a small budget right from the start, even if certain governments will wish to support the activities of their own troops.
- Military staff should be told that civic activities are integral to their mission, not an optional extra.
- Liaison with existing relief and developmental organisations in the field is essential to avoid misunderstandings and resentment but also to match their requirements with military capabilities.
- While 'hearts and minds' projects have a media value, they should not be seen as mere propaganda exercises to provide favourable country contingent photo-opportunities.



Market place, Phnom Penh, 1988. Photo: Ken Shuker, Oxfam.

- Projects must be quick-acting and reflect the particular expertise that the military has to offer; they should be self-contained and capable of being sustained after the Mission is over.

- Where feasible, the soldiers' cultural and religious affinities and their experience of similar levels of country development should be considered when deciding on the placement of UN military units.

- Greater attention needs to be paid to the profile of soldiers selected for UN service. With the traditional right to use force proscribed, the military's authority depends on appropriate behaviour in uniform. Rules of behaviour for off-duty soldiers should be clear and strictly enforced. On far too many occasions in Cambodia, the comportment of soldiers in uniform left much to be desired. If this had not been the case, the marked disparity in attitudes towards the military between Khmer urban and rural dwellers might have been less striking.

Finally, the Cambodian experience strongly suggests that a pre-accepted auxiliary civic role in any forthcoming UN military operation can also help to win over public opinion in countries

where the involvement of national troops abroad is viewed with disfavour.

Conclusion

Acceptance of these points could add a new perspective to international peacekeeping and consequently lead to a wider acceptance by the general public of the mounting cost of such operations. It might also move those who dogmatically maintain that the goals of the UN military and humanitarian agencies are fundamentally opposed and that collaboration should only take place if there is no other option, to a more pragmatic appreciation (a) that the increasing use of UN armed forces cannot but influence the international humanitarian relief system and (b) that each other's strengths should therefore be harnessed to mutual advantage. If the military in UN peacekeeping operations need to be humanitarianised, NGOs could equally well do with a touch of military professionalism.



Robin Davies has worked in Cambodia and Bangladesh and is now a consultant in Sarajevo. He previously spent 25 years in the GATT Secretariat as Senior Economist specialising in the problems of developing countries.

The role of the military in humanitarian emergencies: *reflections*

by Nicholas Stockton

In recent years many conferences have examined the involvement of third party armed forces in *peacekeeping* and *peacemaking* operations. Much of this debate has centred upon matters such as command and control arrangements, force protection, coordination with civil agencies and various doctrinal issues concerning local consent, rules of engagement and so on. Perhaps in part prompted by the debacle of Operation Restore Hope in Somalia and the controversy of France's Operation Turquoise, a conference in October 1995, organised by the Refugee Studies Programme in Oxford, opened a new line of analysis which focused upon the role of third party armed forces in *humanitarian* emergencies.

Of course humanitarian action, while often practically associated with peace-making and peacekeeping operations, is a quite distinct function of international relations, for which International Humanitarian Law (IHL) explicitly

provides no role for third party military contingents. Indeed, the only humanitarian organisation actually referred to in IHL is the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), an agency that has based its own staff protection policies upon the practice of unarmed neutrality. Thus the growing involvement of third party armed forces in humanitarian emergencies is a new and important phenomenon.

The RSP conference was attended by a diverse group including military personnel, staff from humanitarian agencies, academics and policy makers. In a paper delivered to the conference, I advanced the proposition that the colonisation by third party military forces of 'humanitarian space', once occupied almost exclusively by the International Committee of the Red Cross, could be described as a 'creeping coup', taking place within the crisis and violence prone regions of the South¹. This argument was based upon

the premise that the over-riding strategic objective that the rich world retains in its relationship with the South is the prevention of mass emigration into the North. This 'strategic disinterest' in the crisis regions of the South is reflected, for example, in the tightening of European Union asylum procedures, seemingly designed to circumvent treaty obligations under the Refugee Conventions. It is also manifested across the world in the new emphasis given by aid donors to the repatriation of refugees as the only durable solution, even under conditions where the original causes of forced migration have not been resolved.

One symptom of such policies aimed at containing crises and conflicts, rather than engaging in their resolution, is the rapid growth in the global numbers of internally displaced persons and a decline in refugee numbers, the former group being largely generated out of the erosion of asylum opportunities and protection



Soldiers of the French Foreign Legion, part of the French forces involved in the Rwandan refugee emergency, August 1994, Bukavu airport. Photo: Howard J Davies.

for the latter group. While this shift towards a strategy of crisis containment within the South appears to be working in demographic terms, the political and humanitarian costs have been spiralling.

It was clear that my use of the term 'coup' provoked a considerable degree of controversy, not to say hostility. In so far as my question may have implied that the Northern military establishment had lost patience with the civil administration of international aid, because of its obvious failures to promote sustainable development and prevent conflict, recent events in eastern Zaire suggest that my use of the term 'coup' was in that case mistaken. The Northern military establishment did not take humanitarian matters into their own hands in eastern Zaire. Their rather farcical half-hearted deployment appears to have been driven entirely by US and UK strategic disinterest. Had elements within the military establishment actually wanted to project their authority into the humanitarian crisis, it is very clear that any such ambition, even had it existed, was over-ridden by the greater forces of political disinterest. I return to this theme below, after re-examining some of the other arguments that have been offered to explain why Northern armed forces have been given an expanded role in humanitarian action.

Reasons for the expanded role of the armed forces

1. It has been suggested that in adapting to post Cold War conditions, military doctrine has adopted a humanitarian mandate.

The armed forces of many countries have a tradition of responding to major natural disasters and former colonial powers, such as Britain and France, have a long history of foreign colonial service. Therefore, as part of the 'peace dividend', why not combine these two traditions and remould the professional armed forces of the rich countries into a modern international military humanitarian response capacity?

On closer examination this proposition does not look very secure. Although the Geneva Convention legally binds its signatories to the protection of civil populations and wounded soldiers during

war, the modern practice and technology of warfare demonstrates that, when in competition, strategic and tactical interests will invariably prevail over humanitarian considerations. In an era when civilians account for some 90% of war related casualties, it is all too apparent that the Geneva Convention is widely flouted in practice. That sanctions of any kind are almost never applied to individuals, states or rebel movements responsible for such war crimes is an indication that Northern countries also contribute to a culture of impunity with regard to the proper application of the laws of war. It is now commonplace that the pursuit of military advantage takes precedence over humanitarian claims.

Tellingly, the design of anti-personnel mines and the dogged opposition to the banning of them also demonstrate a willingness to employ lethal technologies that do not discriminate between civilians and military personnel. This shows very clearly that the offensive and defensive functions of armed forces continue to be their top priorities. While it may be true that the armies of NATO are under-employed, it is inconceivable that any doctrinal changes that might undermine their fighting and deterrence functions would be seriously entertained. The idea of NATO transformed into an alliance of humanitarian workers is simply not credible. At most, small detachments of professional soldiers may be deployed on humanitarian operations but only for as long as this does not in any respect compromise the war fighting capabilities of the army.

2. It is frequently claimed that modern professional armed forces are faster, more effective and more efficient in the delivery of humanitarian aid than their civilian counterparts.

Ironically, with its reputation for speed out of the blocks, the international military humanitarian contingent failed even to get onto the running track during the November 1996 crisis in eastern Zaire. At the time of writing, in spite of having again 'found'² some 400,000 beleaguered refugees and displaced persons, there has still been no international military humanitarian intervention in Zaire, nor is there likely to be. This surely challenges

Hugo Slim's assertion that '*civilian humanitarian organisations have never shown themselves able to match the military in the speed of their initial response*'³. Even if, in the fullness of time, a military humanitarian intervention was mounted, the soldiers would find, as in Goma, Rwanda and Somalia previously, that MSF, ICRC, Oxfam and the usual relief agencies will be in attendance to witness their arrival, however belated this might actually be.

To be fair to the military (and to Hugo Slim's excellent review of the issues raised by the military/humanitarian complex), the habitually late arrival of humanitarian military units can be almost wholly attributed to the time that it takes for politicians to decide that a humanitarian disaster warrants a military response. Unfortunately, given the traditional opacity of the political process in matters concerning the military, we can only guess at the criteria used in reaching such a decision.

However, we can reasonably assume that the majority of countries in which 'complex emergencies' occur are not deemed by the OECD nations to be of primary strategic importance. Thus, until media coverage engages a critical mass of public interest, it is highly unlikely that politicians will opt for the military option. Therefore, we can be confident that relative speed of response is not a decisive factor since, as pointed out above, the armed forces appear to be used as a device of last rather than first recourse. If not faster, can the armed forces claim to be more effective?

Oxfam's experience of working alongside military humanitarian operations in emergency public health is not very encouraging in this respect. For example, in Goma in 1994, the US military deployed inappropriate 'hi-tech' reverse osmosis water purification systems that were grossly inadequate for the scale of the task. Their equipment could purify water for thousands; what was required, however, was disinfected water for millions. A retired Los Angeles fireman with his civilian fire tender rescued the US military water 'service package' from near farce. When Oxfam staff sought to cooperate with the US operation in

Goma, we were informed that this must be subject to 'orders from Mannheim'. Clearly military management styles find concepts such as inter-agency coordination very difficult to operationalise.

In 1994, in the aftermath of Operation Turquoise in Rwanda, the 23rd Parachute Ambulance of the British Army mounted an immunisation and curative health care project, yet failed to prevent mortality from spiralling up to an estimated 8 deaths per 10,000 persons per day in the Gikongoro camps. This was almost certainly caused by disastrously inadequate water and sanitation facilities, which MSF and Oxfam eventually addressed. At the time, our staff reported scores of British soldiers manfully attempting to deal with this challenge by rolling up their sleeves and digging latrines. For a total camp population of 350,000, this was a highly inappropriate strategy that would have taken decades to implement. After some friendly advice from Oxfam's engineers, this approach was dropped in favour of a community based self-help sanitation and hygiene education programme that was able to mobilise the required labour. With Oxfam's emergency water systems installed in the camps and an effective sanitation programme underway, death rates fell rapidly. (As a codicil, it should be recorded that the

British Army provided considerable assistance to Oxfam and other agencies in Rwanda.)

These examples are not cited in order to prove that NGOs are more professional and effective than military humanitarian actors but simply to record that the Northern military humanitarian contingents that I have observed have no greater claim to professionalism and effectiveness than the major NGOs. Obviously every serious observer of the humanitarian scene can cite numerous cases of extraordinarily bad practice perpetrated by the NGOs, the Red Cross and the United Nations agencies. However, it is important to underline the fact that military humanitarians actually get very little field practice and employ technologies and management systems that, as Slim has noted, are 'still primarily configured for war fighting'⁴. To date, this has not produced a humanitarian emergency response capacity that can match the better NGOs for effectiveness.

If for speed and effectiveness military humanitarians are no match for the more professional NGOs, it has been argued that at least the armed forces come free of charge and that where humanitarian demand outstrips conventional civil capacity, the deployment of 'unconven-

tional' military capacity is justified. Unfortunately, however, experience so far suggests that where Northern military forces are deployed in humanitarian operations, they also insist upon taking a lead role.

In Goma in 1994, the displacement of civilian expertise by uniformed amateurism resulted in highly inefficient resource allocation decisions, such as continuing to use an air-bridge even after land routes had been opened. The 'Multi-donor' evaluation of the Rwanda emergency response found, on the limited evidence available, that military aircraft are between 4-8 times more expensive than commercial aircraft on comparable routes. The bill for military humanitarian intervention has to be picked up somewhere and, on the available evidence, the opportunity costs⁵ are likely to be considerable.

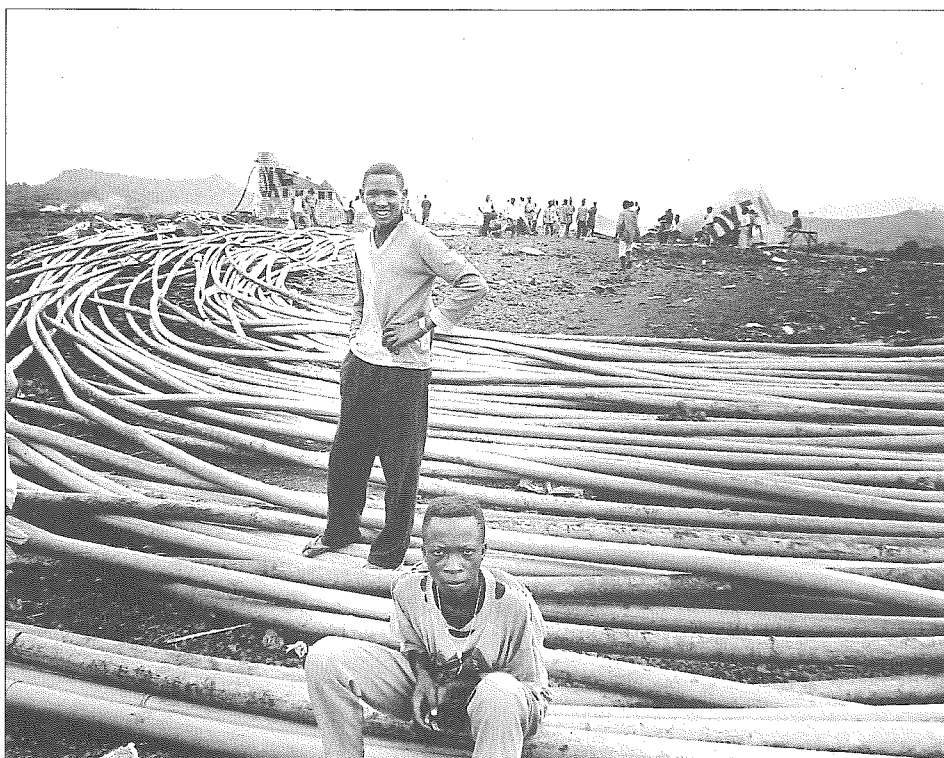
It seems that, on the grounds of cost, speed and technical competence in humanitarian action, the armed forces enjoy no compelling comparative advantages. Any special competence in logistics that they do possess is probably offset by the disadvantage of being managed directly by politicians who will, as a rule, respond to humanitarian crises in the aftermath of pressure from the NGO lobby and the mass media. Typically, the military humanitarian contingent costs more, arrives late and deploys relatively inexperienced staff and sometimes inappropriate technology too. So why deploy them at all?

Arguments in favour

There seem to be two main arguments in favour. First, they are a government's public relations dream come true. Second, and oddly often forgotten in this debate, they have a comparative advantage over civilian agencies through their capacity to deploy force.

1. Military humanitarians are far more 'televsual' than their civilian counterparts.

Reflecting a highly sophisticated and practised approach to the use of information (and misinformation), Northern armed forces can deliver positive political visibility on their home front in



Dismantling/reclaiming Oxfam water tanks & piping, Goma, 1996. Photo: Howard J Davies.

a way that NGOs can only dream of. It may be that an important reason for the deployment of military humanitarian contingents is their reliability in projecting an image of no-nonsense, macho, mission-oriented professionalism.

Military liaison officers invariably perform brilliantly on television and, from the politician's point of view, offer the enormous advantage over unpredictable (and sometimes ungracious) NGOs in adhering to the strict taboo on any public criticism of their own government. Although the informed tax-payer would surely spurn the relatively high costs of humanitarian interventions by their army in foreign countries, the continued ability of the military to earn credit for politicians is probably still unrivalled, provided, that is, that they do not come home in body bags.

2. Neutrality and impartiality are no longer able to guarantee the security of humanitarian staff and therefore militarization of humanitarian aid is now often the only option if aid is to be delivered.

It is certainly true that more humanitarian workers are being killed 'in action' than ever before. It is also clear that in the theatre of classical guerrilla warfare, humanitarian aid is bound to be considered by the warring parties either as a direct threat or as a benefit in their campaign. In this respect, 'humanitarian neutrality' is a confidence trick, now rarely pulled off.

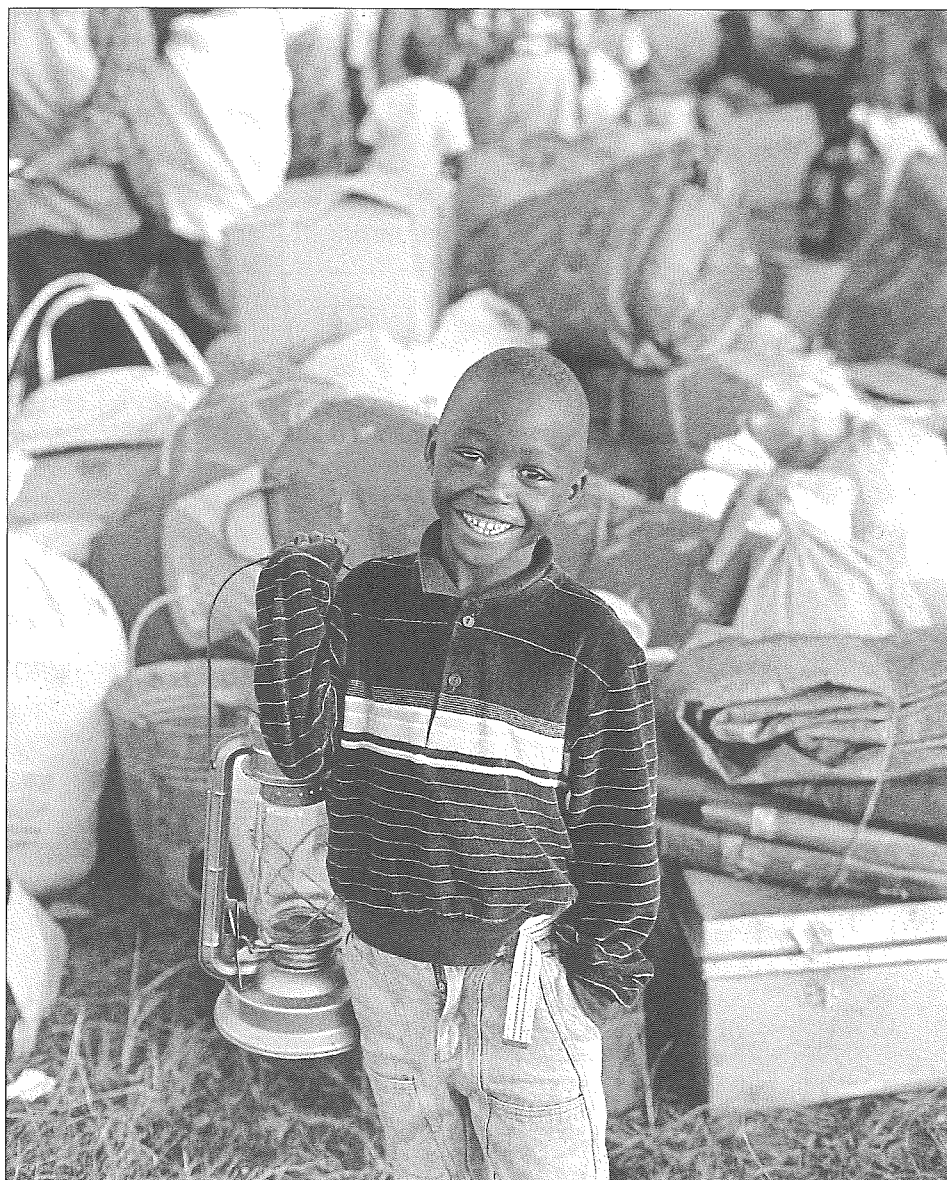
With the proliferation of guerrilla style warfare, the delivery of humanitarian aid has therefore become more dangerous and therefore third party military participation in the protection of humanitarian aid is perhaps justified. The strongest of all claims for the deployment of military humanitarian capacity is to be found in their ability to combine humanitarian response with armed and armoured defence. While the traditional strategy for delivering emergency relief centred upon the neutrality and impartiality of the humanitarian agency, the critical factor in the success of the operation hinged upon gaining consent from the warring parties. Theoretically, this obviates the need for armed protection. However, in recent years, consent has not always been

available when required (as indeed is the case right now in eastern Zaire) and under such circumstances the military humanitarian may perhaps enjoy a special advantage. Humanitarians in armed personnel carriers may be able to travel in areas of greater risk than their civilian counterparts and, arguably, this may enable the military humanitarian to extend the range and scope of 'traditional' humanitarian space.

The 'creative' use of an overwhelming offensive capability both to deter aggression and to 'encourage' consent (as Colonel Bob Stewart described his approach in Bosnia during the RSP Conference) may help to transform a situation from active armed aggression to passive resistance, thereby allowing a humanitarian relief operation to proceed. It is in these

sort of circumstances where the interface between civil and military humanitarian operations is likely to be most complex, yet potentially synergistic. However, there are also major risks to be considered.

To examine some of these, it is necessary to consider briefly the underlying causes of insecurity and violent conflict in the contemporary global political economy, where intra-state conflicts are now reported in some 50 countries. These have produced 15 million refugees and perhaps 20 million internally displaced persons. The massive growth in emergency aid spending in the last decade is generally assumed to reflect this post Cold War proliferation of 'complex emergencies'. To what can we attribute this frightening trend?



Patrick, aged 9, waits while parents off-load belongings at Nyakarami transit camp, 30 km from Rusomo border crossing into Rwanda, 1996. Photo: Howard J Davies.

Underlying causes of insecurity and conflict

Although often labelled as 'ethnic conflict', most modern civil wars seem to be linked to economic crisis, state retrenchment and mounting ecological pressures. As people see that the post-modern role of the state does not seem to include advancing and protecting their material security, the costs of citizenship no longer appear to be compensated for by any obvious benefits. Education and health care have to be paid for and public welfare provision is minimal or non-existent. In countries where the residual functions of the state are monopolised by narrow interests, citizenship is often experienced as victimisation, where access to land and employment are controlled by hostile forces. In such circumstances, national cohesion breaks down, opening the way for new anti-state political formations. The protection afforded by the solidarity of ethnic identity may often be seen to be the next best guarantor for the protection of private assets.

At the same time, the very meaning of the term 'development' has been transformed and it has acquired new and rather woolly objectives, which variously include the pursuit of political and cultural pluralism, good governance, civil society, empowerment and so on. However, from a materialist point of view, 'development' in its more recent forms has become essentially ideological in nature, offering social transformation and the creation of civil society but with no promise of actual economic advancement. The traditional objective of development, that implicitly assumed convergence between the developed and the developing world, has been quietly abandoned.

Instead, over huge areas of Africa, parts of Asia and the former Soviet Union, millions are experiencing deteriorating life chances in terms of morbidity, life expectancy, literacy, employment, food security, freedom from tyranny and so on. Indeed many observers have argued that poverty, which these figures represent, constitutes a massive silent emergency. Life for many is getting worse and getting shorter. Thus the growth in violent intra-state conflict is a function of failed development and welfare policies, of

falling GDPs and growing livelihood insecurity, rather than the ending of the Cold War itself. Arguably, it would have happened anyway.

If these are the causes, both of the growing demand for humanitarian aid and for the difficulty in delivering it, the deployment of third party Northern military forces in emergency relief operations begins to look more like an exercise in global pacification than of humanitarian action *per se*. This does not imply that the quality of relief will necessarily be transformed by using armed forces to deliver it but rather that emergency relief is perhaps being applied as a political opiate of 'conflict handling'⁶, designed to soothe a troubled global political economy where the pressures of inequality can no longer be peacefully contained. To help gauge what an enormous task this may turn out to be, it is perhaps worth closing this essay by looking at a real situation.

Paradox: Goma 1994

An examination of the commentary upon the 1994 Goma humanitarian emergency response reveals an important paradox. While the Overseas Development Institute in the Multi-donor evaluation catalogued its manifest failings and estimated the preventable dead at about 50,000, many others criticised the international relief system for attaining standards of service provision for refugees that greatly outstripped the quality of the public services available for the host Zairean population.

For example, in the public health sector, the camp water systems gave refugees cleaner, safer and more conveniently distributed supplies than those available for most Zairean citizens. This contrast, also to be found in the curative health services, sanitation and other sectors, resulted in what could reasonably be described as the politics of envy. In October 1995 there were violent manifestations of this, as the refugee camp infra-structure was attacked and refugees were banned from commercial activities. And yet, paradoxically, the *per capita* water supplies for refugees actually fell far below the 20 litres per person per day judged by the

World Health Organisation to be the minimum requirement. Indeed, senior officials in UNHCR privately acknowledge that the Rwandese refugee population in Zaire were subjected to one of the most Spartan care and maintenance regimes in modern refugee assistance history.

In the Goma case, the operationalisation of the 'relief to development' paradigm (or the 'cross mandate') would have required heavy investment in Zairean public service provision to achieve equity for local citizens, even to attain the minimal standards of the refugee emergency response. However, this option was impossible given the level of donor support for development work in Zaire. To achieve equity across the 'relief to development continuum', the humanitarian programme was thus left with the rather perverse option of down-grading already sub-standard services to attain consistency with ambient 'developmental' standards.

Conclusions

This story offers a window onto an existential reality where 'normal' poverty disposes of many more victims than the number that die in the theatres of humanitarian emergencies, and where 'development', when conceived of as incremental improvements in life chances, is actually in reverse for many millions of people.

It also illustrates some of the dilemmas and intense political pressures upon the agencies, including the military, that choose to operate in the humanitarian zone. Perhaps most importantly, it suggests that, because much modern conflict is born out of absolute deprivation, the very practice of distributing humanitarian aid is liable to trigger yet more conflict.

The cases of Liberia, Sudan, Somalia, Zaire and Bosnia seem to bear this out. Parcelling up forms of aid and labelling them as 'humanitarian' will obviously not protect the beneficiaries from being preyed upon by those whose material position is as bad but whose status excludes them from being granted external assistance. The case of 'returnees' having stronger legal claims for international

assistance in Rwanda than the 'survivors' is liable to generate further conflict in that country.

It is clearly inconceivable for northern armed forces to take on the management of all international aid that is subject to threats of violence. In this sense, the war on poverty and the war of poverty are far too big for even the most powerful of northern military forces. Ultimately it will become clear that most intra-state violence is a symptom of injustice and unequal development and that there is, logically, no long-term military solution to be found. This logic applies as much to international military intervention as it does to local armed actions. Attempts to control the symptoms through military humanitarian action will face extremely difficult choices, if only because the scale of humanitarian demand will outstrip response capacity. And the ability to distinguish relief from development needs will tax the military just as it has so unprofitably bedevilled the civilian aid agencies. Although offering undoubted short-term advantages for humanitarian aid which should not be dismissed, it is the absence of real development which has to be addressed and for this there is no military solution.



Nicholas Stockton is the Emergencies Director of Oxfam UK & Ireland. However, the views expressed here are personal and do not constitute an official Oxfam position.

Notes

1. I use the terms South and North metaphorically, representing groups of poor and rich respectively, wherever their geographical location.
2. It is highly questionable whether the Rwandese refugees were in fact ever 'lost'. More probably, misinformation as to their whereabouts and identity resulted in diminished media interest.
3. Hugo Slim, 'The Stretcher and the Drum; Civil-military relations in peace support operations', 1996.
4. Hugo Slim, *op cit*.
5. 'Opportunity costs' refer to the benefits that could have been achieved through using the resources in another way - in this case, the potential for moving four to eight times more air-freight by using commercial companies rather than military aircraft.
6. A phrase drawn from British aid policy.

Training for peacekeepers: the role of the United Nations Training School, Ireland



From the perspective of the Defence Forces Headquarters, Dublin:

The United Nations Training School, Ireland (UNTSI) was established at the end of 1993. 'This is a critical time in the evolution of international peace-keeping; we are under a new mandate which has many new functions, including support for aid agencies.' Former Chief of Staff of the Irish Defence Forces, Lt Gen Noel Bergin (*The European*, 25 February 1994).

UNTSI is fully integrated as a school of the Irish Military College. As such it assists in peacekeeping training at all levels and for all ranks throughout the Defence Forces. All units, groups and individuals nominated for overseas service be it with UN, the EU or an NGO (on secondment or leave of absence) are trained and briefed on their mission at UNTSI prior to departure; debriefings are conducted for all on their return. UNTSI also conducts an international course for UN military observers and staff officers on an annual basis. Humanitarian aspects of peacekeeping are also covered, including training on issues relating to human rights, refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

Training in practice: the Irish Battalion in UNIFIL (Lebanon) and their involvement in humanitarian assistance

Ever since its deployment in South Lebanon in 1978, the Irish Battalion with UNIFIL has been involved in the provision of humanitarian assistance. This assistance is regarded as one of the unit's primary tasks and it is acknowledged that the morale of the troops is heightened by their involvement in humanitarian work. Since 1988, some IR£40,000 have been provided annually by the Irish Government to the Battalion in UNIFIL for assistance programmes. Following the conflict in April 1996 - which included the shelling in Qana village - an additional IR£75,000 were provided. The types of assistance programmes are varied, and are identified and coordinated by the Battalion in consultation with local community leaders. They include provision of medical assistance, development and maintenance of an orphanage, reconstruction and repair work, purchase of wheelchairs and other equipment for the Lebanese Handicapped Association and provision of food parcels.

Defence Forces Personnel working for UNHCR and NGOs

The Defence Forces' first involvement with NGOs started in April 1993 when two officers were seconded to the Irish NGO GOAL to work in Somalia for one year. Since then, 37 personnel of all ranks have been seconded to NGOs for various periods in Angola, Kenya, Tanzania and Rwanda. Other military personnel have taken leave of absence to work for NGOs. The most significant involvement of Defence Forces personnel was from August to December 1994, when a group of 36 personnel was sent to work with UNHCR in the refugee camps in Goma, Eastern Zaire. The volunteers were selected for their technical and administrative skills and divided into different groups of expertise. They were unarmed and, for security reasons, did not wear a recognisable military pattern uniform. It was the first time that Non Commissioned Officers and Privates had been seconded to such an operation.

For more information, contact: Lieutenant Colonel Maurice Kealy, Defence Forces Headquarters, Parkgate, Dublin 8, Republic of Ireland.

Tel: +353 1 804 2685. Fax: +353 1 677 9018.

Where there is no peace: the efficiency and ethos of the UN peacekeeping forces

by Rita Reddy

It seems probable that UN military forces will increasingly be called upon to intervene in conflict zones in order to protect civilian populations. Their role and function need to be clarified and, for the sake of greater efficiency, it may be necessary to separate certain of the functions - 'protection' from 'mediation and enforcement' - to form two distinct UN forces. At the same time, there needs to be a greater investment in appropriate, specialised training in areas such as the provision of humanitarian assistance, the application of international legal protection instruments and the use of peace brokering skills. Furthermore, the role of the UN military forces in upholding standards of ethical and moral conduct should be made explicit.

The nature and character of conflicts around the world have changed dramatically since the Second World War. Whereas war used to be between recognised formal military structures, armed conflicts now spill over and take a heavy toll on civilians and their property. Combatants no longer observe the rules of war or the provisions of the Geneva Conventions. Rebel and paramilitary groups are often excessively armed (supplied by the very countries that attempt to broker peace between the warring factions), undisciplined and volatile, given to gross human rights violations; government forces in turn often retaliate by burning down whole villages and displacing large numbers of civilians. In the circumstances, it seems probable that the role of the UN military forces will become increasingly important in the coming years in active combat and conflict zones.

Is the UN military peacekeeping operation equipped to assume such responsibility?

There has been considerable civilian opposition to the 'blue berets'. Crowds cheered the withdrawal of the UN peacekeeping forces from Somalia; the UN peacekeeping forces in the Occupied Palestinian Israeli territories were often referred to pejoratively as 'United Nothings'; and, in Cambodia, the presence of UNTAC is directly cited as the cause for the proliferation of prostitution, especially child prostitution.

Is it that the forces whose mission is said to be peacekeeping anticipate their role as one of passive monitoring without any form of intervention? Surely passive

monitoring is the role of the UN military observers and the EC monitors.

Or is it that the UN peacekeeping forces have not had their roles clearly defined? In general, the international community expects their role to be one of active participation and intervention in order to protect the civilian population, which is not how their roles have been designed.

Or is it that the forces are perceived to be partisan rather than neutral? Neutrality is almost impossible in a civil conflict for one is always perceived by both sides to be 'feeding the enemy'. In the former Yugoslavia, the Serbs and the Croats were hostile towards the peacekeeping forces whom they considered to be assisting the Muslims only, whereas the Muslims alleged that the UN forces had free access to the brothels run by the Serbs and consequently had refrained from reporting such human rights violations. Under those circumstances, humanitarian neutrality appears to be compromised.

The structure and function of UN forces for humanitarian assistance

At present, all forms of assistance and intervention come under the umbrella of the UN peacekeeping forces. This has been popularly misunderstood and even politicians have been heard to comment: 'What peace are they keeping? There is no peace.'

I would propose that the forces be restructured to form a **UN Protection Force** and a **UN Peace Promotion Force** with the responsibility of peace mediation and negotiation, peacemaking and peacebuilding.

The **UN Protection Force** should perform the following functions:

- supply humanitarian assistance, eg food, water, medical supplies and other essentials;
- supply medical services to prevent epidemics and treat the sick;
- transport civilians, especially women and children to safer areas;
- erect shelters and temporary schools (continuing education of children throughout the conflict is shown to reduce psychological trauma);
- provide safe water, sanitation and other utilities; and
- monitor and *report* human rights violations to relevant authorities, particularly UNHCR, and use whatever means possible to prevent any further violations of human rights.

The relationship between the UN military forces and the international agencies and NGOs in the former Yugoslavia was intended to be complementary but, in practice, at times there was friction on questions of 'ownership' of areas of operation. Some aspects of the role of the proposed UN Protection Force clearly overlap with the role of other international humanitarian agencies, particularly UNHCR. Where there is active hostility and conflict (ie a war zone), the UN Military Protection Force would be better trained and equipped to deal with the situation. At the same time, NGO personnel should be trained in negotiation skills; abductions, holdups, hijacking, holding of hostages and killings of NGO staff are not uncommon.

A military force is better able to cope with local hostile forces where safe passage of

humanitarian convoys is denied and where routes are mined and impassable. UN military forces currently accompany international aid agency personnel and humanitarian aid convoys visiting high risk areas in Bosnia. It would be more cost effective, however, for the UN to have a properly trained military force with sole responsibility for these functions. If countries contributing the soldiers paid their salaries, while the UN undertook the other operational costs, it would be a cost sharing and saving exercise.

An army should also be able to deal with the needs of displaced persons in a war zone; the international aid agencies and NGOs should intervene and assist once the refugees or displaced persons are in a safe zone away from the conflict, or across the border in a neighbouring country. Active combat zones may be made even more hazardous because of the use of chemical or bacteriological weapons; an army is better able to deal with such challenges.

The UN Peace Promotion Force should broker peace in areas of active conflict. Once cessation of hostilities has occurred and an agreement negotiated, this body should actively seek to enforce it, not merely monitor it, and ensure that no violations of the agreement occur.

Training

In these days of specialisation and skilled operation, the UN - under the umbrella of peacekeeping - assumes a multiplicity of roles for which many of its staff may be insufficiently trained. UN peacekeeping forces need to be more structured and coordinated and, in order to be more capable of reacting and responding efficiently in any humanitarian emergency, they need considerable training in certain areas.

If one of the main reasons for intervention is to prevent further violations of human rights, intervening armies need to be fully aware of the human rights declarations and the four Geneva Conventions and Protocols. Many UNPROFOR soldiers in the former Yugoslavia knew little or nothing of the Geneva Conventions. When asked, some had 'heard of them' but did not know the details.

Forces need to be trained in:

- the four Geneva Conventions and related Protocols plus the international human rights conventions and declarations including, *inter alia*, the International Civil and Political Covenant, the Human Rights Declaration, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, and the UN Convention on the Status of Refugees and related Protocol;
- the provision of essential services and utilities in areas of active conflict; and
- aspects of peace brokering, especially skills of negotiation, mediation and peace enforcement.

It is also crucial for the peacekeeping forces to be trained in gender awareness and concerns, so that the many refugee and displaced women may be assisted and protected in an appropriate and sensitive way.

For some of the troops sent out, it may be their first experience of active combat. A minimum period of service should be one of the criteria for the selection of soldiers.

Standards of ethical and moral conduct

It is common knowledge that wherever there are armies, some members will engage in undesirable activities, for example, selling drugs, equipment, fuel oil or arms, or engaging in prostitution. These, together with their perceived partisanship, has earned the UN peacekeeping forces a bad reputation. Sale of drugs, arms and equipment clearly is tantamount to theft; those apprehended are court-martialled. However, sanctions on prostitution and other sex crimes are not so clear.

The military often turn a blind eye to such activities but they have serious consequences. The use of rape and sexual violence against women and girls as a weapon of war is well-documented and denounced. The phenomenon is not new; it has been present since the time of the Crusades, when women and girls in con-

quered territory were regarded as fair game and a prize of victory. But the systematically planned and massively executed rape against women and girls in the former Yugoslavia is as reprehensible as sending civilians to the gas chambers of Dachau and Auschwitz. This act has been universally condemned as a crime against humanity.

However, acts of prostitution and sexual activity by the military in a zone of conflict - where women are forced to sell their bodies because of poverty and deprivation, fear for their safety, need of security, desire to free a loved one or for any other favour - have not been declared an offence but nevertheless *should also be declared a crime against women and girls*. The sexual activity of a soldier with a civilian under threat should be treated as a punishable crime through court-martial.¹ Such a prohibition might also reduce the scale of the social problems relating to the number of illegitimate children left behind as the military forces move on. This value system needs to be incorporated into the training curriculum of soldiers.

A parallel may be drawn between these sexual crimes by soldiers and the crime of *custodial rape*, where sexual favours are obtained by law enforcement personnel or other authority figures, while a girl or woman is in custody. *Consent* of the woman or girl to sexual intercourse is irrelevant in these situations because she is placed in a position where her life or liberty is in jeopardy. *Custodial rape* is an offence, even if the woman or girl is compensated in the form of release or reduced charges.



Rita Reddy is currently Project Officer for UNICEF, Bangkok, and was formerly with UNHCR in Bosnia.

The views expressed in the article do not necessarily reflect that of any UN agency.

1. It is possible to distinguish these crimes from legitimate romantic liaisons that may be a prelude to a more permanent relationship.

Beyond humanitarian relief: economic development efforts in northern Iraq

by Jeffrey S Pilkington

In 1993-94, Operation Provide Comfort (OPC), the four nation coalition¹ enforcing and monitoring UN Security Council resolutions in northern Iraq, was involved in efforts to decrease Kurdish dependence on aid through attempts to stimulate economic development in the three northern Governorates of Iraq, often referred to as the Kurdish Autonomous Zone. Sharing details of attempts to stimulate economic activity in northern Iraq may present a different perspective of military involvement in humanitarian missions and, while every humanitarian operation is unique, may provide insight into possibilities for decreasing dependence on aid in other humanitarian operations.

Background

Before mid 1993, the main focus of Operation Provide Comfort spending in northern Iraq was on reconstructing villages destroyed by the Iraqi military, providing food and fuel for the people of the area and funding NGO efforts in resettling those who fled to the mountains to escape Iraqi reprisals in April 1991.

This was an area virtually cut off from the rest of the world by UN sanctions on all of Iraq and by a Government of Iraq (GOI) blockade on Kurdish controlled areas. Actions to enhance economic activity required careful consideration of the political, legal and moral implications of creating a different 'quality of life' for the people of northern Iraq *vis-à-vis* the rest of the nation. The options for economic stimulation were limited by the varied agendas of the coalition nations and their different views on the future of a Kurdish controlled territory, as well as by UN involvement in all issues relating to sanctions. Military involvement in the economy grew out of concern over the continually worsening economic conditions of the region and the coincident increasing dependence of the people of northern Iraq on humanitarian aid. Circumstances arising in 1993 led to opportunities to improve the economy of the region.

In August 1993, the GOI cut electrical power to two of the three Kurdish controlled governorates. The loss of electricity affected water supply and sanitation in the urban sections of the area and resulted in a short but severe health crisis from water-borne diseases. This situation led to the lifting of UN sanctions for certain health related items such as emergency generators and generator spare parts (required for electricity in health care facilities). It was also necessary to find trained personnel to operate and maintain the equipment or, as was most often the case, to upgrade skills through special training. Thus jobs in the field of generator maintenance and repair were created for a number of local people. During this time an unexpected US appropriation of some US\$23 million offered the possibility for more job creation initiatives. Two and a half years of sanctions and the GOI blockade, combined with the widespread destruction of most means of production and commerce, had left very few opportunities for employment in the area. Working for NGOs or smuggling goods across international borders were among the few alternatives to subsistence agriculture.

The signs of almost total economic stagnation were everywhere. Fields were mostly bare - for lack of fertilizer or insecticide or because there was no market for the wheat grown or no-one who could afford to buy it. Factories which had employed hundreds of workers were now deserted. Withdrawal (without warning) of the twenty dinar banknote from circulation the previous year - wiping out many people's life savings at a single stroke - had financially ruined many former employers. Many villages were populated by only women and children, the majority of men having been detained or killed.

The psychological effect of no employment opportunities prompted most remaining able-bodied men to become *Peshmerga* (Kurdish militia) which took them away from their families, thereby exacerbating

the problem of the dependence of women and children on humanitarian aid.

Beyond relief

The combination of extra funds and the lifting of certain UN sanctions presented a limited but important 'window of opportunity' to stimulate economic activity. While OPC was working with local Kurdish leaders to identify and select sustainable employment options, another interesting thing happened. It became obvious that the World Food Programme (WFP), which was responsible for the procurement and storage of wheat and wheat flour as an emergency reserve for the more difficult winter humanitarian relief period, was - due to policy problems - well behind in its efforts to procure and store the necessary quantities of wheat. As OPC guidance from the coalition nations included 'ensuring the people of northern Iraq have enough food for the winter', the coalition military contingent worked with WFP to transfer responsibility for acquiring winter wheat from WFP to OPC, to ensure that the job was completed before



Relief trucks cross the Turkish-Iraqi border. Photo: J S Pilkington.

the winter snows arrived. This transfer resulted in OPC sending a military contracting officer with significant budgetary authority to all three of the Kurdish controlled governorates of Iraq. Having an officer with spending authority on the ground (as opposed to in Turkey or Baghdad) proved instrumental in helping to stimulate employment opportunities.

The success of efforts to stimulate the economy and create jobs began with a decision to buy wheat from the Kurds, who had land and production means, and then give it back as humanitarian relief to those who required continued assistance. In a world without political constraints this might seem a rather basic concept. It was, in fact, a very controversial idea - but an idea which worked well. Those who owned (or controlled) land jumped at the opportunity to get their land working again. All they needed was a guaranteed buyer, plus some help in terms of seed, insecticide and parts for farming equipment. To provide these, OPC again had to negotiate over sanctions and acquire some special expertise from military and civilian sources. Eventually, the provision of a guaranteed wheat market, with a competitive market price, generated hundreds of jobs which covered the whole spectrum of the grain business from preparing the land for planting, to harvesting, storing, processing, sacking and distribution.

The presence of a contracting officer in the field attracted local entrepreneurs with ideas for employment opportunities, many of which were linked to previous uses of OPC funds.

For example, thousands of herd animals had been purchased during the previous years to replace animals killed or stolen either before or after the Gulf War but they had not been vaccinated. An American NGO took on the task; it hired a number of local men and has vaccinated around 500,000 animals each year since mid 1993. The increase in the number of herd animals as a result of the vaccinations is impossible to estimate but is certainly significant. Hundreds of animals, purchased with OPC money, had been dying from various seasonal diseases. Just as importantly, many jobs were created. Increased mine clearing and well drilling were among other activities which employed a

number of local people and saved lives in the process.

Perhaps as significantly, the extra funds also allowed the construction of a road which connected all three Kurdish governorates without crossing Iraqi controlled territory. During the previous winter (1992-93), 19 trucks carrying OPC-funded relief supplies had been blown up by Iraqi guards at GOI checkpoints, despite all truck convoys being escorted by UN guards. Road building required finding equipment, putting it in working order, reconstructing an asphalt plant and implementing major earth moving projects in some very mountainous areas. The new road was completed in December 1993 (built by Kurdish workmen under the supervision of a British NGO engineer). Since then, not one truck has been blown up in the area, saving millions of dollars worth of relief supplies, especially medicine, in addition to providing jobs for over a hundred men who have continued to do road repair and maintenance in the area.

Following the health crisis due to waterborne diseases, a number of open ditches and exposed sewer lines were enclosed or covered. These operations employed a number of both skilled and unskilled workers and have saved lives which would have been lost to such diseases as dysentery and cholera.

When some NGOs were fired upon by unknown assailants in remote areas of northern Iraq, OPC hired *Peshmerga* soldiers to man observation posts on high terrain to discourage snipers. This was a useful way to pay men who had been doing the same job along Kurdish-Iraqi lines for years without pay while at the same time improving security for NGOs working in rural areas.

It is important to mention that every paid job generated more jobs and exponentially added to the economy of the region. When people can afford to *buy* things, other people begin to grow and make things to *sell*. Of course, because of sanctions and the blockade, this was a 'closed economy' and an industrial infrastructure could not develop. Nevertheless, by early 1994, vegetable markets were thriving, fields were under cultivation and construction was in evidence throughout the area.

Lessons indicated

Many relief workers in Iraq during the 1993-94 period will be familiar with these activities without knowing how they occurred. The lessons learned by those involved may be familiar but are worth repeating.

1. *Seeking the advice of local leaders* in determining the feasibility and sustainability of economic options is essential to success. Doing otherwise will, at the very least, waste time and money.
2. *Thinking in the long term* and thinking how projects will survive after aid funding expires are essential for sustainable development. OPC mainly supported projects which only needed 'seed' funding, with the possibility of becoming self sustaining.
3. *Knowing how to work within the UN bureaucracy* is essential if implementation of initiatives is dependent upon UN approval or support. OPC required help in this area from various ministries within the coalition governments.
4. *Preparing the local people or NGOs, preferably indigenous NGOs, to take over functions* when the military forces depart is essential for sustaining projects. OPC worked hard to train local people and include them in decision making so they would have a 'corporate memory' of the development process.
5. *Monitoring the progress* of economic enterprises to anticipate problems means that a robust and reliable system of data collection is essential.
6. *Flexibility* is required to avoid wasting time and money. Projects which do not work must be adjusted or discarded.
7. *Ensuring that salaries paid to local employees are comparable to those in the local employment market* is extremely important. Salary margins should be scrupulously maintained.
8. 'Windows of opportunity' close as fast and unexpectedly as they open. Those in leadership positions must *plan for contingencies and be ready to act boldly* when opportunities appear.

Interventions which will develop an area can generate conflicting political interests. This was certainly true in northern Iraq where any action construed as 'nation building' raised fears of the possible recognition of an independent 'Kurdistan'. The continuation of Operation Provide Comfort was contingent on a six month approval process by the Turkish Parliament; factions within Turkey argued that OPC had already lasted too long and was interfering with their anti-PKK operations in eastern Turkey and Iraq. Actions taken had to be explained in advance to Turkish counterparts. Keeping them well informed and involved in decision making was essential to maintaining harmony within the coalition.

Conclusion

Years of UN sanctions and the Iraqi economic blockade had systematically deprived the Kurds not only of jobs but of hope for a better future for themselves and their children. Our objective was to use aid funding to stimulate economic opportunities and thereby to offer hope and restore human dignity.

Additional funding and the lifting of certain sanctions allowed Operation Provide Comfort to take actions which decreased the region's dependence on humanitarian aid. Given the opportunity (ie political approval), military forces can do more than disaster relief and peacekeeping. Numerous political leaders from the four coalition nations who visited northern Iraq during 1993-94 were unanimous in their approval of OPC's achievements.

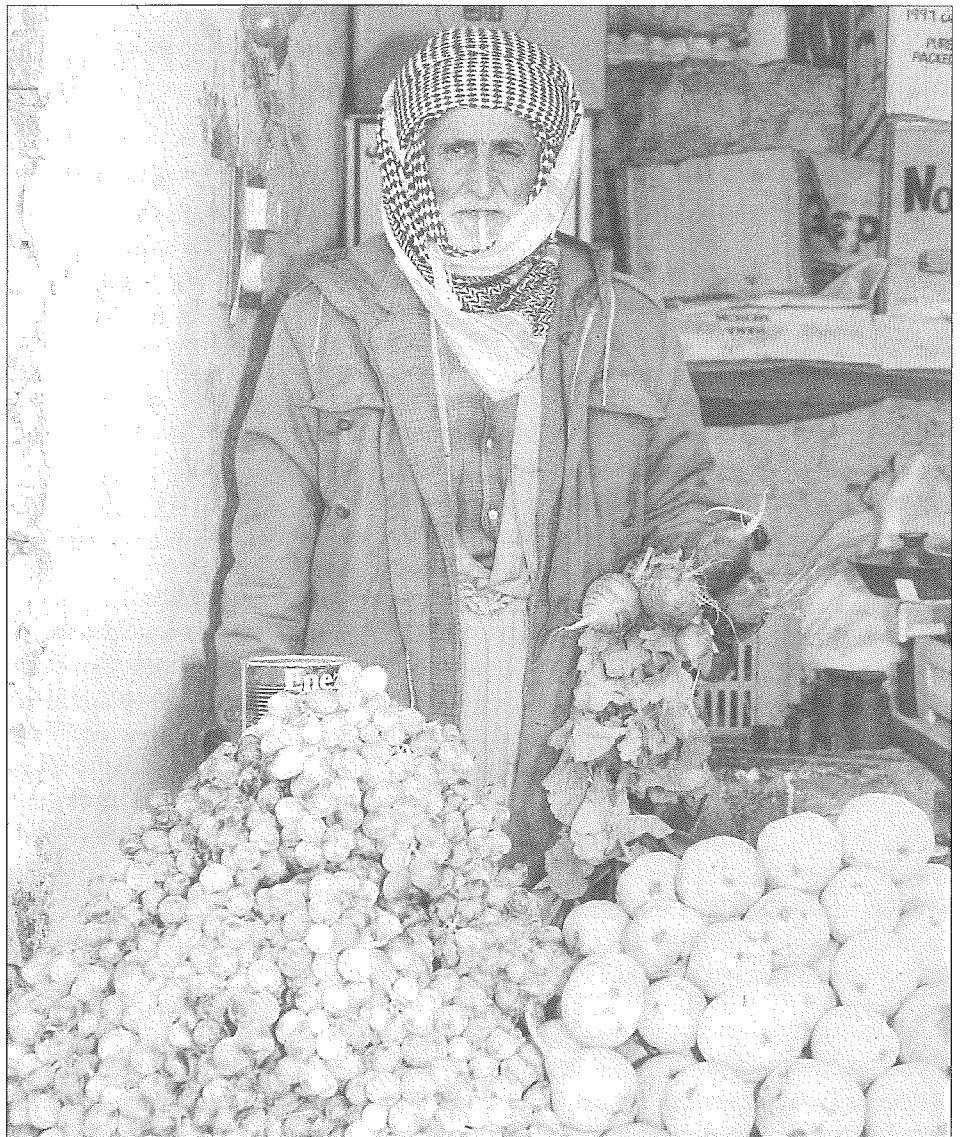
Recent events in northern Iraq may have reversed many advances made towards independence from the relief system but conditions for many in the region were improved for almost three years.



Brigadier General Jeffrey S Pilkington (United States Air Force, Retired) was Commanding General of Operation Provide Comfort in 1993-94. He is currently a Visiting Study Fellow at the RSP.

Notes

1. Four nation coalition: France, Turkey, UK and US.



Vegetable market scene. As people could afford to buy things, others had the incentive to grow and make things to sell. Photo: J S Pilkington.

Expanding the mandate of the UN peacekeeping forces

In a proposal to the UN and other bodies (entitled 'Blue Berets caring for children'), Peter Graves advocates the inclusion of the goals set by the 1990 World Summit for Children as secondary elements of the mandate for the UN's future peacekeeping missions. These goals include reducing child and maternal mortality and child malnutrition, providing basic education for all children and safe water and sanitation for all families, and protecting children in especially difficult circumstances such as war. Graves considers that the relaxation of superpower military tensions is an opportunity for governments to consider alternative uses of their military resources and says that 'the skills of our military could easily be applied to giving long-term and permanent help to civilians in the areas of UN operations and especially to the children.' He cites Operation Habitat's military engineers, for example, who provided clean water for Kurdish children in the aftermath of the Gulf War and suggests that the military could also assist in vaccinating children against polio, measles and tetanus.

Peter Graves has written and campaigned extensively for the protection of children in conditions of extreme difficulty, such as war. *Contact: Peter Graves, 8/2 Newlands St, Wollstonecraft NSW 2065, Australia. Tel: +61 2 94 39 98 38.*

Improving military and civilian cooperation in humanitarian relief operations

by Jeffrey S Pilkington

My observations suggest that two major causes of misunderstanding between humanitarian relief organisations and military forces are a lack of trust and a lack of communication at the proper levels between organisations.

One obvious cause of mistrust is the fact that military forces usually arrive too late in a crisis and leave too early. Having managed without military help when it was most needed, the relief organisations are just getting used to military involvement in a humanitarian operation when the military forces depart, taking with them their logistics and security capacity. The failure to communicate is usually the result of leaders being too busy during the crisis to take time to get to know each other, to understand each other's problems and to establish trust and mutual respect.

The following are some suggestions to help relief organisations make the most of the presence of military forces:

1 *Do not assume that military personnel have either training or experience in humanitarian relief operations.* While the senior officers in charge of military forces will normally have considerable leadership abilities and technical skills, they are unlikely to have any experience of humanitarian emergencies. Senior military officers move frequently from posting to posting and it would be unusual for a senior officer to be directly involved in more than one humanitarian operation. Therefore, experienced relief workers should assume that they have knowledge which can be of great value to the military and should seek opportunities to share it.

2 *Seek opportunities to inform the military of your organisation's capabilities.* Tell military leaders about your organisational strengths. If you have a core of expertise which could be expanded with help from the military, do not miss an opportunity to seek that help.

3 *Send the right person to meetings with military representatives.* Send someone who can speak with authority for your organisation and contribute to the decision making process; you never know what decisions may be made at seemingly unimportant meetings. It will also prove extremely valuable, when possible, to send the same person - a 'military liaison' officer - to all meetings. Knowing what decisions have been made or issues discussed previously will be a definite advantage.

4 *Do not be afraid to ask the military leadership for help or favours.* For example, aircraft or trucks can often carry one more person or crate. The bureaucracy will probably tell you 'no' but if you get an opportunity to ask the commander

or a senior officer, they may well say 'yes', or at least try to help. It never hurts to ask but it is important to ask the right person in the hierarchy.

5 *Do not be concerned about the military taking credit for your organisation's accomplishments.* This is often a concern among certain relief organisations, especially those which depend upon publicity for continued funding. A military public affairs officer taking pictures and collecting facts about your organisation's accomplishments does not indicate that the military will attempt to take credit for your work. Senior officers are trained to give credit and take blame and you should therefore expect military leaders to highlight the role of civilian organisations in successful humanitarian interventions and downplay the role of the military. Military commanders usually operate under strict orders to stay out of the spotlight - the media.

6 *Invite the military leadership to visit your organisation and learn about its activities.* When such visits take place, make sure the best person is on hand to convey confidence and competence. Show the good and the bad, give facts and figures and, as previously stressed, do not assume that the visitor has a great deal of knowledge of your area of expertise. Try to make the military as knowledgeable as possible about your organisation. You may make a friend in the process.

7 *Keep in mind what the military does best.* They bring logistical strength: the ability to move large quantities rapidly over long distances. They can rapidly gather enough manpower to do large jobs and, if politics permit, they can provide security at the local level so that

humanitarian operations can be conducted in an atmosphere of safety.

8 *Position your organisation to take over their functions when military forces depart.* Relief organisations will always know better than the military which civilian groups can best take over certain functions when the military departs. Representatives from those organisations must get involved in military operations as soon as possible so that the military will not make decisions which will later complicate transition of functions from military to civilian control. If the military fails to invite this type of participation, relief organisations must find ways to be involved. Leadership from several organisations may have to join forces to encourage the military's interest in long term planning.



The military may continue to arrive late and depart early but in neither case by choice. When they do arrive, aid agencies must expect that the military will tend to 'take charge'. Military commanders usually work under very tight or uncertain time constraints. The timetables which drive the nature of military interventions are consistently based upon political factors, such as timing of elections, the occurrence of another more visible crisis or the attention span of CNN or the BBC. Senior commanders know that they may only have a short time to accomplish their mission and uncertain timetables favour decisive 'take charge' action. But the military cannot take over all aspects of an operation and it may well be best that aid workers accept this and do all they can to help the military leaders gain the maximum knowledge in the minimum time. Cooperation is the best way to serve those in need of aid.

Protection and intervention in Haiti

by Charles Arthur

From 1991 to 1994, a dictatorial military regime held power in Haiti and political repression compelled tens of thousands to flee their homeland. Many ended up in the Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands, the Dominican Republic and other neighbouring countries but the majority headed for the United States. The resolution of the 'Haitian refugee crisis' was given as a key justification by President Bill Clinton when he announced that US troops would lead an intervention force authorised by the United Nations to restore democracy in Haiti. On 19 September 1994, the first of 20,000 US troops landed in Haiti with the aim of establishing a safe and secure environment to permit the return from exile of democratically elected President Aristide.

Repatriation of Haitian refugees

In the months that followed, the leaders of the military regime relinquished power and went into exile, President Aristide resumed office and, with US forces and token troop contingents from other UN member states deployed across the country, there was a significant reduction in human rights violations. US officials proclaimed the country safe enough for the return of some 16,000 Haitian 'boat-people' interned at the US military base at Guantanamo Bay,

Cuba. Other countries in the region followed the US lead and began to repatriate Haitians. According to official US and UN announcements, conditions in Haiti posed little or no threat to those who had left their country or to the estimated 300,000 internally displaced during the period of military rule.

Returnees were given small cash payments on their arrival in Haiti and then left to fend for themselves. In the absence of a coordinated reintegration programme, there were no means to monitor the returnees' fate. But, according to the information and testimonies provided by Haitian grassroots organisations and other non-governmental organisations working with the poorer sections of the urban and rural population, a profound sense of insecurity persisted during the first months of the intervention and beyond.

For the majority of Haitians the most important issue relating to security and protection - or the lack of it - was the Haitian military, both soldiers and police, and their paramilitary assistants who, during three years of terror, were responsible for an estimated 5,000 deaths and thousands more cases of arbitrary arrest and imprisonment, beatings, torture and rape. If the hope was that the US-dominated

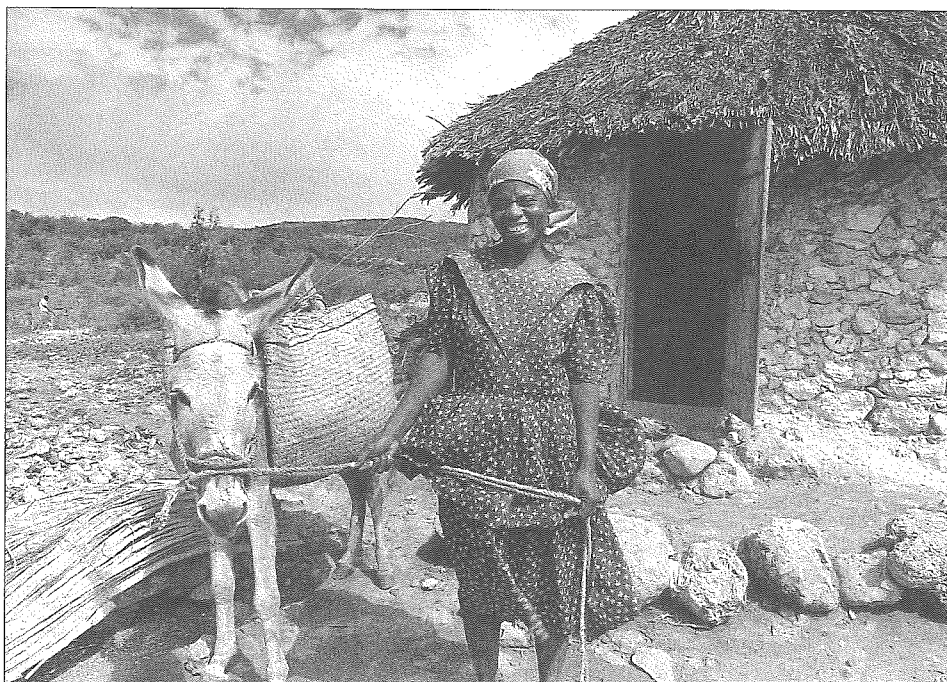
intervention force would quickly neutralise, disarm and disband these groups, the reality was something quite different.

Instead, as a result of a last minute deal that allowed for the unopposed entry of the intervention force, the Haitian and US military were to act as partners. In the capital, Port-au-Prince, the US commander announced that he had asked the Haitian military to patrol the pro-Aristide slum area of Cité Soleil. As US troops were deployed across Haiti, supporters of Aristide's Lavalas movement came out into the open only to find their erstwhile liberators establishing cordial relations with the Haitian military. The cooperation extended as far as the two forces sharing barracks and mounting joint patrols.

The vast majority of the intervention force was concentrated in the capital and in the second city, Cap-Haitien. In the rest of the country, the US elite Special Forces established a presence in some twenty regional towns. While claiming their aim was to prevent 'Haitian-on-Haitian' violence, there were many instances of these troops collaborating with the Haitian military in the suppression of pro-democracy activities.

It was not only the Haitian military that benefited from the partisan actions of US forces. On numerous occasions, members of the pro-military regime's death-squad, the Revolutionary Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti (FRAPH) and paramilitary police attachés were rescued from hostile crowds by US troops. Usually arrested for their own protection, they were then turned over to the Haitian military who promptly released them.

Perhaps the biggest factor contributing to a continuing sense of insecurity felt by many Haitians during the first months of the post-intervention period was the US forces' failure to institute an effective programme to disarm the paramilitary network that had worked hand-in-glove with the military regime. US troops displayed a marked reluctance to act on reports provided by the Haitian public of hidden arms caches and preferred to promote a weapons buy-back scheme. The 'guns-for-money,



Mare Rouge, north west Haiti, 1996. Photo: James Hawkins/Oxfam.

no-questions-asked' offer lasted until the middle of February 1995 and netted approximately 30,000 weapons. This figure represents a small fraction of the number of weapons estimated to have been distributed to its supporters by the former military regime. Moreover, many of the weapons handed in were reputed to be unserviceable or antique.

As *The Peasant*, published by the Papaye Peasant Movement, one of Haiti's largest such organisations, said: 'The intervention forces would not tolerate a military or paramilitary threat to their personnel, but neither would they move decisively to neutralise those responsible for a more generalised climate of political instability and insecurity.' (January 1995)

Reform of military and judiciary

The protection of the Haitian population was intrinsically linked to the reform both of the still existing military structure and of the judiciary. Here again US influence on these reforms generated widespread concern.

The 1987 Constitution stipulated that the military should be split into distinct army

and police sections and, with the return of Aristide, moves began to put this into effect. However, disagreement over the control and nature of these reforms quickly developed. Aristide and his representatives clearly preferred a clean break with the past and supported the recruitment of a new police force. Instead, beginning soon after the return of Aristide, the US began a programme of 'recycling' half of the 7,000-strong Haitian military into an interim police force. By the end of January 1995, 3,400 former soldiers were back on the streets in new uniforms having undergone six days 'retraining'. This interim police force was supervised by international monitors drawn from approximately 20 countries, including, to the disbelief of human rights groups, Guatemala, a country notorious for its appalling human rights record.

In a report published in March 1995, two US-based human rights groups warned that the interim police force contained many members linked to the former military regime. This was confirmed by Haitians who identified many well-known human rights abusers who had simply been redeployed to different parts of the country.

Some of the internally displaced found themselves policed by the very people they had fled to escape.

As for the remainder of the military, Aristide first reduced the size of the army to 1,500. In April, bolstered by numerous anti-army demonstrations, he announced its complete abolition - pending Parliamentary ratification. The dissolution of the military was a giant step forward towards establishing a climate of security in Haiti. However, the country's popular organisations were sceptical given the influence the US exerted over the composition of the new police force replacing the interim force.

New recruits undertook three months training at a new Police Academy run by the International Criminal Investigation, Training and Assistance Programme (ICITAP), a US body founded by the FBI and run by the US Justice and State Departments. In May 1995, the US proposed increasing the size of the force from 4,000 to 7,000 and then insisted, against the wishes of the Aristide government, that some should undergo training in the US. The dominant role played by the US in the creation of the new police force raised



Popular organisations marching in Haiti. Photo: Jenny Matthews/Oxfam.

serious concern among Haiti's popular and human rights organisations who were only too aware that the US created the Haitian military during its 1915-34 occupation, continued to provide them with training and equipment and, even after the 1991 coup, had maintained contact with top military officers through the Central Intelligence Agency.

The other crucial issue was the reform of the judicial system. Traditionally the justice system had been used by the military and the Haitian elite as a tool to preserve the established order and to oppress the population at large.

Unfortunately the process of judicial reform was undermined from the start when the US made it clear that it would try to preserve the existing system. In May 1995, a leading Haitian human rights organisation published a critique reflecting the concerns of a number of popular organisations. It maintained that the justice system was so rotten that it should be scrapped and totally rebuilt, and that retraining of existing judges would result in continuing abuses. It bemoaned the limited input from France and Canada and condemned the US for employing legal firms from Washington with no knowledge of the French-based Haitian legal system or of the French language in which it is written. Indicative of the lack of progress was the fact that, a year after the intervention, there had been only two prosecutions for violent political crimes committed during the 1991-94 period.

When Emmanuel 'Toto' Constant, the leader of the FRAPH death squad, told reporters that he had been encouraged by his CIA 'handlers' to form FRAPH as 'a counterweight' to Lavalas, the US authorities admitted that he had been a paid informant. When in December 1994 he received papers ordering him to appear in a Haitian court to answer charges of involvement in murder, he fled to the US where he remained at liberty for five months. In September 1995, his deportation to face charges in Haiti was finally recommended but in June 1996 he was released from custody in the US.

The US/UN intervention has failed to protect the Haitian population, including returnees. Nevertheless, the UN military

mission is still present. Originally scheduled to leave in February 1996, the new Haitian President Preval fears attempts by right-wing forces to destabilise his government and has negotiated an extension. A force of 500 UN troops and 300 UN civilian police monitors will remain in Haiti until July 1997.

Paramilitary activity continues and there are rumours of plots to assassinate the President. Organisations of demobilised soldiers openly threaten to destabilise the government, and crime linked to the paramilitaries is on the increase. The 5,000 new police officers who have graduated from the Police Academy are not considered sufficient to guarantee order and their frequent use of excessive and often deadly force has led some, such as Father Daniel Roussière of the Gonaives Justice and Peace Commission, to predict that the new police will merely replicate the functions and behaviour of their military predecessors.

Lessons from the intervention of the US/UN in Haiti

• Role of the US

Casting a shadow over the whole intervention and subsequent reforms is the role played by the US. Its long involvement in Haitian affairs and, in particular, its long and close relationship with the Haitian military, its support for the father-and-son Duvalier dictatorships, its links with Haiti's tiny economic elite, its alleged support for the 1991 coup and its deep antipathy towards President Aristide and the popular movement that supported him, all suggest that the US was spectacularly unsuitable for the task of leading the intervention. A much greater contribution, from the very beginning, by France, Canada and the Caribbean nations could perhaps have made a difference.

• Failure to disarm and lack of focus on human rights

As to the actual mechanics of the intervention, it is clear that a determined effort to disarm the paramilitaries and former soldiers, and a focus on bringing human rights violators to justice, would have significantly contributed to an improved security situation.

• Failure to involve the Haitian people

At another level, the greatest flaw in the whole intervention was the failure to involve ordinary Haitians through their organisations in the dismantling of the repressive structures and in the creation of new institutions. For example, the development of the new police force could have utilised the potential of the neighbourhood vigilance brigades that sprang up in various districts in the aftermath of the intervention.

A much greater involvement of Haitian human rights and popular organisations in the judicial reform process could also have produced a better outcome.

These failures are at the very heart of the problem of the US/UN intervention in Haiti. It was the participation of the Haitian majority in the country's political affairs which formed the ideological backbone of the popular movement which developed following the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship in 1986 and which brought Aristide to power in 1991. Such moves towards a participatory democracy opened up the possibility of social transformation: in other words, a revolution. The military coup and the brutal regime that took power aimed to stop dead this revolution.

By intervening in September 1994, the US was again involved in political choices. The participation of the population could have increased the chances of resolving the immediate problems of insecurity and lack of justice; it also had the potential to re-ignite the movement for radical change. This was a risk that the intervention forces and the UN would not tolerate.



Charles Arthur is coordinator of the Haiti Support Group in London and is currently working on an introductory reader about Haiti, to be published by the Latin America Bureau in 1998.

See p36 for details of the *HaitiInsight* newsletter and p37 for information on a recent publication by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research entitled *Managing arms in peace processes: Haiti*.

Humanitarian aid: economic implications and consequences

by Robin Davies

Humanitarian aid has become big business. The 'disaster industry' is a growth industry and is likely to remain so. Humanitarian spending has mushroomed, according to OECD/DAC, from US\$601 million in 1985 to US\$1,058 million in 1990, an increase of 76%. By 1994, that figure had more than tripled to US\$3,467 million. Overall, in the space of only three years, the proportion of aid spent on relieving disasters has undergone a quantum leap - from 2% of the rich world's total aid budget in 1990 to 7% by 1993. The number of those involved in humanitarian aid has grown too. According to a survey by the OECD in early 1994, there were by then more than 2,500 Northern NGOs registered, not to mention the hundreds of local NGOs in each developing country receiving significant amounts of international aid. NGOs have steadily become the chosen tool of northern donors for carrying out their humanitarian work. There has also been a marked increase in corporate business participation and the emergency relief industry has even spawned trade fairs in New York and Geneva.

Implications of the development of the 'disaster industry'

i. Humanitarian aid, increasingly dependent on the media for each financial input, has clearly become a 'mega-business'. It follows that a large number of actors, on both the giving and receiving side, have developed a vested interest in the perpetuation of relief programmes.

ii. Increasing amounts of humanitarian funds have been diverted by governments away from multilateral agencies and towards their own internationally operating NGOs who thus find themselves increasingly 'donor driven'.

iii. Accordingly, humanitarian assistance has become an arm of donor countries' foreign policy, with an accompanying increase in competition and lack of coordination in the field. Moreover, NGOs are not subject to any form of international monitoring.

iv. The sums of money involved in humanitarian operations are sufficiently huge that such operations have become a major national monetary resource for many recipients and thus a resource worth competing for or manipulating by local or national officials.

v. In today's climate of reducing budget deficits in OECD countries, a further tightening of funding can be expected. This suggests that donors will become more concerned to ensure that aid is cost effective and that relief operations really do respond to recipients' needs in the rehabilitation, as well as emergency, phase. As a result, commensurately higher standards will be required with more stringent reporting requirements and demands for greater professionalism.

vi. Relief agencies will increasingly find themselves carrying out activities previously considered the responsibility of the host nation, thus becoming involved in politically sensitive issues of governance.

vii. Lastly, the shift toward post-emergency reconstruction will open up more opportunities for host country manipulation of the international relief effort. Relief agencies' field operations will increasingly have to confront the problem of institutionalised corruption.

Three conclusions emerge from the above. **First**, humanitarian organisations will have to guard against accountability to donors superseding accountability to beneficiaries. **Second**, the shift in emphasis from answering immediate needs to promoting self-sufficiency will demand that relief practitioners become more conscious of the wider, longer-term implications of their actions. **Third**, the dilemma faced by relief agencies of getting the job done while not undermining the local authorities will become more acute.

Lack of economic forethought

In recent years, there has been a large number of instances of major international

humanitarian aid interventions where the aftermath has not left the desired legacy. That is to say, results have not been commensurate with the money spent nor with the thousands of man/woman hours devoted to the task. What is the reason for such failure? One of the answers lies in the fact that relief agencies have overlooked the economic impacts of their interventions. Two reasons explain this.

1. Relief agencies do not have a regular budget for humanitarian intervention. Each emergency necessitates a public appeal that can often lead to NGOs competing for access to the same funding source. When reporting to donors, relief agencies are naturally concerned with showing that the funds have been well spent; rarely are they concerned with the wider picture - the side-effects of their spending actions.

2. There is still no concrete recognition that *every* externally-financed relief agency, irrespective of its activities, has an inescapable economic impact, whether direct or indirect, on the host country. The more unstable the country and the more the local society and basic infrastructure have disintegrated, the greater the impact of the relief agencies. The fact that an agency's mandate may not mention the wider economic considerations is not a valid excuse.

Economic impact

i. **Monetary implications:** All intervention programmes that bring in hard currency have a major monetary impact, an impact that is compounded when the money is spent within a relatively short space of time. It is further compounded when the amount of money brought in is significant in terms of the mass of local currency. For example, at the height of the UNTAC operation in Cambodia, the proportion of US dollars to Riels (the local currency) reached an astonishing 2:1 (US\$270 million inflow as against 300 million Riels - the equivalent then of US\$136 million - in circulation).

ii. Inflation: The influx of additional hard cash will obviously have an inflationary impact on the cost of living. If the local people cannot raise their income at a rate at least equal to the pace of the domestic price increase, they get poorer.

iii. Exchange rate: International relief agencies' choice of whether to use US dollars or another hard currency instead of the local currency for their local payments cannot but affect the existing exchange rate. This impact has wider implications when agencies make use of the black market rather than the official exchange rate. If, for allegedly practical reasons, the choice is to use US dollars only (or Deutschmarks as in the case of the former Yugoslavia), the effect is to create a dual currency economy or to exacerbate an existing one. The former results in national authorities losing what little control they might have had over monetary policy; and their economic management consequently becomes more difficult. The net effect is often the adoption of an inappropriate exchange rate with a subsequent negative impact on the profitability of the export sector, once revived.

iv. National budget: Future budgetary effects for the host country are invariably overlooked by relief agencies. Firstly, donors focus on media-attractive projects to the detriment of low-profile yet equally necessary projects that still, somehow, have to be implemented and paid for. Secondly and more importantly, however, some international projects do not have a sustainable financial strategy (ie when their operating or life-time costs are under-financed) and they simply add to the burden of recurrent costs that have to be charged to the national budget in future years.

v. Labour market: When international agencies attract suitable local staff by offering salaries that are double, or more than double, the local average, it has three major effects on the salary structure of the labour market. Firstly, it leads to an internal brain drain towards the newly established 'relief' sector. This in turn can have debilitating spin-offs on existing public sector personnel, especially those involved in providing such essential services as health and education. Thirdly, an international agency's local personnel

policy can start a salary race among the international community as each agency attempts to retain existing staff. Similar multiplier effects can also be found in the food and housing markets, not to mention the ancillary service sectors among which the impact on prostitution cannot be ignored.

vi. Informal sector: When societies break down, the informal sector always shows the first signs of economic resurgence. While the short term advantages for relief agencies of using what may be the only efficient sector of the economy are understandable, there may be two long term consequences that impede national reconstruction. Firstly, it reduces future official revenue sources, thereby contributing to the nascent government's traditional cash flow problem. Secondly, it diverts what scarce local capital may become available away from productive investment in essential goods to tertiary sector activities that are geared almost solely towards providing profitable services to the international community.

vii. Corruption: Corruption is endemic in all crisis situations and tackling the problem is difficult. The more rigorous agencies have adopted a two-pronged approach: firstly, to accept only a certain level of 'sweetening' (up to 10%) and, secondly, to enlist the support of donor embassies in the host country to put pressure on the government to prevent the most flagrant abuses.

viii. Collusion: Because humanitarian agencies are a conduit for external funds, host country authorities and the private commercial sector (both foreign and local) have an interest in encouraging their continued presence. A 'contract culture' thus grows up. Once in place, the bargaining position of the foreign relief agency tends to be weak, partly because they are generally poor negotiators and partly because many have no pre-set deadlines for when they should terminate their intervention. This form of collusion will only be contained if *all* relief agencies develop, and make known to the authorities during the post-conflict phase, a clear 'exit' strategy to which they adhere.

Conclusion

Relief agencies cannot always prevent their operations from having unexpected

economic consequences but they must become more aware that such effects occur in *all* cases and that action should be taken to mitigate, whenever possible, the least desirable of such impacts.

1 Relief agencies should consistently use a simple set of criteria to evaluate each project. Four points should be included in any checklist of criteria.

i. Are there, or will there be, any inter-sectoral linkages for the beneficiaries? What would happen if the project did not go ahead?

ii. What is the local capacity for implementation and eventual domestic management? What would be the consequences if the local community found that it could not keep the project running once the funding/assistance agency pulled out?

iii. How will the project contribute to kick-starting economic growth or sustaining it in the near future? Is there any risk that its recurrent costs may strain budgetary maintenance funds in the future?

iv. Are follow-up procedures to be implemented and, if so, for how long?

2 Relief agencies need to recognise that having a well-planned cut-off point for intervention is just as important to an appropriately managed operation as ensuring the organisation's rapid arrival on the scene in the first place. Developing a clear cut-off point is a function of having had a clear objective for the operation *before* it was launched. That is for each individual agency to determine for itself, bearing in mind, perhaps, that humanitarian aid intervention has its limits. Sooner or later, the responsibility for a people's well-being must lie with the country's chosen authorities and not with the international relief community.



Robin Davies spent 25 years in the GATT Secretariat as Senior Economist specialising in the problems of developing countries. He is currently working in Sarajevo as a consultant. A longer version of this article was published in the Journal of International Relations, Vol 3, No 1, Jul-Dec 1995, under the title 'Economic implications of humanitarian aid in war-torn areas and poor host countries'.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor

I would like to comment on Lina Abu-Habib's article 'Education and the Palestinian Refugees of Lebanon - a lost generation' in RPN 21, April 1996.

The article is informative and well written but I think it does not fully convey the political factors that limit the development both of Palestinian refugee communities and of the NGOs that work among them. This is so particularly in the passages where the author focuses on the conservatism of the vocational and training programmes for women run by local NGOs as a major obstacle to expansion in women's employment and as limiting them to camps. Although the writer does mention Lebanese work laws that constrict the employment of Palestinians in Lebanon, as well as the immigration laws that have closed most receiver countries to Palestinian emigration, the impact of these laws on the refugee workforce and on local NGOs is not fully conveyed.

Two points need to be emphasised: the choice of vocational training offered to women by the local NGOs is not a product of 'conservatism', nor are 'outdated methods' the main reason for low levels of qualification. The courses offered are constrained primarily by labour laws preventing refugee ID card carriers from working in 'white-collar' jobs; financial constraints (including funding policies of international NGOs) that prevent local NGOs from employing or training instructors with higher, more varied skills; and, finally, the poverty of camp communities that restricts the kinds of economic enterprise can develop within them.

Vocational training programmes for refugee communities do not take place in a political and economic vacuum. If training offered by local NGOs has been mainly in 'traditional feminine skills', this points less to lack of 'gender awareness' than to labour market conditions. This point goes far beyond the case of Palestinians in Lebanon - UN and international NGO 'genderising' programmes need to be integrated with analysis of structural constraints on refugee communities if they are to be more than a fashionable ideology.

A study carried out recently with a sample of 1501 Palestinian women inside and outside camps found that a majority (60%) of women workers were mothers, mostly in older age brackets (34 to 60) and including 19.1% widows, while in 37% of cases they were the sole income-earners in their households. An overwhelming 71% of women workers earned below the legal minimum wage (around \$161) a month. In spite of the fact that more than half of all women had taken vocational training courses, 51% were employed in unskilled work (mainly agricultural and domestic). The study notes that most (64%) women workers work in or near camps but underlines that the reasons for this have nothing to do with 'religious fundamentalism' but rather with work permit problems, low wages and the high cost of transport.*

This comment, underlining the need for structural analysis as part of the approach to education and training in refugee communities, does not apply only to Palestinians in Lebanon.

Yours faithfully

Rosemary Sayigh

**Leila Zakharia and Samia Tabari, 'Palestinian Women in Lebanon: Health, Work Opportunities and Attitudes', paper presented to the Conference on Palestinians in Lebanon held by the RSP and the Centre for Lebanese Studies, Oxford, September 1996. [see p34 for conference report]*

Dear Editor

Where neither UNHCR nor any other organisation is able to rescue civilians in war zones, it should be the duty of the military to render these services. Civilians on both sides should be protected.

In the case of southern Sudan, some people took refuge in the north and some in Khartoum while others managed to cross the border into neighbouring countries. The national military, however, see the internally displaced and those who took refuge in neighbouring countries as their greatest enemies. The military and popular defence forces attack and raid, rape women and girls, rob villagers of their cattle and property, burn houses, kill youth and old men and abduct children and women to be sold as slaves to traders. Even within Khartoum, the displaced Southerners are under threat from military and security personnel. Camps are demolished and homes searched at gunpoint by military personnel. The displaced Southerner always lives in fear. Who are the protectors of the displaced: the military, NGOs or the UN?

Humanitarian organisations can offer relief services but not protection. I would recommend that the world's military colleges and institutions revise their training curricula to include the subject of the protection of civilians. The curriculum should also include the study of psychology, first aid and religion.

When we compare Eritrean, Ugandan and other refugees who came to Sudan, UNHCR and the Sudanese government took care of them. They were granted jobs, recognition and their rights. Yet the southern Sudanese have been denied all these rights. They have been forgotten by the international community, some members of whom back the government by supplying money and weapons for the destruction of the southern Sudanese. No humanitarian body claims responsibility for the internally displaced.

[Name and address supplied.]

Research: abstracts and updates

Participatory basic needs assessment with the internally displaced using well-being ranking

by Clare Hamilton, Alice Kaudia and David Gibbon. January 1997. Contact: Clare Hamilton, c/o FCO (Kathmandu, Nepal), King Charles Street, London SW1A 2AH. Tel: +977 26 20368 (Nepal). E-mail: c/o Hugh Gibbon at gibbon@koshi.wlink.com.np

This study took place after the disturbances in the early 1990s in western Kenya and had two objectives: firstly, to develop a methodology that allowed displaced people to develop their own strategies for rehabilitation through analysing their basic needs and, secondly, to identify appropriate interventions for the agencies working with them in a coordinated partnership with the communities. The methodology used is based on a tool from Participatory Rural Appraisal (now known as Participatory Learning and Action), known as well-being ranking. This paper explains the methodology and compares its strengths and weaknesses with traditional surveys used in relief work. Through this method, it became clear that there were distinct approaches of the displaced depending on their current access to land and according to the gender of the household head. This highlighted the importance of disaggregating social categories and of allowing communities to plan their own rehabilitation.

The participatory nature of the discussions contributed to the revitalisation of the community through raised awareness of under-exploited skills and resources. Traditional community activities that had been disrupted were evaluated and, where appropriate, restarted. Neighbours, whose different tribal origins had caused conflict, became aware of the common effects of the disturbances and of their shared needs.



Dealing with an invisible enemy: the socio-economic impacts of landmines on some local communities in Afghanistan

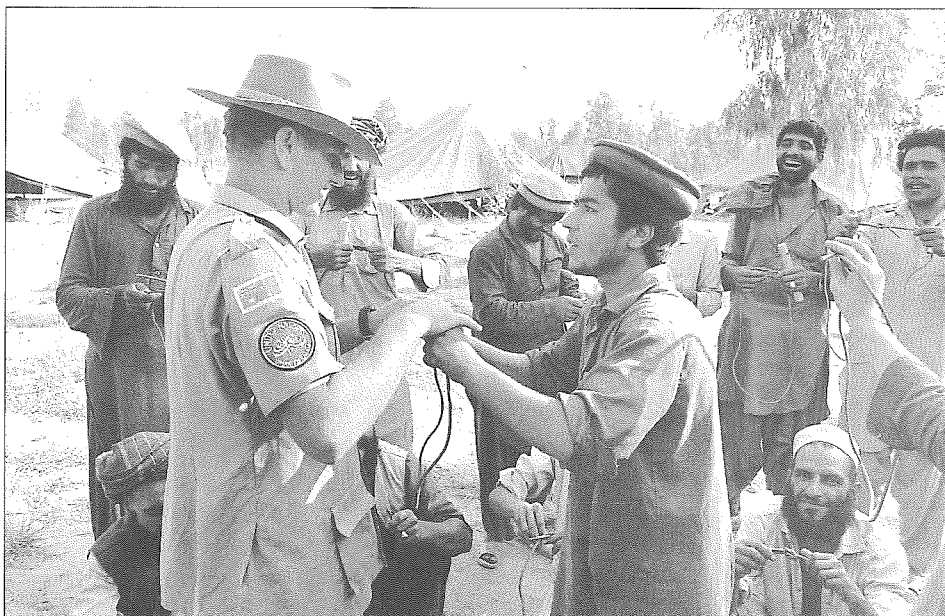
by Akbar Nour, former intern with United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance in Afghanistan (UNOCHA) Mine Clearance Programme. Contact: Akbar Nour, Post-war Reconstruction and Development Unit (PRDU), York University, The King's Manor, York YO1 2EP, UK. Fax: +44 1904 43 39 49. E-mail: an106@york.ac.uk

Nour's report revolves around two central questions: 1. Do mine clearance activities meet the local communities' social and economic needs? and 2. How do Afghans (locals, IDPs and returnees) generate their own dynamic strategies to achieve social development and economic self-sufficiency in a war- and landmine-affected context?

The report is divided into two main sections, the first being an overview of the landmine issue in Afghanistan, the second consisting of a series of case studies. The overview provides a context to the situation which led to UNOCHA's demining programme in Afghanistan while the second section gives a more detailed analysis of particular situations through which the impact of mines on livelihoods can be measured. The report is available at the above address at £3 per copy.

UN contingent forces from Canada, Australia and New Zealand with Operation Salam in Pakistan, demonstrating demining techniques to Afghans, 1989.

Photo: Howard J Davies.



Regional policy approach and harmonization of refugee definitions and of procedures for determining refugee status - a Latin American perspective

by Jose H Fischel de Andrade, Protection Officer (UNHCR, Brazil). Contact: Av Borges De Medeiros 239/203, 01315-000 Rio de Janeiro, Brazil 22430-040. Tel: +55 21511 2028. E-mail: fischel@guarany.cpd.unb.br

This paper was presented in October 1996 to the committee on Migration and Nationality Law at the 26th Biennial Conference of the International Bar Association, in Berlin. Section I contains initial remarks concerning how the author proposes to examine the relationship between law in general and refugee law in particular. Section II examines the global response to the refugee problem, its origins and current situation. It explores current trends in regional approaches and the concept of harmonisation as a factor in policy. Section III focuses on Latin America and on what definitions are applicable in law to refugees in that region. It looks at the Cartagena Declaration alongside the 1951 UN Convention and at how *de jure* and *de facto* applications are used. Section IV considers how existing procedures for determining refugee status in Latin America could be altered to create greater harmonization and compares this principled approach with current practice.

Information and repatriation: the case of Mozambican refugees in Malawi by Khalid Koser

This article examines how refugees in exile receive, evaluate and use information from home in the decision whether or not to repatriate. A theoretical model for the interaction between information and repatriation is first elaborated (tested in the context of Mozambican refugees in Malawi in 1992) and the findings of this empirical research are next presented. In the final section, analysis demonstrates how a focus on information can provide an insight into the repatriation process. Finally, a focus on information engenders a critical comparison between the repatriation of refugees and the return of other types of migrant.

Refugees' environmental impact: the effect of patterns of settlement by Karen Jacobsen

The environmental impact of refugees is determined by a number of factors in the host context. Whether refugees are self-settled or residing in organised settlements is one important determinant, both because of the direct effects of settlement and because patterns of settlement set the parameters of refugees' interaction with the host community, which can then play a role in offsetting environmental impact. Using existing research and focusing on

Africa, the paper discusses the various environmental effects of different types of settlement, and examines the role of the host community in influencing this impact.

Policy dysfunction in humanitarian organisations: the role of coping strategies, organisational culture and institutionalised myths by Mark Walkup

The proposed model helps explain dysfunctional dynamics within international humanitarian organisations (HOs) as a product of aid worker efforts to cope with the psychological distress arising from the operational limitations, unfulfilled expectations and ethical dilemmas faced in their work. It is argued that the resulting defensiveness and delusion impede learning and innovation in the policy process. By exploring the manifestations and implications of this culture type, we can better interpret the behaviour of this group of political actors and HOs can then improve personnel support to better fulfil their objectives.

Guatemalan returnees and the dilemma of political mobilisation by Roman Krznaric

The paper examines political conflict within Guatemalan returned refugee communities, challenging assumptions regarding the cohesion and homogeneity of such communities. An analysis of conflict in one particular community is broadened to illustrate generalised internal conflict among returnees. The source of conflict is traced to the effects of political organisation and awareness-raising in the refugee camps in Mexico, conflict over resources and differing attitudes to cooperation with the government, private sector and popular forces on the Guatemalan left. The final section examines the consequences with regard to the returnees' struggle for land, the possibility of overcoming the culture of fear and insecurity linked to the civil war, opportunities for obtaining development funds and the place of women in the decision-making structures and processes of the communities.

Spanish RPN

To date, five issues of the RPN have been translated into Spanish: RPNs 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22.

We launched the Spanish RPN in partnership with HEGOA in Bilbao in order to improve access to resources such as the RPN for Spanish speakers working in the field of forced migration. We also hope that it will enable the unique experience of Latin America and other Spanish speaking areas to be shared with other researchers, policy makers and practitioners around the world. The Spanish RPN now has some 600 members.

If you have field offices or partner organisations in Spanish-speaking countries who would be interested in receiving a copy, please contact Carlos Puig at HEGOA (details below) or Marion Couldrey at RSP.

We are also keen to encourage the submission of articles, reports and letters (in Spanish or English) relating to Latin America/Caribbean and other Spanish speaking regions.

Carlos Puig coordinates the Spanish RPN. Contact him at: *HEGOA, Facultad de Ciencias Economicas, Lehendakari Agirre 83, 48015 Bilbao, Spain. Tel: +34 4 4473512 Fax: +34 4 4762653 E-mail: hegoam01@sarenet.es*

Arabic RPN

RPN 21 has been translated into Arabic and will be available shortly. We are awaiting confirmation of funding for further issues. If you would like to receive a copy of RPN 21 in Arabic or if you know of an organisation which would like to receive it - or if you would like to be on the mailing list for information about future RPNs in Arabic - please contact Marion Couldrey, RPN Editor (see p2 for contact details).

Many thanks to the Al-Qattan Foundation for funding the translation of RPN 21.

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RSP research update

The changing status of Mozambicans in South Africa and its impact on their repatriation and reintegration in Mozambique

A joint project with the University of Witwatersrand, funded by the Norwegian Refugee Council. The researchers are Chris Dolan from the RSP and three others from the University of Witwatersrand. Field work was conducted between January 1995 and December 1996. A report was submitted to the Norwegian Refugee Council in January 1997.

Domestic legislation to regulate the activities of local and foreign NGOs: a comparison of the experience of Zambia and Kenya

Edward Adiin Yaansah is exploring the implementation of legislation governing NGOs in Kenya and Zambia and its social and legal impact on each country's NGO staff and government. Funded by the Nuffield Foundation and the Polden Puckham Trust, field research was conducted between June and August 1996. The final report was submitted to the Nuffield Foundation and the Polden Puckham Trust in January 1997.

Special situation of women in post-conflict Guatemala and Lebanon

This research was carried out for the International Labour Office (ILO) and is being conducted (for Guatemala) by Seán Loughna, Research Assistant at RSP, and (for Lebanon) by Naila Nauphal, former RSP Visiting Fellow. The study analyses women's special situation, gender perspectives and population issues in these

countries as they emerge from conflict and how to integrate these concerns in training and employment promotion programmes. Field work was conducted between September and November 1996. Final reports were submitted in January 1997.

The reintegration of ex-combatants in Mozambique

This twelve-month study of the reintegration of demobilised military personnel in three provinces in Mozambique (Manica, Maputo and Zambezia) builds on a previous study of the demobilisation process and a workshop, the results of which were published by the RSP in 1996. The researchers are Chris Dolan from the RSP, Joao P Coelho of Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, and Jessica Schaeffer of Oxford University. This and the previous research have been funded by USAID. Field work was conducted between March and October 1996. The final report is due for submission at the end of March 1997.

Re-evaluating 'refugee affected areas' and locally-settled refugee assistance

This is a project funded by ESCOR to examine how the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA II) and the relevant provisions of Lomé III and IV have affected, and continue to affect, the formulation of refugee assistance policies and projects. There will be two main outputs: a database of projects funded by Lomé III and IV and a research paper on the formulation, implementation and impact

of Lomé and ICARA projects. Research began in September 1996 and will end in March 1997; it is being conducted by Marie-Louise Weighill.

Resettlement and rehabilitation as a consequence of development projects in India

Shiraz Vira, RSP Research Associate, has been successful in her proposal for funding to the Nuffield Foundation for further research on the issue of resettlement and rehabilitation in the context of the involuntary displacement of communities as a consequence of India's 'development' efforts. It will examine the current information available from Indian sources and research organisations, with the aim of identifying the displaced groups and estimating the availability of land for resettlement. Field work will be conducted between March and May 1997 and a final report will be submitted to Nuffield by July 1997.

Policy issues in refugee health and protection in sub-Saharan Africa

This is a three-year collaborative study (funded by the EU) involving the RSP, Centre for Refugee Studies at Moi University (Kenya), Makerere University (Uganda) and the Institution of Tropical Medicine, University of Antwerp (the Netherlands). The project will examine the health and welfare of refugees inside and outside camps in Kenya and Uganda. Training and field work have begun. The principal RSP researcher is Barbara Harrell-Bond who will undertake socio-legal research on refugee protection.

Acknowledgement of donors

The RPN is funded mainly by grants from institutions and agencies involved in development and humanitarian work; the rest is provided by voluntary subscriptions from members. We would like to thank all donors and in particular the following organisations for their generous support of this RPN and for their commitment to the RPN in 1997:

AUSTCARE/Australian Council For Overseas Aid ❖ *Danish Refugee Council*

International Planned Parenthood Federation ❖ *Oxfam UK and Ireland*

Save the Children Fund (UK) ❖ *Lutheran World Federation*

Al-Qattan Foundation

Conference reports

Palestinians in Lebanon : September 1996

An international conference on Palestinians in Lebanon, organised by the Centre for Lebanese Studies and the RSP, was held near Oxford, UK, in September 1996. Over fifty participants attended, including Palestinians from Lebanon and the West Bank/Gaza Strip, and Lebanese academics, lawyers and government officials.

The conference was part of an ongoing project initiated in 1994 in response to the importance of the Palestinian refugee issue within the peace process and its growing political significance within Lebanon. While the agenda for the conference was being formulated, it became clear that negotiations on the final status of 1948 Palestinian refugees would be deferred until the future of the Occupied Territories and the status of 1967 refugees had been addressed. It was therefore felt to be vital that, in this interim period, the core issues of the current situation and future interests of 1948 refugees be analysed. In addition, it was considered that the importance of the impact of the 1948 refugees on the society, economy and government of the host countries was inadequately covered in the ongoing political and academic discourse. Of all countries hosting Palestinian refugees, Lebanon was recognised to be confronting the most serious and urgent problems. The conference addressed the deteriorating socio-economic conditions of the Palestinian community in Lebanon and their marginalisation within Lebanese society. Both Palestinians and Lebanese fear that the refugees will simply be left in Lebanon with their situation undefined and their rights to return and to compensation ignored. However, most of the conference participants - both Palestinian and Lebanese - insisted that the situation was not merely a Lebanese or even Arab concern but that the fate of the Palestinians was an international responsibility.

[A conference report is available from the RSP and a selection of the conference papers will be published in a September 1997 Special Issue of the *Journal of Refugee Studies*.]

Marie-Louise Weighill, Researcher on ICARA II and Refugee Affected Areas, RSP

Humanitarian emergencies: relations between governments & non-governmental organisations : December 1996

This five day conference, organised by the RSP and the British Council and held in Oxford, UK, was attended by 22 representatives of donors, recipient states and NGOs. The tendency of donors to fund programmes through NGOs rather than directly to states has raised important questions over sovereignty, legitimacy, obligations and accountability: issues which are highlighted in humanitarian emergencies. One of the dominating themes of the conference was the role of regulation of NGO activities and there was considerable agreement among participants over the suggestion that multinational NGOs should, in principle, be subject to more stringent legislation than local NGOs (while accepting that regulations could be lifted temporarily during humanitarian emergencies to facilitate prompt action). There was one clear issue dividing participants: the degree to which relations between states and NGOs change when there is a humanitarian emergency. Some pointed out that, in emergencies, the most important thing is to save lives and it is essential to avoid introducing legislation that could prove an impediment to this goal. Others countered that emergencies tend to be the norm nowadays. It was generally accepted, however, that much can and should be learnt from the different emergency situations in order to improve the effectiveness of interventions. While there was considerable disagreement during the conference, there was also a recognition that all three parties - donors, governments and NGOs - are dependent on one another and that, despite all the friction in their relations, there remains a common concern: the alleviation of human suffering. [Conference report available from the RSP.]

Warren Hatch, conference organiser

Aspects of Peacekeeping January 1997

This conference at the Royal Military Academy of Sandhurst, UK, represents one of the few occasions when high ranking NATO and UK military officials have invited open dialogue on their role in peacekeeping and peace enforcement in recent complex emergencies. The list of speakers included some of the key players in recent peacekeeping operations in Bosnia and Rwanda as well as representatives from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Ministry of Defence, ODA, UN, academic institutions and NGOs. The objective of the conference was, firstly, to define the character of the relationships between the humanitarian community and the UN-authorized military and, secondly, to draw lessons from recent field experience that might encourage closer future understanding and cooperation.

It was unfortunate that participants from the military establishment outnumbered by far those from the humanitarian community. On the whole, speakers confined their comments to a conceptual overview: an analysis of terms, mandates and ethos. What was particularly revealing was the way in which military thinking has rapidly adapted to changing roles and field circumstances, allowing a convergence of approach with the UN's more traditional peacekeeping roles.

As is often the case, discussions in the corridors were as fruitful as those on the platform. While some humanitarian agencies remain cautious about collaborating more fully with national military forces whose priorities may represent a particular foreign policy agenda, military field personnel continue to be frustrated by the lack of coordination and lack of professionalism of the aid community.

[For conference publication details, contact Matthew Midlane, Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, Camberley, Surrey GU15 4PQ, UK. Tel: +44 1276 412502. E-mail: 101323.2722@compuserve.com]

Jon Bennett, RSP Research Associate and Director of the Global IDP Survey (see opposite)

Reviews



Development in States of War

Introduced by Stephen Commins. Series Editor: Deborah Eade. Oxfam publication. 1996. 109pp. ISBN 0-85598-344-2. £8.95. Published by: Oxfam (UK/I), 274 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7DZ, UK. Fax: +44 1865 313925. E-mail: jday@oxfam.org.uk

This compilation is a timely, well-edited introduction to the myriad of development topics which NGOs may address in conflict interventions including famine, psychosocial intervention, children, education, NGO-NGO relations and NGO-political 'faction' relations. Theoretical discussion is appropriately combined with case studies from past interventions in El Salvador, Afghanistan, the Philippines and Sudan. Contributors include researchers, practitioners and human rights activists. The book also includes an extensive annotated bibliography of related works as well as a list of journals and related research projects for further study or collaboration.

Although most of the articles do not specifically address refugee populations, the book will be useful for practitioners working with refugees. A large number of current refugee populations are either fleeing violence and/or finding themselves trapped in the midst of ongoing conflict. Many of these refugee populations are still receiving emergency aid years after fleeing persecution, despite the fact that such aid may actually inhibit their development. *Development in States of War* argues that NGOs need to go beyond being simple 'ladles in the global soup kitchen'; rather than prolonging misery through emergency aid, they should be supporting longer-term development initiatives.

Hannah R Garry, Visiting Study Fellow, Refugee Studies Programme



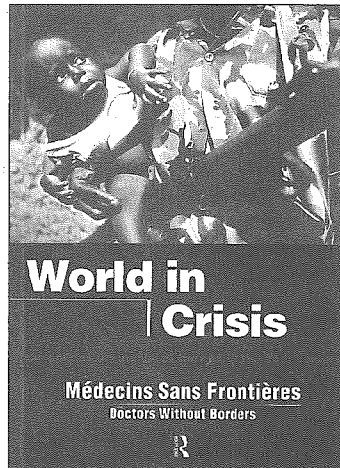
World in Crisis: the politics of survival at the end of the 20th century

Médecins Sans Frontières. 1996. ISBN 0-415-15378-6. £10.99 pb. Published by: Routledge, 11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE, UK. Fax: +44 171 842 2303. E-mail: publicity.uk@routledge.com

World in Crisis highlights the plight of the growing number of civilians caught in today's internal conflicts around the world, particularly in Africa, and denounces the failure of the international community to protect them effectively. The first section deals with the complex issues that confront humanitarian organisations: frontline medicine, protection of civilians and international law. A dilemma that is discussed throughout these chapters is the tension caused by the presence of international humanitarian workers. The second section presents five case studies (Liberia, Bosnia, Chechnya, the Great Lakes region and Sudan); each describes the history of the crisis, the main players, the international response and the failures of that response. These chapters are clear and informative.

World in Crisis examines the evidence that, despite the efforts of governments, the establishment of the UN and the emergence of NGOs, the world is in no better state at the end of this century than at the beginning. The humanitarian regime is in crisis and something needs to be done. This book looks objectively at all players in the international political and humanitarian system, including MSF, and concludes that those most to blame are the local politicians, who ignore international and human rights law, and the world powers who do nothing until it is too late. It also presents a number of cases where appropriate action is being taken. This book will be useful for those seeking background information to current issues in humanitarian work and for those who need to be reminded that, despite the failures, humanitarian intervention is still needed.

Andrew Masterton, Visiting Study Fellow, Refugee Studies Programme



Global IDP Survey call for writers

The Global IDP Survey is a major new undertaking, sponsored by the Norwegian Refugee Council, to produce an independent publication to include facts, figures and analysis of issues relating to internally displaced persons (IDPs) worldwide. A newsletter will also be published regularly to coincide with major lobbying activities at the UNHCR Executive Committee and the Commission for Human Rights. See website at <http://web.sol.no:80/nrc-no/idp-survey.htm>

We are currently looking for writers/researchers at regional and country levels who are able accurately to summarise and reflect current thinking and practice within the humanitarian community on the assistance and protection of IDPs. In part, this will be a statistical exercise; it will also, however, include an analysis of gaps in assistance and protection and a critique of government, UN and NGO practices. The length of the country reports will depend on the scale of activities.

If you are interested in becoming a regional coordinator (up to two months consultancy work) or a country reporter (fee-based according to requirements), please send a CV and sample of written work to: Jon Bennett, Director, Global IDP Survey, 84 Sandfield Road, Oxford OX3 7RL, UK. Tel/fax: +44 1865 69206. E-mail: jon.bennett@dial.pipex.com

Elizabeth Colson Lectureship in Forced Migration : RSP

Applications are invited for the above University of Oxford post, tenable from 1 October 1997. Stipend: £16,045-£33,202 according to age. The successful candidate may be offered a non-tutorial fellowship by Linacre College. Duties will include teaching on the M.St. in Forced Migration (from 1988) and the Forced Migration option in the M.Phil. in Development Studies, as well as research and graduate supervision. Applicants should have a doctorate, preferably in one of the social sciences, and a research and publication record in forced migration. A research interest in the links between forced migration and international political and economic change would be an advantage. Contact: The Administrator, QEH, 21 St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA, UK. Tel: +44 1865 273599. Closing date: 23 April 1997.

Publications

Publications are presented in alphabetical order under three headings: Newsletters, journals and magazines; General publications; and On the Web.

Newsletters, journals and magazines

The PanAfrican Emergency Training Centre **Bulletin** is produced by the World Health Organisation (WHO) every quarter. It contains articles, news and announcements. Free. 6pp. *Contact:* WHO, Panafrikan Emergency Training Centre, UNECA Building, PO Box 60035, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Tel: +251 1 517 600. Fax: +251 1 513 264. E-mail: who.ptc@padis.gn.apc.org

Charter '87 is a monthly newsletter which reports on the campaign to enact a charter for the rights of refugees in Britain. It focuses on tackling obstructions to its goals and on practical issues arising from a consideration of refugee rights. Free. 8pp. *Contact:* Dr M L Pirouet, 8 Geldart Street, Cambridge, CB1 2LX, UK. Tel: +44 1223 314655.

HaitiInsight is the bi-monthly newsletter of the National Coalition for Haitian Rights (NCHR), a non-profit organisation that seeks to promote and protect the rights of Haitian refugees and Haitian-Americans. The current newsletter includes a piece on the plight of *restaveks*, children as young as four who are employed as unpaid domestics in Haiti. It also contains news stories and updates on the situation of Haitians in Haiti and the United States, and a selection of book reviews and announcements. Individual annual membership: \$25. 8pp. *Contact:* HaitiInsight, NCHR, 275 Seventh Avenue, 25th Floor, New York, NY 10001-6708, USA. Tel: +1 212 337 0005. Fax: +1 212 337 0028. E-mail: insight@nchr.org

Interchange is the quarterly newsletter of BookAid, an organisation providing books, journals and periodicals to schools, colleges and institutions who cannot afford them. Free. *Contact:* BookAid, 39/41 Coldharbour Lane, London SE5 9NR, UK. Tel: +44 171 733 3577. Fax: +44 171 978 8006. E-mail: rls@gn.apc.org

ECHO news is the quarterly newsletter of the European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO). No 13 (December 1996) includes articles by Emma Bonino (EU Commissioner for Humanitarian Aid) on Military support to humanitarian interventions, by Bernard Kouchner (President of the Development and Cooperation Commission) on Promoting security, preventing conflicts, and by Doris Schopper (President, MSF) on Kivu: a foreseeable humanitarian disaster. Free. 22pp. *Contact:* Echo Information, European Commission, Rue de Geneve 3, 1140 Brussels, Belgium. Tel: +32 2 295 4400. Fax: +32 2 295 4572. Website: <http://europa.eu.int/en/comm/echo/echo.html>

General publications

Beyond 'Working in Conflict': understanding conflict and building peace ODI Relief and Rehabilitation Network paper 18 by Jon Bennett and Mary Kayetisi-Blewitt. 1996. 58pp. ISBN 0-85003-249-0. £5.00. *Contact:* RRN, Overseas Development Institute, Portland House, Stag Place, London SW1E 5DP, UK. Tel: +44 171 393 1674/47. Fax: +44 171 393 1699. E-mail: rrr@odi.org.uk This is the report of a three-day workshop organised by CODEP, the UK Network on Conflict, Development and Peace. It includes background information on the issues addressed at the workshop and covers the proceedings of the workshop itself, which included debates on gender and conflict, conflict analysis, and peace-building and rehabilitation.

Desperate crossings: seeking refuge in America by Norman L Zucker and Naomi Flink Zucker. 1996. 171pp. ISBN 1-56324-728-3. *Contact:* M E Sharpe, Inc, 80 Business Park Drive, Armonk, New York 10504, USA. This book chronicles the flight that began with the Haitians but exploded into a mass exodus from Central America, most recently manifested in the Haitian and Cuban exoduses of 1994. The book proposes changes in refugee policies which would allow the United States to respond more effectively to both the needs of refugees and the demands of its citizens.

Environmentally-induced population displacements and environmental impacts resulting from mass migrations Report of an international symposium organised jointly by UNHCR, IOM and RPG. 1996. 128pp. ISBN 92-9068-059-8. *Contact:* Hideyuki Mori, Senior Coordinator on Environmental Affairs, Programme Policy Unit, DPOS (HQPM99), UNHCR, Case Postale 2500, CH-1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland. Tel: +41 22 739 8668. Fax: +41 22 791 2317. The symposium brought together participants from governments, inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations and academics, and the report discusses issues such as trends in displacement and measures to mitigate negative impacts.

From cold war to hot peace: UN interventions 1947-1994 by Anthony Parsons. 1995. 278pp. ISBN 0140239472. £7.99. *Contact:* Penguin Publishers, Bath Road, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, UB7 0DA, UK. Tel: +44 181 899 400. Fax: +44 181 899 4099. This book is an insider's history of UN peacekeeping enterprises. Can the UN contain problems of ethnic rivalry centuries older than its own conception? The book addresses this question by looking at 13 peacekeeping operations. It analyses the structural make-up of the UN and the extent to which problems arise from its dependency on the Security Council.

Anthony Parsons, patron of the RSP, died on 12 August 1996. He is missed by all who knew him.

Health impact of large post-conflict migratory movements: the experience of Mozambique Report of an international workshop organised by IOM in collaboration with the Ministry of Health, Mozambique. 1996. 98pp. *Contact:* Loretta Iuri, International Organisation for Migration Medical Services, 17 Rte des Morillons, CP 71, CH-1211 Geneva 19, Switzerland. Tel: +44 22 717 93 56. Fax: +44 22 798 61 50. This report of the March 1996 workshop contains detailed information and extensive statistical data on health impacts and post-conflict migrations in the region.

Keeping hope alive: who finds refuge in Britain? *Jesuit Refugee Service*. 1996. 96pp. ISBN 0-9527 182-2-7. £3.95pb. Contact: JRS gb, 162 Stockwell Road, London SW9 9TQ, UK. Tel: +44 171 924 9492. Fax: +44 171 924 9469. E-mail: jrsuk@gn.apc.org This publication contains chapters on the definitions, causes and consequences of asylum-seeking, and gives a number of practical suggestions for counteracting the prejudices and fears which surround issues of asylum-seekers and refugees. It includes poems, photographs and prayers.

Managing arms in peace processes: Haiti published by *United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research*. 1996. 110 pp. ISBN 92-9045-120-3. Contact: UN Sales Section, Palais des Nations, CH-1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland. Tel: +41 22 917 2612. Fax: +41 22 740 0931. or: UN Sales Section, UN Headquarters, New York, NY 10017, USA. This publication reviews one of 11 case studies undertaken by UNIDIR's project on Disarmament and Conflict Resolution. Other cases are: Yugoslavia, Somalia, Angola, Cambodia, El Salvador, Central America, Namibia, Mozambique, Liberia and the 1979 Commonwealth operation in Rhodesia. The project has also published **Managing arms in peace processes: the issues** (234 pp; ISBN 92-9045-119-X) which addresses key issues pertaining to demobilisation, disarmament and the control of weapons during peace operations ie issues that are deemed critical for the success or failure of such endeavours. Also available: UNIDIR Newsletter (US\$25 annual subscription).

Mental health of refugees published by WHO in collaboration with UNHCR. 1996. 134 pp. ISBN 92-4-154486-4. Sw.fr 30 (Sw.fr 21 in developing countries). Contact: WHO, c/o UNHCR, Case Postale 2500, CH-1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland. This manual for practitioners in the field of mental health describes techniques for helping people with trauma-induced problems. It considers the effects of trauma both on refugees and on those who work with them.

Rwanda: which way now? by David Waller. *An Oxfam country profile*. Second, revised edition 1996. 72pp. ISBN 0 85598 354 X. £5.95. Contact: Oxfam publications, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7DZ, UK. Tel: +44 1865 311311. Fax: +44 1865 311311. This revised edition explains the background to the 1994 genocide and describes Rwanda's subsequent attempts at reconstruction and reconciliation.

The news media, civil war, and humanitarian action by Larry Minear, Colin Scott and Thomas G Weiss. 1996. 123pp. ISBN 1-55587-676-5. £9.95pb. Contact: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 3 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London WC2E 8LU, UK. The authors reflect on the influence of the media on policymaking in humanitarian action during conflicts. Based on case studies from Liberia, northern Iraq, Somalia, the former Yugoslavia, Haiti and Rwanda, and drawing on the work of three conferences, the debate centres on how news media, governments and humanitarian organisations can work together towards conflict resolution.

The Oxfam poverty report by Kevin Watkins with contributions from other Oxfam staff. 1995. Reprinted 1996. 249pp. ISBN 0-85598-318-3. £9.95. Contact: Jess Day, Oxfam Publishing, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7DZ, UK. Tel: +44 1865 311311. Fax: +44 1865 311311. This report includes sections on war, aid, structural adjustment and ecological issues. While outlining the forces which deny people their basic rights, the authors also present an agenda for change, calling for a renewal of the UN vision of universal basic rights.

On the Web

DHA's **Humanitarian News** bulletin is published fortnightly and provides quick updates on emergency situations around the world, particularly those where DHA is directly involved. Up to 8 pages of text. Access by logging onto ReliefWeb: <http://www.reliefweb.int> or by subscribing to DHA-Online: http://www.reliefweb.int/dha_ol

IRIN - the Integrated Regional Information Network - is a new unit of DHA, promoting information exchange within the humanitarian community in the Great Lakes region of Africa. It publishes updates, analyses and 'alerts', covering the range of political, economic and social issues which affect humanitarian work in the region, from a regional perspective. Contact IRIN on irin@dha.unon.org or via UNHCR IRIN, PO Box 30218, Nairobi, Kenya. Tel: +254 244 1125. Fax: +254 244 8816.

ReliefWeb (<http://www.reliefweb.int>) was set up by DHA to serve 'the information needs of the humanitarian relief community'. It is a multi-faceted site, providing (among other facilities) monitoring on current emergency events, a comprehensive map centre and a search facility. Updated twice daily.

The RSP's home pages at <http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/rsp/> provide information on RSP research, publications, teaching and courses. Articles from back issues of the RPN (RPNs 17 to 22, August 1994) can be accessed and downloaded.

Do you have reports to share or publications to advertise?

All too often, useful information is kept in a filing cabinet instead of being shared with other people working in the same field. If you would like wider dissemination of, for example, a new piece of research undertaken or your latest project report, let us help...

If you produce or know of any publications which might be of use and interest to other RPN readers, please send details (and preferably a copy) of the publication to the Editor (address on page 2). Please include details of any price/subscription charges plus: address/telephone/fax/e-mail.

Any publications sent to the Editor will be kept in the RSP Library for reference purposes.

RSP courses and news

Courses

The Law of Refugee Status

6-7 June 1997

This comprehensive weekend training course by Professor James Hathaway (Osgoode Hall Law School, Toronto) on the scope of the refugee definition gives participants the opportunity, through a mix of lectures and working group exercises, to grapple with difficult issues of application of the legal norms in the context of factual scenarios based on actual refugee claims. *Fee: £100 (excluding accommodation).*



International Summer School

1-25 July 1997 : 4-week residential course

This course aims to provide those working with refugees and other forced migrants with a wider understanding of the interlocking institutional framework that dominates their world and the world of those who have been uprooted. The objectives of the course are to provide: a multidisciplinary framework; a comparative perspective on issues; a forum for the analysis of problems in assistance programmes; and the sharing of successful experiences. It is designed primarily for senior and middle managers involved with assistance and policy making for forced migrants. *Fee: £1950 (including 26 days bed and breakfast accommodation).*



Asylum in a frontier-free Europe

27-28 September 1997

The 1951 Geneva Convention has long ceased to be the only instrument governing asylum in Europe. Safe third countries, the Dublin Convention, the Treaty of Maastricht, the European Convention on Human Rights must also be considered. This workshop by Nuala Mole from the Aire Centre, London, will also look at important recent developments from the European Commission and Court of Human Rights and the Committee on the UN Torture Convention, and will examine the application of the Schengen and Dublin Conventions across Europe. *Fee: £100 (excluding accommodation).*



For further information and application form, please contact:

The Coordinator

Education Unit, RSP, QEH, 21 St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA, UK.

Tel: +44 1865 270723 Fax: +44 1865 270721

E-mail: rspedu@ermine.ox.ac.uk

For more details, see the RSP home page on: <http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/rsp/>

Dr Barbara Harrell-Bond receives Distinguished Services Award

On 23 November 1996, the American Anthropological Association presented Dr Barbara Harrell-Bond with the 1996 Distinguished Service Award for 'her internationally recognised research, teaching and training on the causes, consequences and experience of forced migration; dedicated service to the refugee community; groundbreaking scholarship and informed critiques of refugee policy and assistance; and active leadership to promote practitioner interchange and training on an international level.'

\$500,000 for digitisation of RSP Library

RSP will soon begin work on the digitisation of its unique collection of unpublished literature, following a US\$500,000 donation from the Andrew W Mellon Foundation in New York. The project contributes both to achieving the Foundation's objective of using electronic technology to improve the dissemination of knowledge in refugee studies and to the RSP's long-held aims of expanding access to information in countries affected by forced migration and of facilitating collaborative research. Richard Ekman, the Secretary of the Foundation, said the grant was offered 'in recognition of the vitality of the Refugee Studies Programme as a whole ... and the service that the RSP's Library will provide to an increasing number of academic and non-academic personnel throughout the world who are interested in the problems of refugees'. The RSP is extremely grateful to the Mellon Foundation for its generous support.

New Research Officer at RSP

Michael Barutciski, an advocate with the Bar of Quebec, joined RSP in November 1996 as Research Officer (the post of Crown Prince el Hassan bin Talal of Jordan Fellow in Law). He was formerly at the Centre for Refugee Studies of York University. His most recent publications include:

'The reinforcement of non-admission policies and the subversion of UNHCR: displacement and internal assistance in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-94)', *International Journal of Refugee Law*, Vol 8, No 1-2, 1996; 'Politics overrides legal principles: tragic consequences of the diplomatic intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1991-1992)', *American University Journal of International Law and Policy*, Vol 11, No 5, 1996; 'Refugee flows and humanitarian intervention', *Refugee*, Vol 15, No 3, 1996.

Michael Barutciski is now conducting research on legal protection relating to repatriation operations; his case studies focus on Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda.

Join the Refugee Participation Network...

The Refugee Participation Network is a network of some 3,300 individuals and organisations in 127 countries, bringing together researchers, policy-makers, refugees and those working with refugees. Members receive the RPN newsletter which is published three times a year and includes articles and reports, research abstracts, book reviews, conference reports, letters to the Editor, updates on publications and news from RSP. Themes are advertised in advance and members are encouraged to contribute. The RPN is also published in Spanish.

Membership is free but we *strongly* urge all of you who can afford it to pay a voluntary subscription of £20 (US\$30) a year. A subscription of £40 (US\$60) would cover the subscription of someone less able to pay. (If possible, please pay by sterling cheque or draft drawn on a bank in the UK.)

If you would like to join, please complete and return the form below.



Yes, I would like to join the Refugee Participation Network!

I enclose a voluntary contribution of: £20 £40 other

Please make cheques payable to Refugee Studies Programme. Tick if you require a receipt:

Name _____ Job title _____

Organisation _____

Address _____

Town _____ Country _____

Tel _____ Fax _____ E-mail _____

We produce directories of members to facilitate networking. *Please tick any of the following that apply to you:*

1 Organisation

Researcher/academic	RE	_____	Inter-government agency	IA	_____
Student	ST	_____	Government	GT	_____
Journalist/media	JO	_____	Trust/foundation	TR	_____
Refugee	RG	_____	Library/documentation	LI	_____
Non-governmental (NGO)	NG	_____	Educational institution	EI	_____

2 Work

Education	ED	_____	Mental health	MH	_____
Community development	CD	_____	Protection/asylum	PR	_____
Income generation	IG	_____	Emergency relief	EM	_____
Agriculture	AG	_____	Camp administration	CA	_____
Health and nutrition	HN	_____	Resettlement	RS	_____
Environmental displacement	ET	_____	Development-induced displacement	DD	_____

3 Region of work/interest

Africa	AF	_____	Middle East	ME	_____
Asia	AS	_____	North America	NA	_____
Europe	EU	_____	Pacific	PA	_____
Latin America/Caribbean	LA	_____	Worldwide	WL	_____

Return form to: RPN, RSP, QEH, 21 St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA, UK. Fax: +44 (0)1865 270721

From the new Director of the RSP



Dr David Turton succeeded Dr Barbara Harrell-Bond as Director of the Refugee Studies Programme on 1 January 1997.

This is a time of transition for the Refugee Studies Programme. Enormous changes have taken place in the international political and economic order since the end of the Cold War and forced migration has been both a symptom and a catalyst of these changes. There have also been important changes within the RSP itself: the endowing of two university teaching posts (my own and the Elizabeth Colson Lectureship in Forced

Migration, which is advertised on p35 of this RPN) and the setting up of a one-year Master's course in forced migration, to begin in 1998. These recent institutional changes present us with three main challenges.

First, we must make a success of the new Master's course, which will aim to help students understand the important political and economic changes taking place in the world today through the interdisciplinary study of forced migration.

Second, with our position in the University secured, we must concentrate on setting up long-term programmes of research to examine the causes and consequences of forced migration in a regional and comparative perspective. Thus we have recently started work on a proposal for a three-to-five year research programme on 'development-induced displacement and resettlement' (DIDR). The aim is to collaborate with universities and research institutions in different parts of the world, with the work being carried out mainly by local researchers (see our DIDR website at <<http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/rsp/didrhome.htm>> and/or write to Sean Loughna at RSP for further details). We shall be following the same model in developing research programmes on other themes, in the broad field of forced migration, which allow for a similarly comparative approach.

Third, we must work even harder to ensure that our research and teaching remain relevant and accessible to policy makers and practitioners. This, for me, is the most important and exciting challenge. To meet it, we must not only carry out research of the highest quality (since the better the research, the more likely it is to have practical benefits) but we must also keep our doors open, through the Visiting Fellows Programme and the International Summer School, to experienced people from the world of policy and practice who want to reflect on their experience and deepen their understanding of refugee issues. The RPN, of course, plays an important part in this process, by encouraging communication between practitioners and disseminating news, information and research findings.

Our aim over the next few years must be to meet these challenges while remaining loyal to Dr Harrell-Bond's objectives, which I believe can be summed up as a determination to understand the world of the displaced from the point of view of the displaced themselves. She is always the first to recognise that the RSP could not have thrived as it has without the support and collaboration of dedicated and talented staff and a world-wide network of friends and supporters. I know this will continue to be the main condition of its success. It was the prospect of working with such people, in pursuit of such objectives, that brought me to the RSP.

David Turton

David Turton (Reader in Forced Migration and Director) is a social anthropologist who trained at the London School of Economics (BSc (Soc), 1967, PhD, 1973).

Before coming to the Refugee Studies Programme, he taught at the University of Manchester in the Social Anthropology Department.

His fieldwork has been in south-western Ethiopia, among the Mursi, a group of cattle herders and cultivators, and his theoretical interests have been in responses to drought and famine, the relationship between long-term ecological changes and population movement, warfare, political identity, development and ethnographic film.

He has been Vice-President of the Royal Anthropological Institute and has sat on the Council of the International Disaster Institute, the North-East Africa Field Committee of Oxfam (UK/Ireland) and the Medical and Social Science Working Party for the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction.

Apart from many articles on the Mursi, his publications include, as co-editor, *Warfare Amongst East African Herders* (National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, 1978), and *Film as Ethnography* (Manchester University Press, 1990) and, as editor, *War and Ethnicity: Global Connections and Local Violence* (University of Rochester Press, 1997).

He has been editor of *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* and *Disasters: The Journal of Disaster Studies and Management*. He has made six programmes for television on the Mursi.

