

*Praise for*

## WHERE IS THE LONE RANGER WHEN WE NEED HIM?

*"Where Is the Lone Ranger When We Need Him?" is a major contribution to writing about peacekeeping and, more specifically, security stabilization in postconflict environments—a dimension that has been neglected heretofore. With extensive and unique knowledge of the subject, Perito offers definitive scholarship in this clear, sensible, and insightful volume.*"

DAVID BAYLEY

Distinguished Professor

School of Criminal Justice, SUNY-Albany

"Most experts and practitioners believe that peace is most durably established and preserved through the rule of law. But how is the rule of law itself established? How is it best preserved? Does it exist in the presence of a police force? A visible judiciary with an active legal docket? Full prisons? When war has destroyed a society's hold on the rule of law, how is it restored? What help can outsiders bring to the process? In *Where Is the Lone Ranger When We Need Him?* Robert M. Perito tackles these thorny questions with a thoroughgoing analysis of the international record over the past dozen years. Carefully researched and methodically argued, this volume fills a gaping void in the literature on postconflict challenges. Perito argues persuasively that military force alone cannot do all that needs doing and that the international community in general, and the United States in particular, must develop a meaningful capacity to deploy the full complement of assets necessary to help establish or restore the rule of law in the aftermath of violent conflict. He rightly maintains that only an

integrated approach to restoring law and order—one that links a corpus of legitimately derived laws with corruption-free institutions to uphold them (police forces, independent judiciary, responsive penal system) will lead to genuine stability. His call for a Stability Force deserves serious debate at a time when peacekeeping forces around the globe are stretched thin. This timely volume is important reading for anyone wishing to understand the factors that lead to widespread lawlessness and how the international community—including its most powerful member—can organize to stop madness in its tracks.”

JANE HOLL LUTE

Assistant Secretary-General for Missions Support  
Department of Peacekeeping Operations, United Nations

“Bob Perito has provided us a unique, badly needed compilation of international policing and constabulary capabilities and description of how they have been used, focused upon Bosnia and Kosovo. Going further, he makes proposals on how they can be used more effectively in the security gap that has so seriously plagued Operation Iraqi Freedom.”

ROBERT B. OAKLEY

U.S. Ambassador (Ret.)

# WHERE IS THE LONE RANGER WHEN WE NEED HIM?

America's Search for a  
Postconflict Stability Force

ROBERT M. PERITO



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The views expressed in this book are those of the author alone. They do not necessarily reflect views of the United States Institute of Peace.

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*In memory of  
Patricia Campbell Perito*



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## FOREWORD

**I**F THERE IS A DISTINCT SET OF IMAGES that brings home the message in *Where Is the Lone Ranger When We Need Him?*, it is the scenes of widespread looting and chaos in the immediate aftermath of post-Saddam Hussein Iraq in the presence of coalition soldiers-cum-peacekeepers. As media accounts have detailed, defense planners at the Pentagon executed a brilliant military campaign, but they seem to have been unprepared to deal with the challenges of stabilizing a society suddenly freed of dictatorial authority. The rapid deterioration of the security environment at the hands of disparate internal forces not only detracted from the joy of the Iraqi people at their liberation from a ruthless and internationally dangerous despot, but it also provided the coalition with some harsh lessons on peacekeeping and stabilizing postconflict environments.

Iraq and Afghanistan are dramatic if not unique examples of the kinds of UN peacekeeping operations that have come to characterize international interventions in the post-Cold War era. Yet all share a common problem: military peacekeepers are able to stop conflict by separating combatants or by ousting hostile, repressive regimes; however, they are not trained or equipped to restore self-sustaining order and stability to a society in a postconflict environment. The author of this book proposes a solution to this peacekeeping paradox.

In the pages that follow, Robert Perito has a straightforward yet compelling argument: military peacekeepers are not trained and organized to provide *sustainable* security to a postconflict

environment—whether it is in a peacekeeping mission with a United Nations mandate, or a pre-emptive, unilateral intervention to depose the ruler of a rogue state who appears intent on developing and eventually using weapons of mass destruction. What is required, Perito argues, are the kinds of forces that are structured and trained for the arduous tasks of rebuilding domestic security—specifically, constabularies and international civilian police, as well as legal units, designed to make sure a postconflict society achieves stability and order through the rule of law. Military peacekeepers make up the third element of the postconflict public security triad that Perito outlines, but the military alone, he argues, is not equipped to handle crowds and riots, tackle organized crime, and mediate everyday disputes—the kinds of situations that typically plague postconflict societies. Those are tasks constabularies and police are trained to do.

Perito argues for the creation of a U.S. Stability Force, a combination of military and nonmilitary forces that can effectively put an end to conflict and, more important, facilitate a postconflict society's return to (or arrival at) security and the rule of law. This book examines such a force from an American perspective. The United States is now the largest contributor of peacekeeping forces around the world, so if there is to be a fundamental change in how the international community does peacekeeping, the United States must take the lead. Nevertheless, the kinds of forces Perito calls for make his argument a challenging one for an American readership.

Unlike “core” European countries, the United States, as Perito acknowledges, has a unique and troubled history regarding constabularies—national police forces that combine military and policing duties, such as France's Gendarmerie and Italy's Carabinieri. Indeed, the notion of a constabulary is an ambiguous one in the American experience, although it does not mean that we are without historical examples. As Perito expertly demonstrates in an early chapter of this work, we have had a constabulary in this country in the form of the Texas Rangers, a fictionalized member of which serves as the title character and inspiration for this book. In dangerous situations on the plains or on the fron-

tier, Perito recalls, the Lone Ranger always came to the rescue. Abroad, the U.S. deployed constabularies to restore order in the Caribbean and in postwar Germany and Japan.

In multinational peacekeeping operations in the Balkans, the Europeans understood the benefits of constabularies—specifically, the Special Police Units and Multinational Specialized Units deployed in Bosnia and Kosovo, respectively. Perito recounts and analyzes the various facets of decision making that led up to the deployment and operation of these units, which was for the United States a truly innovative peacekeeping practice. Yet the fact that these units were ultimately frustrated in performing policing duties they were trained for reflects U.S. political and military leaders' misconceptions about the roles of these special formations: Americans and those from other countries lacking constabularies do not seem to understand what constabularies can do in peacekeeping operations. French Gendarmes and Italian Carabinieri who served in these special units had a unique insight into how postconflict tasks in Bosnia and Kosovo should be handled. U.S. military commanders have yet to appreciate the unique capabilities and contributions of such forces.

There is perhaps no one more qualified to author such a study than Robert Perito. He has served in the U.S. foreign policy community for many years as a Foreign Service officer with the State Department and then at the White House as deputy executive secretary of the National Security Council. Before joining the U.S. Institute of Peace, he served as deputy director of the U.S. Department of Justice's International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program, which was responsible for training local police forces for stability operations from Panama to Iraq. He completed the research for this work as a senior fellow in the Institute's Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace during 2001–2002.

*Where Is the Lone Ranger When We Need Him?* is the first book-length study in a growing body of works on managing postconflict environments published by the U.S. Institute of Peace. Beginning in 2001, the Institute has produced several special reports—collaborations of the Professional Training and

Rule of Law Programs—on UN Civilian Police and establishing the rule of law in countries hosting peace operations. The Institute has also published senior fellow Ray Jennings’s reports on establishing security and stability in post–Saddam Hussein Iraq. Robert Perito’s work is an outstanding contribution to our national effort to rethink the challenges of stabilizing societies disrupted by war.

RICHARD H. SOLOMON, PRESIDENT  
UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study began as an effort to understand an apparent contradiction in U.S. peacekeeping policy. Why did the U.S. advocate the use of constabulary forces for peacekeeping in the Balkans and oppose their inclusion in America's armed forces? It broadened into an inquiry into how constabulary forces had actually performed in Bosnia and Kosovo; something no one else had thought to do. Finally, it became an effort to look back into our history and ahead into the future for the answer to the question of how to create sustainable security in postconflict societies. The expanding scope of the study brought me into contact with UN officials, diplomats, soldiers, policemen, academics and reporters. The effort to talk directly to people that had been there and listen to their stories was rewarding. It also created a lengthening list of people to whom I owe a debt of gratitude and to whom I wish to express my appreciation for their generosity and support.

First and foremost, I am grateful to the United States Institute of Peace; its president, Ambassador Richard Solomon; and its Board of Directors for my selection as a senior fellow in the Jennings Randolph Fellowship Program. I am greatly indebted to the program's director, Joseph Klaitz; my project officer, John Crist; and the program's administrative assistant, Elizabeth Drakulich, for their kindness, good advice, and constant encouragement. Very special appreciation is due to my research assistant, Patricia Taft, who became a full partner in the enterprise and who contributed her talents, enthusiasm, and unfailing energy in making it a success. Special thanks are also due to Christine Herrmann, my first research assistant; and to my colleagues, Ambassador Richard Kauzlarich, Colonel Michael Dzedzic

(U.S.A.F, ret.), Professor Charles Call, and the other senior fellows in the Jennings Randolph Program.

In conducting my field research, I was the beneficiary of the talents and the generosity of many “practitioners” who shared their experiences and their expertise. I am particularly indebted to Michael Jorsback, Joelle Vatcher, and Eric Scheye of the Civilian Police Division of the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations. I also could not have concluded this study without the remarkable support I received from Colonel Gery Plane, adviser on Special Police Units to the commissioner of the United Nations Police in Kosovo, and Warrant Officer Dennis Clement of his staff. I owe special thanks to James Tillman, director of the U.S. International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program in Bosnia; to Steven Bennett, director of the Police Service School in Kosovo; and to the Office of the SFOR Historian in Bosnia.

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For their insights and emotional support, I wish to thank my readers Gregory Schulte, Professor David Bayley, and Colonel George Oliver, and my ever-patient editor Peter Pavilionis.

Finally, I wish to thank my family, Patricia, Robert, Jr., and Samantha for their strength, courage, and support.

# LIST OF ACRONYMS

AID: U.S. Agency for International Development  
AOR: area of responsibility  
CIVPOL: civilian police  
CPA: Coalition Provisional Authority (Iraq)  
DOD: U.S. Department of Defense  
DPKO: UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations  
EU: European Union  
EUPM: European Union Police Mission (Bosnia)  
ICC: International Criminal Court  
ICITAP: International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program  
ICTY: International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia  
IEBL: Inter-Entity Boundary Line (Bosnia)  
IFOR: NATO Implementation Force  
IPM: International Police Monitor (Haiti)  
IPSF: Interim Public Security Force (Haiti)  
IPTF: International Police Task Force (Bosnia)  
INC: Iraqi National Congress  
INP: Iraqi National Police  
ISAF: International Security Assistance Force (Afghanistan)  
KFOR: NATO Kosovo Force  
KLA: Kosovo Liberation Army  
KPC: Kosovo Protection Corps  
KPS: Kosovo Police Service  
KVM: Kosovo Verification Mission  
MIPONUH: UN Civilian Police Mission in Haiti  
MNB: Multinational Brigade (Kosovo)  
MND: Multinational Division (Bosnia)  
MNF: Multinational Force (Haiti)  
MP: Military Police

- MSU: Multinational Specialized Unit (Bosnia)  
NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
NGO: nongovernmental organization  
NSC: National Security Council  
NSPD: National Security Presidential Directive  
OHR: Office of the High Representative (Bosnia)  
ORHA: Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (Iraq)  
OSCE: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe  
PDD: Presidential Decision Directive  
PIC: Peace Implementation Council (Dayton Accords)  
RS: Republika Srpska  
SACEUR: NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe  
SFOR: NATO Stabilization Force  
SHAPE: NATO Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe  
SPU: Specialized Police Unit (Kosovo)  
SRSG: Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General  
SWAT: special weapons and tactics  
UN: United Nations  
UNDP: UN Development Program  
UNITAF: United Task Force (Somalia)  
UNMIBH: UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina  
UNMIH: UN Mission in Haiti  
UNMIK: UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo  
UNOSOM I: UN Operation in Somalia I (1992–93)  
UNOSOM II: UN Operation in Somalia II (1993–95)  
UNPROFOR: UN Protection Force (Bosnia)  
UNTAC: UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia  
UNTAES: UN Transitional Authority in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja,  
and Western Sirmium (Croatia)  
WMD: weapons of mass destruction



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