

**ASSESSING THE GHANA POLICE SERVICE'S
PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL
PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AS A
MODERN TOOL OF FOREIGN POLICY:
CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS**

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**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY
OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF
MA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEGREE**

LEGON

JULY 2018

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of original research undertaken by me under the supervision of Dr. Juliana Appiah and that no part of it has been submitted elsewhere for any other purpose. Further, references to the work of other persons or bodies have been duly acknowledged.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to almighty Allah, my dear wife, Huzeima, and my kids Mariam and Mahi.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a truism that the epitomes of every good and successful work are advisors, counsellors and guides. Therefore, I would be very ungrateful if I do not acknowledge the valuable assistance received from several people, which have brought this work this far.

My greatest debt goes to almighty Allah through whose grace and mercy I obtained protection and sustenance in my educational pursuit, and for having bestowed on me such prodigious ability that enable me to come out with this work.

Secondly, I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Juliana Appiah, through whose guidance, directions and constructive criticisms this work became possible. I am indeed grateful to her for her meritorious suggestions, contributions, and corrections, despite her tight schedules.

My sincere thanks go to the Deputy Director of International Relations Unit Police Headquarters, Accra, Superintendent Owusu Ansah, ACP Seidu Iddi Lansah, Professor Henrrieta Mensa-Bonsu Director of LECIAD and Ambassador Kwabena Baah-Duodu at LECIAD for their support and encouragement. To them I say “Ayeeko” (well done).

Again, I acknowledged the effort of Mr. Desmond Komashie for the hustle and bustle he went through in proof reading the manuscript. God richly bless you.

Acknowledgement is also due to all those whose works have been cited in this study.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACP	Assistant Commissioner of Police
AFISMA	African-led International Support Mission to Mali
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
ASP	Assistant Superintendent of Police
AU	African Union
COP	Commissioner of Police
D/C/INSPR	Detective Chief Inspector
D/SGT	Detective Sergeant
DCOP	Deputy Commissioner of Police
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FPU	Formed Police Unit
G/C/INSPR	General Chief Inspector
G/SGT	General Sergeant
GPS	Ghana Police Service
IGP	Inspector General of Police
LIT	Liberal Institutionalism Theory
MINUSMA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission, Democratic Republic of Congo

NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
ONUC	United Nations Operation in the Congo
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	African Union/ United Nations Hybrid operation in Darfur
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan
UNOCI	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire
UNYOM	United Nations Yemen Observation Mission

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ABSTRACT

A major gap in literature on the Ghana Police Service (GPS) is the lack of scholarly work on the Service's role in international peacekeeping as a means by which Ghana promotes its national interest and foreign policy objectives. This study assessed the GPS' participation in international peacekeeping operations as a modern tool of foreign policy within the context of its achievements and challenges, through the utilization of primary and secondary data. Major findings of the study indicate that the GPS's involvement in international peacekeeping has contributed to an enhanced image of Ghana in the International System (IS), improved capacity, general well-being and represent a strategy for entrenching Ghana's position among her peers, as a member of International Institutions. The study, therefore, concluded that the Government of Ghana should re-consider its utilization of the GPS' high reputation in international peacekeeping as a tool for modern diplomacy. The recommendations are a review of how the GPS is effectively utilized within the overall strategy of achieving Ghana's foreign policy objectives is conducted to ensure the re-tooling of the GPS as a means of positioning them to continue to excel and raise high the flag of Ghana among the comity of nations.

CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Background to the Study

The Ghana Police Service (GPS) has been participating in peacekeeping operations on the sub-regional, regional and international levels since the 1960s.¹ This is in fulfillment of Ghana's commitment to its foreign policy objectives of promoting respect for international laws, treaty obligations, and settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.² It is also for adherence to the principles enshrined in the charters of the organizations of which Ghana is a member state.³ Ghana is a member of the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Commonwealth, and the African Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group⁴. Ghana, is also bound by the treaty obligations as well as the various protocols, decisions and resolutions concluded by these organizations with respect to peacekeeping and security maintenance in the international frontiers.⁵

Ghana's participation in peacekeeping operations, particularly, that of the United Nations, is driven by a deep-rooted commitment to help maintain international peace and security as enshrined in the UN Charter.⁶ More importantly, this commitment is underpinned by domestic legal principles and values that are set out in Ghana's Republican Constitution of 1992.⁷ Explicitly, Article 40 states that Ghana should:

*(c) promote respect for international laws, treaty obligations and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means; and (d) adhere to the principles enshrined in or as the case may be, the aims and ideals of: (i) the Charter of the United Nations; (ii) the Charter of African Union; (iii) the Commonwealth; (iv) the Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States; and (v) any other International Organizations of which Ghana is a member.*⁸

Politically, Ghana's engagement in peacekeeping offers the country an opportunity to exert influence in world affairs and enhance its image and prestige in the international community.⁹ This suggests that Ghana has the obligation and the legal mandate to participate in activities spearheaded by these organizations including international peacekeeping operations.¹⁰ The activities include but are not limited to good neighborliness, the promotion and protection of Ghana's interests for a just and equitable international economic system and social order, leading roles in negotiation and mediation efforts in sub-regional conflicts; sheltering refugees from conflict-ridden countries in the sub-region; and the maintenance of friendly relations with neighbouring countries.¹¹

Ghana, for instance, is currently one of the African countries with large numbers of Police in the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA). A total of 394 Police personnel were deployed in 2016 which is in line with Ghana's commitment to maintenance of international peace and security.¹² The United Nations Information Centre, Accra also noted that Ghana is ranked 8th on the list of 122 countries contributing Police and other personnel to UN peacekeeping operations with a record of 236 Police personnel serving on nine UN peacekeeping operation Missions out of the 17 Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO)-led peace operations as at April 2014.¹³

Aubyn and Aning reiterate that Ghana has been one of the top ten contributors to peacekeeping Missions for more than five (5) decades since Ghana's first participation in the UN peacekeeping operation in the Congo (ONUC).¹⁴ Over 80,000 Ghanaian security personnel, including the Police have served in various capacities in more than 30 UN Missions as at 30 September 2015, with a total number of 353 Police personnel.¹⁵ As at June, 2017, the Ghana Police Service had contributed 394 Police personnel to UN peacekeeping

operations.¹⁶ Aboagye specifies some of the peacekeeping Missions that the Ghana Police Service (GPS) has contributed to which are of varying degree of complexity. These include the United Nations Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM) - from July, 1963 to September, 1964; the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) - from 1978 to date and the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) peacekeeping interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone in the 1990s.¹⁷ More recently, the Ghana Police Service contributed to the African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA)¹⁸ and the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS).¹⁹

The impetus for the Ghana Police Service to contribute to international peacekeeping operations such as the UN operations in the realization of Ghana's foreign policy objectives is articulated in Article 40 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic, which is the supreme law of Ghana. This law stipulates the fundamental principles that guide the formulation and the conduct of foreign policy.²⁰ It is in the light of this that the study sought to assess GPS' participation in international peacekeeping operations as a modern tool for foreign policy pursuit within the context of achievements and challenges therein.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Even though, Ghana has consistently contributed Police personnel to peacekeeping efforts across the world, regardless of the regime in power, for more than five decades leading to worldwide recognition as a committed member of the UN to maintenance of international peace and security, the Ghana Police Service' remains one of the under-researched areas in the peacekeeping literature in Africa.²¹ Further, the GPS attributable contribution to the achievement of Ghana's Foreign policy through enhanced image on the international scene has not been adequately documented. The few studies available focus on the country's

historical experiences in general without further elaborating on the achievements and the challenges with regards to Ghana's foreign policy objectives.

The GPS as part of their roles in peacekeeping provides protections for UN installations, refugee camps and support training and rehabilitation of the host Police Service. The ultimate aim of the roles performs tend to return such countries back to democracy. These roles played by the GPS invariably support Ghana's commitment to international peace and security, and good neighbourliness²² – foreign policy values entrenched in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana.

This apparent low research and recognition of the contributions of the Ghana Police Service to promoting the country's image on the international scene, is an attributable factor in how the GPS is logistically challenged in many areas, such as technological surveillance in crime trucking and arrest, personnel protective accoutrements and research. Former Inspector General of Police (IGP), John Kudalor during his tenure indicated that the inadequate empirical studies on the activities of the GPS both domestically and internationally was affecting the growth, professional competency and innovation in the Service.²³

In view of the concerns raised, the study sought to examine the achievements and challenges of the GPS' participation in international peacekeeping operations, as a tool for achieving Ghana's foreign policy objectives and add to literature on the GPS' contribution to foreign policy execution.

1.3 Research Questions

- What roles do the Ghana Police Service play in the international peacekeeping operations?

- Is there a correlation between GPS international peacekeeping operations and Ghana's foreign policy pursuits?
- What are the achievements and challenges of the GPS's participation in international peacekeeping operations?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study was to assess the achievements and challenges of the Ghana Police Service's participation in international peacekeeping and its contribution to achievement of the foreign policy objectives of the country. Specifically, the study sought:

- To assess the role of the Ghana Police Service in international peacekeeping operations.
- To establish the correlation between GPS international peacekeeping operations and Ghana's foreign policy.
- To assess the achievements and challenges of the Ghana Police Service's participation in international peacekeeping operations.

1.6 Rationale of the Study

The study endeavours to examine the achievements and challenges of the GPS' participation in international peacekeeping with the aim of enlightening the foreign policy-makers (i.e. the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and the Ghana Police Service the reality on the ground. It also aims to establish whether such peacekeeping efforts contribute to the success of Ghana's foreign policy objectives. Additionally, it is hoped that the study would contribute significantly to existing literature. Lastly, it will serve as a reference point to those who wish to conduct similar study.

1.7 Hypothesis

The Ghana Police Service's participation in international peacekeeping contributes to the attainment of Ghana's foreign policy objectives.

1.8 Scope of the Study

The study reviews seven (7) selected international peace support Missions to which Ghana has contributed over the five decades of Ghana's participation in international peacekeeping, starting from its maiden troop contribution to the UN peacekeeping Mission in the Congo (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) in 1960, till date. The seven Missions selected for review are among Ghana's major contributions to international peacekeeping, which encompasses the entire history of Ghana's participation in international peacekeeping. It, therefore, provides an opportunity for investigation into the extent to which such peacekeeping operations contribute to the achievement of the country's foreign policy objectives in the short, medium and long terms.

1.9 Theoretical Framework of the Study: Liberal Institutionalism Theory

Liberal institutionalism is a theory of international relations derived from liberalism which claims that international institutions and organizations such as the United Nations, NATO and the European Union can increase and sustain cooperation among states.²⁴ It is an approach to international relations which highlights interdependence and the role of institutions in facilitating cooperation among States and non-state actors. It also emphasizes a belief in international progress, interdependence, cooperation, diplomacy, multilateralism, and support for international political structures and organizations.²⁵ Thus, it places emphasis on the role that common goals play in the international system and the ability of international organizations to get states to cooperate. Liberal institutionalism contends that emphasis

should be placed on global governance and international organizations as a way of explaining international relations.

The proponents of Liberal Institutionalism Theory (LIT) include Lipson (1984), Milner (1992) and Keohene (2005). Robert Keohene expanded the theory in 2012 due to its relevance to the study in terms of peace and security enhancement in international relations. The advocates are of the view that institutions could initiate effective interstate cooperation to regulate the conduct of state behaviour. The central tenets of the liberal institutionalist tradition are that states can achieve cooperation, and international institutions can help them work together to promote respect for political independence and territorial integrity, sovereign equality and non-interference in internal affairs of each member state. Liberal institutionalism argues that with the right policies in place, the international system provides the best opportunities for cooperation and interaction; for instance, the successful integration of Europe through the European Union or regional blocs and economic agreements such as ASEAN or the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).²⁶ The ramifications of this view are that if states cannot cooperate, they ought to be controlled, through economic sanctions or military action. For example, before the invasion of Iraq by the United States and United Kingdom in 2003, the governments claimed that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. For this reason, Iraq was seen as a bad state that needed to be dealt with because they represented some form of danger to global security and peace. Thus, the invasion could be seen as dealing with a bad state under liberal institutionalism.²⁷

Proceeding to the development of liberal institutionalism, liberalists contended that the anarchical nature of the international system and its constraining effects on interstate cooperation could be improved through international institutions. This suggests that the

liberalist believed that international institutions can boost cooperation and support between states thereby promoting interstate or regional relations which can avert wars.²⁸ Proponents believed that anarchism, disorder, lawlessness, chaos and rebellion in international system can be controlled through liberal democratization, liberal economic interdependence, and liberal institutionalism.²⁹ Consequently, some scholars posited that international anarchy can be eliminated using collective actions through liberal institutions.³⁰ Woodrow Wilson further noted that the ultimate goal of collective security is to achieve international peace and security. Chaturvedi explained collective security as an arrangement arrived at by nations to protect their critical interests, safety and integrity against plausible threat or menace over particular period by means of combining their powers.³¹

Conversely, researchers like Grieco, Gelpi, and Warren in 2009 have criticized liberal institutionalist use of collective security to halt anarchy and bringing peace and security into the international system in one of their article published in the Journal of International Organization entitled *“When preferences and commitments collide: The effect of relative partisan shifts on international treaty compliance”*.³² Nuruzzaman indicated that institutionalist theories were flawed and had minimal influence on state behaviour as historical records to support institutionalist theories were scanty.³³ Also, the promise of liberal institutionalism to promote cooperation and stability in the post-cold war world was largely unfounded.³⁴ This was manifested in developments such as the 11th September, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States of America (USA) and the resurgent neoconservative agenda in American foreign policy to wage the endless ‘war on terror’.³⁵ Further, the propagation and expansion of freedom and democracy through force, run counter to the basic tenets of liberal institutionalism.³⁶ This neoconservative agenda in American foreign policy

was widely perceived to have changed the course of world politics. For instance, President George W. Bush noted that:

My vision shifted dramatically after September 11, because I now realize the stakes, I realize the world has changed. This changed world has two significant manifestations for American foreign policy – militarism and unilateralism on terror attacks.³⁷

This suggests that multilateral institutional cooperation for peace and security which was the hallmark of American foreign policy changed as America quickly resorted to military actions against Al-Qaeda, under the rubric of ‘war on terror’, and a gradual drifting away from global institutions like the UN to deal with global terror in a unilateral approach. Analysing the impact of the neo-conservative foreign policy agenda on wider forms of international cooperation and the unilateral US invasion of Iraq in 2003 has created an international environment of conflict and insecurity where rival and hostile states view each other with deep suspicions and prefer not to cooperate on critical international peace and security concerns.³⁸ The prevailing international environment of insecurity has seriously undermined the potential of international institutions, particularly the United Nations, to hold the post-September 11 world together and get states on board to cooperate on a sustained basis.³⁹

The inherent implication according to the critiques of liberal institutionalism is that the concept of collective security is misguided and unrealistic and many countries will not opt to partake in actions which are risky, expensive or not in their interest.⁴⁰ He argued that smaller collective security arrangements may turn into large protracted military confrontation and will also not offer the opportunity for alternative non-violent dispute resolution mechanism. Grieco contended that neoliberal institutionalism misconstrued the realist analysis of international anarchy and indicated that neoliberal institutionalism misapprehends

realism's analysis of the constraining effects of anarchy on the willingness of states to cooperate.⁴¹ This means that new liberal institutionalism theory fails to address this challenge and therefore the theory's sanguinity of achieving international cooperation may not materialise. Gebe (2004) affirms this nonconformity characteristic of states cooperation in an anarchistic world by ascribing it to states quest for power and security which render them prone to competition and conflict.⁴² Moravcsik (2001) likewise criticised the institutional liberalists by accepting the realist preposition that states behave as unitary-rational agents and are punished by the international environment if they failed to protect their interest or pursue objectives beyond their means.⁴³ This implies that states, often fail to cooperate even in the face of common interest due to cost.

Notwithstanding these criticisms of institutional liberalists, there is evidence to support this school of thought's assertion that States are willing and do cooperate to achieve common goals, and in the area of security. Indeed, whilst admittedly, States are primarily realists, the fear of losing survival and commitment to international treaties such as the UN Charter promote cooperation for common good. Indeed, proponents of liberal intuitionism argue for instance that it is the threat of the Soviet Union that birthed NATO and kept it together.⁴⁴ They further indicate that take away any offensive threat a collective of States possess and there would be no need for States to consider a mix of IR theoretical approaches to dealing with the International System; all would remain realists.⁴⁵ Therefore, that we do witness a coalition of States in never-ending wars suggests that institutional liberalists do have a point in this argument.

In this regard, Ghana's participation in international peacekeeping operations falls in line with her constitutional obligation as a member of the UN, AU and ECOWAS. Ghana's

participation in Missions such as Economic Community of West African States Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), the ECOWAS Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL), the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS), the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), the African Union/ United Nations Hybrid operation in Darfur (UNAMID), the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI), the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) offered Ghana an opportunity to fulfill her foreign policy obligation of maintaining international peace and security in sister countries and preventing spillover of wars into neighboring countries in the sub-region.⁴⁶

Within the context of Ghana fulfilling her foreign policy obligation, liberal institutionalism theory becomes relevant to the study as the institutional liberalist ideals support Ghana's drive to participate in peacekeeping operations across the world.

1.10 Literature Review

According to the United Nations, peacekeeping is one of the result-delivering methods employed by the global body to support countries during difficult times, especially during conflict and through to peaceful times. The practice brings together service personnel from member States to the host country to provide security, political and peacebuilding support ensure or facilitate an early return to peace.⁴⁷

The UN indicates that peacekeeping has “unique strengths, including legitimacy, burden sharing, and an ability to deploy and sustain troops and police from around the globe, integrating them with civilian peacekeepers to advance multidimensional mandates”.⁴⁸ UN

peacekeeping is based on the three-prong principle of consent of the parties, impartiality and non-use of force except in self-defence and defence of the mandate.⁴⁹

The UN Police as part of peacekeeping provides operational support for host state counterparts, including to protect civilians, help facilitate secure elections, investigate incidents of sexual and gender-based violence, prevent and address serious organised crime and violence, assist with the reform, restructuring and the development of host state services and other law enforcement agencies.⁵⁰ Thus, peacekeepers from around the globe including, from India, Nigeria, Rwanda, among others, align to these roles, as Ghanaian Peacekeepers.

There are extensive writings on Ghana's participation in international peacekeeping operations of which many focuses on the military to the neglect of the Ghana Police Service. For instance, studies by renowned scholars like Brig. Gen. Henry Kwami Anyidoho (Rtd.)⁵¹ "*Guns over Kigali*," Lt. Gen. E. A. Erskine (Rtd.)⁵² *Peacekeeping Techniques for Africa's Conflict Management*, all focused on the Ghana Armed Forces. However, the few literatures on the Ghana Police Service peacekeeping recount the history of events, type of assignments, operational strategies and techniques employed by Ghanaian contingents on such Missions, number of casualties and the survivals that return successfully from such Missions. A handful of authors also attempted to investigate the socio-economic benefit of such peacekeeping Missions on the country in general, and the individual peacekeepers in particular. What appears to be missing is a comprehensive assessment of the role of the Ghana Police Service (GPS) in international peacekeeping operations, their achievements and challenges and the ultimate impact of their participation in such Missions on the achievement of Ghana's foreign policy objectives.

For instance, Koenig and Das' account of the 1994 Rwandan conflict in their book *International Police Cooperation: A World Perspective* in 2001, described the outstanding display of competence by members of the GPS who served with the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR).⁵³ This was after the two main ethnic groups - the Tutsis and the Hutus - had engaged in one of world's barbaric genocidal wars. The authors lauded the tactical prowess of the Ghanaian Command and the bravery of a good number of the GPS officers in the face of real danger through exhibition of high professionalism and commitment to the United Nations' mandate in Rwanda, at the height of the conflict.⁵⁴

The Ghanaian Police Officers and the Armed Forces constituted, by far, the majority of the residual peacekeepers of the UNAMIR, which was charged with holding the fort at a time when all other peacekeeping forces had left.⁵⁵ Koenig and Das, however, failed to discuss the specific role of the GPS, achievement and challenges in the UN peacekeeping Missions. They as well did not address the effects of the GPS' contribution to UN peacekeeping Missions on Ghana's international standing; and by extension the achievement of her foreign policy objectives.

Similarly, Bayley provides a historical perspective of Ghana's participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations, stressing how the Ghana Police Service as a key stakeholder in Ghana's peacekeeping efforts, attempts to adapt to the evolving UN peacekeeping operations.⁵⁶ The author reflects on the contributions of the GPS in peacekeeping operations around the world and examines UN peacekeeping philosophy as well as the principles and requirements of peacekeeping in general. In this regard, Bayley discusses some of the diplomatic consultations that usually take place between the top echelons of government of the Police personnel contributing country, and the Police Service on one hand and the UN on

the other hand, before, during and after the deployment of Police in peacekeeping Missions. Bayley indicates that the government of the Police personnel contributing countries always consider their international relation policies as a key factor in their deliberations.

Aubyn provides the central contributions of the Police component to the general execution of the mandate of the Mission through its working activities. Specific contributions of the Police, such as “delivery of technical support in reforming, restructuring, rebuilding of the law enforcement agencies, protecting life and property, maintenance of public order, prevention, detection and investigation of crimes” as indicated by Aubyn.⁵⁷

Aubyn acknowledges the specific role of the Ghana Police Service in reforming, restructuring and rebuilding of the Malian Police Service, maintenance of public order, prevention and detection of crimes, but failed to discuss the relevance of the GPS’ contributions to the achievement of Ghana’s foreign policy objectives in spite of the Service’s consistent contribution to the UN, ECOWAS and AU Missions on peacekeeping.⁵⁸ The Ghanaian Police also offered teaching assistance in senior high schools and community college, for example in Liberia. They provided healthcare delivery services as well as free medical services to prison inmates, community members and UN staffs in Liberia and Sudan. They also took part in clean-up exercises in the surroundings of the hospital and a few of the wards in Liberia and Sudan.⁵⁹ However, the author notes that Police contribution to the UN and AU Missions continues to be one of the under-researched areas in peacekeeping literature in Africa with specific reference to Ghana Police Service.⁶⁰ Aubyn further discussed some of the challenges such as the gap between the mandate of the Police component and the lack of resources such as logistical, financial and human resource for mandate implementation.

Another work that deals with Ghana's engagement in peacekeeping operations abroad is an article by Emma Birikorang entitled, *Ghana's Regional Security Policy: Costs, Benefits and Consistency*. The author traces Ghana's involvement in international conflicts, mainly as a peacekeeper, from its intervention in the crisis in the Congo in the early 1960s through its contributions of peacekeeping personnel to other war-ravaged countries like Lebanon, Kosovo, Cambodia, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire.⁶¹ Birikorang posits that Ghana's peacekeepers in the aforementioned conflict theatres contributed greatly in lessening some of the vagaries of war in many of these conflict areas. She further lauded the leadership role Ghana played in championing sub-regional peace and security primarily through her contributions to peacekeeping.⁶²

According to Birikorang, Ghana was one of the first ECOWAS countries to deploy peacekeepers to Liberia and Sierra Leone in the 1990s, even before the United Nations Security Council had time to sanction the action.⁶³ The author argues that, in pursuing her national security policy, Ghana identifies participation in peacekeeping operations in conflict ridden neighbouring countries as key to her national interest. She asserts that the pursuit of international peace and security is driven not only by the concern for the breakdown in security in those conflict-ridden countries, but also by a certain instinct of self-preservation as some of these conflicts have the ability to escalate into Ghanaian territory or jeopardize her economic relations with the affected countries, thereby compromising her security and trade interests.⁶⁴

An instance of Ghana's engagement in peacekeeping that was stirred by both national interest and a desire to preserve peace was her involvement in the ECOMOG Mission in Liberia in the early 1990s.⁶⁵ In this particular case the Government of Ghana at the time decided to take

action to protect the staffs of the Embassy of Ghana in Monrovia, Liberia who were under siege, and also to stabilize the security situation in Liberia. The article also examines the pecuniary benefits and experiences gained as a result of the country's participation in peacekeeping.⁶⁶ It however, failed to explore the potential benefits of such peacekeeping engagements on the achievement of the country's foreign policy. Also, her study focused more on the Military as practical examples of the Ghanaian contingent's initiatives, prowess, dexterity and expertise exhibited were cited from the Ghanaian Armed Forces.

Additionally, Major Agyemang-Bioh, on his part, provided a comprehensive review of United Nations international peacekeeping operations in general, and in particular, Ghana's participation in these operations in his book *"Preparing for United Nations Peacekeeping Operations in the Third Millennium."*⁶⁷ The author traces the history of the United Nation's engagement in peacekeeping in various theatres, with a specific focus on Ghana's participation and points out certain operational shortfalls caused primarily by inadequate preparations for peacekeeping assignments. For instance, he blames the disastrous incidents, including a mutiny and a massacre, experienced by the first Ghanaian UN peacekeeping contingent in the Congo in the early 1960s, on inadequate preparations. Consequently, he outlines proposals for adequate preparations for the Ghana Armed Forces (GAF), the Ghana Police Service and other security services with regard to UN peacekeeping Missions on the one hand, and the government on the other.⁶⁸

According to Agyemang-Bioh, a country may be inspired to engage in international peacekeeping by a range of issues, some of which include, a genuine pursuit of international peace and security, a quest for professional exposure for its security services, a pursuit of internal political goals by using it to divert attention from domestic issues; and a desire to

attract international attention. He also discusses some benefits gained by Ghana's continued participation in the UN peacekeeping operations which he analyses in terms of lessons learned and experiences gained; financial rewards; and enhancement of international standing. Unlike most of the other publications on international peacekeeping, the book briefly hints at Ghana's increasing global reputation for excellence in peacekeeping, it however fails to seize the opportunity to engage in a deeper and broader analysis of the country's participation in peacekeeping as a foreign policy tool.

It is worthy of note that the failure to engage in a deeper discussion on the achievements and challenges of the Ghana Police Service and other security arms of government on peacekeeping operations as a foreign policy tool is not limited to publications on peacekeeping. Indeed, even works on the formulation and conduct of Ghana's foreign policy in general, fail to provide insightful perspectives on the role of peacekeeping operations in achieving the Ghana's foreign policy objectives. For example, the late veteran writer and diplomat, Kwaku Bapruia Asante in his book *Foreign Policy Making in Ghana: Options for the 21st Century*⁶⁹ discusses some major aspects of foreign policy formulation in Ghana by examining her past policies and practices and exploring the options open to the country at the dawn of the current millennium. He indicates that the major state institution responsible for the execution of foreign policy is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its satellite Diplomatic Missions abroad and goes on to identify diplomacy as the ultimate tool for the implementation of the country's foreign policy. Asante, however, fails to investigate the achievements and challenges of the country's security services such as Ghana Police Service's participation in international peacekeeping as an instrument for the achievement of its foreign policy objectives.

The broad objectives of Ghana's foreign policy include maintaining friendly relations and cooperation with all countries that desire such cooperation, irrespective of ideological considerations, on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.⁷⁰ This is supported by the 1992 Constitution's provision on the directive principle of State on Foreign Affairs.⁷¹ It mandates the country to respect international treaties and support the establishment of global peace and security. Therefore, the author believes that Ghana's participation in peacekeeping efforts, contributes to the achievement of the foreign policy objectives of the country.

The conclusion that can be drawn from all the publications above is that they fall short of exploring the implications or consequences of Ghana's security sector particularly the Ghana Police Service's participation in international peacekeeping as a tool for achieving her foreign policy objectives; the core interest of this study. The study however draws inspiration from an article by Peter Schraeder entitled, *Senegal's Foreign Policy: Challenges of Democratization and Marginalization*,⁷² which concluded that country's involvement in international peacekeeping operations such as ECOMOG and UNIFIL have enhanced its standing in the international community.⁷³

1.11 The Research Methodology

This study adopted the qualitative approach using unstructured interviews. The rationale for adopting this approach was to enable the researcher elicit in-depth information necessary for the assessment of the GPS participation in international peacekeeping operations as a modern tool for the achievement of Ghana's foreign policy objectives. Unstructured interviews allowed the author to ask follow up questions for detailed information from respondents. The

data collected was analysed to extract relevant information towards the achievement of the objectives of the study.

1.12 Sources of Data

The study combines data from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was obtained mainly through the unstructured interviews with the Ghana Police Service (GPS) personnel who participated in various international peacekeeping operations. These personnel included the Deputy Director of International Relations Unit of the Ghana Police headquarters, Superintendent of Police (Supt.) Owusu Ansah, the Commander of Railways and Takoradi Harbour, Assistant Commissioner of Police (ACP) Iddi Seidu Lansah, ACP Mohammed Shuraj, former aide camp to the late Vice President Aliu Mahama, Chief Inspector Juliana Tsagli, Chief Inspector Joseph Bator, Chief Inspector Ransford Quartei, Chief Inspector Innocent Dolly, Inspector Raji Razark, Detective Sergeant Israel Gati, and General Sergeant Peter Ankomah. The Director for Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD), Professor Henrietta J.A.N. Mensa-Bonsu and a retired career diplomat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and a lecturer at the LECIAD, Ambassador Kwabena Baah-Duodu were also interviewed.

Secondary data was solicited from books from the libraries of the LECIAD and the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC). Also, articles from the internet, journals and documentation from the International Relations Directorate of the Ghana Police Service were consulted for secondary data.

1.13 Organization of the Study

This study is presented in four (4) chapters:

Chapter one constitutes the research design; Chapter two comprises a historical overview of the Ghana Police Service's engagements in peacekeeping over the years; Chapter three critically examines the extent to which the role played by the Ghana Police Service in international peacekeeping operations has contributed to the achievement of the Ghana's foreign policy objectives. It also assesses the achievements and challenges of the GPS's participation in international peacekeeping operations; Chapter four provides a summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.

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CHAPTER TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF THE GHANA POLICE SERVICE'S PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the history of the Ghana Police Service's (GPS) involvement in international peacekeeping operations. It also looks at the contributions of the GPS to specific Missions over the past years in maintaining global peace and security. Principally, the pursuit of international peace and security has traditionally been the core of Ghana's foreign policy objectives inspired by her belief in the principle of peaceful coexistence among the comity of nations. This commitment to global peace and security has informed the Ghana Police Service's continuous participation in international peacekeeping efforts across the world.

2.1 History of Ghana Police Service's Participation in International Peacekeeping

According to the Assistant Commissioner of Police (ACP) Saanid Adamu, the International Relations Directorate of the GPS and his deputy, Superintendent Owusu Ansah, the Ghana Police Service's participation in international peacekeeping dates back to early August, 1960. Ghana contributed her first Police contingent of thirty (30) personnel to the UN Mission in Congo-Kinshasa, formerly called Léopoldville (ONUC/1960) to support the military. The GPS was mandated to assist in restoration of law and order, training and development of the new Congolese Police Service personnel, guarding key installations and patrols in its areas of operation.¹ ACP Adamu indicated that since then, the Ghana Police service has been involved in many international peacekeeping Missions across the world under the auspices of the United Nations, the African Union (AU) Missions at the regional and sub-regional level, and especially, the Missions of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The Ghanaian contingent of the International Civilian Police (CIVPOL) has been involved in

peacekeeping Missions around the world, including Liberia, Namibia, Cambodia, Kuwait, Bosnia, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, East Timor and Haiti.²

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, the GPS was recognized by the United Nations as one of the most acclaimed peacekeeping Police forces in the world. The Ghana Police Service was specifically lauded in 2004 by the United Nations for its work in Liberia. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, again indicated that 700 Ghanaian peacekeepers, including 57 female Officers, serving under the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) were awarded UN Medals in recognition and appreciation for their service in South Sudan. The awards were presented to them by the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) Force Commander, General Frank Mushyo Kamanzi in Bentiu, Unity region.³

In a study conducted by Adzei-Tuadzra in 2013, he revealed that in June, 1999, thirty (30) Ghanaian Police contingents were part of a UN Guards Contingent for the protection of UN personnel in the UN peacekeeping Mission in Iraq.⁴ Their duties included protection for all associated Private Voluntary Organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations operating under the umbrella of the UN presence in Iraq.⁵ Superintendent Owusu Ansah, the deputy director for International Relations Unit at the Police headquarters indicates that a contingent of two hundred and twenty (220) Ghanaian Police officers were also part of the UN peacekeeping operations in Cambodia (UNTAG) between 1992 and 1993⁶. A large Ghanaian Police contingent formed part of the international Police forces, which helped to oversee the UN sponsored elections that led to the independence of Namibia in 1992. Likewise, six (6) Ghanaian Police officers participated in the UN operation in Somalia mandated by the UN Security Council Resolution 814 to assist in the re-establishment of institutions of the

country, including the Somalia Police Force. Also a total of 888 Ghanaian Police officers participated in the UN peacekeeping operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina (UNMIBH) between 1996 and 2000.⁷

2.2 Contributions of the Ghana Police Service to International Peacekeeping Operations

The Ghana Police Service has contributed considerably to the maintenance of international peace and security since the first deployment of a Police contingent in the United Nations (UN) Mission in the Congo (ONUC) in the 1960s. This was in line with Ghana's membership of international organizations such as the United Nations and other regional intergovernmental organizations like the AU and the ECOWAS. This suggests that apart from the UN, personnel of the Ghana Police Service (GPS) also serve under African Union (AU) Missions at the regional level and at sub-regional level, Missions of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Currently at the regional level, Ghanaian Police Officers continue to serve under the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).⁸

Ghana is obliged to contribute to the shared or collective security measures prescribed by these international organizations as a means of contributing to the maintenance of global peace and security. It therefore, implies that Ghana stands a chance of benefiting from these international bodies should the need arise, for maintenance of peace, security and sovereignty of the State. Traditionally, the pursuit of international peace and security has been at the core of Ghana's foreign policy, which is inspired by her deep belief in the principle of peaceful coexistence amongst the comity of nations. This commitment to international peace and security is reflected in her rich history of continued participation in international peacekeeping operations across the globe.⁹

To this end, the Ghana Police Service has contributed in many peacekeeping operations and peace support initiatives predominantly under the auspices of the UN, the AU and the ECOWAS. This has consequently earned the Ghana Police Service and the country as a whole the esteemed commendation of many countries and the international community at large. Some of the prominent contributions of the Ghana Police Service that are examined in this study include; the United Nations Operations in the Congo (ONUC), the United Nations - African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA 221), the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA) and the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC).¹⁰

2.2.1 The United Nations Mission in the Congo-Kinshasa (ONUC/1960-1964)

The use of Police in UN field Missions of any kind was quite modest until the end of the Cold War where the early policing in peacekeeping operations was introduced. As documented by Erwin Schmidl, civilian Police appeared in a UN operation in Congo-Kinshasa (ONUC) in August 1960 where the UN deployed Police for the first time.¹¹ A thirty-man (30) contingent from Ghana were sent to the UN Mission in the Congo-Kinshasa to support the Military components and to assist with the restoration of law and order.¹² This Ghanaian Police unit was a paramilitary entity under Military command. Apart from traditional law enforcement functions, this Police unit was involved in training and developing of a new Congolese Police force. It guarded key installations and patrolled in its area of operation. In 1961, the unit was replaced by a 400-member Nigerian Police contingent that functioned under a tripartite agreement among the United Nations, the Congo and Nigeria.¹³

According to the International Relations Directorate of the Ghana Police Service, just after the independence of the Congo from the Kingdom of Belgium on 30th June 1960, crisis broke out as the citizenry began to demonstrate their distaste through riot for Belgian involvement in the country's affairs. As a result, on 10th July 1960, the Kingdom of Belgium sent in troops to protect and evacuate its nationals and other Europeans.¹⁴ To compound the crisis, a day after the arrival of the Belgian forces, Katanga declared secession from the Congo. Confronted with escalating political crisis and its attendant worsening security implications, the Congolese government on 12th July 1960, requested support from the United Nations, ostensibly to protect the State from external aggression.¹⁵ Also, on the same day, the Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, personally appealed to the then President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, for help in stabilizing peace and security in the Congo.¹⁶ In response to the Congolese government's request, the UN Security Council issued Resolution 132 on 14th July 1960, calling for the withdrawal of the Belgian troops from the Congo and establishing the *Operations des Nations Unies au Congo* (ONUC), thus providing the authority for the Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, to raise the necessary Military and Police resources to stabilize the situation in the Congo.¹⁷ It was this crisis that created an avenue for the Ghana Police Service's continuous participation in international peacekeeping operations. The UN force remained in the Congo until such time that the country's security forces were in a position to perform their job.¹⁸

2.2.2 The United Nations - African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID, 2003- date)

The Darfur region in western Sudan has experienced decades of unrest and conflict because of a complex set of interacting dynamics at local, national and international levels.¹⁹ The current conflict began in 2003 when local perceptions of political and economic marginalisation by Khartoum spurred two main rebel groups to attack government forces.

In response, the Sudanese armed forces and government-supported militias, among them the Janjaweed from nomadic Sudanese Arab tribes, launched counter-insurgency operations that included targeting Darfur's civilian population, who were perceived as supporting the rebellion. The conflict has resulted in one of the world's largest humanitarian crises; some 200,000 to 300,000 people have died as a result of the conflict, and 2.4 million have been forcibly displaced.²⁰

Shortly after the outbreak of conflict in Darfur, the government of Sudan refused to agree to host a UN peacekeeping operation Mission but did consent to the AU's involvement leading to the establishment of the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) following the signing of the N'djamena Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement on 8 April 2004 between the government, Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A). The Mission initially involved 300 Military observers, accompanied by a small protection force, tasked with observing the ceasefire agreement between the government and the two rebel groups. After the ceasefire broke down and fighting resumed, the Mission's mandate changed to protecting civilians and facilitating the delivery of humanitarian assistance, and by April 2005, AMIS had a total authorised strength of 7,731 uniformed personnel from Police cum military presence in Darfur. AMIS had so many limitations such as the complicated language of the extended mandate, which created confusion among AU commanders in terms of how they were to relate to government forces when encountering civilians under imminent threat; and how to interpret what was within their resources and capability given their forces were overstretched and under-resourced. The collapse of the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA), the subsequent lack of a political settlement to the conflict, and the lack of adequate personnel, resources and freedom of movement to implement its

mandate posed further challenges to AMIS. This led to the establishment of a joint Mission UNAMID in 2005.²¹

In July 2007, the United Nations Security Council authorized the African Union/United Nations Hybrid Mission in Darfur (UNAMID).²² This was the first time that the UN Police were deployed in a joint operation with the African Union and it was the largest authorization of UN Police personnel ever, including Officers of the GPS. The authorized strength of the joint Mission was 6,432 Officers, comprising of 19 Formed Police Units (FPU). In part, the Mission was established to assist in the promotion of the rule of law, through supporting and strengthening independent judicial and corrections systems and to develop a greater capacity for the national Police services operating in this region of Sudan. This was the first time a UN Police component was mandated to be a central part within a rule of law concept.²³ This occurred at the same time that the Office of Rule of Law and Security Institutions were established at the Department of Peacekeeping Operations.²⁴

The Mandate of the Police Component of UNAMID was stipulated in the Security Council Resolution 2363 (S/RES/2363/2017).²⁵ Its strategic priorities focused on supporting the Physical Protection of Civilians (POC), facilitation of the delivery of humanitarian assistance, creation of a protective environment by coordinating the development and capacity building of Sudanese Police Force (SPF) in Darfur and Community-Oriented Policing initiatives in conjunction with the United Nations Country Team (UNCT).²⁶ The Ghanaian Police personnel who were deployed as part of the UNAMID Mission was a contingent of 103 Officers.²⁷

To achieve these targets, the component now operates on a two-pronged approach namely; peacekeeping activities in the Jebel Marra area and peace building initiatives in other areas of Darfur. The Police Core and Senior Management Team (PCSMT), Individual Police Officers (IPOs) and Formed Police Units (FPU) are the three core elements that provide managerial guidance, operational and administrative support and oversight for the Police component.²⁸ The activities of IPOs mostly focus on monitoring, mentoring and building the capacity of local Police, and supporting community-oriented policing undertakings in Darfur by building and improving the capacity of Community Policing Volunteers (CPVs) and Community Safety Committees (CSCs) in IDP Camps.²⁹ These units also support the physical protection of civilians through high-visibility patrols and provision of security in Camps. They also engage in crowd management and respond to public order situations, including facilitation of the delivery of humanitarian assistance.³⁰ The Police personnel who were Medical Officers also provided health services to the people in need of medical services. For instance, the Ghana Police medical personnel were part of the Ghanaian battalion medical team that provided health outreach programmes under guidance of Major Kwesi Peprah, the Deputy Commanding Officer of the Ghanaian Battalion following the outbreak of civil war in 2013 at Bentiu State Hospital.³¹

2.2.3 The United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL, 2003-2018)

The United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) was established by Security Council Resolution 1509 (2003) of 19th September 2003 to:

*Support the implementation of the ceasefire agreement and the peace process; protect United Nations staff, facilities and civilians; support humanitarian and human rights activities as well as assist in national security reform, including national Police training and formation of a newly restructured Police.*³²

The Ghanaian Police personnel were part of the UN Police and have shown solidarity for the operations of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) since October, 2003 as noted by the United Nations (2011) report.³³ The Mission's Police component consisted of 1,115 officers from the beginning and twenty-nine (29) of them were Ghanaians. The UN Police, including the FPU from Ghana, have assisted in the maintenance of law and order throughout Liberia, and provided support to the Liberia National Police, where required. In addition, UN Police Advisors have served as mentors and delivered advisory services to the Liberia National Police Headquarters and Training Academy, as well as co-located with individual Police stations around Monrovia.³⁴

The UNMIL Mission operated in several parts and had its mandates through specific UN Security Council Resolutions. The UN Security Council (SC) Resolution (SCR 1509, 2003) mandated the Mission to “assist in monitoring and restructuring the Liberian National Police Force, develop and assist in civilian Police training programs”.³⁵ SCR 1836 (2008) required them to “provide strategic advice and expertise in specialized fields as well as provide operational support to regular policing activities and react to urgent security incidents”.³⁶ SCR 1885 (2009) stipulated that the mission is to “encourage coordinated progress on the implementation of the Liberia National Police strategic plan”.³⁷ Further, SCR 2008 (2011) mandated the UNPOL, who were part of the Mission, to assist the Government of Liberia to consolidate peace and stability with national institutions that were able to maintain security and stability independently of a peacekeeping Mission. Also, the UNPOL were mandated to improve the capacity and capability of the Liberian National Police.³⁸ The Security Council Resolution (SCR) 2116 of 2013 required the UNPOL to support the government to solidify peace and stability in Liberia.³⁹

In order to achieve the requirement of UNSCR, 2116 (2013), which was a successful transition of complete security responsibility to the Liberia National Police (LNP), the UNPOL was to strengthen the LNP's capabilities to manage existing personnel and improve training programmes to expedite their readiness to assume security responsibilities as appropriate. These efforts were to be coordinated with all partners, including the government of Liberia, the National Police leadership, and donor partners.⁴⁰ During this peacekeeping Mission, members of the Ghanaian Police contingent in Buchanan continued to extend a hand of friendship to the people of Grand Bassa with the provision of humanitarian assistance to various segments of the population. They also offered teaching assistance services in senior high schools and the community colleges in Liberia's second city, Gbarnga, Bong as well as healthcare delivery, providing drugs to the Government Hospital in the city, and giving free medical services to inmates of the county's only prison. Similarly, the Ghanaian peacekeepers also presented three containers of soap-making chemicals to the God's Heritage Orphanage in the Four Houses Community in Buchanan.⁴¹

The Mission began implementing a phased drawdown of troops and gradual handover of security responsibilities to the government of Liberia. This was due to the 25th May, 2016 unanimously adopted Resolution 2288 (2016) by the UN Security Council, lifting sanctions on Liberia that had been in place since 2003.⁴² On 30th June 2016, UNMIL completed the transfer of security responsibilities to Liberian authorities, in accordance with Resolution 2239, adopted on 17th September 2015. UNMIL's authorized strength was therefore, reduced to 606 Police personnel by 30 June 2016.⁴³

UNMIL successfully completed its final mandate on 30 March 2018, after a nearly 15-year deployment in Liberia. According to Farid Zarif, UNMIL's Special Representative of the

United Nations Secretary-General, the withdrawal of UNMIL signifies the achievement of the goal of the Mission, especially, leaving behind a country whose citizens could now enjoy relatively peaceful lives. Farid Zarif further acknowledged the enabling environment created for Liberia to achieve lasting stability, democracy and prosperity as a result of the UNMIL.⁴⁴ The UNMIL's success allowed the United Nations Country Team (UNCT) present in Liberia, comprising of sixteen (16) United Nations Agencies, Funds and Programmes, to commit and offer continued reform support to the Liberian Government. This was to ensure that the hard-won peace can be sustained and the country and its people will continue to progress and thrive.⁴⁵ The UN Secretary-General indicated that between 2003 and 2018, over 126,000 Military, 16,000 Police and 23,000 civilian staff served in UNMIL.⁴⁶ They disarmed over 100,000 combatants and secured over 21,000 weapons as well as over 5,000,000 rounds of ammunition. They enabled hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced persons to return home, including over 26,000 to Côte d'Ivoire. They supported the strengthening of Liberian security forces, including integration of women and three peaceful presidential and legislative elections in 2005, 2011 and 2017.⁴⁷

2.2.4 The United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA)

The MINUSMA was established by Security Council Resolution 2100 of 25 April 2013, to support political processes and to carry out a number of security-related tasks after the Tuareg and other peoples in Northern Mali's Azawad region started an insurgency in the north under the banner of the *National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad* in 2012.⁴⁸ After some initial successes, the Malian Army complained that they were ill-equipped to fight the insurgents, who had benefited from the influx of heavy weaponry from the 2011 Libyan civil war as well as other sources.⁴⁹ During that same insurgency period, elements of the army staged a Military coup d'état on 21st March 2012.⁵⁰ This enabled the rebels to make further

advances to capture the three biggest cities in the North; Gao, Timbuktu and Kidal.⁵¹ Following economic sanctions and a blockade by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) of the country, a deal brokered in Burkina Faso by President Blaise Compaoré under the auspices of ECOWAS, was signed to enable Amadou Sanogo cede power to Dioncounda Traoré who assumed the Presidency in an interim capacity until an election was held.⁵²

On 1st July 2013, a total of 12,600 UN peacekeeping troops with Police components officially took over responsibility for patrolling the country's north from France and the ECOWAS' International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA). These peacekeepers of UN and AFISMA were integrated to form the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali, popularly called MINUSMA. As a result, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted a Resolution 2164 of 25 June 2014, which sought to direct the affairs of the Mission. The duties that the Council focused on were; ensuring security, stabilization and protection of civilians; supporting national political dialogue and reconciliation; and assisting the reestablishment of State authority, the rebuilding of the security sector, and the promotion and protection of human rights in Mali.⁵³

MINUSMA's Police component had an authorized Police strength of one thousand-four hundred and forty (1,440) initially. According to the Mission, nine thousand four hundred and ninety-four (9,494) uniformed personnel had been deployed as of 31st December 2014 of which one thousand and thirty-three (1,033) were Police personnel from the contributing countries such as Bangladesh, Belgium, Benin, Bosnia and Herzegovina, BurkinaFaso, Canada, Chad, China, Ivory Coast, Czech Republic, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Estonia, Finland, France, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, Liberia, Lithuania, Mauritania, Nepal, Netherlands, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, and Sri Lanka. The Ghana Police

Service contributed a total of two hundred and twenty-one (221) personnel (Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre).⁵⁴

MINUSMA's Police officers report to UNPOL Police Commissioner Abdounasir Awale of Djibouti, who has been heading the Police component since September 2013.⁵⁵ Their role was defined by UN Security Council Resolution 2164 as to support national, and to coordinate international efforts towards rebuilding the Malian security sector, especially the Police and gendarmerie through technical assistance, capacity building, co-location and mentoring programmes. They were also mandated to supervise the rule of law and justice sectors within its capacities and in close collaboration with other bilateral partners, donors and international organizations, including the engaged in these fields, including through enhancing information sharing and joint strategic planning among all actors.⁵⁶

In practice this implied that the two main tasks of MINUSMA's Police component were the support of the Malian Police services capacity and the return of state authorities to Northern Mali. The Ghana Police Service contingent were an active part of other Police contingent performing these roles. Many of the Ghanaian Police personnel were involved in capacity building of the Malian Police service and maintenance of law and order. According to the report of the UN Secretary-General S/2014/943, as of 1st December, 2014, 1,019 Police were deployed, of which 52 were female officers.⁵⁷

Within MINUSMA, the Police Component was divided into Individual Police Officers (IPOs) and Formed Police Units (FPUs). The roles of IPOs range from reforming, restructuring, reinforcing and re-establishing Malian Police services, to training, community policing, mentoring, assisting law enforcement agents to address transnational crime, and advisory functions.⁵⁸ IPOs are generally unarmed. FPUs on the other hand, are deployed as

teams of 140 armed Police officers who are responsible for joint patrols with Malian Police services, crowd control, protection of UN staff and material as well as escorting UN personnel when visiting insecure areas. This batch of personnel had sixty (60) Ghanaian Police personnel as well.⁵⁹

2.2.5 United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS, 2011- Date)

The United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) is the newest United Nations peacekeeping Mission for the South Sudan which became independent on 9th July, 2011. The birth of the Republic of South Sudan was the culmination of a six-year peace process which began with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005. This peace agreement was reached between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) and the government of Sudanese President Omar Al-Bashir. The agreement was facilitated in part by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), a Regional Economic Community (REC) of the AU, the United States of America (USA), United Kingdom, Norway, and Italy in 2005.⁶⁰ The 2005 agreement laid out a timetable for a referendum on whether Sudan should be split into two, with South Sudan becoming a separate country. Conflict arose due to disputes emanating from the results of the referendum, when nearly 99 percent of South Sudanese voted in favour of independence.⁶¹

The United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) was established on 8th July, 2011 by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1996 (2011) to consolidate peace and security and to help establish conditions necessary for development.⁶² This was as a result of the situation faced by South Sudan which continued to constitute a threat to international peace and security in the region. Specifically, the bloodshed which was nothing new for South Sudan, which did not gain its independence from the north until 2011.⁶³ The

UNMISS is headed by Special Representative of the Secretary-General, David Shearer since December, 2016 who succeeded Ellen Margrethe Løj as of August, 2015. The UNMISS Mission is composed of twelve thousand five hundred and twenty-three (12,523) Police cum military personnel. The Police component has a total of one thousand one hundred and seventy-three (1,173) Police personnel headquartered in the South Sudanese capital of Juba.⁶⁴ With respect to the Ghana Police Service's contribution to UN Peacekeeping Operations in UNMISS, by 31st March, 2018, the country had a total of three hundred and fifty-three (353) Police force. Following the crisis which broke out in South Sudan in December 2013, the Security Council, by its Resolution 2155 (2014) of 27th May 2014, reinforced UNMISS and reprioritized its mandate towards the protection of civilians, human rights monitoring, and support for the delivery of humanitarian assistance and for the implementation of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement. These duties were spelt out in the UNSCR, 2155 (2014) as follows:

- Support for peace consolidation and thereby fostering longer-term state building and economic development.
- Support the Government of the Republic of South Sudan in exercising its responsibilities for conflict prevention, mitigation and Resolution and protect civilians.
- Support the Government of the Republic of South Sudan in developing its capacity to provide security, to establish rule of law, and to strengthen the security and justice sectors.

The UNAMISS Police force was divided into two groups; the Formed Police Unit (FPU) whose duties were: High-visibility patrolling (with or without the military, depending on the potential threat level and the nature of the physical environment), preventive deployment of

forces around vulnerable populations or areas of potential risk as shows of force (with or without the military, depending on the potential threat). Public-order management, checkpoints, roadblocks, positioning of force between Communities, seizing weapons, intelligence-gathering, deployment of rapid-reaction units, border control when foreign groups are involved as well as direct intervention and use of force when violence is imminent or ongoing.⁶⁵

The Individual Police Officers (IPOs) on the other hands were to perform joint patrolling with FPU. Community-based conflict mitigation and Resolution, community-based information-gathering and direct intervention when violence is imminent or ongoing (if threat beyond IPO capacity, backup is necessary). IPOs are normally unarmed or with some exceptions. Hunt Charles reiterated that IPOs have been historically utilized for community-oriented policing, information-gathering, capacity-building, training, and monitoring.⁶⁶ He indicated that IPOs have been armed in Missions with an executive mandate, such as UNMIK in Kosovo, or while conducting robust policing responsibilities, such as MINUSTAH in Haiti. The 2014 UN Police policy defines IPOs as “Police or other law enforcement personnel assigned to serve with the United Nations on secondment by Governments of Member States at the request of the Secretary-General.”⁶⁷

Regarding the specific role of the Ghanaian Police Service personnel, many of them functioned in the following roles; developing the capacity of the South Sudan Police to provide security to its citizenry. They also assisted in the establishment of rule of law as well as strengthening security and justice sectors. High-visibility patrolling, preventive deployment of forces in areas of potential risk, public-order management, checkpoints, roadblocks, seizing weapons, intelligence-gathering, deployment of rapid-reaction units and

border control according to the report 2017 report of KAIPTC.⁶⁸ The Ghana Police personnel serving under the UN Mission in South Sudan also provide medical services to the local population. For instance, in 2017, Ghanaian peacekeepers serving under the UN Mission give medical services to civilians who desperately needed health services among the local population in the Leer County of Southern Unity state.

In February, 2018, a 46-member Ghanaian FPU who were part of the United Nations Mission in South Sudan were returned to Accra, Ghana from its Protection of Civilian sites in Wau, Northwest of Juba. This followed an investigation launched into a complaint that members of the unit were having transactional sexual relations with women living at the camp sites in Wau. This was in clear breach of the UN and UNMISS Code of Conduct which “prohibits sexual relationships with vulnerable individuals, including all beneficiaries of assistance.” UNMISS said in a statement that its head, David Shearer, and other Mission leaders were briefed about the initial investigation and a decision was made to withdraw the unit from the site.⁶⁹ The UNMISS informed the UN Headquarters in New York of the allegations, which in turn notified the Member State that the matter was being investigated by the United Nations. This issue nearly marred the reputation of Ghana’s Police force but the Inspector General of Police. Mr. David Asante-Apeatu assured the Nation that they are awaiting the findings of the U.N. and UNMISS to deal with the few miscreants who wants to dent the image of the service.⁷⁰

2.2.6 UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA)

The MINUSCA was established by Security Council Resolution 2149 of 10 April 2014.⁷¹ However, the Mission started to implement its mandate following the transfer of authority between MISCA and MINUSCA on 15 September 2014. Acting under Chapter VII of the

Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council authorized MINUSCA to take all necessary means to carry out its mandate, within its capabilities and its areas of deployment, through its troop and Police components.⁷² In line with Resolution 2127 of the Security Council; MINUSCA Police's priority tasks focus on; civilians protection, extension of State authority; support the development of capacities of national security forces, protection of United Nations personnel and installations, temporary urgent to maintain basic law and order and fight impunity.⁷³ However, serious socio-political crisis marked by inter-communal violence between Ex-Seleka and Anti-Balaka elements plagued by weak State authorities and high criminality due to the proliferation of weapons, including machine guns and grenades made the protection of civilians a key challenge.⁷⁴

The Ghanaian component of MINUSCA comprised of eight (8) personnel, three (3) of which are Police, three (3) experts and two (2) troops according to KAIPTC report 2015. The Ghanaian Police were experts in intelligent-gathering and crime prevention. So they were made to be part of the Police force in charge of protection of civilians without prejudice to the primary responsibility of the Central African Republic authorities, the civilian population from threat of physical violence, within its capabilities and areas of deployment, including through active patrolling.⁷⁵ They were also part of the personnel charged to identify and record threats and attacks against the civilian population, including through regular interaction with the civilian population and working closely with humanitarian and human rights organizations; support for the implementation of the transition process, including efforts in favour of the extension of State authority and preservation of territorial integrity as well as support for national and international justice and the rule of law.⁷⁶

2.2.7 United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC 1992-1993)

The UNTAC was a United Nations peacekeeping operation in Cambodia in February 1992 - September 1993. UNTAC was established in 1992 to ensure implementation of the Agreements on the Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, signed in Paris on 23 October 1991 under United Nations Security Council Resolution 745 in agreement with the State of Cambodia, the *de facto* government of the country at that time, to implement the Paris Peace Accords of October 1991.⁷⁷ UNTAC was the product of intense diplomatic activity over many years. The Police component was headed by Police Commissioner Brigadier-General Klaas Roos of Netherlands. UNTAC involved approximately 15,900 Military, 3,600 civilian Police, 2,000 civilians and 450 UN Volunteers, as well as locally recruited staff and interpreters. During the electoral period, more than 50,000 Cambodians served as electoral staff and some 900 international polling station officers were seconded from Governments. The whole operation cost over \$1.6 billion (equivalent to \$2.5 billion in 2017), mostly in salaries for expatriates.⁷⁸

UNTAC's mandate included aspects relating to human rights, the organization and conduct of elections, military arrangements, civil administration, maintenance of law and order, repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons and rehabilitation of Cambodian infrastructure.⁷⁹ It was also the first occasion in which the UN had taken over the administration of an independent state, organised and run an election (as opposed to monitoring or supervising), had its own radio station and jail, as well as been responsible for promoting and safeguarding human rights at the national level. It was also the largest of the UN operations that deployed a total of three thousand six hundred (3,600) Police personnel at a goal. According to Berman and Sams (2000-2003) studies at United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, Geneva- Switzerland, Ghana supplied two hundred and eighty-three

(283) Police personnel to UNTAC in Cambodia alongside Nigeria who also supplied one hundred and sixty-three (163).⁸⁰

UNTAC was one of the first multidimensional Missions mandated to provide an interim administration for Cambodia. The duties of the UN Police were multifaceted. Apart from traditional monitoring, they had some executive powers giving them the right to investigate crimes and to arrest or detain suspected criminals. Specifically, UNTAC's civilian Police component worked in close cooperation with the human rights, electoral, military, civil administration and repatriation components. The Police presence, like that of the military, helped assured the Cambodians of the UN's commitment to the peace process. It also promoted the creation of a neutral political environment by making Cambodians aware that the arbitrary abuse of power would not be tolerated.⁸¹

Much of the daily work of the 3,600 UNTAC civilian Police focused on its main function, the supervision or control of local Police activities. In carrying out this function, the component provided local Police with training in basic Police methods, including operations, traffic control, human rights observance, criminal law, criminal investigation, crime detection and prevention, as well as demonstration and riot control strategy. It also provided local Police with basic information on the roles of UNTAC and the civilian Police component. Special instruction was provided to Police officers and judges in the implementation of the new penal code adopted by Cambodian Supreme National Council (SNC), with Prince Sihanouk as its Chairman.⁸²

Priority in initial deployment was given to areas where Cambodian refugees and displaced persons were being resettled. The component eventually extended its activities to all

provinces. Police monitors were posted at border check-points and cooperated with the military component in arrangements concerning supervision of checkpoints and patrols operated by local Police forces in sensitive areas. Joint checkpoints manned by the UNTAC and local Police resulted in the confiscation of a large number of unauthorized firearms. The component also directed the efforts of local Police against the growing problem of banditry in the interior.⁸³

Some 60 per cent of UNTAC Police were directly involved in assisting the voter registration process. During the electoral campaign, following the steep rise in attacks against the offices of political parties, UNTAC Police, in collaboration with other components, launched a special operation which included intensive patrols and static guard duty to curb the attacks. UNTAC Police also monitored political rallies and meetings. During the voting, they were present at all polling stations.⁸⁴

The UNTAC Police undertook hundreds of investigations into serious crimes, particularly those considered to be politically or ethnically motivated independently as part of its core duty. In a number of those cases, the Special Prosecutor had enough evidence to issue a warrant. Where cases involved political or ethnic considerations, the Special Representative also raised the matter with SNC or in private meetings with party leaders. Although UNTAC did construct a prison, it was never used. This experience demonstrated the innate links between Police, justice and corrections and the importance of addressing the rule of law holistically. The UN Police in UNTAC were also called upon to train Cambodian Police. By the end of the Mission 9,000 Cambodian Police officers had participated in the UN Police training programme.⁸⁵

2.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, the Ghanaian Police contingent in international peacekeeping Missions performs several roles such as intelligent-gathering and crime prevention, capacity building of the war-ravaged Police personnel, maintain law and order, and patrolling. This include in-depth regular interaction with the civilian population and working closely with humanitarian and human rights organizations; support for the implementation of the transition process, including efforts in favour of the extension of State authority and preservation of territorial integrity as well as support for national and international justice and the rule of law. They also provide health serves to the local populations.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE SIGNIFICANCE, ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES OF THE GHANA POLICE SERVICE'S PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING AS A MEANS OF ACHIEVING GHANA'S FOREIGN POLICY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the significance of the Ghana Police Service's participation in international peacekeeping as a tool in the pursuit of the country's foreign policy objectives, achievements and challenges. To achieve this, the chapter commenced with the identification of the context of Ghana's foreign policy, the historical trajectory of the policy and how the policy is conducted or carried out by the various institutions, particularly the Ghana Police Service. Additionally, using the results of the field interviews and the theoretical framework of liberal institutionalism, the chapter examined the utility of the Ghana Police Service's regular contributions to international peacekeeping operation as a strategic move to contribute towards the attainment of Ghana's foreign policy objectives. It concludes with discussions on the achievements and the challenges that beset the GPS as a result of participating in international peacekeeping operations.

3.1 The Context of Ghana's Foreign Policy

The context within which a country conducts its foreign policies is influenced by a number of factors such as national interest, perception of its standing in the international community, security and the nature of country's relations with the other members of the international community. In terms of Ghana, the foreign policies have been shaped by considerations of national interests like total liberation, decolonization, political and economic unity, non-alignment, national sovereignty, security, membership and alliance with international organizations.¹ Key among these factors with respect to the Ghana Police Service's

participation in international peacekeeping is the notion of national interest and security with regards to relations to the international community. Ghana's national interest in the area of foreign policy is defined under Article 35, Clause 2 of the 1992 Constitution, which provides that *"the state shall protect and safeguard the independence, unity and territorial integrity of Ghana, and shall seek the well-being of all her citizens"*.²

As pointed out earlier in chapter one, the context for Ghana's foreign policy is specified in Article 40 of the 1992 Constitution, which states the fundamental principles that guide the formulation and conduct of the country's foreign policy as follows:

*In its dealings with other nations, the Government shall - (a) promote and protect the interests of Ghana; (b) seek the establishment of a just and equitable international economic order; (c) promote respect for international law, treaty obligations and settlement of international disputes by peaceful means; (d) adhere to the principles enshrined in or as the case may be, the aims and ideals of – (i) the Charter of United Nations; (ii) the Charter of the OAU now African Union (AU); (iii) the Commonwealth; (iv) the Treaty of ECOWAS; and any other international organizations of which Ghana is a member.*³

Article 73 of the 1992 Constitution, which defines Ghana's international relations states that *"the Government of Ghana shall conduct its international affairs in consonance with the accepted principles of the public international law and diplomacy in a manner consistent with the national interest of Ghana."*⁴ In formulating Ghana's foreign policies, therefore, leaders must carefully consider all the elements that impact directly or indirectly on the above principles, critical among which is the country's national interest defined by the country's survival, security and influence in the international community.

This formulation process takes into account the protection and defence of the territorial integrity of the country, pursuit of economic prosperity, quest for social cohesion, promotion

of ideological goals, ensuring peace and stability of her immediate neighbours, supporting wider international peace and security which is the context of this study, as well as nurturing and promoting a favourable image of the country internationally.⁵ The milieu of Ghana's foreign policy is, thus, structured to facilitate the pursuance of these and other related goals. The achievement of the above foreign policy goals is pursued within the context of such elements as the country's geography, size, population, economic strength, security strength, culture, history, national identity, among others.

Ambassador Baah-Duodu, a Career Diplomat (retired) from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, currently a lecturer at the University of Ghana, notes that the Ghana Police Service's participation in international peacekeeping is in line with the foreign policy objectives of Ghana.⁶ He further notes that Ghana achieved her foreign policy of international peace and security, and good neighbourliness by sending the Ghana Police Service (GPS) personnel to assist in international Missions organized by the United Nations, the African Union and the ECOWAS. For instance, the GPS participation in UN led peacekeeping in Zambia, Sudan, and Liberia which brought peace in those countries to some extent⁷ was in the fulfilment of the country's foreign objectives. Professor Henrietta Mensa-Bonsu indicates that Ghana is a responsible member of the international comity of nations and, therefore, obliged to contribute to the maintenance of world peace.⁸ She further notes that contributing Ghana Police Service personnel to the UN, the ECOWAS and the AU Missions are in fulfilment of Ghana's foreign policy objectives.

3.2 Ghana's Foreign Policy

As at independence, Ghana's foreign policy remained non-aggressive and yet resolute, Africa-centric, non-discriminatory and non-aligned even though birthed during the Cold War

by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's instrumentality.⁹ According to Ambassador Kwabena Baah-Duodu, the country's foreign policy remained fundamentally intact over the years even though sensitive to times as K. B. Asante reiterated, that Ghana's foreign policy has not significantly changed much since Nkrumah days.¹⁰ James Victor Gbeho, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration from 1997 to 2001, under President Jerry Rawlings and a diplomat, remarked in a 1997 seminar that "the broad tenets of Ghana's foreign policy have in principle remained the same over the years since the country's independence in 1957."¹¹ This view is supported by Baah-Duodu¹² and Henrietta Mensa-Bonsu¹³ as they both indicated that Ghana's foreign policies have not changed despite the change of governments over the years. They stressed that each government that assumes political power pursued the same policies laid down since Kwame Nkrumah's day vigorously.¹⁴

From various studies of Ghana's unfolding interactions with other actors in the international community, as reflected in the speeches and comments by successive leaders, records of the country's diplomatic discourses, the 1992 Constitution, various treaties and international conventions entered into by successive governments, the manifestoes of political parties and the country's reactions to international incidents; the broad tenets of the country's foreign policy can be synthesized as:

- The protection of the country's sovereignty, political independence, and the territorial integrity of Ghana;
- The pursuit of the economic wellbeing of the Ghanaian people;
- Promotion of friendly relations and economic cooperation with other countries;
- Fostering political and economic cooperation among African States;
- A commitment to maintenance of international peace and security; and

- The pursuit of a policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment.

Over the years, successive governments have pursued modifications of the above foreign policy requirements, which could be described as the traditional foreign policy of Ghana with differing significance arising out of the differences in personality and perceptions of the international community by the Head of State. Baah-Duodu and Henrietta Mensa-Bonsu asserted that these insignificant variations might be due to changes in time or prevailing conditions. The thrust of this foreign policy, however, is the pursuant of national interest.¹⁵

3.3 The Conduct of the Foreign Policy

Nations seek to attain different goals and objectives in the process of governing their sovereign entities. Whilst some of the goals can be realised by the State on their own, others can only be attained through cooperation or with the active support of other actors beyond the State's borders.¹⁶ Foreign Policy provides a robust platform for realization such national interests within a framework of the International System(IS) commitment, to a large extent, to cooperation through liberal institutionalism,¹⁷ the lens under which this study was conducted.

Foreign policy making is a complex exercise, involving several actors and at different levels of policy formulation and implementation. A country's foreign policy can emanate from several different processes within the government machinery. In Ghana, as is in most countries all over the world, the execution of foreign policy is the sole prerogative of the Head of State, parts of which may be delegated to subordinates. In Ghana, the President derives the authority to execute foreign policy from Article 75 (1) of the 1992 Constitution.¹⁸ In the execution of foreign policy, the President is supported by State institutions such as

Ministries, Departments and Agencies whose portfolios encompass such matters as international politics, international trade, international finance, international law, foreign investment, consular and migration and other issues related to the country's interaction with the outside world. The general criteria indicated above suggest that different aspects of Ghana's foreign policy are executed per the authority of the 1992 Constitution by the President, Cabinet, Parliament, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFARI), the National Security Council (NSC), the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, and the Ministry of Defence, among others.

The MFARI is the main instrument of foreign policy implementation in Ghana.¹⁹ It is the State agency responsible for managing Ghana's relations with other states and international actors. To achieve this, Article 74 (1) enjoins the President to appoint persons to represent, protect and promote the country's interest's abroad.²⁰ These representatives abroad are Ambassadors and High Commissioners who operate as heads of the country's diplomatic Missions abroad, which basically function as the MFARI's field offices. The main duties of the Ambassadors, High Commissioners and their staff are to represent the government of Ghana, protect and promote the interests of Ghana, negotiate on behalf of the State, ascertain by all lawful means developments in the country of accreditation and report to the authorities back home. The Ambassadors and High Commissioners with their staffs report directly to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, whose main role is to provide the President with sound foreign policy advice. The activities of the Ghana Police Service in international peacekeeping operations are therefore, co-ordinated by the MFARI through the various Ambassadors or High commissioners. Of course, the Ministries of Defence and the Interior, play key roles as the main Ministries with support from the MFARI. Indeed, in most countries the Ministry in charge of Foreign Affairs formally share control over the making

and administration of foreign policy with other ministries and some executive agencies as well as its Missions abroad.²¹

3.4 Significance of the Ghana Police Service (GPS) Participation in International Peacekeeping

In December 2nd 2016, Ms Ruby Sandhu Rojon, the UN resident representative in Ghana, from 2010 to 2014, stressed the significance of the GPS's participation in international peacekeeping operations on behalf of Ghana. She said this when the Ghana Police Service was observing a memorial service to honour officers who lost their lives in line of duty at the National Police Training school at Tesano, Accra. She reiterated that through the Ghana Police Service, Ghana has been a key partner in the UN peacekeeping activities and ranked among the top ten largest contributors of personnel to peacekeeping operations over the years. Additionally, developing countries such as Ghana tend to enjoy greater benefits from participation in international peacekeeping Missions in comparison with the more fortunate counterparts like the five permanent member countries in exception of China. She distinguished the GPS' role in peacekeeping activities in terms of the high calibre of men and women contributed to peacekeeping Missions as well as the high level of professionalism and leadership exhibited by the GPS personnel that projects the image of Ghana as one of the best in the African continent.²²

Matt Armstrong indicates that this is the best payoffs attributable to increasing participation in international peacekeeping by developing countries like Ghana as many developing countries advance their foreign policy agendas through international peacekeeping operations.²³ An interview with the Deputy Director of International Relations Unit of the Ghana Police Service, Superintendent Owusu Ansah on the reasons why the GPS participate in international peacekeeping revealed that “the GPS take part in international peacekeeping

operations because Ghana has signed those international treaties with the UN, AU, and ECOWAS which are committed to international peace. So, when any of the organization needs Ghana's assistance in the maintenance of peace and security in terms of policing elsewhere, Ghana is obliged to do so,²⁴ hence the GPS's participation in international peacekeeping operations. Assistant Commissioner of Police (ACP), Iddi Seidu Lansah noted that the GPS's participation offers platform for global visibility to the country as a whole. He cited India and stressed that according to Krishnasamy and Weigold, India has adopted a proactive approach to UN peacekeeping as part of its new foreign policy orientation in the post-Cold War era by its ambition for global recognition, respect, international identity and global image in a competitive and unpredictable worldwide system.²⁵

Assistant Commissioner of Police (ACP) Adamu indicated that the GPS' participation in international peacekeeping enables the GPS personnel to receive advance training of international standard that makes them efficient in managing Ghana's security issues when they return. He further stated that the country gained in terms of foreign exchange as a result of the payments that the UN and other international organizations pay to the personnel for services rendered to them.²⁶ D/Sgt Israel Gati, who is currently in Sudan, outlined that the Ghana Police Service's contribution to the achievement of Ghana's foreign policy in international peacekeeping in terms of the services they render, particularly, in UN Missions such as protection of civilians, UN installations, and escort of Very Very Important Persons (VVIPs) during visits, and regular joint patrols. He added that the Ghana Police Service's participation in resolving international conflicts is to foster Ghana's cordial relation with the troubled nations and to show that the country is much concern about the peace and security of the neighbouring states as enshrined in her foreign policy objectives.²⁷ G/Sgt Peter Ankomah Boakye, who served in the UNMISOM in 2017, indicated that participating in peacekeeping

gives an international exposure to the Ghana Police Service and enhances the international image of the country, generally.²⁸ Similarly, discussions with a respondent at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration suggests that Ghana's long history of sustained participation in international peacekeeping affords her good relations with the comity of nations in the international system. In agreement to this, A respondent from the MFARI submitted that "the Ghana Police is a major actor that helps in the implementation of the country's foreign policy of ensuring international peace and security".²⁹ The question, however, remains whether Ghana has taken advantage of the opportunities embedded in participating in international peacekeeping.

These examples of Ghana's commitment to peacekeeping aligns with the liberal institutionalists' view that international institutions have a key a role to play in global governance through multilateralism and support for international political structures. It also supports liberal institutionalists' belief of cooperation towards achieving global peace.³⁰ Ghana does not have the military and economic might like the United States, Russia, Britain and other powerful nations. But her strategic use of cooperation and support for international institutions, rules and regulations, and particularly through peacekeeping to advance the UN's sacred commitment to ensure a world devoid of conflict, places her on good standing among powerful states and peers. The continuous contribution of the Ghana Police personnel to internationally sanctioned peacekeeping assignments have been widely commended, and ensured that Ghana's voice receives respect and recognition within international institutions that reflect liberal institutionalism, such as the ECOWAS, the UN and the AU. Thus, Ghana achieves her foreign policy objective of maintaining good neighbourliness and her commitment to the UN Charter through planned and tactical use of cooperation and support for international assignments that seek to ensure the maintenance of peace and order across

the globe in the form of deploying the Ghana Police Service for peacekeeping missions. Ghana Police Service's participation in international peacekeeping therefore gives Ghana a certain quality of international credibility, which may be exploited extensively to the benefit of the country at large.

Ghana's motivation for contributing Police personnel to international peacekeeping operations is derived from her entrenched foreign policy objectives, since the days of the first President of the Republic, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, which is the maintenance of international peace and security, predominantly in the African continent. This suggests that the efforts by the UN, AU, ECOWAS and other international organisations in the resolution of conflicts and pursuit of world peace through the establishment of peacekeeping operations, have inadvertently provided Ghana with an opportunity to pursue its own foreign policy goals. While it may not always succeed, due, to the fact that the achievement of international peace has to be a collaborative effort in this anarchic global world order, Ghana has never missed an opportunity to contribute positively to the achievement of this goal.

In recognition of Ghana's useful contributions to international peacekeeping through the Ghana Police Service, the United Nations has rewarded the country by appointing some personnel of the GPS to high-level posts during peacekeeping Missions over the years. These include Force Commanders and Deputy Force Commanders of Missions, Military Advisers as well as Chiefs of Staff. The following are among some of the more prominent Ghanaian nationals to be appointed to high-level peacekeeping related posts:

Table 2.1: List of Prominent Ghanaian Police Officers Appointed to UN Peacekeeping Posts

S/n	Name	Position and period
1	ASP Adzo Sowlitse	First female Commander of the UN FPU, South Sudan, 2016-Date
2	David Asante-Apeatu (IGP)	Worked at the Sarajevo Police Academy as an instructor in Human Dignity, Police Ethics and Criminal Investigations under the auspices of the United Nations Task Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina from 1997 to 1998, team leader in Homicide Investigation, UNAMIL, 2003-2004
3	Mohammed Ahmed Alhassan (IGP)	1989 as UN Station Commander, UNCIVPOL/Khorixas, and District Commander, UNCIVPOL/Otwijarango, Namibia (UNTAG) in 1989. In 1997, he joined UNMIBH as Police Monitor, IPTF, and then became IPTF Weapons Inspector at Siroki Brijeg/Mostar. Deputy Commissioner of Civpol at UNMIL from 2003 until March 2005. UN commissioner, 2008
4	James Oppong Boanu(COP)	Police Commissioner African Union United Nation Hybrid Mission in Dafur(AU/UNAMID), 2010
5	Patrick Kwateng Acheampong (IGP)	Deputy Contingent Commander of the UN Peacekeeping operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina for a year beginning March 1997. Between March 1997 and May 1998, instructor at the UNCIVPOL Pre-Mission Training School at Sarajevo, Bosnia. Instructor again at UNCIVPOL Pre-Mission Training School, Zagreb, Croatia between May and September 1998.

Source : Ghana Police International Relations Directorate, Accra, June, 2018

According to Baah-Duodu, these and other Ghanaian office holders in the UN system reflect a positive image of Ghana in the international community. Aside from performing core operational duties whilst on peacekeeping, Ghanaian Police personnel engage in extracurricular activities such as delivery of humanitarian assistance and environmental protection programmes which endear the GPS contingents to the local people. It also raised the profile of the GPS in the eyes of observers internationally. Ghanaian Police personnel were on record to have organized peace talk's campaigns in UN Missions, specifically Sudan.³¹ They also offer services such as elementary classes for children and small-scale

healthcare delivery such as medical and dental clinics. The Ghana Police in Lebanon, for example, were part of the team that undertook English Language classes for conflict-affected children.³² Ghanaian Police personnel are on record to have organised clean-up campaigns during peacekeeping operations in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire and Cambodia. They have also been known to make donations to orphanages. These and other gestures have greatly endeared Ghana to the victims of conflict around the world.

3.6 Achievements and Benefits of the GPS' Participation in International Peacekeeping

The achievement and benefits of the Ghana Police Service's participation in international peacekeeping operations can be classified into three:

- Contribution to the Ghana Police Service
- Contribution to the host countries
- Career benefits to the Personnel involved.

3.6.1 Achievement in Terms of Benefits to the Ghana Police Service

The Ghana Police Service's experience in international peacekeeping operations is unparalleled in Africa. Though many other African countries contribute Police personnel to international peacekeeping operations, it is only Ghana that has consistently maintained its Police personnel at such conflict zones till the end of the Missions even under dire circumstances. Many quickly withdrawn at the slightest sign of discomfort to the personnel. For example, the leadership role of the GPS as a leading Police contributor in global peacekeeping has led to her participation in UN decision making process, making her the second African country aside Nigeria with a permanent Police representation in UN Headquarters in New York. In addition, machinery is in motion to replicate same at the AU headquarters in Addis Ababa.

Also, the Ghana Police Service officers who participate in international peacekeeping operations like UN Missions are further trained and exposed to international best practices by going through various UN trainings aimed at capacity building. Veterans Police personnel who participated in peacekeeping returned home as better polished and well informed officers who often share competencies and experiences on return to their colleagues at home. For instance, as a result of Ghana's continued involvement in international peacekeeping, the country has benefited from various training assistance programmes under the sponsorship of advance countries like the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada. In this regard, Ghana has been a beneficiary of such programmes as the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI), which was later transformed, under the administration of former US President George W. Bush, into the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) as part of the United States' support to African peacekeeping. Again, over 12,000 veteran Ghanaian Police peacekeepers that were trained and deployed have been awarded UN letters of commendation and Medals for outstanding performances during their tour of duty including the most recent medals awarded to Ghanaian contingent in Southern Sudan.

The United Nations noted the following benefits to the Police contributing countries as; the skilled and experienced Police officers that are needed for deployment with UN Police are valuable assets to their national Police services and equally needed at home. Police-contributing countries see clear benefits for their local communities when their Police officers return from UN Missions, bringing new approaches, useful knowledge and international exposure to their national policing culture. In addition, whilst deployed by the UN, Police officers will often be helping to make their own societies safer, and more secure. For example, officers deployed to the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) or the Integrated Peace-

building Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS) may help strengthen the national Police to disrupt drug supplies that could reach their home country otherwise.

Also, a respondent at MFARI indicated that the GPS' involvement in international peacekeeping has enhanced the Service and their personnel approach to gender equity. This is because women in uniform are equally given the same task as the men during the missions and helps build capacity.³³

3.6.2 Achievement in Terms of Contribution to Host Countries

Whilst on international assignment the Ghana Police peacekeepers engage in capacity building for the host country Police (i.e. local Police). The Ghana Police peacekeepers also assist the host countries in reforming and restructuring of the local Police. The Ghana Police peacekeepers helped in the Disarmament, Demobilization and Re-integration (DDR) processes in the host countries. They also assist the host countries in the conduct of free, fair and credible elections. The Ghanaian peacekeepers extend humanitarian assistance to the host country. Specifically, members of the Ghanaian contingent in Buchanan extended a hand of friendship to the people of Grand Bassa with the provision of humanitarian assistance to various segments of the population. Members of the contingent who were teachers offered teaching assistance in senior high schools and the community colleges in Liberia's second city. The contingent who were nurses turned to healthcare delivery, providing drugs to the Government Hospital in the city, giving free medical services to inmates of the county's only prison and the population who were in dire need of medical services. Some took part in clean-up activities together with the community members as a way of enhancing their peacekeeping effort. Generally, serving in peacekeeping missions, in the pursuit of peace is an opportunity for Police officers to help people in need following a crisis or war.

3.6.3 Achievement in Terms of Contribution to Career benefits

According to C/Inspr. Innocent Dolly (Sudan, 2009), becoming a Police peacekeeper is for a finite period of time, making it an exceptional opportunity for the individual's national Police career.³⁴ Many senior members of the international policing community consider it beneficial that officers have had an international posting experience.

C/Inspr Joseph Bator (Sudan, 2013) indicated that one of the major career benefits to Police personnel when they participate in peacekeeping missions is skills upgrading. Before Personnel are deployed, they are usually taken through intensive physical and procedural capacity building, to prepare them to deliver effectively at the international level among other colleagues. Therefore, peacekeeping personnel are regarded as one of the highly trained corp of the Service, irrespective of rank, C/Inspr Bator, concluded.³⁵

Further, the personnel benefit from exposure to international practises through implementation of global policies on peacekeeping, security and policing. Also, through working with other colleagues from various countries exposes the personnel to different cultures, and the *esprit de corps* leads to knowledge exchange. These are unquantifiable benefits to the career growth and development of Police personnel who participate in peacekeeping missions. Such experiences, more often than not come to play in their home countries, upon return, in the event that expertise in peacekeeping mission is required.³⁶

The author observes that in the Ghana Police Service, a check of the background of successive previous Inspector Generals of Police (IGPs), reveals that they have participated in peacekeeping missions, and most often than not, have held UN Command positions in peacekeeping operations. Further, these IGPs usually have been entrusted with strategic

commands within the international system by the UN, AU and ECOWAS in relations to peacekeeping and international policing.

3.6.4 Achievement in Terms of Contribution to Achieving Ghana's Foreign Policy

According to Superintendent Owusu Ansah of the International Relations Unit of the GPS, the GPS' involvement in international peacekeeping does have a bearing on achieving some of Ghana's Foreign Policy objective. He concludes that the country's foreign policy of promoting international peace and peaceful resolution of international conflicts can be attributed to participation in peacekeeping.³⁷ Ambassador Baah-Duodu further adds that the GPS' involvement in international peacekeeping has helped promote good neighbourliness with our immediate neighbours; Ivory Coast and Liberia.³⁸

3.7 Challenges of International Peacekeeping and Cost Implications

A major challenge to the Ghana Police Service peacekeeping personnel is the language barrier. A Police officer, C/Insp Juliana Tsagli (Sudan, 2015) noted that language barrier has been one of the biggest problem to them as many of them cannot speak the language of the people they are to protect. This is particularly true of Francophone and Arab countries where English is not their main language.

Another problem, which is an internal challenge to the country and the Ghana Police Service at large, is the obvious lack of vibrant collaboration between the country's main institutional stakeholders in the management and implementation of peacekeeping as a tool of achieving Ghana's foreign policy objectives successfully. Thus, the central stakeholders which include; the Office of the President, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, the Ghana Police Service, the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry

of National Security do not have any established system for managing the country's international peacekeeping policies. There are no designated liaison or desk officers in all these institutions dedicated to the formulations, coordination, and implementations of peacekeeping policies. The majority of the planning and implementations of international peacekeeping related assignments are left in the hands of the Ghana Police Service without a clear input from the other institutions. This problem may be as a result of the fact that Ghana's defence, national security, and foreign policies appear to be distinct subjects instead of one integrated strategy as is the case in countries like the United States. Undeniably, Emma Birikorang states that Ghana lacks a well-defined and articulated defence policy document, which has resulted in ad hoc responses to conflicts in neighbouring countries.³⁹ A well-planned peacekeeping policy with inputs from all relevant stakeholders is not likely to overlook strategies that would highlight the benefits of Ghana's participation in successive peacekeeping operations, through cooperation in the international the system.

Not only does the apparent lack of coordination between the relevant stakeholders in the planning and implementation of Ghana's peacekeeping policy adversely impact the achievement of the country's foreign policy. It leads to technical failures that affect the performance of Ghanaian Police personnel on peacekeeping Missions. Examples include the mutiny of Ghanaian Police personnel and the Military in Congo in December, 1960 and the ill-fated massacre of forty-four (44) Military personnel in April 1961, also in Congo.⁴⁰

Another challenge facing the Ghana Police Service in undertaking peacekeeping operations is the provision of adequate logistical support for peacekeeping personnel in Missions. Even though the Ghana Police Service has a long history of peacekeeping, it still has problems with inadequate supply of equipment such as Police armoured personnel carrier, ambulance, stand-

by generator, water purification machine, large tent, flak jackets, night vision devices, mine detectors, ballistic helmets, image intensifiers, radars and spare parts for the equipment maintenance.⁴¹ A major consequence of this inadequacy is that the country is unable to take full advantage of the United Nations' Wet Lease reimbursement system, which stipulates that all the necessary logistics and equipment for the operation are to be supplied by contingent contributing countries, provided they meet United Nations standards in order to be eligible for monthly reimbursements. Under the system, United Nations inspectors audit a contributing country's equipment against a predetermined standard. For example, when equipment, such as vehicles, binoculars, and medical accessories are established to have all parts functioning at optimum level, the country is reimbursed with an amount of money almost equivalent to the original cost of the equipment. Studies on equipment supply to peacekeeping Missions revealed that Nepal, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh consistently supplied optimal functioning equipment as a matter of policy and have been reimbursed by the UN.⁴²

According to Ambassador Kabral Blay-Amihere, having served as Ghana's Ambassador to Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire on two consecutive tours of duty, witnessed Ghana's role in the international peacekeeping operations in both countries during his time. He observed that other troop contributing countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan always diligently provided fully functional equipment under the terms of the United Nations Wet Lease system in order to enjoy reimbursements.⁴³ According to Blay-Amihere, Ghana failed to take advantage of the Wet Lease system in both theatres of operation. He indicated that for failing to supply just five UN standard washing machines for use by the troops, Ghana was losing \$17,000 every month. Throughout his tenures as ambassador in Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire, Blay-Amihere fought to excite the government's interest in adopting measures to take advantage of

the UN Wet Lease system through the many phone calls, diplomatic dispatches and technical reports he forwarded to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence on the matter. He suggested a comprehensive review of the country's approach to UN peacekeeping but all to no avail.⁴⁴ Asian countries like Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Nepal have so specialised in taking advantage of the UN Wet lease system that they have begun to rely on it as a means to achieve certain aspects of their defence policies. They do this by procuring quality defence related equipment for UN peacekeeping operations for which they are reimbursed and still get to keep the equipment in their own national defence arsenals.⁴⁴ Not only does the inability to provide adequate logistics and equipment deny Ghana of well-deserved revenue, but it also negatively impacts peacekeeping personnel morale and causes embarrassment thereby putting their lives at risk.

Another major challenge facing the Ghana Police service peacekeeping efforts is the issue of welfare. Anonymous respondents at the Ghana Police Hospital indicated that many of the Ghanaian Police peacekeepers have complained of the atrocities they witnessed in conflict zones, which have left them psychologically traumatised but without any effective government policy to rehabilitate them.⁴⁵ This condition has had negative impact not only on their families but colleagues at the operational areas and the Ghana Police service at large.

Closely linked to the unappreciable welfare conditions of the Ghana Police service peacekeeping personnel is the health consequences of sustained involvement in international peacekeeping operations. There was an increase in HIV prevalence among uniformed personnel in the 1990s and early 2000s due primarily to operations in high HIV prevalent countries like Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. For instance, during the past decades, the HIV prevalence rate among the peacekeeping personnel has risen to 1.3% over the

national average. But the HIV prevalence is significantly reducing among them due to the new policy of testing all personnel earmarked for international peacekeeping operations and further testing on their return. These measures have mitigated the risk of personnel being infected.⁴⁶

Lastly, the practice of separating peacekeeping personnel from their families for a long period of time tends to put a lot of strain on the traditional family unit. Cases of infidelity on both the peacekeeping personnel on Mission and their spouses at home have been reported on many occasions and these are attributed to the long absences from home.

Ghana, through the Ghana Police Service utilizes its membership of supranational institutions, strategically to promote Ghana's national interest and hence, foreign policy objectives among the comity of nations. The Ghana Police Service's participation in peacekeeping operations is in fulfilment of Ghana's commitment to its foreign policy objectives of promoting respect for international laws, treaty obligations, and settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.⁴⁷ It is also for adherence to the principles enshrined in the charter of the UN, the AU, the ECOWAS, the Commonwealth, and the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group treaty obligations as well as the various protocols, decisions and resolutions concluded by these organizations with respect to international peacekeeping and security maintenance.⁴⁸

The recent alleged sexual scandal in South Sudan, which is being investigated by the UN, threatens to discredit Ghana's reputation. However, the Ghana Police Service has taken swift action following investigations and interdicted 14 out of 46 Officers and ordered that all weapons, uniforms and other police accoutrements are retrieved from the defaulting

personnel.⁴⁹ This incident if not handled to its logical conclusion could represent a dent in the international image of Ghana's hardworking peacekeeping force and may be a challenge in respect of absolute acceptance among other aligned institutions.

3.8 Conclusion

Through participation in the international peacekeeping operations, the Ghana Police Service has distinguished herself as a force to reckon with in the maintenance of international peace and security. Also, Ghana Police Service officers who participate in international peacekeeping operations like the UN Missions are further trained and exposed to international best practices by going through various UN trainings aimed at capacity building. These competencies gained enhances maintenance of peace and security in the home country. There is also monetary reward gained by the personnel who take part in the international peacekeeping. The major challenges include language barrier, inadequate logistical support for peacekeeping personnel in Missions, inadequate welfare and breakdown of marriages and family due to long absence.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations on the Ghana Police service's participation in international peacekeeping as a means of achieving Ghana's foreign policy objectives.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The study revealed that since independence, Ghana's foreign policy remained largely unchanged in its fundamental guiding principles regardless of which political party assumes the reign of governance of the country. From the interviews and relevant documents studies such as the 1992 Constitution of the Republic, the contents of the various treaties and international agreements the country has entered into over the years, the manifestoes of political parties, and Ghana's general demeanour on the international arena, the broad tenets of the foreign policies remained resolute.

Summarily, these policies include; commitment to maintenance of international peace and security, the pursuit of a policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment, the protection of the country's sovereignty, political independence, and the territorial integrity of Ghana, the pursuit of the economic wellbeing of the Ghanaian people, promotion of friendly relations and economic cooperation with other countries; fostering political and economic cooperation among African States. The conduct of Ghana's foreign policy is firmly within the remit of the President of the Republic who delegates portions of its executive powers to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Trade, Defence and the National Security Council whose portfolios cover

such matters as international politics, international trade, international finance, international law, foreign investment, consular and migration and other issues related to the country's interaction with the outside world.

Ghana is not a global super power with extensive resources such as military and economic might, manpower resource from large and skilled population to use coercion as a means of achieving its foreign policy objectives. The deployment of the Ghana Police Service for peacekeeping therefore mitigates this supposedly imbalance in the international system. Therefore, Ghana's participation in international peacekeeping is a key strategic and diplomatic tool towards achieving its national interest and foreign policy objectives.

The achievements of the Ghana Police Service in international peacekeeping operations includes the leadership role of the service as a leading Police contributor in global peacekeeping which led to her participation in the UN decision making process as the second African country aside Nigeria with a permanent Police representation in UN Headquarters in New York. Also, the GPS officers who participate in international peacekeeping operations are further trained and exposed to international best practices by going through various UN trainings aimed at capacity building. Veterans Police personnel who participated in peacekeeping returned home as better polished and well-informed officers who often share competencies and experiences on return to their colleagues at home. For instance, as a result of Ghana's continued involvement in international peacekeeping, the country has benefited from various training assistance programmes under the sponsorship of advance countries like the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada. Again, the skilled and experienced Police officers that are needed for deployment with the United Nations Police are valuable assets to their national Police services and equally needed at home as they return from UN Missions,

bringing new approaches, useful knowledge and international exposure to their national policing culture. This exposure of the Ghana Police personnel often helps to make their own societies safer, and more secure. In terms of the host country, the Ghana Police peacekeepers usually engage in capacity building for the host country Police (i.e. local Police) while on international assignment. They also assist the host countries in reforming and restructuring of the local Police. As well, they help in the Disarmament, Demobilization and Re-integration (DDR) processes in the host countries. They also assisted the host countries in the conduct of free, fair and credible elections. For instance, Liberian elections. Again, peacekeeping engagements brings budgetary support to the Ministry of Defence budgets annually through the international peacekeeping activities of both the Ghana Police Service and the Military via compensation packages offered by the United Nations. For instance, in 2010, Ghana received approximately \$74 million, as compensation for all United Nations international peacekeeping operations while its total expenditure incurred was just \$42 million resulting in a “return” of some \$32 million.

Among the challenges identified were language barrier as many of Police contingents cannot speak the language of the people they are to protect. This is particularly true of Francophone and Arab countries where English is not their main speaking language. Inadequate logistical support for peacekeeping personnel in Missions such as Police armoured personnel carrier, ambulance, stand-by generator, water purification machine, large tent, flak jackets, night vision devices, mine detectors, ballistic helmets, image intensifiers, radars and spare parts for the equipment maintenance. Lack of vibrant collaboration between institutional stakeholders in the management and implementation of peacekeeping as a tool of achieving Ghana’s foreign policy objectives. Thus, the central stakeholders which include; the Office of the President, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ghana Police Service, the Ministry of Defence,

and the National Security Council (NSC) do not have any established system for managing the country's international peacekeeping policies. There are no designated liaison or desk officers in all these institutions dedicated to the formulations, coordination, and implementations of peacekeeping policies. The majority of the planning and implementations of international peacekeeping related assignments are left in the hands of the Ghana Police Service without a clear input from the other institutions. This problem may be as a result of the fact that Ghana's defence, national security, and foreign policies appear to be distinct subjects instead of one integrated strategy as is the case in countries like the United States. Undeniably, Emma Birikorang states that Ghana lacks a well-defined and articulated defence policy document, which has resulted in some ad hoc responses to conflicts in neighbouring countries.

A well-planned peacekeeping policy with inputs from all relevant stakeholders is not likely to overlook strategies that would highlight the benefits of Ghana's participation in successive peacekeeping operations. The lack of coordination between the relevant stakeholders in the planning and implementation of Ghana's peacekeeping policy adversely impact the achievement of the country's foreign policy objectives in terms of attracting less rather than more positive international attention, but it also leads to technical failures that affect the performance of Ghanaian Police service personnel on peacekeeping Missions. Examples include the mutiny of Ghanaian Police service personnel and the Military in Congo in December, 1960 and the ill-fated massacre of forty-four (44) military personnel in April 1961, also in Congo. Welfare and medical care have also been identified as a crucial challenge as personnel go through a lot of psychological trauma as a result of horrors they witnessed in conflict zones. Exposure to sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/AIDS and marriage breakdown as a result of infidelity and long absences from home.

4.2 Conclusion

The guiding hypothesis of this study was that there is a relationship between the Ghana Police Service's international peacekeeping engagements and the attainment of Ghana's foreign policy objectives. The study has confirmed that international peacekeeping has been one of the focal foreign policy objectives of Ghana in the quest for international peace and security, and the Ghana Police service's participation in international peacekeeping is a demonstration of policy implementations across the globe since independence.

The Ghana Police Service's participation in peacekeeping provides Ghana the most effective podium for global visibility. Due to its impeccable record in the area of peacekeeping, Ghana has been hailed on many occasions by the rest of the international community. Her international standing has therefore been greatly enhanced by participation in international peacekeeping. It was also established that Ghana's commitment to international peacekeeping aligns with the liberal institutionalists' assertion that international organizations and or institutions can increase and sustain cooperation among states, provide a basis for interdependence among states and non-state actors and represents strong support for global governance and international institutions ability to advocate for international relations.

In conclusion, the study indicated that the Ghana Police Service are involved in international peacekeeping missions that inadvertently play a critical role in the pursuit of Ghana's Foreign Policy, particularly, on good neighbourliness and commitment to global peace and security. The study further revealed the achievements and challenges of the Ghana Police Service's participation in international peacekeeping. The approach, aligns with the liberal institutionalist's view that institutions are capable of promoting global good governance and security and promotion of relations between Nation States in the international system.

4.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings, the study proffers the following recommendations to help Ghana's foreign policy decision makers to take advantage of the country's continued participation in international peacekeeping in advancing its foreign policy objectives meticulously.

- **Comprehensive Review of Ghana's Approach to International Peacekeeping**

There is the need for a comprehensive review of Ghana's approach to international peacekeeping, with the view to enhancing the collaboration between the major stakeholders in foreign policy formulation and implementation on the one hand, and the executors of peacekeeping policy on the other hand.

- **Strong Relations between Government Institutions involved in Peacekeeping**

A strong liaison between the above Government institutions involved in peacekeeping activities would serve to better integrate international peacekeeping into the country's wider foreign policy and utilization as a tool for modern diplomacy.

- **Re-tooling of the Ghana Police Service**

As part of its peacekeeping policy under the United Nations, the Ghana Police Service should endeavour to always subscribe to the Wet Lease reimbursement system where all the equipment provided to the personnel would be reimbursed. This approach will help in retooling of the Police service across the country. Under the Wet Lease system, the UN reimburses Police contributing countries for the total cost of the provision and maintenance of major operational equipment.

- **Welfare – Post Peacekeeping**

Due to the nature of some international peacekeeping missions and the traumatic experiences of the Personnel who participated in it, the Ghana Police Service should develop and adopt a Post Peacekeeping Policy on Welfare for the Officers. This should include psycho-social counselling, comprehensive health insurance and rehabilitation, where applicable.

- **Ghana Should make Efforts to link Peacekeeping to Foreign Policy Administration**

Ghana should expand its approach to international peacekeeping beyond mainly Police and military functions to include the roles played by civilians appointed to key peacekeeping roles. This would help project the image-enhancing achievements of the country through the Ghana Police Service and its prominent civilians in peacekeeping efforts across the globe. Ghana's participation in international peacekeeping can be developed to become the one unmistakable tool for achieving its foreign policy objectives.

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