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Policing in Diplomacy: The Opportunities to Ethiopia

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June 2016

Addis Ababa

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A thesis submitted to the department of Political Science and International Relations of the Addis Ababa University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations

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Acknowledgements

This research project would not have been possible to finish in time without the great supports of many persons whom they deserve acknowledgements. First and foremost, the researcher would like to express his sincere thanks and appreciations to Dr. Tafese Olika for his thorough professional advice. Secondly, the researcher would also like to thank all people involved in the study, especially those police officers, who were serving in UN missions in South Sudan, Abiye, Darfur and Haiti for their reachability over email correspondences and other means of social media communication and for sharing their open and frank experiences.

Abstract

Policing is traditionally viewed as functions of crime prevention, investigation and apprehension of offenders within a territorial jurisdiction of a country. However, this traditional view of policing has been eventually changed. The need for global policing today is increasing due to the growing international security threats and risks of transnational organised crimes such as terrorism and violent extremism and the increasing need for police roles in the international peace operations and peacebuilding. The effect of globalisation promotes the transformation of crimes beyond borders in all parts of the world, and the improved communications and information technologies have moved crime further away from its domestic base. Thus, the purpose of this study is to explore the relevance and benefits of police diplomacy towards realisation of Ethiopia's foreign policy and national security strategy. This study is a qualitative nature with interpretive and critical strategies and multi-case design. It is basically constructed on data of primary sources, as there was no previous study on the specific topic of police diplomacy. Interview, document review and physical observation were employed to collect data. The study proves that today's international system requires police diplomacy to effectively respond the changing world and tackle the international security challenges. Key benefits of police diplomacy to Ethiopia are identified. It greatly contributes in realizing the country's national interest, fosters capability of implementing the country's commitments to international agreements, enhances capability of the country's commitment to international peace, and builds national image. The study in this regard proves that although there are huge benefits of police diplomacy to Ethiopia, the country has not carefully utilized the advantages towards effectively implementing the foreign policy and national security strategy of the country. Finally, the study concludes with key points that call for a shift in approach to see policing beyound the border of the country as the local perspective of policing cannot work in today's world, emphases the need for revising the existing foreign policy and national security strategy document, and prospect for Police Liaison Officers in the country's permanent diplomatic missions.

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List of Acronyms

- **ACOP:** African Chiefs of Police
- **ACP:** Assistant Commissioner of Police
- **AFRIPOL:** African Mechanism for Police Cooperation
- **AMISOM:** Africa Union Mission in Somalia
- **AU:** Africa Union
- **AUPOL:** AU Police
- **CPA:** Comprehensive Peace Agreement
- **DDR:** Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
- **EAPCCO:** East African Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation
- **EFPC:** Ethiopian Federal Police Commission
- **EWCA:** Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Authority
- **FANSPS:** Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy
- **FDRE:** Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
- **FPU:** Formed Police Unit
- **ICT:** Information and Communication Technologies
- **IGAD:** Intergovernmental Authority on Development
- **INGO:** International Non-Governmental Organisation
- **INTERPOL:** International Criminal Police Organisation
- **IPO:** Individual Police officers
- **KII:** Key Interview Informant
- **KQR:** Key Questionnaire Respondent
- **MINUSTAH:** United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
- **MLA:** Mutual Legal Assistance

- **MoFA:** Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- **NCB:** National Central Bureau
- **PCC:** Police Contributing Countries
- **PLO:** Police Liaison Officer
- **PSO:** Peace Support Operations
- **PSOD:** Peace Support Operation Division
- **SCR:** Security Council Resolution
- **SPLA/M:** Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army/Movement
- **TOC:** Transnational Organised Crimes
- **TTIC:** Transnational Threats and International Crimes
- **UN:** United Nations
- **UNAMID:** United Nations Africa Union Hybrid Mission in Darfur
- **UNDPKO:** UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations
- **UNGA:** United Nations General Assembly
- **UNISFA:** United Nations Interim Security Force in Abiye
- **UNMIS:** United Nations Mission in Sudan
- **UNMISS:** United Nations Mission in South Sudan
- **UNODC:** United Nations Office for Drug and Crime
- **UNPOL:** UN Police
- **UNSC** United Nations Security Council

Chapter I

Introduction

1.1 Background

Diplomacy is about creating trust between countries. A key component of diplomatic works is exchange of information on security among countries and reduces vulnerability to threats and risks. Police is a public security institution that has been given a primary responsibility of preventing and investigating of crimes. Its works (policing) has become an area of international cooperation since the beginning of the 20th century that created the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL). Continental and regional level police cooperation mechanisms have been also created with the prime purpose of fighting transnational crimes. The work of the police in international peace interventions has become also critically important, especially since 1990s.

With this brief background, the police work is taking part in the multinational operations in international law enforcement, peace operations, and peacebuilding bodies such as INTERPOL, United Nations (UN), and Africa Union (AU); and it can be an integral part of the permanent diplomatic mission of a country with the aim of increasing international police cooperation. Police diplomacy for this purpose, therefore, can be defied as creating a global trust through exchange and sharing of policing resources, training, and experience between countries to build international peace and provide effective security services to people regardless of geopolitical borders. The result of police diplomacy could be gaining a better understanding of each country or region's particular crime challenges to the effect of reducing security threats and risks and providing a higher level of public safety and security in a country.

1.2 Problem Statement

The research problem of this study lays between the current foreign policy and strategy of Ethiopia and the country's practical move of utilizing benefits from police diplomacy through representations in international police cooperation organisations and representations in as well as contributions to international peace interventions.

The Foreign Affairs and National Security Policy and Strategy (FANSPS) of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) demand an effective utilization of all international benefits. Three of the seven strategies of the FANSPS are full utilization of international benefits, minimize international threats, and reduce international vulnerability to threats based on proper analysis (FDRE, 2002: 30 -39). The basic question to raise here is that to what extent the government of the FDRE is interpreting and applying these strategies to effectively and carefully utilize the benefits of police diplomacy at all level of the international system – regional, continental and global.

Policing has become an interesting area of diplomacy across the glop due to the growing security challenges all over the world. As the world has become increasingly affected by threats and risks of transnational organised crimes (TOC), the need for high-level police cooperation among countries to tackle these problems has become evident. The INTERPOL, one of the world's largest intergovernmental organizations, is the forefront organisation responsible for creating global police cooperation mechanism among its member states. As the global threats and risks of the TOCs become worst, other regional and continental police organisations such as the East Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation (EAPCCO) and the African Mechanism for Police Cooperation (AFRIPOL) was established as a regional and

continental response to fight TOCs. Ethiopia is member signatory to all these international police organisations.

International intervention for peace all over the world under the auspices of the UN and AU is another broader area that requires police diplomacy. The role of the UN police (UNPOL) in peace operations and peacebuilding worldwide is growing rapidly and has moved from passive monitoring role to reforming and restructuring of the entire police organization of a post-conflict nation within the framework of ensuring international peace and maintaining the broader rule of law (UNDPKO, 2014: 3). Like the UN structure, the AU has a police (AUPOL) component in its peace support operation division (PSOD). The AUPOL is an integral part of the AU PSOD at the headquarters level, in the field mission such as the Africa Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), and the Africa Standby Force (ASF). The role and functions of the AUPOL is similar to the UNPOL.

The ever growing need for international policing in the INTERPOL, AFRIPOL and EAPCCO, in the UN peace operations, and in the AU's interventions for peace and security are all aspects of police diplomacy that have huge opportunities to Ethiopia. Although Ethiopia is a member of the INTERPOL since 1958, and a founding member of the EAPCCO and AFRIPOL, it is not well represented in these international police cooperation organisations. The country's police officers are participating in UN peace operations and peacebuilding, but the contributions are insignificant. A shame story to the country is that the police institution has not any participation and contribution to the AU peace support operations (PSO).

The theme of the research depends on all these areas and perspectives. To want extent Ethiopia is using these international police cooperation platforms and how police diplomacy

would help Ethiopia in terms of achieving its peace and security agenda as part of its foreign policy and national security strategy is the central theme of this study. The shift from military threats to threats of TOCs has become visible, but how Ethiopia is responding to this new shift also needs a research exploration.

Academic research on police diplomacy is scanty. There are different research publications on international police cooperation. However, the thematic focuses of these publications depend only on the operational aspect of the cooperation, excluding the diplomatic aspect, which is a very important tool in international relations. The purpose of this paper is therefore to introduce the diplomatic aspect of the international police cooperation and to explore its opportunities towards achieving goal and objectives of Ethiopia's foreign policy and national security strategy. It is believed that the outcome of the study will significantly contribute to the academic discourse on diplomacy by adding police diplomacy as a new perspective.

1.3 Core argument, objectives and research questions

1.3.1 Core Argument

Ethiopia should need to do more in the area of police diplomacy in light with effective implementation of its foreign policy and strategy, considering the existed huge opportunities in the international system.

1.3.2 Objectives

The objective of the study is to explore opportunities of police diplomacy in the international system in terms of significant contributions to the assurance of Ethiopia's national security

policy and strategies. To this end, the following specific objectives have been presented and discussed.

1. Explore the global systems that requires police diplomacy;
2. Analyse how police diplomacy could be an opportunity to Ethiopia;
3. Discuss level of Ethiopia's response to the changing world to effectively utilise the opportunities of police diplomacy in the international arena.

1.3.3 Research questions

Central question of this researcher endeavour is to answer how police diplomacy benefits Ethiopia. To this end, the following specific questions have been answered.

1. Why the current international system requires police diplomacy?
2. How police diplomacy can be an opportunity to Ethiopia?
3. To what extent is Ethiopia responding the changing world to effectively utilize the opportunities of police diplomacy in the international arena?

1.4 Research methods and methodology

The study exclusively depends on qualitative research appraoch. Explanatory, interpretive and critical are the three broad strategies of qualitative research in social science - including political science (McNabb, 2004: 343). As the former one seeks for theory building, the later two strategies are apropriately applied in this study. David E. McNabb notes "interprative research helps people achive understanding of actions in social circumstances and condition, and … allows researchers to arrive at an interpretation of a phonomonen by developing (subjectively) meanings of social events or actions" (Ibid: 344). Critical qualitative research is imployed with the primary objective of helping people change their belives and actions as

part of the process of helping them become aware of the often-unconscious bases for the way they act or their beliefs (Ibid: 346).

In-line with this research approach and strategies, multi-case study research design was employed to explain and describe the international system with a specific focus to police diplomacy and to analyse the opportunities towards Ethiopia and the country's response to carefully utilize the benefits from the perspectives of its foreign policy and national security strategy.

The study is basically built-up on data of primary sources. As there is no previous study on the specific topic of police diplomacy, relaying basically on primary sources was a proper option. However, this does not mean the study did not use secondary sources of data. Some secondary sources are used to supplement and triangulate the reliability of the primary sources. According to Johnson and Reynolds (2012: 257 – 8), political scientists tend to use three broad types of empirical observations or data collection methods; depending on the phenomena they are interested in studying. These three broad types of data collection methods are interview, document review, and physical observations (Ibid). All these data collection tools were employed in the study regardless of level of utilization. The interview and physical observation tools were used to collect only primary data while the document review was used for both primary and secondary sources.

The physical observation tool was an important input to this study. The researcher's practical experiences on the topic under study have been highly helpful to understand the real contexts. Because of the nature of the researcher's current work, he has had opportunities to participate in police related meetings, seminars, and policy developments at the AU and regional levels, and to visit AU/UN lead peace operations and peacebuilding field missions.

In addition to the researcher's physical observations and experiences, different literatures that relate to diplomacy, international police cooperation, transnational threats and international crimes (TTIC), INTERPOL, AFRIPOL, EAPCCO, UN peace operations, and AU peace support operations were thoroughly reviewed and used through proper acknowledgements.

The third tool was interview method. Two types of unstructured interview guides were designed having very slight differences. The reason of designing two interview guides was the respondents. Citizens of Ethiopia and non-Ethiopian respondents were chosen to participate in the study. To properly suite the questions with the backgrounds of the respondents, there was a need to design somehow different interview guides. The nature of the questions was kept the same, but different was in focus. Interview guide # 1 (see Annex A) was designed for respondents of Ethiopian citizens and they were asked their views to specify to the Ethiopian context. Interview Guide # 2 (see Annex B) was designed for non-Ethiopian citizens and they were asked their general views on the subject matter, because it was not presumed that they knew details about Ethiopia.

Using these unstructured interview guides, the primary data were collected from carefully selected samples. For reasons of necessity and convenience, political science researchers often collect data on a sample of observations (Johnson and Reynolds, 2012: 226). Taking this into consideration, data were collected from samples of professional peoples who have better knowledge and understanding of the topics under study. The samples were drawn from the strategic level leadership of the Ethiopian Federal Police Commission, Ethiopian police officers who were deployed in UN peace operations, former Ethiopian police officers who have international exposures, police advisors working for the AU, and diplomats from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia.

The samples for interview were selected based on purposive sampling technique. According to Johnson and Reynolds (2012: 239), a researcher can exercises considerable discretion over selections of what observations to be studied, because the goal of sample selection is typically to study a diverse with usually limited number of observations rather than to analyse a sample representative of a large population. Thus, the samples were chosen based on the discretion of the researcher based on his best knowledge that they all had practical experiences on the subject matter under study.

The plan was to interview a total of 30 peoples from the target population, but good enough data was collected from 25 key interview informants (KII). Using the same research question guides, face-to-face interview was conducted with 12 KIIs and the responses of the rest 13 were collected through email correspondences that were supported with frequent Skype, Facebook and Viber communications. 80 percent of KII were Ethiopian citizens while the rest 20 percent were non-Ethiopians from different African countries. 40 percent of the Ethiopian KII were actually working in four UN peace operation missions: United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), United Nations Interim Security Force in Abiye (UNISFA), United Nations Africa Union Hybrid Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), and United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). Details of these KII including their actual designations or positions and their backgrounds or experiences are demonstrated in a table for further references (see Annex C).

The research activities were conducted in nine months time from September 2015 to May 2016 (see Annex D). Data collected from literature review, physical observation and interview have been analysed in a triangulated fashion to ensure validity of sources. In presenting and analysing of the data sources, a research ethics was seriously considered such

as confidentiality and informed consent was ensured and respected. All sources used in this research paper have been duly acknowledged in an acceptable citation.

1.5 Scope and significance of the study

According to Johnson and Reynolds (2012: 227), individuals, states, cities, agencies, countries, campaign advertisements, political speeches, wars, social or professional organisations, crimes, legislatures are some of the unit analysis in political science research. The unit analysis or element of this study is therefore Ethiopia as a country, and the level of analysis is at its policy and strategy. With this country level unit analysis, the study was limited thematically to the international system related to police diplomacy with a focus to which Ethiopia is involving in light with the implementation of its current foreign policy and strategy. The study has been carefully analysed the international opportunities by looking at the current practical experiences related to police diplomacy in the East African region, in Africa as a continent, and in the global system in general.

This study will have at least two strategic significances. First, it will bring the unseen opportunities of police diplomacy to the attention of policy makers in the Ethiopia's foreign policy. Second, as this is a first attempt of studying police diplomacy, it will hopefully add new perspectives to the academic discourses of international relations and foreign policy.

1.6 Limitation of the study

It has been mentioned in the above sections, there was no previous study on issues of police diplomacy. This research work is believed to be the first attempt of exploring area of diplomacy in policing aspects. This work is considered as an eye-opener for researchers who want to study police diplomacy as a right approach of enhancing international cooperation to

tackle international security challenges such as transnational organised crimes. With this consideration, obviously the study has some limitations in terms of modelling theoretical perspectives.

1.7 Organisation of the paper

The research paper is organised in five chapters. This introduction is the first chapter that gives introductory notes on the general aspects of the paper. The second chapter is a literature review where the basic frameworks including concepts, definitions, and theories or models related to diplomacy and policing. Chapter three is all about presentation of data collected based on the designed research questions and presented corresponding to each questions. The analysis of the research, which is the key part of the paper, is discussed in chapter four. The last one is a concluding chapter. Based on key findings of the study, major implications are identified and briefly discussed.

Chapter II

Conceptual Frameworks

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with conceptualisation of two entwined concepts aiming at exploring the foundation of the subject under study – police diplomacy. Policing and diplomacy are two different concepts interlinked to create the knowledge of police diplomacy. The knowledge of policing and its practical aspects in the international relations is an important view from the perspective of diplomacy. This chapter therefore has two sections of brief review on the basic concepts of diplomacy and foundation of policing in the international relations.

2.2 Diplomacy

Before dealing with the policing aspects in international relations, it is necessary to lay the ground by reviewing concepts of diplomacy, its historical development and theoretical perspectives as well as its relations in the study of international relations. This helps to create a viable foundation of the study.

2.2.1 Definition of diplomacy

Originally, the word diplomacy comes from a Greek word ‘diploma’ that means a folded letter (Black, 2010: 12). However, as part of academic studies, different scholars define diplomacy differently based on their angel of perspectives. For example, scholars’ definition of deplomacy from the Othodoxy and/or Traditionalist camp is different from the definition of Non-orthodoxy and/or modern camp scholars and other innovetors’ perspectives.

The Orthodoxy and/or Traditionalist definition of diplomacy is based on the core assumption of a state as single actor of diplomacy in international relations. Traditionalist scholars, for example, Hedley Bull (1977: 156) and Stuart Murray (2006: 44) define diplomacy as the conduct of relations between sovereign states with standing in world politics by official agents and by peaceful means. Similarly, from the orthodoxy point of view, diplomacy is defined as processes of communication, negotiation and information sharing among sovereign states (Lee and Hocking, 2011: 3). A British diplomat Ernest Satow, who is in the Orthodoxy camp, also defines diplomacy as "the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states, extending sometimes also to their reactions with vassal states; or, more briefly still, the conduct of business between states by peaceful means" (cited in Black, 2010: 12). G.R. Berridge (2001: 1) also packages diplomacy simply in statist terms, arguing "diplomacy is the term given to the official channels of communication employed by the members of a system of states… and the chief purpose of diplomacy is to enable states to secure the objectives of their foreign policies without resort to force, propaganda, or law."

Contrary to the Orthodoxian's view, the scholars from Non-orthodoxy school of throught define diplomacy based on the core assumption of non-state actors of diplomacy in the international relations. For them diplomacy is basically as a means of connecting individuals, groups, societies, economies and states to build and manage social relations in domestic and systemic environments (Lee and Hocking, 2011: 5).

Jeremy Black observes the changing diplomatic environment that requires changes in perspectives of diplomacy. He argues that alongside the expanding agenda of foreign services and diplomacy and the complex interaction with domestic issues and actors, there is a widespread use of the terms diplomats and diplomacy to include cultural activities, and

indeed, even the concept that everyone abroad is a diplomat for his/her country (Black, 2010:12). With this respect, 'Innovators' such as Melissen define diplomacy as "the mechanism of representation, communication and negotiation through which states and other international actors conduct their business" (Lee and Hudson, ND: 360 in Murray, 2006: 168). In this loose definition, the 'Innovators' give equal consideration to both states and nascent diplomatic actors.

2.2.2. Role and functions of diplomacy

Knowledge of functions of diplomats abroad helps to have a wider scope of understanding the concept of diplomacy. It is therefore important to specifically make clear the diplomats' roles and functions as diplomacy reflects political behaviour of a state towards another states. What is diplomacy supposed to do? How does diplomacy fit in with the protection and furtherance of national interest and security? It is quiet clear that diplomacy is one instrument among many that a government of state utilizes in its pursuit of the national interest. The diplomatic mission performs functions corresponding to its goals, contributing to mutual understanding and close relations between two States, as well as to promoting friendly multilateral cooperation between them (Iucu, 2010: 130). There are in fact many functions of diplomacy that make diplomacy an essential ingredient for any peaceful and efficient change. Black (2010: 24) categorizes functions of diplomacy into three aspects: representation, negotiation and information gathering.

However, according to Article 3 of the 1961 Vienna Convention, the functions of a diplomatic mission are (1) representing the sending State; (2) negotiating with the government of the receiving State; (3) ascertaining by all lawful means conditions and developments in the receiving State, and reporting thereon to the government of the sending

State; (4) protecting the interests of the sending State and of its nationals, within the limits permitted by international law; and (5) promoting friendly relations and developing their economic, cultural and scientific relations. In addition to these five functions, diplomatic mission have the right to perform consular services (see the second Paragraph of Article 3 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961). However, all diplomatic functions are performed within the limits permitted by international law or this means diplomacy serves as enforcing vehicle for the observation of international law (Amacker, 2011: 3).

Indeed, part of the history of diplomacy is the account of how far these processes have been conducted through the formal mechanisms of diplomacy. It is understood that, for the upkeep of the international system, diplomacy is used in every corner of the world. Without it many nations would not be able to conduct successful negotiations. It seems also that over the time in the conduct of diplomacy, the structure of diplomatic posts has changed from a loose one to an organized institution made for a specific purpose. Amacker (2011: 4) for example argues while the structure of diplomatic posts is being changed, the functions always remained the same. It should be also noted that the functions of diplomacy are organically interlinked and segregation could lead to a distorted image of the diplomatic institution (Iacob, 1997: 344). Donna Lee and Brain Hocking relate the importance of diplomacy as a tool of conflict preventions. They argue that when diplomacy fails or is absent, conflict and war usually follow; and as of core realist assumption, indeed, it is the very fact that conflict between states warrants the emergence of diplomatic systems (Lee and Hocking, 2011: 3).

2.2.3. Evolution and expansion of diplomatic standards and practices

Presumably, diplomacy has existed since the beginning of the human race and developed throughout human history as it refers to negotiation and persuasion activities between actors

(state and non-state) at international stage. However, diplomacy as a complex instrument for the management of international affairs is traditionally considered to have emerged in the seventeenth century. Many writers note the 1648 Westphalia Peace deal as departure of modern diplomacy. For instance, Richard (2011: 1) argues the evolution of diplomacy in parallel to that of a new system of international relations founded on the premise of the sovereign equality of nation-states, which was codified with the Peace of Westphalia. Kissinger (1995: 17) notes the creation of the first modern diplomacy as the result of the Westphalia's peace agreement. For Black (2010: 63 - 66), Westphalia represents a new departure for European diplomacy; and the Westphalia's notion of sovereignty, and the Westphalia's state system are terms that have been extensively used in the modern diplomacy. Murray also acknowledges Westphalia as an embarking of diplomacy in short. He argues "the Treaty of Westphalia established principles that have endured and remained at the heart of contemporary international politics; and one of these principles was diplomacy" (Murray, 2006: 23).

Diplomatic processes and practices evolved steadily throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and became more complex as a response to the development of more complicated governing structures in human societies, and the consequently more complicated issues they undertook to negotiate with each other (Hamilton and Langhorne, 2011: 1). The nature of diplomacy also changed significantly during the first half of the twentieth century, with the rise of multilateral diplomacy within the framework of international institutions such as the League of Nations and its successor, the United Nations (Pigman, 2010: 52).

Diplomatic practices continued their evolution during the decolonization period following the end of the Second World War, which resulted in a dramatic expansion of the number of formally recognized sovereign states in the international system (Rana, 2005: 20). The 1961

Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations is a breakthrough momentous in the history of diplomacy. Diplomatic culture and styles were codified for the first time in this Convention which also helped new nation-states understand the previously essentially de facto rules operated by older states (Hamilton and Langhorne, 2011: 2).

The Cold War marked a new chapter in the evolution of diplomacy. According to Copeland (2009: 20 - 21), the 'balance of terror' between the Western and Soviet Blocs established clear rules for diplomatic practice. Copeland further argues that individual countries remained the main actors of international relations, formal alliances were forged and states shared a belief in the principles of national sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in other's internal affairs, at least with regards to the two major powers. It is true that the Cold War era produced a relatively stable framework of international relations that anchored the foreign policy and diplomacy of most countries, with the pre-determined relationships of bloc dynamics (Rana, 2005: 21). The imposed rigidities of the bipolar system partly stifled innovations in diplomatic practices and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) of the newly formed countries of the South emerged as a challenge to the cultural, social and economic values of the West, and therefore also to the methods and mores of Western diplomacy (Hamilton and Langhorne, 2011:186).

The decades following the end of the Cold War were marked by a dramatic acceleration of technological advancement, particularly the quick progression of globalization, which remains the defining historical phenomenon of the contemporary era. The current phase of globalization, driven primarily by economic forces and new communication technologies, leads to a deeper interdependence between countries, not only in the economic sphere but also in an expansive array of human activities. Raymond Cohen notes that "globalization, the breakdown of national barriers to the world-wide spread of trade, investment, travel and

information of all kinds, brings societies and civilizations into contact as never before (Cohen, 1999: 1).

It is undeniable that globalization is altering the nature of international relations, and therefore also the conduct of diplomatic activity. One impact of globalization, which is significant for diplomacy, is the changing international agenda, a manifestation of the increased interdependence among nations, which comes with global integration. As the fate of countries has become indivisible, issues on the international agenda have multiplied and become more complex, intertwined and technical than ever before (Rana, 2005: 12).

In addition to this, some studies show today's diverse diplomatic challenges expand the roles of the diplomatic missions. Fore example, Argyros, Grossman and Rohatyn (2007: 1) point out some of these challenges, and they are the promotion of trade and investment, strengthening the growth of civil institutions and the rule of law, promoting democracy, the regulation of international financial systems, the fight against international terrorism and organized crimes, serving and protecting the millions of citizens who live and travel abroad, the support for sustainable development, the prevention of conflicts, and the cooperation on pressing environmental issues as well as on issues of human rights. Individual countries or governments have a very limited impact on all these emerging issues, on which "the world works together, or hangs individually" (Riordan, 2003: 54). For diplomacy, these new international agendas have resulted in more cooperation across countries, as well as in a hive of activity in many areas of an increasingly technical nature, leading the generalist diplomat into unfamiliar territory.

Considering these factors, it is therefore clear that the modern diplomatic environment has become complex than the state centric traditional one. Today's modern diplomatic

environment is characterised by three key features: the growing of different actors involvement, the emergence of summit diplomacy, and the rapid improvement of information and communication technology (Murray, 2006: 13 – 19).

2.2.4 Theories of diplomacy

Like other academic studies, diplomatic theory is important to mirror the complex environment and multi-actor nature of the international system. It is crucial to understand what is meant by diplomacy and how to study it. This session is aimed to briefly assess the broader theoretical perspectives of diplomacy and navigate towards the proper understanding of the perspective that can be suitably applicable to explain the subject matter of this study, police diplomacy.

Diplomacy is at the heart of the studies of international relations (IR); nevertheless theories of diplomacy are not sufficiently available in the academic discourses (Murray, 2006: 3 – 4). Lee and Hocking (2011: 2) similarly argue, "There is a notable absence of conscious theorising in much of the scholarship on diplomacy." Lee and Hocking further argue, "most scholars of diplomacy implicitly choose from a very narrow range of analytical frameworks drawn almost exclusively from the realist tradition in International Relations" (Ibid). However, Murray grouped theories of diplomacy into three approaches that explain the ever growing of diplomatic relations across the world. He named the theories as Traditional Diplomatic Theory (TDT), Nascent Diplomatic Theory (NDT) and Innovative Diplomatic Theory (IDT) (2006: 21 – 210). For the purpose of this thesis, these three approaches are chosen to explain the diplomatic relations.

The central tenet of TDT is laid on the traditional diplomatic practices. This is the dominant

theory that has been influenced by a long period of historical development. This theory takes the state actor as the only unit of analysis in the diplomatic world. Within diplomatic studies, the state, and its traditional diplomatic institution, is thus endorsed as the 'only diplomatic actor of significance' in the modern diplomatic environment (Holsti, 2004: 19). This approach on study of diplomacy has several synonyms: 'statist' or 'state-centric' being the most popular (Lacher, 2003: 521 – 42).

Unlike the TDT, the central focus of NDT is non-state actors; and accounts for a diverse range of diplomatic actors including Multi-National Corporations (MNC) or Non-governmental organisations (NGO) (Murray, 2006: 89 - 97). The work of recent scholars supports this assumption. Hocking, for example, argues the breakthrough of nascent diplomacy (diplomacy not directed by traditional state actors) 'reflects the expansion of the agenda to embrace human rights and environmental issues, the strengthening of civil society and the growing capacity of groups, particularly NGOs, to operate alongside governments in the international arena and to challenge states authority' (Hocking, 1999: 32 and Murray 2006: 96). The central tenet of NDT, therefore, is that 'the diplomatic expertise for dealing successfully with conflict and peacemaking does not reside solely within government personnel or procedures' (Diamond and MacDonald, 1996: 2).

The IDT emerged as a result of polarisation between TDT and NDT and to occupy the middle ground (Murray, 2006: 157). An approach privileging both the state and the non-state actors to theorising on diplomacy is the first characteristic of the 'Innovators'. It seems 'Innovators' perform an arbitrary or mediating role within the field of diplomatic studies. According to Murray (2006: 164 - 165) the 'Innovators' do so by utilising the merits of inclusive traditionalists and the moderate nascent theorists.

These theories of diplomacy could not be seen separately from the theories of International Relations (IR), because diplomacy is part and parcel of the study of IR. There are many different types of theories that explain IRs in the complex world politics. Among the most dominant theories of IR are Realism, Liberalism and Constructivism. All these three theories are vastly different; and each theory contains 'a set of mutually exclusive assumptions' (Bavliss and Smith, 2005: 291). This exclusivity could suggest that all these three theories are competing for dominance within the IR discipline.

Like the theories of IR, the three theories of diplomacy are competing each other. To show the relations of these theories, Murray made reconciliation between theories of diplomacy and IR. He correlates the three theories of diplomacy: TDT, NDT and IDT with the three theories of IR: Realism, Liberalism and Constructivism, correspondingly (Murray, 2006: 245). Murray proposes that just as IR needs the theories of Realism, Liberalism and Constructivism to understand the modern system of international relations, then so too does diplomacy needs these TDT, NDT and IDT in order to understand the modern diplomatic environment (Ibid).

The basic competing factor of these three approaches of diplomacy is the 'actor' factor. Murray (2006: 13 - 17) identifies four major actors in the environment of modern diplomacy that make the system complex. These actors are States, Non-governmental Organizations (NGO), Multinational National Corporations (MNCs), and International Governmental Organisations (IGO). When the unit of analysis for TDT is the state, non-state actors including MNC and NGO are for NDT. From this perspective, the IDT is more appropriate approach to study the subject matter under investigation because it gives a room to analysis the merits and demerits of all actors to police diplomacy.

2.3 Policing in the International Relations

Before a discussion on police diplomacy, getting the origin and meaning of the 'police' as well as its core functions is important. This section thus will briefly review important aspects of the 'police' or 'policing' vis-a-vis its involvements in the international relations.

2.3.1 Origin and definition of the police

The police is an actor of law enforcement institution in every country. However, the term 'police' originally meant something other than law enforcement. To better understand the meaning, it is instructive to look at its etymology first. The word 'Police' come from the Latin *politia*, which itself is a descendant of the Greek word *politeia* and, ultimately, of *polis* which meant civil administration or government (Dempsey and Forst, 2010: 3). The reference to the police as a "civil authority" is very important. The police represent the civil power of government, as opposed to the military power of government. Legarre (2007: 748) explains that in Medieval Latin a variant *politia* emerged, which became the French term 'police' that was to be taken over by English. From the sixteenth century onwards 'police' was used in English as a synonym of 'policy', however, by the early eighteenth century 'police' started to denote what *politia* meant in Latin, namely the regulation, discipline, and control of a community, civil administration and public order (Ibid).

The police, as it is known today, is a creature of English society in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Sir Robert Peel established modern police for the first time in 1829 with the goal of managing social conflicts resulting from rapid urbanization and industrialization taking place in the city of London. Peel's principles were that the function of the London Metropolitan police should focus primarily on crime prevention – that is, preventing crime

from occurring instead of detecting it after it had occurred – and creating positive relationships and cooperation between the police and the community it served (Dempsey and Forst, 2010: 8). In due course, the British police model was adopted everywhere else, albeit with modifications required by different traditions and forms of political organization (Bittner, 1970: 15).

The word 'police' seems lacked a precise and commonly agreed definition. It is assumed that the term 'police' had different meaning over its course of time. Until the nineteenth century the term 'police' had a wider meaning, which denoted the regulation, discipline, and control of a community, its civil administration and the maintenance of public order (Legarre, 2007: 761). Legarre further notes "police is an object or end of government, which embraces certain subject matters that do not fit properly under the other main objects of government of which the prince or king has to take care, namely justice, international relations, taxation, and eminent domain" (Ibid: 762). Similar to this, the United Nations Office for Drug and Crime (UNODC) defines police as "an arm of the State reflects their authorization to enforce laws and policies defined by State institutions for the interest of the general public" (UNODC, 2011: 6).

The origin and definition of the 'police' in the Ethiopian context could not be seen differently. In the history of the country, a modern policing system by the name of *Arada Zebgna* had been introduced in 1917; and about seven months before the outbreak of the war with Italy in 1935, a detachment known as the gendarmerie was established (Andargatchew, 2004:12-13). However, these developments were interrupted by the Italian occupation; and reestablishment was initiated in 1941 after the Italians had been ousted (Ibid). The British army recruited few Ethiopians to serve along with the British soldiers under the organization called Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (O.E.T.A) (Ibid: 14). Andargatchew further

argues, the development of modern police started from 1942 and credited Emperor Haile Selassie for his ambitious and motivation to build a professional police in the country. The professional and institutional status of the Ethiopian police, according to Andargatchew, has become reduced in the succeeding regimes (2004: 14-31).

2.3.2. Basic roles and functions of the Police

The meaning of 'police' can be further understood through looking at its roles and functions. Preventing and detecting crime and preserving peace have been the central mandate of the police since its inception. However, in practice, the police officers spend a large proportion of their time performing other roles – responding to emergencies, protecting vulnerable people, and preventing terrorism and other transnational crimes and international threats (Karn, 2013: 7).

According to UNODC the functions of the police, as a minimum, are: prevention and detection of crime, maintenance of public order, and provision of assistance to the public (UNODC, 2011: 5). In the Ethiopian context, the roles and functions of the police are enumerated under Article 9 of the 1961 Criminal Procedure Code (CPC) of the country. The Code states the police have duties "to preserving the peace and preventing crime, discovering the commission of offences, and apprehending offenders." These duties are still the key roles and function of the police institutions in the country because the 1961 CPC is still under enforcement.

In addition to these duties in the CPC, Article 7 of Proclamation number 313/2003 that was issued to establish the Ethiopian Federal Police Commission (EFPC) indicates powers and functions of the Commission. Among others, some of the powers and functions are: prevent and investigate crimes; prevent any activities in violation of the Constitutional order; prevent

violence against public peace, hooliganism, terrorism, trafficking in and transferring of drugs; prevent crimes against the interests and institutions of the Federal Government; maintain law and order; and safeguard the security of borders, airports, railway-lines and terminals, mining areas, and other vital institutions (EFPC, 2003).

It is assumed that all these powers and functions were given to the police organisation considering the context of the changing world. Globalisation, rapid developments in technology and major changes in the way individuals, families and communities live their lives are substantially changing patterns of crime and victimisation; and the role and function of the police is changing accordingly. Similar to this, Karn (2013: 3) argues, "the police mandate has become broader and more complex; and embracing functions are commonly associated with other agencies." There are major socio-economic, demographic and technological changes affecting contemporary patterns of crime, which demand new responses. Karn notes that the globalisation of goods and services, the rapid spread of new forms of communication, the increase in personal mobility and migration, the growing income inequality and the fragmentation of families and communities have created new threats and risks and new criminal opportunities (Ibid: 4 - 5). Karn further argues, "it can not longer make sense to tackle crime without acknowledging the extent to which the crime crosses local, regional and national boundaries" (Ibid).

2.3.3 Policing involvements in the diplomatic world

Apparently, the police have become involved in the international relations since the early 20th century. The first involvement has come with the establishments of international police cooperation organisations. Second, policing has become an important aspect of international peace operations and peacebuilding. In the former sense, the establishment of the

International Criminal Police Organisation (INTERPOL), the European Union Police (EUPOL), the Africa Mechanism for police Cooperation (AFRIPOL), and the East Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation (EAPCCO) are examples that need diplomatic relations. In the later sense, the growing needs for policing in UN and/or AU lead peace interventions including peace operations and peacebuilding and the invaluable contributions of the police in maintaining international peace (UNSCR, 2185/2014) need to support with quality of diplomacy. For the interest of conciseness, it is believed that reviewing of the INTERPOL and the policing aspect of the UN can give basic understandings of the extent to which the police involve in the international relations.

Established in 1923, the INTERPOL is the world's largest intergovernmental organization that facilitates cross-border cooperation on combatting international crimes. INTERPOL has two aims that are stipulated under Article 2 of its 1956 Constitution. The first one is to ensure and promote the widest possible mutual assistance between all criminal police authorities in a spirit of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR); and the second is to establish and develop all institutions likely to contribute effectively to the prevention and suppression of ordinary law crimes.

INTERPOL facilitates cooperation between states in line with its strategic priorities. The INTERPOL has four strategic priorities and these priorities are securing a global communication platform; provide data services that enable states to exchange information; provide capacity building to enable states to work together effectively; and provide direct support to individual states around a particular threat or a particular major events as well as coordinating a range of operational activity (Tyler, Gottlieb, and Bentley, 2012: 3).

According to Roraima Andriani (2007: 4) INTERPOL's origin is credited to Albert I, Prince

of Monaco. Andriani said that in times far remote from today's awareness of globalisation, the insight that crime was not limited to a specific territory led Prince Albert I to convene the first 'International Conference of Criminal Police' in April 1914 (Ibid). The discussions was focused on observations that criminals were easily able to move from one country to another, evading police who had no legal authority beyond their national borders; and the conference discussed proposals for a system of cooperation among national police forces that would counteract the criminals' advantage (Fooner, 1985: 17).

The goal of the Conference was to establish a central organisation for collecting police data, making it available to police forces in participating countries, and developing instruments capable of overcoming the regulatory obstacles of extradition laws in different countries (Andriani, 2007: 4). The second international conference – scheduled for 1916 in Romania – was never held because of the First World War, but in 1923 the Chief of Austrian Police, Dr. Johann Schober, took up the Prince of Monaco's idea and convened the 2nd International Conference of Criminal Police (Ibid). The decision was made to create the "International Criminal Police Commission – ICPC", the predecessor of INTERPOL, with an international office as its permanent headquarters in Austria, Vienna (Fooner, 1985: 18).

This original organization became defunct during World War II, however former police leaders who had survived the war assembled a conference in Brussels to restore the organization, and in 1946 the organisation resumed operation under a revised Constitution and organizational structure, making its headquarter in France, Lyon (Ibid). With the adoption of the new Constitution in 1956, which is still enforcing today, the term 'Commission' was changed to 'Organisation' to make "International Criminal Police Organisation – INTERPOL" (see Article 1).

Today, INTERPOL has 190 member countries, each with a National Central Bureau (NCB), a General Secretariat located in Lyon (France), five regional offices (Côte d'Ivoire, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Argentina, San Salvador), a liaison office in Thailand and an office at the United Nations in New York (Andriani, 2007: 5). According to INTERPOL Constitution, the organisation is operating with principles of solidarity and National sovereignty (Art 2), impartiality and no political bias (Art.3), and fairness and independence (Art.13).

INTERPOL has become increasing important through out the time as the world is changing. On 05 December 2012, Tim Tyler, head of UK International Crime Bureau, Yaron Gottlieb, INTERPOL Senior Counsel, and David Bentley, Associate Fellow from Chatham House International Law program convened a roundtable discussion on the relations of the UK and the INTERPOL. Based on the roundtable discussion, Tyler and his colleagues reported the ever-growing importance of UK's relations with INTERPOL.

> *The United Kingdom has been working with INTERPOL since 1928. However, the world – and law enforcement – has changed considerably since then and today there is an even greater need to work with INTERPOL. The changes affect the working environment of the police and the types of crimes and criminals that the police encounter today. Technological development and the introduction of telecommunication systems such as the Internet have accelerated change and made the operational environment international in nature. A few decades ago, the idea of working internationally was a remote idea and international cooperation was hardly used. However, these days law enforcement in the United Kingdom, as in many parts of the world, often relies on international cooperation* (Tyler, Gottlieb, and Bentley, 2012: 2).

Michael Fooner from the United States of America also praised INTERPOL for its importance to her country. She said, "the old-fashioned expression 'long arm of the law' takes on new and modern meaning when INTERPOL capabilities are considered, with a reach circling the globe available to any law enforcement agency in the United States, even the smallest and most remote" (Fooner, 1985: 5).

The second area of police involvements in the diplomatic world is the international peace operations and peacebuilding that lead by UN and/or AU. The UN is the biggest intergovernmental organisation, with 193 member countries, established in the aftermath of World War II to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". According to article 1(1) of the UN Charter, one of the purposes of why the UN was established is "to maintain international peace and security." To fulfil this responsibility, therefore, UN is taking different measures since the time of its inception. Peace operation and peacebuilding has evolved into one of the main tools used by the UN to achieve its responsibility of maintain international peace and security (UN, 1945).

For the last seventy years, UN has authorized 71 peace operations all over the world ranging from the first mission of 1948 in Arab-Israel (UNTSO - UN Truce Supervision Organization) to the latest authorised mission in Central Africa Republic (MINUSCA - United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic) (UN, 2016). According to this January 2016 UN Peace Operation Fact Sheet, currently there are 16 peace operations, nine of them are in Africa, with 106, 817 uniformed personnel, including 13,555 police officers, from 123 Military/Police Contributing Countries (TCC/PCC) (Ibid). Today's UN Peace operation doctrine is a multi-dimensional approach that encompasses the military, police and civilian components (Greener and Fish, 2013: 1).

Deployment of police officers in UN peace operations dates back to the 1960s, with the first deployment of police officers to the United Nations Peace Operation in the Congo (ONUC) and the organization of the first Civil Police (CivPol) component in the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) in 1964 (Durch, 2010: 2). During the Cold War, police functions centered on supporting and reporting on human rights, as well as monitoring, advising, and training host nation police on human rights and best practices (Sebastian, 2015:

9). In the post–Cold War era, however, policing in international peace operations has become increasingly important and complex (Greener and Fish, 2013: 2). Specially, following Brahimi Report in 2000, the police roles in peace operations were viewed in the wider context of the rule of law, protection of civilians and human rights (Meressa and Ann, 2015).

In March 2000, former UN Secretary General Kofi A. Annan convened high-level Panel to undertake a thorough review of the UN peace and security activities, and to present a clear set of specific, concrete and practical recommendations. This high-level Panel was chaired by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, former Foreign Minister of Algeria, and nine other eminent personalities from around the world, with a wide range of experience in the fields of peacekeeping, peace-building, development and humanitarian assistance were member of the Panel. The Panel submitted their report, which is commonly known Brahimi Report (2000). Some part of the Report can be read as:

> *Demand for civilian police operations dealing with intra-State conflict is likely to remain high on any list of requirements for helping a war-torn society restore conditions for social, economic and political stability. The fairness and impartiality of the local police force, which civilian police monitor and train, is crucial to maintaining a safe and secure environment, and its effectiveness is vital where intimidation and criminal networks continue to obstruct progress on the political and economic fronts (UNGA, 2000: 25).*

The high-level Panel recommends for a requirement of doctrinal shift from a traditional and somewhat narrow perspective of civilian police capabilities to modern tasks of reform, train and restructure of local police forces according to international standards for democratic policing and human rights, as well as having the capacity to respond effectively to civil disorder and for self-defence (UNGA, 2000: 7).

Another landmark in the history of international policing is UNSC Resolution 2185 (2014). UNSC adopted this first-ever resolution on the increasing roles of the police in the UN peace operations and peacebuilding. This historic resolution stresses in its preamble the “invaluable

contribution of the police in peacekeeping, post-conflict peacebuilding, security, the rule of law and creating a solid foundation for development."

Hence, the police roles in contemporary UN peace operations can involve both stability-related tasks and capacity-building tasks. In the former case, police personnel deployed to peace missions can potentially take a more active role in the earlier phases of an operation, when an executive policing mandate grants external police the power of arrest if there has been a breakdown of law and order. In the later case, the police can be used for monitoring, training, mentoring and capacity building or in programs designed such as reform, rebuild and restructure of host nation police capabilities (Greener and Fish, 2013: 2 - 3). As the role of the UN police has become increasingly important and complex, the number of police officers deployed to UN peace operations has continued to grow, peaking in 2010 at more than 17,500 police officers mostly from South Asian, African, and Middle East countries (Sebastian, 2015: 9).

The UN police generally comprise two types of deployment modalities: civilian police officers and uniformed police unit (FPU). The civilian police officers also comprise Senior Leadership Team (SLT) and Individual Police officers (IPOs). IPOs are normally unarmed, and have historically been utilized for community policing, information-gathering, capacity building, training, and monitoring. The 2014 UN police policy defines IPOs as "Police or other law enforcement personnel assigned to serve with the United Nations on secondements by Governments of Member States at the request of the Secretary-General." The UN police policy defines FPUs as "Cohesive mobile police units, providing support to United Nations operations and ensuring the safety and security of United Nations personnel and missions, primarily in public order management." FPUs are armed and, generally speaking, deliver a more robust form of policing than IPOs based on mandate authority and tasks (UN, 2014).

International peace operation is an issue of member countries' foreign policy. Robert Perito, former director of the Centre for Security Sector Governance at the U.S. Institute of Peace and a senior U.S. Foreign Service officer and Leanne Smith, Chief of Policy and Best Practices, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, consider UN peacekeeping as relevant factor of US foreign policy. They argue by saying that:

> *"Today UN peacekeeping is more relevant to U.S. foreign policy and national security interests than ever before. With more robust mandates than in the past, UN peacekeepers are engaged in the struggle against transnational terrorism, weapons proliferation and illicit trafficking in drugs and migrants by international organized crime"* (Perito and Smith, 2015: 1).

2.4 Summary

The concept of 'police diplomacy' is not specially found in the literatures of diplomacy. This could not be a surprise, because even the broader area of diplomacy is neglected in the academic studies of international relations. The basic concepts of diplomacy and policing have been therefore presented above briefly with the aim of demonstrating ground of the study on the topic of 'police diplomacy'. Irrespective of differences on actors among scholars and theorists, it seems common to all that diplomacy is a mechanism of representation, communication and negotiation at international level. In this sense, policing is involved in the system of international relations from the practical point of view.

Globalisation and advancement of information and communication technology (ICT) change the system of international relations. and complex that forces every country in the world to cooperate; otherwise they cannot manage the rapidly emerging changes, such as the transnational organised crimes. Police diplomacy as higher level of international police cooperation among countries to deal with conflict prevention, peace operations, peacebuilding and transnational organised crimes is critically important for building a safer world.

Chapter III

Data Presentation

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is all about data presentation. The chapter is organised based on the designed key questions that had been asked to KIIs. Four key questions had been asked to all interview informants and their views and understanding are briefly presented in the following sections. Some relevant secondary data are also presented to triangulate the validity of sources and balance the weight of evaluation where the Ethiopia's police is placed in the international police cooperation platforms. Statistical descriptions of the qualitative response from the 25 KIIs against the four key questions are briefly summarised in a table (see Annex E). It should be noted that all the response are qualitative in nature, however, the purpose of the statistical descriptions is to map the number of actual responses with their general views vis-a-vis the key questions that shall be answered in this study.

3.2 Policing in the International System

This section seeks to understand and explain the growing demand for police diplomacy in the contemporary international system. Generally, policing in the international system enhance international police cooperation and promote it to the level of diplomacy. From this view people were asked their views and the opinions of all the 25 KIIs were the same that they agree the current international system requires more police diplomacy for combatting the growing international security threats and risks from TOCs such as terrorism, human trafficking, trafficking of illicit drugs, smuggling of firearms and weapons, environmental crimes, corruption and money laundering.

Some opinions of the KIIs on the policing aspect of the international system are reflected as follows. For example, Desta Asmelash[1] views police diplomacy as a means of global collaboration and cooperation among police organizations of multi-nations through sharing of resources, training, expertise, experiences, and information to tackle all transnational crimes for a secure and peaceful world regardless of the geopolitical borders. Moreover, Desta argues that the demand of policing "goes to the extent of having the world police operating under a single command system to accomplish a specific mission mandate, for example the police component in UN missions, which comprised of several police officers from different countries of the world."

Similarly, Gashu Alemayehu[2] understands police diplomacy as "exchange of policing resources, training, and experience between nations to enhance public participation and provide a safer, more secure environment." Gashu further notes that police diplomacy is "becoming more and more important in the international system, especially in the UN and AU to deal with global issues of terrorism and other organised transnational crimes."

Teshale Teshome[3] relates the ever-growing demand of policing in the international system to the issue of 'globalisation' and the development of 'information and communication technologies'. He views globalization as it has eased the life of the global community and the technology has made too much easy to have access to information within a spark of second from the other corner of the world. He further argues, "Sophisticated technologies have made the world 'an aggregate village'." Teshale adds that similar to all other developments,

[1] Desta Asmelash was a senior police officer in the Ethiopian Police Service with the rank of Commander, director for the Commissioner General's Office of the EFPC. He was working for UNISFA as Police Advisor during the time of interview.

[2] Gashu Alemayehu was a senior police officer in the Ethiopian Police Service with the rank of ACP, director for Amhara Police College. He was working for UNISFA as Police Advisor during the time of interview

[3] Teshale Teshome was a senior police officer in the Ethiopian Police Service with the rank of ACP, and he was Director of Crime Investigation and Forensic Science at the Ethiopian Police University College

complication and sophistication of crimes have also increased due to the effect of globalization and revolution of communication and information technologies. In light of this, Teshale says, any crime committed in one nation today may have spillover effects throughout the world community violating international boundaries. He adds, because of their transnational nature and interconnectedness, organized criminal activities can never be handled by one nation independently and therefore international cooperation among law enforcement agencies is necessary. Riana Paneras[4] also explains the growing demand of international cooperation on policing. She argues, "the traditional view of policing that considers it as all about domestic affaires is no more going to exist in today's world."

Zemene Ameshe[5] argues that there is a rapidly growing demand for police diplomacy as the result of the increasing economic, political, social and cultural integrations globally. In his own word, "every body can now have a chance to see the world in his/her mobile phone which enables to have updated information and to disseminate information from one extreme corner to another within a second of time." In his view, the nature of transnational crimes and their *modes of operandi* are changed due to the increasing global integrations, which is the negative aspect of globalisation. Zemene argues that the necessity of police diplomacy as an emerging response to the changing world is becoming visible because other mechanisms such as imposing of diplomatic sanction, punitive military policies and economic embargos cannot prevent the emerging security threats of transnational crimes.

[4] Riana Paneras is a senior researcher at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), served UNAMID as police commissioner and she left South Africa Police Service at the rank of Brigadier General.
[5] Zemene Ameshe was a senior police officer in the Ethiopian police service with the rank of ACP and he was serving the MINUSTAH during the time of conducting the interview

Teshome Geleta[6] views the importance of police diplomacy in terms of building national law enforcement capacities. He argues, "Without international police cooperation, it is very difficult to fight transnational organised crimes within a state." Demelash Kasaye[7] views police diplomacy as management of communication and relationships between police organisations of different nations. He explains it saying "the importance of police diplomacy among states and all over the world seems indisputable in this globally networked world, to enhance the capacity of arresting criminals that are behaviourally trans-boundary." He further notes, "The current criminal trends are statistically growing that in turn brings the attention of police organizations to think of the strategy to impact on the deterrence effects and confiscation rate of criminals engaged in a wider practice of crime."

Tsegaye Kinfe[8] views the growing importance of police diplomacy as it enables states to protect their national interests through reducing security challenges. According to him, police diplomacy enhances knowledge of policing through sharing police culture, training, information and technologies; and also helps in extraditing and prosecuting criminal suspects through exchanging criminal intelligence. Differently put, police diplomacy enables to form different police cooperation platforms between states in their efforts to combat transnational organised crimes.

Teklay Tesfu and Teweldebrhan Legesse[9] relate the growing demand of police diplomacy with the growing needs of policing in the regional and international peace operations. Berouk Mesfin, a senior researcher at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), supports this by saying

[6] Teshome Geleta was a senior police officer in the Ethiopian Police Service with the rank of ACP and he was a Vice President of the Ethiopian Police University College

[7] Demelash Kasaye (PhD) was former Police Commander and a lecturer at the Addis Ababa University and member of All African Criminal Justice Society.

[8] Tsegaye Kinfe was a senior police officer in the Ethiopian Police Service with the rank of Commander, former Director of Tigray Police College and was working for the UNAMID as Police advisor during the time of interview.

[9] Teklay Tesfu and Teweldebrhan Legesse were both Deputy Police Commanders in the Ethiopian Police Service and were serving in UNMISS during the time of interview

"police become visible component in peace operations all over the world." Teklay in this regard has the following to say:

> *Police diplomacy has significant roles in the United Nations world, especially during its peace operations and peacebuilding. UN deploys a lot of police officers from different member states for the purpose of peace operations and building peace. During implementing mandates of the peace operations and peacebuilding, the UN police officers work closely with local police administrations and other local law enforcement authorities through tact of diplomacy to effectively implement the mandated tasks. If the tact of Police diplomacy is weak in this sense, there will not be effective peace operation and sustainable peacebuilding in the specific mission.*

3.3 Ethiopia's contributions to the police diplomacy

This session generates further understanding of the growing demand of police diplomacy in the contemporary international system and Ethiopia's contributions to the police diplomacy aspect. A question was asked to the Ethiopian KIIs with the objective of evaluating the extents of the Ethiopia's police contribution in the international system in view of implementing the country's foreign policy.

Generally, all responses of the 20 Ethiopian KIIs were negative regardless of minor differences in describing level of the country's contributions. Some of the opinions of the KIIs are presented below, for example. Zemene Ameshe, Gashu Alemyehu, Dereje Achamyeleh[10] and Teklay Tesfu termed the level of Ethiopia's police contributions to the implementation of the country's foreign policy as 'very low'. They all agreed that Ethiopia's police participations in UN peace operations and in the INTERPOL's cooperation system is very weak and insignificant compare to the roles and participation of other countries. They view UN and INTERPOL as potential areas for the implementation of the country's foreign

[10] Dereje Achamyeleh was a Commander in the Ethiopian Police Service and was serving in UNMISS during the time of interview

policy and strategy. Zemene appeals the cause to the lack of understanding and awareness at the strategic decision making level of the police organisation. From the words of Gashu the following paragraph could better describe the level of police contributions and the level of awareness.

> *Apart from participating in exchanging suspects through INERPOL, the police has no much contribution in the international arena. I do not think that Ethiopian foreign Policy of 2002 has given such emphasis for the police to participate and contribute for the achievement of its foreign policy. If it is properly observed and open the door for the police to participate, many of the points in relation to internal security shall be dealt by the police and then will put its expertise and share its contribution for the achievement of the policy.*

Desta, on the other hand, levels the contributions of Ethiopia's police in the implementation of the country's foreign policy as a *'medium'*. Considering the statement of "…all external opportunities…" he believes "the Ethiopian police was not sufficiently active in international police cooperation to fully utilize the international benefits and to significantly minimize threats." He notes the INTERPOL and the EAPCCO as Ethiopia's long-standing international police cooperation fronts and the UN Peace operations as one field of international police cooperation, however he argues that it was only few years back that the Ethiopia's police has started to contribute for the UN peace interventions. Desta explained:

> *Especially if we evaluate the Ethiopian Police participation in the UN Peacekeeping missions, where I myself am taking part currently, the police officers joining the missions are very few in number in comparison with other countries police officers. Even most of those who get the chance to join the UN peacekeeping mission are only as ordinary police advisors or observers and except one police officer for the period of one year; none of them were in a P-level managerial and leadership posts. This means Ethiopian police officers are not in a key decision-making posts to positively influence the police diplomacy frontier at the international level.*

Teshale, on his part, views the level of police contributions as 'less than expected' and he says that the Ethiopia's police have not utilized the existed international opportunities. He further explains his views that "the Ethiopian police is locked out of international community

and too much ignorant about the international policing practice." For instance, he argues "Ethiopia has a long and proud history in its contributions to the international peace operations, however the police is not part of this history." He further notes, "Ethiopian law enforcement has good reputation in maintaining national security within the border, which is more traditional practice, however it is uncertain for maintaining sustainable peace within the country as a result of the contemporary nature of crime and criminalities.*"*

To support the above views with concrete evidences, the researcher has tried reviewing reports and other relevant documents to evaluate the level of Ethiopia's police contribution and participations in the global, continental and regional police cooperation mechanisms such as UN peace operations, in the INTERPOL system, in the AFRIPOL, AUPOL and EAPCCO.

3.3.1 Contributions of Ethiopia's Police in the UN Peace Interventions

Ethiopia's police began its participation in international peace operations recently in 2008. An attempt was made to send police officers to international peacekeeping operation in the 1960s to the UN mission in Congo like the Ghanaian and Nigerians. Haile Areya Amdemichael (2006: 79 - 80) noted that members of the Ethiopian police force were sent to the UN mission in Congo with the 1st Tekil Brigade with the aim of performing some police duties and traffic services within the limit of the operational area of responsibility of the Ethiopian military contingent. However, Haile explained, since the UN regulation of that time did not permit the presence of police, these police officers were given military tasks within the contingent.

Despite this, Ethiopia's police started participation in UN peace operations in 2008 in the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS). Records of the Ethiopia Federal Police Commission shows, since that time up-to-date, the country has contributed 117 Individual

Police Officers (IPO), including five female officers, to five UN peace operations, all operates in the Horn of Africa, except the mission in Haiti.

Table 3.1: Contributions of Ethiopia's Police to UN Peace Operations

UN Mission	2008	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
UNMIS	15	10	-	-	-	-	-	25
UNMISS	-	-	8	-	8	21	-	37
UNAMID	-	-	-	12	14	7	-	33
UNISFA	-	-	-	5	2	5	-	12
MINUSTAH	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	10
Total	15	10	8	17	24	33	10	**117**

Source: *Data source was from the EFPC and tabulated by the researcher*

Ethiopia contributed 25 IPOs to the UNMIS in the years between 2008 and 2010. Each of these IPOs served UNMIS for one year and half. UNMIS was mandated by the UN Security Council to monitor the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) signed between the government of Sudan and the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) in 2005. According to Article 3 of the UN Security Council Resolution (SCR) 1590 (2005), the specific mandate of UNMIS was basically to verify the implementation of the ceasefire agreement and to investigate violations, to observe movement of armed groups, to assist in the establishment of the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) program, and supporting restructuring the police services in Sudan.

The second mission is the UNMISS that replaced UNMIS after the Independence of South Sudan on 09 July 2011. According to article 3 of the UN SCR 1996 (2011), the mandate of

UNMISS was mainly to support the government of South Sudan in peace consolidation and thereby fostering longer term state building and economic development; to support the government in developing its capacity to provide security, the rule of law and to strengthen the security and justice sectors. In support of UNMISS, Ethiopia send 37 IPOs of three contingents in the years of 2011, 2013 and 2014.

Thirdly, Ethiopia has contributed 33 IPOs of four contingents to the UNAMID in the years of 2012, 2013 and 2014. According to UN SCR 2148 (2014), UNAMID's mandate is to protect civilians, facilitate delivery of humanitarian assistances, mediate between the government of Sudan and non-signatory armed movements, and support the mediation of community conflicts, including through measures to address its root causes.

The fourth mission that Ethiopia's police are contributing is the UNISFA. Ethiopia has contributed 12 IPOs of three contingents to UNISFA since 2012. Under the terms of UN SCR 1990 (2011), UNISFA is mandated to monitor and verify the redeployment of any Sudan Armed Forces or Sudan People's Liberation Army of South Sudan, demilitarized Abiye from any forces other than the Abyei Police Service, protect civilians, monitor human rights, facilitating delivery of humanitarian aids, and provide security services to the region's oil infrastructure.

Finally, Ethiopia for the first time has send one contingent of 10 IPOs outside of its continent to the MINUSTAH. Under the term of the UN SCR 1542 (2004), this peace operation mission is mandated to ensure secure and stable environment; assist in monitoring, restructuring and reforming the Haitian National police; to help with comprehensive and sustainable DDR programmes; to assist with the restoration and maintenance of the rule of

law, public safety and public order; and to monitor and report on the human rights situation in the country.

3.3.2 The Roles of the Ethiopia's Police in the INTERPOL

Web source of the INTERPOL shows Ethiopia's membership since 15 September 1958. This implies that Ethiopia has more than 58 years of membership with the INTERPOL. Article 31 of the Constitution of the INTERPOL empowers the organisation to require constant and active cooperation of its Members in order to achieve its purposes. In order to ensure the proper cooperation, Article 32 of the Constitution says, each Member States shall appoint a body, which will serve as the National Central Bureau (NCB). The NCB is responsible to ensure liaison with: (a) the various departments within the country; (b) those bodies in other countries serving as NCBs; and (c) the Organization's General Secretariat. From this perspective, Ethiopia has established the NCB under the Crime Investigation Department of the then Imperial Police Force and now the Federal Police Commission.

According to the INTERPOL sources, the NCB in Addis Ababa is staffed by six police officers who liaise and coordinate with international and local actors in preventing and prosucuting suspects of certain priority crime areas. The prioritised crime areas are murder, sex offences, serious assault, robbery, fraud, counterfeit currency, drug offences, firearms, environmental crime, and terrorism.

Ethiopia's police participation in the INTERPOL cooperation mechanism is clear. Nonetheless, to what extent is Ethiopia contributing to the international cooperation and to what extent is the country benefited out of this should be the focus that would be discussed. In this regard, Desta notes that "the Ethiopian police through its INTERPOL has succeeded several times to effectively convince neighbouring countries' police institutions such as

Sudan, Kenya and Djibouti and managed to pull back criminal suspects from those countries to put them before the Ethiopian court of law."

Ethiopia's cooperation with the INTERPOL has often been acknowledged in different digital Media sources. For example, according to a digital media, Ethiopia was working with INTERPOL to extradite 80 suspected human smugglers (Associated Press, 2015, June 26). The same source also cited information from Mr Wondimu Chama, head of the Illegal Human Trafficking Crime Investigation Division of the EFPC. Wondimu who told Ethiopian News Agency maintain of that they succeeded extraditing five suspects from Kenya, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, and Tanzania through the INTERPOL cooperation mechanism. There were also other cases that show Ethiopia's strong commitment in the implementation of INTERPOL's plan of action. For example, on 20 March 2015, INTERPOL posted news that appreciate Ethiopia's move of burning 6.1 tons of ivory to discourage elephant poaching. According to the media news, Ethiopia became the second African country that year to burn its ivory.

Another success story of cooperation is establishment of INTERPOL Representative Office in Addis Ababa. On 26 January 2016, digital media news from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) of the FDRE and the INTERPOL announced that an agreement has been signed between them to pave the way for the world police body to open a Special Representative office at the AU, in Addis Ababa. The news read, with Africa facing a wide range of crime issues including terrorism, child labour, fake medicines, cybercrime, drug trafficking, environmental crime, maritime piracy and stolen vehicles, the agreement will build on the capacity building, training and operational supports. The agreemnt was signed by Ambassador Taye Atske-selassie, State Minister of Foreign affairs, from the Ethiopian side and Mr. Jurgen Stock, Secretary General of INTERPOL. The news of the MoFA further

indicates the signing of the agreement came following INTERPOL's desire to establish an office of representation to the AU with a view to enhancing INTERPOL's co-operation with the AU in law enforcement matters and provide direct benefit to African INTERPOL member countries (Ethiopia & INTERPOL sing, 2016).

3.3.3 Roles of Ethiopia's Police in Africa's Police Cooperation

In Africa, there are established platforms and mechanisms that boost police cooperation among African Nations. Three of the mechanisms that Ethiopia is entitled for are the EAPCCO, AFRIPOL and AUPOL.

The EAPCCO was founded in Kampala, Uganda, in February 1998 during the first meeting of Eastern African police chiefs. The meeting resolved to set up an institutionalized body after emphasizing the need for a collective effort to curb cross-border crimes with in the eastern Africa region. The EAPCCO constitution was signed in Khartoum on 20 June 2000 and came into force on 21 August 2002. The constitution of EAPCCO recognizes the INTERPOL Subregional Bureau in Nairobi as its secretariat.

According to sources from INTERPOL, EAPCCO had been established to identify ways of increasing law enforcement capacity to enhance regional and international co-operation against crime and public safety threats such as terrorism and maritime piracy, as well as trafficking in human beings, drugs and weapons. Burundi, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda are the Member States of the EAPCCO.

There is no enough evidence that shows the roles and contribution of Ethiopia on the establishment and operationalization of the EAPCCO. On its media release dated on 8

August 2013, INTERPOL reported participation of Ethiopia, together with 10 and 7 countries from Eastern and Southern Africa respectively, in regional operation against organised transnational crimes. The Operation was named *'Codenamed Usalama'* – which means 'safety'. The report mentioned that EAPCCO and the Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (SARPCCO) led the operation with support from INTERPOL. The report partly says, among the initial results, more than 300 victims of human trafficking were rescued and 38 suspects were arrested on the Ethiopia's part.

The researcher had got an opportunity to vist the EAPCCO Secretariate Office, which is the INTERPOL Eastern Africa Regioal Bureau in Nairobi, Kenya, on 11 December 2015. He interacted with representative officers of the EAPCCO member states such as Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda. He asked these officers if he could find a representative from Ethiopia, however the response were Ethiopia have never send its representative to the EAPCCO Secretariate as well as to the INTERPOL Regional Bureau.

Unlike EAPCCO, AFRIPOL is Africa wide police cooperation platform. After years of bilateral and multilateral consultations and discussions at experts level, African Chiefs of Police (ACOP) from more than 41 countries, including Ethiopia, gathered in Algiers, Algeria on 10 to 11 February 2014 to discuss on the establishment of AFRIPOL. After two-days deliberations, the ACOP came up with 'Algiers Declaration' and they agreed to establish AFRIPOL under the aegis of the AU as a mechanism for police cooperation among African countries. The ACOP also agreed to designate Algeria as the host country for headquarters of the AFRIPOL.

The Declaration stresses the awareness of the ACOP on their common challenges in terms of terrorism and organised transnational crimes, and the concerns of the increasing extent of

these forms of crimes, in particular those relating to information and communication technologies. According to the Declaration, the ACOP were deeply concerned by the alliance of criminal organisations, the complexity of their actions and methods of operation, which have gradually broadened their scope of activity at continental and international levels and taken advantage of difficult socioeconomic conditions of some populations, the vulnerability of borders, globalisation, and easy access to technologies.

As the result, the ACOP highlighting the need to promote African police coordination at strategic, operational, and tactical levels through the assessment of threats, analysis of criminal intelligence, planning, and implementation of actions. The ACOP then convinced that an effective response to the various forms of crime on the African continent requires the harmonisation of police methods, the exchange and extension of best practices in terms of training, prevention, investigative techniques, and expertise, as well as the strengthening of African police capabilities.

The second ACOP meeting was held in Algiers, Algeria on the 13 of December 2015 to ratify the rules governing the mechanism. According to Algiers Press Service, the AFRIPOL headquarters was inaugurated on the side-lines of the ACOP meeting, in the presence of police representatives from more than 40 countries.

In the 'Algiers Declaration' Ethiopia is listed as one of the founding member of the continental mechanism for police cooperation. Nonetheless, it could not be able to find concrete evidence to justify its roles in the development of this mechanism. Non-Ethiopian KIIs from the AU headquarters in Addis Ababa expressed their dissatisfaction on Ethiopia's

position in the decisions of the Algiers Declaration. For example, Crowd Cheirenjie[11] seemed unhappy with Ethiopia's roles in the decisions of AFRIPOL as the headquarters of this organisation had been decided to be in Algeria, very far from the AU headquarters. Aderemi Adoaye[12] similarly question the rational behind of deciding differed seat for AFRIPOL outside of the AU headquarters.

Like the UN police (UNPOL), the AU has police component in its peace support operations (PSO). This component is known as AU police (AUPOL) and it is structured at the headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and in different field missions as required. The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) is the biggest multidimensional mission that the AU is currently operationalizing and it comprises military, civilian and police components. The researcher had opportunities to visit the headquarters of AMISOM in Mogadishu, Somalia in the months of October 2015 and May 2016 and interacted with AMISOM police officers. The researcher observed that five main Police Contributing Countries (PCCs) were participating in AMISOM. These PCCs were Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Sierra-Leone, and Uganda[13]. The mandate of the AMISOM Police is mainly to support Somalia Federal Government (SFG) through mentoring and advising, reform and structuring and training of the Somalia Police Force (SPF).

To allow for police work that caters to the dynamic complex environment, the African Union (AU) introduced a multi-dimensional approach to its peace and security interventions on the continent. This new approach was laid out in the Common African Defence and Security Policy (2004). The focus was to include the three primary components of peace support

[11] Crowd Cheirenjie was a Zimbabwean senior police officer (ACP), and was head of capability development unit and coordinator of police component of the AU PSOD
[12] Aderemi Adeoye was a Nigerian senior police officer (ACP), and was AU Police Support and Admin Planning Officer
[13] See also AMISOM official website: http://amisom-au.org/

operations and peacebuilding – namely civilians, the military and the police – at all levels of strategic, operational and tactical analysis, planning and implementation (Meressa and Ann, 2015).

Generally speaking, Ethiopia as of yet has not any contribution to the AUPOL. The Chairperson of the AU Commission established a Police Strategic Support Group (PSSG) in June 2013 for the purpose of creating a platform for the effective coordination, consultation, communication, and networking (C3N) to the effect of enhancing and optimizing the employment and deployment of available police skills and expertise to support peace, the rule of law, capacity building, public safety and security in AU PSOs and AU Member States. Regarding roles and participations of Ethiopia in the PSSG, Cheirenjie noted in the personal interview that the AU has organized PSSG meetings in different times and invitations have been sent out to Ethiopian authorities for participation on all these meetings as well as to welcome other participants as a host nation, nonetheless Ethiopian authorities could not able to make any of them. In a personal interview, Adeoye similarly criticized Ethiopia's absent role in the PSSG events and developments meetings.

3.4 Ethiopia's benefits from Police diplomacy

This section seeks to present opinions of existing benefits of police diplomacy to Ethiopia in terms of effective implementation of the country's foreign policy and strategy. The benefits were tried to like with three strategies of the 2002 Ethiopia's foreign policy: full utilization of international benefits, minimize international threats, and reduce international vulnerability to threats based on proper analysis. KIIs were asked to focus their opinions considering the reality of the Horn of Africa region. Generally speaking, the answer of all KIIs were the same of affirmative irrespective of some differences in explaining the 'how' question. Some of the

opinions are presented hereunder, for example.

Desta explains the benefits of police diplomacy in terms of foreign and national security affairs. He notes the Ethiopian foreign policy calls for strengthening professional diplomatic capability of the personnel in government ministries and institutions that are directly or indirectly concerned with foreign and national security affairs. Desta believes that police diplomacy is a viable tool of implementing the Ethiopia's foreign policy. He argues that the nucleus of Ethiopia's foreign policy is ensuring national security by reducing vulnerabilities to TOCs such as terrorism, illegal arms trafficking, human trafficking, corruption and smuggling of illicit drug. Hence, Desta argues, tackling these sources of national insecurity is impossible without having professional link and eligible relationship with the police institutions of the countries in the Horn of Africa and the rest of the world.

Gashu and Teshale, similar to Desta's views, explain the huge opportunity of police diplomacy as an implementing tool of the Ethiopia's foreign policy. Both of those senior police officers mention the geopolitical situation of Ethiopia in the Horn of Africa that makes the country more vulnerable to terrorism and other TOCs like human trafficking and trafficking of illicit drug. Gashu argues, to effectively combat the security threats and risks, incorporation of police diplomacy in the implementation strategy of the country's foreign policy would take the country more ahead. He further explains that police diplomacy would create a conducive environment to find trainings and sharing experiences through its police liaison officers (police attaché) from different countries of the world as well as to get in to many bilateral and milt-lateral agreements to combat TOCs and to obtain external capacity building support for police force at home.

Teshale correlate the nature of today's criminality with the status of the country's being landlocked. He argues, Ethiopia is a landlocked country, however it cannot be isolating itself from the global community. In addition, Teshale considers police diplomacy as a mechanism of preventing TOCs and reducing spillover effects of conflicts from neighbouring countries such as South Sudan, Sudan, and Somalia. In his view, police diplomacy to Ethiopia is a significant tool that could help the country in achieving the existed growth and transformation plan (GTP) and beyond. He moreover relates the growing interests on police diplomacy with the effects of globalisation and the revolution on communication and information technologies, on one hand, and the changing nature of crime and criminal behaviours, on the other. He views Ethiopian as one of the countries that have been affected significantly by TOCs; and these are the situations that unquestionably call international cooperation and collaboration for professional intervention to address the problems that has continental and global manifestations.

Teshale further argues that the professional intervention of police diplomacy has utmost importance in creating sustainable and mutually beneficial relationship among the region and Ethiopia will get much more benefits out of this relationship. He also relates the opportunity of police diplomacy to Ethiopia as the country is working hard for peaceful co-existence with its neighbouring countries and for economic integration and development in the region. He notes that the economic growth that Ethiopia is currently registering and its focused practices of connecting the Horn of Africa region towards having an integrated economic development could not be achieved without having regional peace and stability; thus, the existence of police diplomacy can better benefit Ethiopia to enhance its foreign and national economic policies.

Teshome and Demelash view the huge opportunity of police diplomacy to Ethiopia in terms of booking perpetrators of crimes to justice as a result to prevent TOCs and maintain peaceful zone of the Horn of Africa. Teshome mentions some cases of Ethiopia's bilateral police cooperation with South Sudan and Yemeni police organisation that resulted on extradition of on-the-run criminal suspects to justice. He, moreover, views the opportunity of police diplomacy in terms of achieving Ethiopia's commitment to the international community in maintain international peace and security under the umbrella of the UN and/or AU lead peace operations and peacebuilding.

Zemene and Teklay view the existed opportunity of police diplomacy to Ethiopia in terms of the country's geopolitical importance, roles and contributions in the Africa continent. Zemene argues that "Ethiopia is becoming an emerging power in Africa; it is playing exemplary roles in the continent; and has become world's diplomatic centre." Teklay in his word notes "Ethiopia plays a significant role in the diplomatic activities as a host nation of the AU and chair the regional bloc, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and a key player in AMISOM with its greater interest of ensuring sustainable peace in the region, especially in Somalia." Teklay further argues, "Ethiopia is striving to integrate the Horn of African nations through supply of hydroelectric power based on mutual benefits."

Political and security stabilities in the country are the prerequisite for all these issues, however, political instabilities, conflicts, terrorism, human trafficking and migrations have become feature of the Horn of African region, Zemene notes. Directly or indirectly, these security challenges affects internal and external security of Ethiopia that requires the police organisation to enhance its cooperation to the level of diplomacy with police organisations of its neighbouring countries, Zemene further argues. Teklay supports this view by saying

"strategies cannot be easily implemented without establishing strong mechanism of cooperation among the countries."

Zemene remember one case presented to him by victim's parent that their daughter was hosted in Yemen by human traffickers who asked them ransom of 25 thousand Ethiopian Birr in return of her release. However, he mentions that he could not help the victim and her family due to a remote communications with Yemeni police and other law enforcement agencies.

Tsegay, Dereje, Alem[14] and Tewldebrhan view the existence of huge benefits from police diplomacy to Ethiopia in terms of developing strategies to prevent threats and risks against the national interest and security of the country, combating TOCs, sharing police knowledge and information, serving the international community through supporting the UN/AU in building peace and maintain rule of law, enhance capacities to solve internal and external crime problems, and build positive images of the country. Alem further mentioned a point of opportunity of police diplomacy that it bridges police professional gaps when dealing in the international cooperation.

3.5 The Imperative of PLOs in Diplomatic Missions

This session explors the prospects of sending police liaison officers (PLO) abroad as part of the diplomatic mission with the specific focus to neighbouring countries, to international governmental organisations such as the UN and AU and to the international police organisations such as INTERPOL, AFRIPOL, and EAPCCO. KIIs were asked questions relevance to this topic and some of the responses are discussed hereunder.

[14] Alem Misgna was a police commander in the Ethiopian Police and he was serving a UN peace operation mission in Haiti during the period of interview.

Chege Gothogo[15], for instance, sees importance of PLO as part of a county's diplomatic mission in view of benefiting police organisation of different countries in areas of preventing TOCs through sharing criminal intellegences and technologies. Gothogo questions why most African Countries keep Military Attaches in their permanent diplomatic missions, but not the PLO. Gothogo explains his experience:

> *When I was working with AU Peace Support Operation Division (PSOD) as Chief of Police Planning, I learnt that Rwanda and Nigeria were the only two countries from Africa that had PLO in their UN Missions in New York while there were many from other Non-African countries. These two countries were in a better position to pursue the interest of their police in deployment to UN Missions and seeking training opportunities for their countries. Similarly, there was no PLO in the African Diplomatic Missions accredited to AU but there were many Military Attaches in most of the Embassies.*

Similarly, Aster Andualem[16] views PLO in the IGO as crucial to all Member Countries including Ethiopia. She notes the fact that Ethiopia does not have any arrangment yet for PLO. Therefore, she believes that the PLO is ideal to solve the problems that the EFPC is currently challenged in terms of deployment of its police officers to peace operations and getting the right information at the right time.

According to Desta, Ethiopia would have been benefited enormously from PLO in terms of modernizing and capacitating its police institution and minimizing threats/risks associated with TOCs, if the country could send PLO as part of its permanent diplomatic missions abroad. Desta views the role of PLO as they can serve as connecting conduit between the multi-nations police organizations where their officers are deployed with the

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15 Chege Gothogo was a Kenyan senior police officer (ACP), and he used to work for the AU as Chief of Police Planning Officer

16 Aster Andualem was a senior police officer (Commander) in the Ethiopian police service, headed the UN Peace Support Operation Devision (PSO) of the EFPC. She also served for UNMIS as Police Advisor.

Ethiopian police; and facilitate different bilateral and multi-lateral police agreements on sharing criminal intelligence, training, experience, and resources.

Based on the experiences from European countries, Untied State of American, and some African countries, Gashu explains the roles of the Ethiopia's military liaison officers in the permanent mission to UN in `new York in the global achievements of the Defense Force of the FDRE and the weak contribution of the county's police on the same ground.

Teshale views the benefit of the PLO beyond the narrow concept of peace and security and he argues, it has wider connotation in foreign policy implementation and economic development as well. Teshale argues that through PLO, Ethiopia's police would have huge opportunity to exploit international experience, knowledge and skills; to contribute for international peace and security; to contribute for the national security through regional and international cooperation; and support for sustainable development of national economy; which in aggregate is to contribute to the fully implementation of the objective of the foreign policy of the country.

Zemene rationally admires the benefits of PLO to Ethiopia by demonstrating what he had actually faced with challenges in his deployment to MINUSTAH. He explains:

> *We could take an example of the deployment process of Ethiopia's police officers to UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) that many problems were faced started from the beginning in Ethiopia. Visa and passport issue, issues of carrying firearms, preparations, pre-deployment trainings, length of tour of duties, and issue of extension were all challenges to all the police officers seconded to the mission. Generally, there were gaps to fix these problems. As we did not have police liaison officers in the UN permanent mission in New York, we were greatly challenged with problems basically related to communication and awareness creations.*

Tsegay, Alem, Dereje, Teweldebrhan and Teklay also agree with the enormous benefits of PLO to Ethiopia in realizing its foreign policy. According to these KII, some of the benefits of PLO to Ethiopia are establishment of partnerships, maintaining mutually meaningful communication with countries necessary for exchanging or sharing of information on criminal intelligence, police knowledge and expertise. It also can help greatly to improve performance of Ethiopia's police services; ensure administration of justice and the rule of law; support in stabilizing the socio-economic developments in the country, ensure safety and security of its nationals residing abroad and building/enhancing its national images globally.

3.6 Summary

This chapter presents opinions and facts from different sources with an aim of lay the ground for careful discussion and analysis in the next chapter. All KIIs were asked the key research questions focus on the relations of policing with the contemporary international system, Ethiopia's contributions to the world of police diplomacy, and the benefits that the country can get from police diplomacy with specific interest of supporting implementation of the Ethiopia's foreign policy and strategy, the imperatives of PLO in the permanent diplomatic missions of the country. All the views of the KIIs can be generally consider as positive with the exception of opinions related to the contributions of Ethiopia to the police diplomacy platforms. Sources related to contributions and benefits of Ethiopia to/from the international police cooperation platforms show there is a greater room of improvements. The information presented in this chapter will be carefully discussed and analysed in the next chapter.

Chapter IV

Discussion and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals on discussion and analysis of findings based on the facts reviewed and presented in the preceding two chapters. The analysis starts with the today's changing world that caused the emergence of global policing. Before moving to the need of police diplomacy as a response to the changing world, certain key threats and risks of TOCs to Ethiopia are highlighted to soundly justify the needs. Illicit trafficking of firearms, illicit drug trafficking, trafficking of human beings, smuggling of migrants, environmental crimes, and terrorism and violent extremism are briefly discussed to show how they are serious threats and risks of the peace and security of Ethiopia. The rationales of police diplomacy and its relations with the basic perspectives of diplomacy are also covered in the analysis.

The Centre of this study is exploring the opportunities of police diplomacy to Ethiopia. Contributions to the implementation of the country's foreign policy and strategy, fostering capabilities of implementing bilateral and multilateral agreements that prevents and suppress crime and criminalities, enhancement of Ethiopia's presentation and contribution to observance of international peace, and building national images are specified as key opportunities that Ethiopia should consider in revising its foreign policy. Lastly, assignment of Police Liaison Officer (PLO) as part of the country's permanent diplomatic missions is discussed. Some rationales of the need for PLO assignment are briefly analysed.

4.2 The changing world and emergence of Global Policing

The emergence of global policing as the result of the growing threats and risks of TOCs and

the increasing need for international peace operation and peacebuilding in response to protracted conflicts all over the world has been discussed in the preceding two chapters. It has been also discussed that the globalization and the growing economic interdependence are encouraging and promoting the transformation of crimes beyond borders in all parts of the world (Moore, 1996 in Durmaz, 2005: 1). Again, it has been tried to touch the fact that the improved communications and information technologies, greater mobility of people, goods and services across countries, and the emergence of a globalized economy have moved crime further away from its domestic base (Carter, 1997 Durmaz, 2005: 1, and Klosek, 1999: 602,). From these perspectives, it is quiet right to drive the fact what Riana Paneras argues in an interview. She notes, "Policing is no more be in-house in the today's world."

4.2.1 Local Policing vs. International Policing

Traditionally, policing is understood as local law enforcement activities that specifically focus on crime prevention and investigation and maintaining law and order of a country within its border. As it has been discussed in the literature review chapter, the meaning of 'police' was understood from its functional roles as preventing and detecting crime and preserving peace within the territory of the sovereign states (Karn, 2013: 7).

This is true to the context of Ethiopia. As reviewed in chapter II, the roles and functions of the Ethiopia's police are termed as 'duties' under article 9 of the 1961 Criminal Procedure Code of the country, which is still under enforcement. According to this, the duties of Ethiopia's police are preserving peace, preventing crime, discovering commission of offences, and apprehending offenders (Ethiopia, 1961). These 'duties' are also listed under Article 7 of the Proclamation number 313/2003, which was issued to establish the EFPC, in a detailed manner as 'power and functions' of the Commission. Some of these 'powers and

functions' are to prevent and investigate crimes; prevent any activities in violation of the Constitutional order; prevent violence against public peace, hooliganism, terrorism, trafficking in and transferring of drugs; prevent crimes against the interests and institutions of the Federal Government; maintain law and order; and safeguard the security of borders, airports, railway-lines and terminals, mining areas, and other vital institutions (EFPC, 2003). The 'power and functions' in the Proclamation do not have substantive differences from the 'duties' in the Criminal Procedure Code; and substantially they are the same.

What could be deduced from the definition of these two legal instruments is that the roles and functions of the Ethiopia's police seem traditional or territorial bounded. No aspects of international policing have been reflected in these instruments and no roles and functions of the police are changed, despite globalisation and revolution on communication and information technologies have substantially changed the patterns of crime and victimisation. Jacqui Karn (2013: 4 -5) notes that the globalisation of goods and services, the rapid spread of new forms of communication, the increase in personal mobility and migration, the growing income inequality and the fragmentation of families and communities have created new threats and risks and new opportunities to criminals. Karn further notes "it is no longer makes sense to tackle crime without acknowledging the extent to which it crosses local, regional and national boundaries" (Ibid).

As a result of the involvement of transnational elements in crime, the successful prosecution of organized crime has become more difficult. Huseyin Durmaz (2005: 2) noted the local or national police forces need three basic elements to immobilize criminals: information, evidence, and the identified criminal; however, the increase in criminality on an international scale has made it less likely that all the three elements will co-exist within the same national jurisdiction. For that reason, many countries have acknowledged that the worldwide nature of

the transnational organised crimes (TOC) problem requires international cooperation at the legislative, judicial and executive levels (Moore, 1996 in Durmaz, 2005: 2).

The International Police Organisations with broad international representation were not formed until police institutions had become sufficiently autonomous from the political centres of their respective national states to function as relatively independent professional bureaucracies (Deflem, 2005: 795). According to Mathieu Deflem certain structural conditions and operational motives should meet to determine further development of international policing, and structural conditions ensure that national police agencies are in a position to move beyond the confines of their respective national jurisdiction (Ibid: 796).

The INTERPOL is the biggest 'Non-treaty' and most enduring international police organisation with 190 Member Countries. However, it was formed without the signing of an international treaty or legal document (Ibid: 797). This implies that the political thought of policing is limited within the horizon of the territory of a State. This seems to be true in the Ethiopia's context. Although the country is affected with transnational organised crimes since many years and there are some attempts of cooperation in the international police cooperation platforms, the police legal instruments do not recognise yet the importance of international policing to fight transnational organised crimes. The reason is not clear, but it might be referred to what Deflem said above. The police organisation might not get sufficient autonomous from the political centre of the country to 'function as relatively independent professional bureaucracy' with proper structure and operational motive in the international policing.

4.2.2 Threats and Risks of TOCs to Ethiopia

Heads of Government and State demonstrated their political will to respond to a global

challenge collectively when they signed the UN Convention against TOC in December 2000, which Ethiopia is a signatory to it. In the preamble of the Convention, the Heads of Government and State expressed their deep concerns on the negative economic and social implications of transnational organized criminal activities, and were convinced of the urgent need to strengthen cooperation to prevent and combat such crimes more effectively at the national, regional and international levels (UNGA Resolution 55/25).

To encourage all Member States to ratify this Convention and to bring it into force as a matter of urgency, the then UN Secretory General Kofi A. Annan noted the following (UNODC, 2004: iv).

> *If crime crosses borders, so must law enforcement. If the rule of law is undermined not only in one country, but in many, then those who defend it cannot limit themselves to purely national means. If the enemies of progress and human rights seek to exploit the openness and opportunities of globalization for their purposes, then we must exploit those very same factors to defend human rights and defeat the forces of crime, corruption and trafficking in human beings.*

There is no agreed single definition of TOC (Pankratz, Thomas/Matiasek, and Hanns, 2012: 42 and Durmaz, 2005: 10 - 12) of the TOC, but it is possible to get the concept from two articles of the UN Convention against TOC. The first article is Article 2 (a), which defines 'organised criminal group' and the other one is Article 3 (2), which defines 'offenses of transnational nature'. In the former one, the Convention defines 'Organized criminal group' as a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit. In the later one, the Convention states that an offence is transnational in nature if: (a) it is committed in more than one State; (b) it is committed in one State but a substantial part of its preparation, planning, direction or control takes place in another State; (c) it is committed in one State but involves an organized

criminal group that engages in criminal activities in more than one State; or (d) it is committed in one State but has substantial effects in another State. Combining those two articles of the UN Convention together, TOC could be define as it encompasses essentially all serious profit-motivated criminal actions of an international nature where more than one country and more than two perpetrators are involved.

One nature of transnational organized crime is that the criminals network forge bonds across borders as well as overcome cultural and linguistic barriers in the commission of the crimes (UNODC, 2014: 39). For organized crime, according to the UNODC report, the world has no borders (Ibid: 36). The focus of transnational criminal networks is increasingly overlapping, particularly in the world's most vulnerable regions; and their illegal enterprises circulate illicit drugs, weapons, natural resources and human beings across borders and between continents for the enrichment of criminals, insurgents and corrupt officials (Ibid). In some regions, the report notes, the economic profits they generate through these illicit business go to support terrorist groups (Ibid).

There are many offenses that can be characterized as transnational organized crime. The United Nations Office for Drug and Crime (UNODC) listed six TOC in its report that the organisation closely works with Member countries in fighting them. They are namely: wildlife and forest crimes, trafficking in persons, smuggling of migrants, illicit manufacturing of and trafficking in firearms, money-laundering, and cybercrimes (UNODC, 2014: 36 – 52). The report treated crimes of illicit drug trafficking, corruption and terrorism in separate topics other than TOC.

The effects of the TOC is generally that it threatens the safety and security of countries, violates human rights and undermines economic, social, cultural, political and developments

of civil societies around the world (Ibid). The hidden cost of TOC to society is immense and it is big criminal business. In 2009, it was estimated to generate $870 billion — an amount equal to 1.5 per cent of global GDP (UNODC, 2014: 37). That is more than six times the amount of official development assistance for that year, and the equivalent of close to 7 per cent of the world's exports of merchandise (Ibid).

TOCs are equally threats and risks to Ethiopia. To demonstrate the level of threats and risks of the TOCs to the country, some of them, such as illicit firearms trafficking, illicit drug trafficking, trafficking in human beings, trafficking of migrants, environmental crimes and terrorism and violent extremism are briefly discussed below.

- **Threats and risks of illicit firearms**

Illicit firearms trafficking have become real threat to Ethiopia. In fact, no region in the world is exempted from the dramatic consequences of firearm violence, which cover the whole spectrum of human security. Illicit firearms facilitate for violent crimes, conflicts and insecurities within and beyond a country. Illicit firearms are also complementary to other threats and risks of crimes. For instance, four in 10 homicides worldwide are caused by firearms, according to a latest Global Study on homicide (UNODC, 2014: 46 - 47).

In the African continent, accumulation and trafficking of illicit firearms has become a major challenge to peace and security. For this reason, the AU has launched a project to deal with this problem with supports from the European Union (EU). On 25 April 2016, Second Steering Committee meeting for Phase II of the project was conducted in Addis Ababa to evaluate the progress of implementation. Dr. Tarek A. Sharif, head of the AU Defense and Security Division, addressed to the audience of the meeting on how the illicit trafficking and proliferation of firearms are multifaceted challenges to the peace and security of the continent

in his opening remarks. He said, AU plan to silence the guns by 2020 requires a very strong commitment to implement AU policies, frameworks, and instruments. The head also notes that the AU aspirations, demonstrated in Agenda 2063, to tackle the increasing problem of insecurity and instability caused by the widespread of small arms and their ammunitions (Sharif, 2016, April 25).

To reduce the threats and risks of these illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), the government of Ethiopia is taking different measures. Recently, Ethiopian Broadband Corporation (EBC) (2016, March 21) reports that the devastating effect of SALW in Ethiopia has been discussed in a National forum organised by the Ministry of Federal Affairs. According to EBC, senior government officials addressed their serious concerns on the effects of illicit firearms circulations in the country. Some of the officials who participated in the National forum anonymously informed EBC reporter that the SALW are escalating the effects of minor conflicts between peoples and communities in the country.

In confirmation, Yemane Gesessew[17] in a telephonic interview notes illicit trafficking of firearms in Ethiopia has become a serious challenge to the peace and stability of the country. Yemane confirms EBC report that the Ethiopian government is going to enact new law to regulate SALW and combat the devastating effects of the illicit trafficking of firearms. It is important to note that the seriousness of the illicit trafficking of firearms in the country is caused due to the transnational nature of the crime.

- **Threats and risks of illicit drug**

Since the second half of the 20th century, illicit drug has become a global security threat. For this reason, International Treaties were concluded to control drug problems. Many of the

[17] Yemane Gesessew (Assistance Police Commissioner of Police) was expert of SALW control and staff director of the EFPC Commissioner General

Member States of the UN including Ethiopia have signed the UN Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs of 1961 and the Conventions on Psychotropic Substances 1971 that deals with controlling of illicit drugs and substances. However, in today's world there is widespread recognition among states that drug, together with other organised crime, jeopardize the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), which is recently replaced by Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) (World Drug Report, 2011: 8). This World Drug Report clearly emphasis that drug control must become an essential element of world joint efforts to achieve peace, security and development (Ibid).

The global threat and risks of illicit drug was also discussed in the Second International Conference on "Russia-Africa Anti-Drug Dialogue" which was held in Durban, South Africa from 08 - 09 March 2016, in which Ethiopian delegation had participated (interview with Tsegaye). The delegations of the Conference under their 'Declaration' expressed their serious concern about the increasing illicit production of narcotic drugs, which is contributing to TOCs that threatening international security, and undermining the legal global financial-economic system affecting all regions of the world. The delegations further acknowledged the security of the world are increasingly affected by production and trafficking of illicit drugs. The Durban Declaration is annexed for further information (See Annex F).

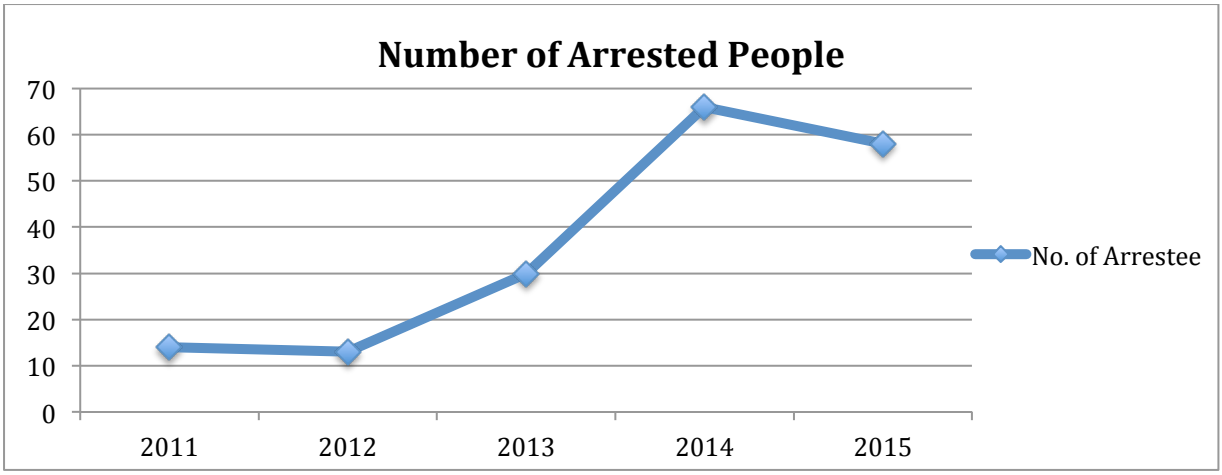
The spread of drug abuse and illicit trafficking in Ethiopia have not been a serious problem in the past. However, recent police statistics indicate that drug abuse and illicit trafficking are becoming serious concerns in the country. A comparison of statistical data on drug interceptions reveals that organized criminals have been using the network of Ethiopian airlines increasingly to commit trafficking of illicit drugs such as heroin and cocaine.

Statistical data from EFPC shows that from 2011 up to 2015, the Illicit Drug Control Division of the EFPC arrested 189 drug offenders from 51 different countries, and seized 20,299gm Heroin, 315543,29gm Cocaine, 1123506.83gm Cannabis, and 7,963.65gm Methamphetamine (see Annex G). According to Tsegaye Woldehiwot[18], most of the arrested persons had been tried in court and sentenced to imprisonment according to the new Penal Code of Ethiopia. As Tsegaye further notes, the sentences passed by the court ranges from ten to fifteen years; and most of the accused people had backgrounds of consuming, trafficking, and cultivating of drugs and involved in commission of other serious crimes including TOCs.

Ethiopia has become a favourite transit point of trafficking illicit drugs. Apart from the strategic geographical location of the country in the continent, the flight routes of the Airlines have created favourable conditions for trafficking heroin from the Asian continent to West Africa and Europe and cocaine from South America to Asian and Europe with some spillover into the local market, Tsegaye notes in an interview. Tsegaye adds that Psychotropic substances such as Diazepam is most commonly abused and smuggled to Ethiopia from neighbouring countries while Cannabis trafficked out from Ethiopia.

Graph 4.1: Trends of Illicit Drug Offences in Ethiopia

[18] Tsegaye Woldehiwot was a Commander in the Ethiopia police service, and head of the Illicit Drug Control Division of the EFPC.



Source: Researcher's graph based on *data from Illicit Drug Control Division, EFPC*

According to Tsegaye, the Ethiopia's police is trying to devote its resources and capabilities to the prevention and control of illicit drug trafficking activities at local and national level. The Graph 4.1 above shows the increasing number of arrested drug suspects in Ethiopia during the last five years. An implication from this data is that it indicates the trend of illicit drug trafficking in Ethiopia is at a sharp increasing rate because the number of arrested drug suspects has increased from 14 people in 2011 to 66 and 58 in 2014 and 2015, respectively. This means the growth rate of drug offenders is 371 percent and 314 percent in the last two years respectively.

However, the growing of arrested drug offenders might not indicate the true picture of the level of drug trafficking in the country. Good performance of the Ethiopia's police Anti-Drug Division might be the cause for the increasing of arrested drug suspects. Whatever the case, it can be clearly understood that illicit drug trafficking as part of TOCs has become a security threat and risk to Ethiopia as the country arrested illicit drug offenders from 51 different countries of the world. Table of Arrest and Seizure of illicit drug offences for the five years are annexed for further information (see Annex G).

- **Trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants**

The most shameful crimes that have become global concerns, affecting virtually every country in the world as a place of origin, transit or destination are Trafficking in person and smuggling of migrants. They have affected the lives of millions of people across the globe, with criminals robbing them of their dignity and forcing them into exploitative situations every day (UNODC, 2014: 41). The consequences of trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants translate into adverse financial, social, and economic impacts at the household, community and national levels (Animaw, 2011: 56 - 57). The negative impacts of these shameful crimes in Ethiopia are not different from the rest of the world, if not worst; they are both threats and risks of the country in different forms.

Sometimes, the difference between trafficking in person and smuggling of migrants are not clearly understood by many people. Although they have some common features, they are basically different. To prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, the UN adopted a Protocol specific to 'trafficking in person' that supplements the UN Convention against TOC in the year of 2000. This Protocol, under its Article 3(a) defines trafficking in persons as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threaten or use of force or other forms of coercion … for the purpose of exploitation" (UNODC, 2004: 42). It also defines the concept of 'exploitation' to include prostitution or sexual exploitation, forced labour, slavery, and servitude or the removal of organs. Similarly, the UN adopted another Protocol specific to 'smuggling of migrants' that supplements the UN Convention against TOC in the same year. This Protocol, under its Article 3(a), defines smuggling of migrant as "the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident" (UNODC, 2004: 54 -5). In light of this, the main difference of trafficking and smuggling is that the former is featured by 'coercion' against the victims,

while the latter is described by ‘consent’ of the victims. Where people migrate voluntarily, they are called ‘migrants’; where they are forced, they are called ‘trafficked’.

Beyond ratification of the UN Convention against TOCs and its Protocols, Ethiopia has national legal instruments that criminalize trafficking in person. Article 18 (2) of the FDRE Constitution prohibits trafficking in human beings for whatever purpose. The Article partly reads ‘No one shall be held in slavery or servitude.” The 2004 revised Criminal Code of Ethiopia further incorporates provisions such as Articles 596, 597, 598 and 635, which criminalize trafficking in persons, particularly of women and children (FDRE, 2004).

Despite these international and national legal provisions, thousands of Ethiopians are trafficked and smuggled to different countries including to Djibouti, Sudan, South Africa, and the countries of Middle East. It is widly reported that Ethiopian women in the Middle East are the subject of serious violence and human rights violations. Their journey, in the majority of the cases, is turning from legally recognized labor migration into a clear case of trafficking. Several media outlets highlighted Ethiopian women in the Middle East for being subjected to forced labor and servitude, rape, sexual and physical abuse, murder, suicide, kidnapping, and various other crimes. The incummbent Ethiopian Government has continued defending the ever-increasing migration of women and girls to the Middle East as a voluntary labor migration. A National Movement against trafficking and smuggling of human beings was established in the country with a committee, representing various stakeholders at the natinal level to reinforce all efforts to end these shameful crimes. Despite these efforts, the problem is still negativly affecting the country.

The International Lobour Organisation (ILO) country office in Addis Ababa conducted a study on a topic entitled ‘trafficking in persons overseas for labour purposes’ in 2011. The

study reavled that an estimated 75,000 –100,000 Ethiopians migrate illegally to Sudan, Libya and then to Europe annually (Animaw, 2011: 48). The study also reavled that an approximatley 45, 000 to 50, 000 Ethiopians live in South Africa and about 130,000 in Saudi Arabia, most of who are irregular migrant workers (Ibid: 44, 49). It has been widly announced in the public medias that the number is recently growing due to the influx of new migrants.

The ILO's study further confirmed that young men from Southern part of Ethiopia cross the border to Kenya, Tanzania and proceed to South Africa using the services of smugglers. The smuggling migrants faces with multiple problems before they reached South Africa and some of them are arrested and deported back to Ethiopia. According to the study, there were various reports of abuse and exploitation enroute to South Africa by the smugglers to ensure obedience and take additional financial advantage, and 30–40 young men are deported back every two to three months (Ibid: 45).

As it has been discussed in chapter III, in response to the challenge of trafficking in person and smuggling of migrants Ethiopia through the INTERPOL cooperation mechanism tried to book offenders to the law of court and succeeded, for example, to extradite more than 80 suspected human smugglers from Kenya, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, and Tanzania (Associated Press, 2015, June 26). In addition, the Ethiopian government is working with countries of destination to reduce the negative impacts of human trafficking and smuggling. Among many government and non-government efforts, sources shows that the country has signed bilateral agreements with Kuwait and Sudan, which would create collaborative and coordinated efforts to prevent trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants (Animaw, 2011: 64). Although this effort indicates a step-ahead, the question to how could the agreements be implemented is a critical point. This will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

- **Threats and risks of environmental crimes**

Alongside with the trafficking in drugs, firearms and human beings, wildlife and forest crime is one of the largest transnational organized criminal activities today. According to the UNODC report, each year, billions of dollars are generated from wildlife and forest crime, with the money often being used to further other serious criminal activities such as money-laundering, corruption, murder, extreme violence and terrorism (UNODC, 2014: 38). The report also notes that wildlife and forest crime not only threatens biodiversity and endangered species, but also impacts the livelihoods of people and damages social and economic development (Ibid).

Table 4.1: Summery of arrests for Wildlife trafficking

Year	# Arrests overall	#Arrests at BIAP			Value of fines (in Birr)	Nationalities Eth/Chines/Other
		Departure	Transit	Total		
2010	109	-	-	-	500,000	All Ethiopian
2011	249	59	145	204	1,700,000	45 / 185 / 19
2012	123	4	114	118	1,500,000	6 / 107 / 11
2013	147	7	131	138	110,000	9 / 125 / 13
2014	106	5	95	100	> 500,000	9 / 91 / 9

Source: EWCA, 2014: 6

Like to other countries, this type of crime is a real threat and risk to Ethiopia. For example, the country is identified both as a source and a key trade hub for illegal ivory trafficking (EWCA, 2014: 4). It is estimated that Ethiopia has about 320 different species of wild mammals and the African elephant (*Loxodonta africana*) is one of the conserved species (Ibid: 3). In 2014 alone, more than 100 people were arrested in the country in connection to

illegal ivory trade and trafficking with most being transit passengers at Bole International Airport (BIA) in Addis Ababa, and some as departing passengers. The figures in table 4.1 could not establish the bigger picture of the problem, but it could indicate the fact that ivory trade is occurred within Ethiopia and trafficked outside of the country.

Ethiopia seriously concerns on crimes against the environment and is trying to react accordingly. For example, as discussed in chapter III, Ethiopia supported INTERPOL's plan of action on environmental crimes and burned 6.1 tones of ivory on 20 March 2015 to discourage elephant poaching. Again, to address the challenges of illegal ivory trade and trafficking, the Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Authority (EWCA) is closely working with concerned international and national institutions such as INTERPOL, Custom and Revenue Authority, and Federal and Regional police institutions, but the problem is still continued unsolved (EWCA, 2014: 6).

- **Threats and risks of terrorism and violent extremism**

Terrorism and violent extremism are the biggest security threats and risks in the global world. They negatively affects the world security at every level: they endanger the physical security of individuals and communities, sowing fear and panic; they undermine the rule of law, destabilizing countries and regions and jeopardizing sustainable peace; and they can have a devastating impact on trade and other economic activities, which in turn harm development irrespective of differences in geographic locations (UNODC, 2014: 82).

Terrorism in the African perspective is not different from the world. AU Commissioner for Peace and Security, Ambassador Smail Chergui twittes on 21 April 2016 to address the fact to how terrorism is a serious threat to the continent. Chargui declares in an interview with African Union Digital Information Communication (DIC) "terrorism is the security threat of

the century" (Chergui, 2016, April 21).

Like others, terrorism is both a real threat and risk to Ethiopia as it occupies an important position in the volatile and strategically important Horn of Africa. The United States of America considers this strategic location as a major source of global terrorism (USIP, 2004: 2). Ethiopia knows very well about terrorism and violent extremism and has faced with many incidents of terrorist attacks including airplane hijacking, kidnapping, assassination attempts, mining of roads, and blasting of bars, hotels, and public buildings (Ibid: 5). The Horn of Africa is one of the world's most conflict prone regions, where instability tends to spillover across borders. In addition to the decade of cold war enmity with Eritrea, Ethiopia is between two brutal wars: the civil war in South Sudan and the protracted conflict in Somalia; and all have impacts on the domestic security of the country.

In response to these threats and risks, the Ethiopian government has passed the Anti-terrorism Proclamation 652/2009 in July 2009. One of the justifications for the promulgation of the anti-terrorism proclamation is that Ethiopia has faced a clear and present danger of terrorism and the substantive and procedural laws in place were not capable of addressing the problem (Wondwossen, 2013: 51).

Beyound filling the legislative gaps, the country has undertaken different steps to prevent terrorism and criminalize offenders of such crime. Ethiopia is a member and strong ally to the Partnership for Regional East Africa Counterterrorism (PREACT), which was established in 2009. This multi-faceted program is funded by the USA to build the capacity and cooperation of military, law enforcement, and civilian actors to counter terrorism (USDSP, 2015: 26). The strategic objectives of this program includes: reducing the operational capacity of terrorist networks; developing a rule of law framework for countering terrorism in partner nations;

enhancing border security; countering the financing of terrorism; and reducing the appeal of radicalization and recruitment to violent extremism (Ibid).

Ethiopia is a member of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and participates in its counterterrorism programs and trainings. The Ethiopian government also supported counterterrorism efforts in Somalia with the Somali National Army and other regional security groups in Somaliland, Punt-land, and southern Somalia. The Ethiopia Federal Defense Force (EFDF) is participating in the Africa Union (AU) led counterterrorism efforts as part of the Africa Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). The integration of EFDF into AMISOM is a milestone in the multinational effort against international terrorists, since the counterterrorism operations in Somalia have instrumental in preventing al-Shabaab's dispersion into Ethiopia. In addition to the internal and external efforts against terrorism, the Government of Ethiopia remained concerned about violent extremism and engages in local mediation and conflict mitigation strategies to defuse ethnic or religious tensions.

However, the role of the police in fighting both threats and risks of terrorism and violent extremism seems to be more local, limited within the territory of the country, while the nature of these crimes are transnational. The opportunities from the police will be discussed later in the subsequent sections.

4.3 Policing in diplomacy: a response to the changing world

As discussed in the previous chapters, the world is changing fast ever as a result of globalisation and the rapid development of ICT. Many people nowadays commonly termed the world as 'small village' to describe the level of interaction among the people of the world. Hence, in this today's inter-connected world, national approaches alone are not sufficient to prevent and/or combat TOCs. As aforementioned, the transnational nature of organized crime

means that criminal networks forge bonds across borders, overcoming cultural and linguistic differences in the commission of their crime. These transnational organised crimes threaten the safety and security of communities, violate human rights and undermine economic, social, cultural, political and development of civil societies around the world. As the nature of crimes and criminalities are changed, the nature of policing should require change from local to international. Today's world therefore needs international policing as part of the diplomatic environment to respond the ever-changing world.

4.3.1 Relations of international policing with diplomacy

As it has been discussed in the above section, the nature of traditional policing or local policing is no more work with today's world. Globalization and the growing economic interdependence have encouraged and promoted the transformation of crime beyond borders in all parts of the world (Moore, 1996). Improved communications and information technologies, greater mobility of people, goods and services across countries, and the emergence of a globalized economy have moved crime further away from its domestic base **(**Durmaz, 2005: 2 – 5). Therefore, policing should become global to effectively prevent and prosecute crimes and criminalities of transnational nature. The question of how global policing could relate with the very idea of diplomacy is crucially important for opening discussions that could create a big picture of how global policing is part of diplomacy. The premise for this is that any deal of a state beyond its territory has some sort of diplomatic activities and global policing has this nature.

The evolution, theory, and functions of diplomacy have been reviewed in chapter II. Relating the idea of global policing with these factors of diplomacy would be important to frame the idea of 'police diplomacy'. In terms of the evolution, it has been discussed that the modern

diplomatic environment has become complex than the state centric traditional one; and it is characterised by three key features: the growing of different actors involvement, the emergence of summit diplomacy, and the rapid improvement of information and communication technologies (Murray, 2006: 13 – 19). It could be inferred from the very fact that one of the reasons that make the modern diplomatic environment complex is the issue of the increasing threat and risks of transnational organised crimes. Hence, the complex diplomatic environment needs global policing as part of the diplomatic spectrum to effectively respond the newly emerging threats and risks of transnational organised crime.

The idea of police diplomacy is remain opened in the theories of modern diplomacy. As discussed in chapter II, the major factor that made the three theories of diplomacy: TDT, NDT and IDT, different is the 'actors' issue in the diplomacy world. As the actors for global policing includes both the States and Non-states; and as all these theories strive on the study of diplomatic relations with an objective of maintaining national interests of states as well as the wellbeing of the people of the world through maintaining international peace and security, no sense of restriction could be seen to the idea of police diplomacy in the global diplomatic environment. The very idea of police diplomacy would not have any changes in the theories of TDT, NDT and IDT; as a matter of comparison, however police diplomacy would be described more in the IDT as it is more modern and accommodate all the emerging aspects of diplomacy.

As discussed in Chapter II, theories of diplomacy were reconciled with the theories of International Relations (Murray, 2006: 245). The traditional, nascent and innovative theories of diplomacy were correlated with the theories of International Relations of Realism, Liberalism and Constructivism, respectively. From this perspective, global policing could be studied using all these theories of International Relations, as international policing requires

all State and Non-state actors.

In view of diplomatic functions, the police diplomacy could meet the required functions. According to Jermey Black (2011: 24), the three broad functions of diplomacy are representation, negotiation and information gathering. Moreover, the functions of diplomacy have been discussed as specifically includes representation, negotiation, ascertaining and reporting, protection and promotion in the receiving sate, according to Article 3 of the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. Police diplomacy, therefore, could have the same functions of these to the specific area of prevention and prosecution of crime and criminality. The urgent need of 'information sharing' among States against transnational organised crimes should be one of the functions of police diplomacy. Similar to this, UNODC noted, "the transnational organized crime must be met with a rigorous response and the need for greater information sharing and cooperation has become urgent" (2014: 39).

The principle goal of most criminal enforcement efforts, both domestic and international, is to immobilize criminals. In order to accomplish this, three things are typically required: information, evidence, and the criminal (Klosek, 1999: 600). The increase in criminality on the international level, along with the declining importance of national borders in an era of globalization, makes it less likely that all three elements will co-exist within the same national jurisdiction. For this reason, the police institution of one State is required to cooperate with the authorities of other States, and they need assistance and cooperation in the areas of information gathering, apprehension of the criminals, evidence procurement, witness interviews, suspect interrogations, confiscation of illegal funds, and extradition of offenders. It is, therefore, clear that to execute at least these functions the international policing needs diplomacy with a political will of all the sending and receiving States.

4.3.2 The rationales of policing in diplomacy

In addition to the nature of close relations of international policing with the very idea of diplomacy as discussed in the above sub-section, it has been also presented in Chapter III that the current international system demands more police diplomacy to strengthen international police cooperation. The responses of all the KIIs were similar; and they agreed with the fact that police diplomacy has become more demanding in the international system as a right response to the changing world. The following factors are some of the common reasons that can justify the rationales of police diplomacy in the international relations.

First, although some forms of police cooperation among independent states are as old as professional police forces, the intensity of international law enforcement cooperation has greatly accelerated in today's world. This intensity of law enforcment cooperation requires for development of a new system in the international relations, that is police diplomacy.

Second, the need for police diplomacy has greatly increased with economic and social change in today's world. Indeed, virtually all the factors in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were associated with the growing prosperity of the highly developed countries. Urbanization, rapid transport, improved communications, the development and integration of international markets contributed to the growth of international criminality, both petty and sophisticated natures. These factors assisted the mobility of criminals, the transportation of illegal substances, and the organization of complex conspiracies, and also provided new opportunities for theft, fraud, and the disposal of the profits of crime. Certain conditions that also allow the growth of international criminality are such as the lack of stable political authority and social dislocation.

Third, police diplomacy can be introduced as a high level of police cooperation among states to combat the ever increasing problems posed by transnational organised criminality that can be classified as bilateral, regional and global threats and risks. A police typology suggests four geographical spheres of policing: local, national, regional and global. Likewise, the lelvel of police diplomacy can be classified as bilateral diplomacy between two states and multilateral diplomacy that is conducted among more states at a regional or continental level or among the broadly diversified states of the world.

4.4 The relevance of policing in diplomacy to Ethiopia

Police diplomacy has benefits to Ethiopia that could be seen from different angels. Broadly, four categories of benefits are discussed below. The first could be seen in terms of the contributions in achieving the goals and objectives of the country's foreign policy and strategy. The second relates to the issues of implementing different bilateral and multilateral agreements related to extradition and mutual legal assistance that Ethiopia has signed with other states. Thirdly, it enhances Ethiopia's participation in the maintenance and building of international peace. Lastly, police diplomacy has huge benefits to Ethiopia in the area of building national image. Detail discussions of these opportunities are presented hereunder separately.

4.4.1 Contributions to Ethiopia's Foreign Policy and Strategy

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) adopted a Foreign Affaires and National Security Policy and Strategy (FANSPS) in November 2002, which is currently under implementation. The foundation of this policy and strategy is a matter of ensuring

national survival. According to the National Security Policy and Strategy document, "The alpha and omega of security is the ensuring of national survival" (FDRE, 2002: 5).

Three factors have been taken as foundation of the FANSPS: development and the building of democratic system, national pride and prestige and globalisation. These factors are highly important to understand the benefits of police diplomacy to Ethiopia. In the first sense, the foreign and national security policy has the mission of protecting national interests of Ethiopia. By national interest, it refers to the interests of the entire citizen of the country − no more, no less (FDRE, 2002: 7). What is crucial to the interests of the entire citizens are, according to the FANSPS, rapid development that benefits the citizens and the issue of democratization. The second foundation is about the past history of Ethiopia, which is not much important to this discussion.

The third foundation of the foreign policy and strategy is the issue of globalisation. The FANSPS recognizes the impossibility of attaining rapid development and democracy in the country by ignoring the regional and global contexts. This policy and strategy appreciates full exploitation of the opportunities from the globalization, lessening the constraints that it creates, and become active participants in the process of globalization to promote the national interests and security of the country. The policy and strategy (FDRE, 2002: 20) states:

> *"…development and democracy … in the context of globalization is not a matter of acknowledging or discounting the fairness of globalization, but it is simply the matter of accepting the reality of globalization, with all its limitations, and endeavouring to operate within its framework to safeguard one's interest and security. There is no other way".*

Threats and risks of TOCs and spillover of conflicts are some of the limitations of globalisation that demand police diplomacy as an international response. The police institutions in Ethiopia, both the federal and state police, are among the key security

organisations in the country who are primarily responsible to prevent crimes, including transnational organized crimes and apprehend and prosecute criminal offenders. These functions of the police institutions in Ethiopia have very important contributions to the implementation of the policy and strategy.

The goal of the FDRE's FANSPS is to ensure international conditions that are conducive to realize the drives for rapid economic development and democratization. In principle, all diplomatic activities are centred economic diplomacy. However, the diplomatic work of the country must also aim at eliminating or at least reducing external security threats through widening the number of foreign friends who can help to create a regional and global atmosphere conducive for peace and security of the country. This requires forecasting potential threats and addressing them through dialogue and negotiation, both individually and collectively in order to lessen the negative effects of globalization.

Broadly, the FANSPS has two objectives: resisting external threats to security and building internal capacity to reduce vulnerability. To achieve these objectives, the FANSPAS has devised seven strategies of which the third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh Strategies are more relevant to the discussions of police diplomacy (FDRE, 2002: 25 – 55). These strategies are separately reviewed and appraised as follows.

To begin with, the third strategy is the full utilization of benefits based on careful analysis (FDRE, 2002: 30 – 32). Protecting national interests and security of the country have already discussed what the country needs from the work of foreign relations and these benefits need to be fully utilized. The national interest, as discussed above, refers to the economic benefits that Ethiopia needs to get while the later refers to the need of political, diplomatic, military and technical support for the maintenance of the country's national security. In view of the

later point, the implication of this policy and strategy is that police diplomacy could greatly contribute to the benefits of the country through reducing threats and risks of TOCs, and also in building its national image in the areas of international peace operations and peacebuilding.

Minimizing threats based on proper analysis is the forth strategy (FDRE, 2002: 32 – 34). According to the FANSPAS, seeking cooperation and bringing them to execution is an important component in the effort to creating a fertile ground for democratization and development at home. In addition, prevention or mitigation of hazards is an important aspect of this strategy. But the need to identify the sources and levels of threats is necessary before anything else. In doing so, it is necessary to identify parties that could help in resolving the problem. The function of this strategy should be informed by an understanding of relations in the world of globalization, the negotiation and balancing of interests.

As discussed above in this Chapter, TOCs such as trafficking of firearms, illicit drug trafficking, trafficking in person and smuggling of migrants, smuggling of environmental crimes, and terrorism and violent extremism are the real threats and risks to Ethiopia. The police institutions in Ethiopia have primary responsibilities to prevent such crimes as well as to minimize the threats and risks of these dangers based on carful studies and actions. As the nature of these crimes are transnational and organized, the police institutions need to have high-level cooperation with neighbouring countries as well as with the rest of the international world. The need for high-level cooperation with police institutions of other countries requires engaging in diplomatic negotiation for sharing crime intelligence, apprehending of offenders, ascertaining and reporting of crime and criminal related issues. In this sense, it is not difficult to assume the huge benefits of police diplomacy to Ethiopia in terms of achieving the goals and objectives of its foreign policy and national security

strategy.

The fifth strategy of the FANSPS is reducing vulnerability to threat (FDRE, 2002: 34 – 40). The document recognizes poverty, backwardness, and the infancy of good governance system as the main threats of the country and the external threats as the extensions of these internal challenges. The document states external forces may try to exploit the country's vulnerabilities caused by internal difficulties because they may believe that the country is now in a poor and backward state; the people could easily be at each other's throat and are unlikely to collaborate for a common cause; and the defence and security capabilities are weak for economic, political and technical reasons (FDRE, 2002: 35). Apparently, bad image of the country inherited from previous regime should be one of the factors that make the country vulnerable to threats. In this sense, representations of competent police officers from Ethiopia in the international diplomatic world would greatly help in restoring and enhancing of Ethiopia's national image and simultaneously contribute in reducing its vulnerability to threats. Police diplomacy, therefore, is important instrument for Ethiopia to reduce its vulnerability to threat and aggregately to achieve its foreign policy.

The sixth strategy is building national defence capabilities (FDRE: 2002: 40 - 48). The document acknowledges the major role of diplomacy in reducing tensions and avoiding conflicts by embarking on early negotiation. The document reads that creating an efficient and state-of-the-art information network significantly enhances the efforts launched in developing defence strategies. It further notes that the information or intelligence network must be fully capable of predicting threats to security and providing information of value to the diplomatic and defence initiatives. However, it is unfortunate that this strategy tends to relays solely on the military capability and ignores the capabilities of the other law enforcement institutions such as the Police. It has repeatedly been asserted in the above

sections of this chapter that transnational organized crimes including terrorism and violent extremism are the real threats to Ethiopia. To combat these threats, military capability with military-intelligence alone is not that adequate; rather, arguably police capability with crime-intelligence is significantly important. Hence, police diplomacy as instrumental in foreign policy in this regard is inadequately utilized by Ethiopia.

The last strategy is building strong implementation capacity (FDRE, 2002: 49 – 55). The country's foreign policy document notes that putting the foreign and national security policy and strategy into practice needs full participation of the entire nation. The document also states that without professional staff functioning within an organization, implementation of the policy and strategy would not be satisfactory. The document further notes that it is essential that qualified professionals be deployed in an organised manner. From this view, the need for police diplomacy in the international arena is quite clear. It has been discussed in the previous sections that the tasks of policing have become international due to the negative effects of globalisation and the rapid development of ICT that changed the nature of crime and criminality from local to the international level. Hence, the policy and strategy document explicitly puts, without deploying essentially qualified professionals in an organised manner, the functions of international policing cannot be successfully executed by other people who don't have the profession of policing. Thus, police diplomacy is an important potential instrument for Ethiopia in realization of its foreign policy goal. In this regard it is imperative need for the country to professionalize members of its diplomatic staff vis-à-vis the changing today's world. In other worlds, the country needs to consider the essential role that police diplomacy can play in implementing its foreign policy.

4.4.2 Fosters capability of implementing agreements on legal assistances

Globally, there are different international agreements to collectively prevent crimes of

transnational nature, especially terrorism. For example, the UN General Assembly (UNGA) adopted Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and its Action Plan on 8 September 2006. The predecessor of Africa Union (AU), Organisation of African Unity (OAU), adopted a Convention on the prevention and combating of terrorism on 14 July 1999. Heads of State and Government of the IGAD Member States decided to establish a program to fight terrorism in 2002 in Khartoum, Sudan. In 2009, the IGAD Member States, including Ethiopia, signed two important documents: Convention on Extradition and Mutual Legal Assistance (MLA) in Criminal Matters. The purpose of the first Convention is to cooperate only on extradition of criminal/s who committed offenses punishable by at least one-year period of imprisonment in both member states, while the second Convention is to cooperate in widest extent possible to combat all threats of criminal matters. According to the preambles of the two IGAD Conventions, the agreements were signed with greater desire to enhance regional cooperation in the prevention and suppression of crimes more effectively (IGAD, 2009).

In addition, a Ministerial level meeting on legal cooperation in criminal matters and other security threats in the IGAD region was hold in Khartoum, Sudan from 1 - 2 April 2009. This Minsters of Justice of the IGAD Member States meeting adopted a statement commonly known as 'Khartoum Statement'. The 'Khartoum Statement' took note of the fact that there is lack of domestic laws that impede the implementation of some aspects of the two IGAD Conventions. The statement also stressed the need to ensure all efforts to counter threats to security that would be undertaken with respect and due regard of human rights, including the rights of victims of terrorism, and the rule of law (Khartoum Statement, 2009).

These international legal instruments are important. However, how the Conventions could be effectively implemented is the key question that needs scrutinizing. Implementations of the

two IGAD Conventions are based on the existing normal diplomatic channels of communications. Hence, the question of how effective are the police institutions of the Member States to use the normal diplomatic channels of communication is critical that remains to be answered. Abebe Muluneh[19] appreciated the issue of police diplomacy in an interview in terms of implementing the aforementioned IGAD Conventions effectively. As discussed in Chapter II, crime prevention is the role of the Police in the first place. Considering this, Abebe notes "as the purposes of the Conventions are to prevent and suppress crimes of transnational nature, the role of police institutions through the diplomatic channel of communications is quiet important."

Issue of extradition in this today's world has become an inseparable part of international police cooperation. According to Huseyin Durmaz (2005: 2 – 5), "Locating and arresting international fugitives with the view of extradition is part of international police cooperation to combat international criminality." In this regard, active engagements of the Ethiopia's police in the diplomatic field will foster the capability of implementing the IGAD Conventions on Extradition and MLA, which Ethiopia is party to these agreements.

4.4.3 Enhance Ethiopia's contributions to international peace interventions

Ethiopia has a long history of participation in UN peacekeeping operations. In response to the collective security principle, Ethiopia started involving in UN peacekeeping operations in 1950s in Korea and in 1960s in Congo. The overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 and the civil war that engulfed the country for the next two decades interrupted Ethiopia's military involvement in UN peacekeeping, although the period between 1978 and 1988 also saw the launch of non-new UN missions (Woodhouse and Duffey, 2008: 123). After two

[19] Abebe Muluneh was a Police Commander and Director of IGAD Security Sector Reform Program.

decades of absence from participation in UN peacekeeping operation, Ethiopia resumed sending its military personnel to UN missions in the 1990s as part of the major expansion of peacekeeping operations throughout the world, especially in Africa. After this time, the country has continued sending its military personnel to UN-led missions on the African continent, for instance, in Rwanda, Burundi and Liberia, Chad, Central Africa Republic, Cote d'Ivoire, Sudan, and South Sudan (Solomon, 2013: 1).

Currently, Ethiopia's deployments to international peace operations have been mostly concentrated in the Eastern Africa region. The country is greatly contributing to the UNAMID, UNMISS, UNISFA and AMISOM. Ethiopia set a new record in the history of UN peacekeeping operations by deploying almost the entire military component of UNISFA. Since 2011, Ethiopia has become first in African and fourth largest troop contributor to UN peacekeeping operations (Ibid).

Why Ethiopia is much interested in the international peace operations is one of the important enquires that should be discussed. Solomon (2013: 4) identified five major rationales as to why Ethiopia participates in international peace operations. These are namely security, political, economic, institutional and normative rationales.

First, security rationale is a major factor to Ethiopia. Both in policy and practice, Ethiopia understands from experience that its national security is intertwined with the security of its neighbouring countries and the region. Given that Ethiopia is the only country that shares borders with all the IGAD member states except Uganda, conflicts and security problems in its neighbourhood often have serious repercussions for Ethiopia at home. This has been the major factor behind of Ethiopia's deployments to Somalia, Sudan's Abyei region and Darfur, and South Sudan. In all cases, Ethiopia's deployment is mainly to prevent these conflicts

from undermining its own security and to stem any wider regional security problems that may develop.

Second, Ethiopia's recent participation in international peace operation is driven by several political motivations. The FANSPS of Ethiopia acknowledges that the country's development, peace and security is intertwined with the development, peace and security of neighbouring countries and those in Africa (FDRE, 2002: 8, 57-59). The promotion of regional peace and security is therefore a major political consideration in the country's foreign policy. Particular emphasis is given to stability in the IGAD region, where Ethiopia's major involvements are taken place. It is also assumed that Ethiopia recognizes participation in international peace operations enhances its power of influence in the regional and international affairs. This is articulated as one of the secondary basic principles of the FANSPS (Ibid: 23-24). It could be also assumed that Ethiopia recognizes the diplomatic and foreign relations leverage that contribution in international peace operations brings help in pursuing of its foreign policy and strategy objectives.

Third, the economic rationale that informs Ethiopia's participation in international peace operations and peacebuilding has three major ways. Firstly, Ethiopia receives some amount of money as compensation for its contributions in the UN and AU peace operations and peacebuilding. Although it is not the decisive factor, this monetary gain is a consideration in the country's decision to participate in international peace operations. Secondly, contributions to international peace operations and peacebuilding also bring opportunities for policy support from major donor countries. This contributes towards supplementing the country's budget for building the capacity of and modernizing national security apparatus. Lastly, participation in UN and AU peace operation accrues economic benefits at the individual level of the military and police staffs involved.

The fourth benefit is in terms of institutional rationale. As the FANSPS states, Ethiopia wishes to maintain a formidable modern army and national security infrastructure (Ibid: 40-48). In this context, two institutional benefits can be identified from participations in international peace operations and peacebuilding. First, it enables the military and police personnel to gain international experience and knowledge in a wide range of areas. Second, it also serves as a framework for military and police professional supplies and hence contributes to modernization endeavours.

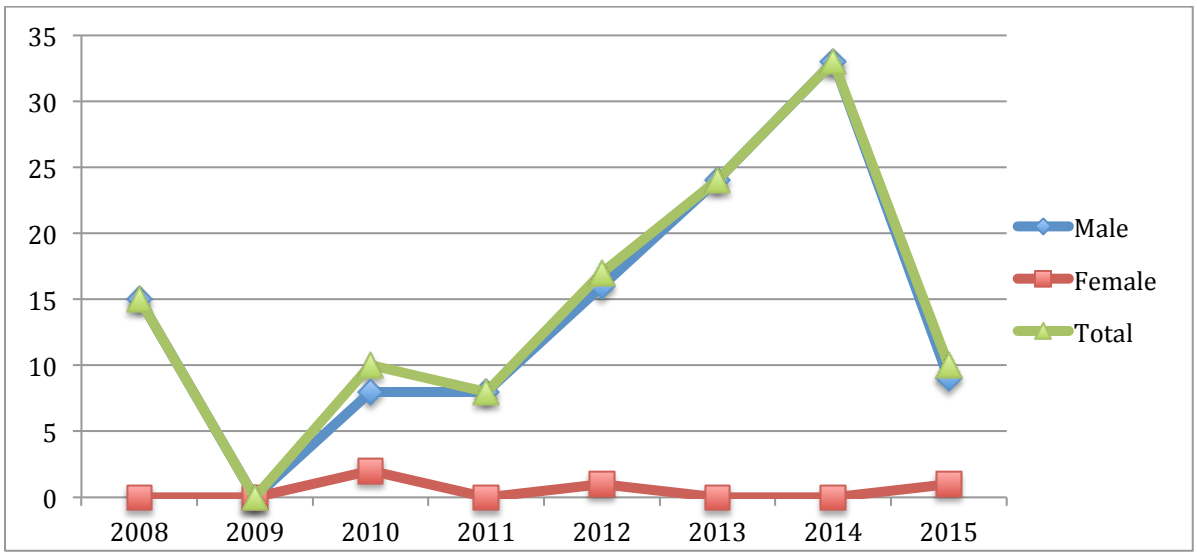
Finally, several normative values are relevant to Ethiopia's participation in international peace operations. The main one is Ethiopia's historical commitment to the global collective security system anchored on the UN Charter. According to Solomon (2013: 4), because of its bitter experience from the failure of the League of Nations, Ethiopia's historical commitment to the UN's collective security system is very well established. Its deployment of troops to Korea and the Congo in the 1950s and 1960s was mainly motivated by its righteous commitment to the UN's collective security system. Currently, there is a recognition within the FANSPS that Ethiopia should at all times abide by international principles and norms that promote peaceful settlement of regional and international disputes and take active roles in global and regional security. Solidarity with the peoples and countries of Africa is another normative consideration for Ethiopia's contribution for international peace operations and peacebuilding.

However, the country's contributions to international peace operation are highly military dominated. International peace operations and peacebuilding in today's world require a balanced multidimensional approach that includes three major components: police, civilian and military in that order. Nonetheless, as it has been presented in chapter III, the contribution of Ethiopia's police to the international peace operations and peacebuilding

efforts is insignificant. For example, as of January 2014, UN Police had 13,177 police officers, including Formed Police Unit (FPU), from 82 Member Countries in 19 peace operation missions (UNPOL, 2014: 7 and 31). Bangladesh, Jordan, Senegal, Nepal, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Egypt, and Togo were the top ten Police Contributing Countries (PCC) to the UN peace operations and peacebuilding, respectively with the range of Bangladesh's contribution at 1,757 police officers and Togo's contribution at 334 police officers. While five of the top ten PCCs were African countries, Ethiopia's participation could be categorized under the very least PCCs in Africa (UN, 2014: 46).

The trend of Ethiopia's police participation and contribution to the UN peace operations and peacebuilding is less developed. Graph 4.2 below shows that there was an increase in the year of 2013 and 2014, but there is a sharp decline in the following year.

Graph 4.2: Trends of Ethiopia's Police contribution to UN peace interventions



Source: Researcher's own graph based on *data from EFPC*

To compare Ethiopia with other East African PCCs, the country's police contribution to international peace operations is very low. UN source indicated that Ethiopia could be

categorized under the very least PCCs in Africa. As of January 2014, Ethiopia's contributions were 29 police officers, while Rwanda, Djibouti, Kenya and Uganda were 518, 174, 59 and 52 police officers respectively (UN, 2014: 46 – 48). Given the fact that Ethiopia as a big country with longstanding commitment to the principle of collective security, and good political will; and is the first in Africa in its military contribution to UN peace interventions; deployment and contributions of the Ethiopia's police were supposed to be greater than the others.

Table 4.2: Contribution of East African PCCs to UN peace intervention as of Jan 2014

Country	**Deployment of Police in UN POs and PB**		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**
Ethiopia	28	1	29
Djibouti	170	4	174
Kenya	43	16	59
Uganda	39	13	52
Rwanda	335	183	518

Source: *UNPOL (2014), UN Police Magazine, 12th Edition, January, DPKO, PP 46 -48*

UN urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all levels of decision-making in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict (SCR, 1325/2000), Ethiopia's police have done very little. As indicated in Table 4.2 above, Ethiopia was represented by only one female police officer during the reporting time. A confidential document sources from EFPC shows that the country has deployed only five female police officers in all of its participations in the international peace operations and peacebuilding, two of them to UNMIS, and of the remaining three, one each to UNISFA, UNMISS, and MINUSTAH.

It is important to note how significant of participations in the international peace operations and peace building to a country's diplomacy. The role of Ethiopia in the international peace interventions has dominated the discourse of international relations of the country in the public media. What it is heard frequently in the government owned public media is Ethiopia's military role in the peace interventions in the Horn of Africa region, particularly in Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan. Moreover, from the views of the global world, the military contribution makes Ethiopia highly respected and recognized in the overall efforts and interventions of the international community in peace and security endeavours. Proudly enough, Ethiopia's military roles in the international affairs can be considered as a great achievement in the diplomatic efforts of the country. Unlike the military, the Ethiopia's police participation and contribution in the international peace operations and peacebuilding is insignificant that shall need improvements. Hence, Ethiopia has a huge opportunity in this regard to enhance its presentation in the international peace deals.

4.4.4 Building National Image

In addition to the opportunity of representation in the field of international peace operations, there is a huge opportunity in building national image. All the deployed police officers in UN and AU peace operations have operational immunities in the host nation where the mission is operating, and they represent their country with always-visible police uniform that hold national insignia of flag of their respective country. They are working always for the mandated functions of the mission wearing their home country's recognized uniform that can be easily identified by the insignia flag of their respective nation visible on the right arm of each police officer. These police officers are working, within the area of the international peace operation, with multinational police officers, who come from different police

contributing countries (PCC) across the world. For example, 39 and 41 PCCs are currently participating in UNMISS and UNAMID respectively.

It is important to note here that the diplomatic roles of police officers in the international peace operations. The operational immunity status of the police officers, the visible representation of their respective country, and sharing of information and experiences with different police officers of the world can be considered as clear functions of diplomacy. In doing so, there is huge opportunity of building national images in the field of international peace operations as the country can be recognised as a big international player just because of its representations. From this view, there is a need that Ethiopia should enhance its police participation and contributions in the international peace operations to utilize that opportunity of building its national images.

In addition, Ethiopia should be represented in the strategic and operational posts of the UN peace operation, in the INTERPOL Offices, in the continental and regional police cooperation institutions such as AUPOL, AFRIPOL, and EAPCCO. There is no doubt that police representation in these international police cooperation institutions would help to keep Ethiopia's positions right in the areas of global peace and security as well as enhance its efforts of building national images.

4.5 Police Liaison Officers: the prospect

It has been widely discussed in the previous sections of this chapter that today's world requires international policing as the nature of crimes are being changed as the result of globalisation and the rapid development of ICT. It has been also discussed that the transnational organised crimes such as illicit drug trafficking, smuggling of illicit firearms and weapons, trafficking in person and smuggling of migrants, environmental crimes, and

terrorism and violent extremism are the real threats and risks to Ethiopia. To respond to the changing nature of crimes and to prevent and reduce the threats and risks of these TOC, there is a need of establishing Police Liaison Officers (PLO) as part of the Ethiopia's permanent diplomatic missions overseas, especially in the neighbouring countries and in the international governmental organisations (IGO) such as UN, AU and INTERPOL.

As discussed in chapter III, all the KII viewe the huge benefits of PLO in today's changing world. They understood the benefits of PLO from the view of enhancing capabilities of the country in the international system through representation and negotiation in the filed of international policing; preventing and supressing TOCs and uperhending offenders; and implementing bilateral and mulitlateral agreements that the country has signed. Including PLO within its permanant diplomatic missions and in the IGO is therefore a necessary to Ethiopia.

The establishment of PLO within the permanent diplomatic mission will have many advantages or benefits. Some of the benfits are the following. First, PLO can play great roles in preventing or reducing threats and risks of crimes through promoting international police cooperation and fostering friendly relations among the police institutions of different countries. PLO can also create direct personal contact with law enforcement officers in the reciving countries that can expedite aprehension of criminal suspects, investigations, and prosecuritions. Moreover, the PLO can be a valuable resource in helping to clear up misunderstandings relates to crime and criminalities through providing information about foreign jurisdiction and criminal investigation policies of the cooperating states.

Secondly, PLO fosters capabilities of implementing bilateral and multilateral agreements on prevention and supression of transnational organised crimes. For example, the role of PLO in

the implementation of the two IGAD Conventions on Extradiction and MLA will be greatly important. Among others, the PLO will closly liaise with local law enforcment authroities, help them in locating the right suspects and expediting the extradition processes. Crime intellengence analysis and sharing is the best tool of implementing these conventions and other police cooperations on preventing and suppressing crimes and criminals. Professionally, police officers are trained and skillful in gathering and analysing crime intellegence. Thus, PLO will be the better professional person in doing crime intellegence analysis and sharing.

Thirdly, PLO will help in building capacity of the police institutions back home by bringing new experiences and sharing them to other fellow officers. Moreover, PLO will improve international cooperation in police training and sharing of police knowledge, skills and expriences. This will improve the knowledge, skills and performance of the national police in one way or another. The PLO will give the police institution access to global security leverage and support for police mandates of maintaining rule of law all over the world. Ethiopia's police therefore will have an opportunity to exploit international police experience, knowledge and skills.

Fourthly, PLO could assist in protection of the diplomatic missions and the rights of citizens living overseas. According to the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, responsibility of protecting the permanent diplomatic missions is the responsibility of the receiving state. However, the permanent diplomatic missions need liaison officers who liaise with local law enforcement authority, especially the police, and assist them in identifying threats and risks specific to the mission. The researcher observation in Ethiopian Embassy in Nairobi substantiates this one. The researcher observed that the Ambassador had a meeting with local people in his office and the Ambassador later informed the researcher that he had a

meeting with local police officers to the effect of the Embassy security. If PLO were there as part of the permanent mission, the Ambassador could not have been busy with such matters of policing issues. Protection of the rights of citizens abroad is another aspect of this point. We are frequently hearing about violations of rights of Ethiopian migrants in neighbouring countries, especially in the Middle East. The PLO will have great roles in reducing such violations.

4.6 Summary

Threats and risks of transnational organised crimes are growing rapidly as the result of globalisation and the development of information communication technology ICT. The economic interdependence encourages and promotes transformation of crimes beyond borders in all parts of the world. The work the police, prevention and investigation of crimes, was traditionally local in nature that was limited within the territory of a country. However, due to the growing nature of transnational crimes, international policing has been emerged as a platform of cooperation among states to tackle crime and criminalities. In today's world, therefore, 'in-house policing' is no more effective to respond the changing nature of crime worldwide.

Like to the rest of the world, TOC is the real threats and risks to the safety and security of Ethiopia. Some of the serious threats and risks of TOC to the country are trafficking of illicit firearms, illicit drug trafficking, trafficking in person, trafficking of migrants, environmental crimes and terrorism and violent extremism.

As active participant in the affairs of the world, Ethiopia needs highest international police cooperation to reduce the threats and minimize the risks of these TOCs. From the international relations point of view, international police cooperation needs to be part of the

diplomatic environment. Hence, police diplomacy is a noble preposition to effectively respond to the changes that unfold in the today's world. The ever increasing problems of TOCs, the rapid economic and social changes in the world, and the greatly accelerated needs for highest intensity of international law enforcement cooperation are some of the rationales that can justify the need for police diplomacy.

Police diplomacy has advantages to Ethiopia. Broadly, four areas of opportunities or benefits are identified. First, police diplomacy greatly contributes to the effective implementation of the country's foreign policy and strategy. Second, it fosters capability of implementing bilateral and multilateral agreements concluded to prevent and suppresses TOC and the offenders. Third, police diplomacy could greatly enhance Ethiopia's contributions to international peace deals. Though it is military dominant, Ethiopia is actively participating and contributing to the international peace deals with rationales of enforcing the principle of collective security, political stability, economic growth, institutional building, and normative values.

Assignment of Police Liaison Officers (PLO) as part of the country's permanent diplomatic missions is a need for Ethiopia. In order to combat the increasing crimes and criminalities in the global world, it is crucial to have PLOs in the permanent diplomatic missions to be able to easily communicate with and access information from their international counterparts. The communication network and databases can only be made easily available if there are LPOs among the diplomatic missions.

Chapter V

Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is a concluding part of the whole discussions and analysis of this research endeavours. It has been proved that only local policing could not work in today's changing world, and therefore Ethiopia needs a strategic thinking of policing beyond the border. Ethiopia's contributions to the international peace deals have been heavily limited to the military despite the fact that it has increasingly become clear the international system demands policing too. In this sense, Ethiopia needs to strengthen police participations in the international peace interventions. The need for police representation in the international police cooperation organisations as well as in the permanent diplomatic missions of the country have briefly addressed to be considered. This requires the need for revision of the country's foreign policy and security strategy with the aim of maximizing the benefits of the country from the opportunities of police diplomacy is discussed as way forwards.

5.2 A shift for an approach: policing beyound the border

The twenty first century's socio-economic and technological changes, with concomitant changes in patterns of crime and demands for human security, present enormous operational challenges for the police service in working across borders and in keeping up to speed with rapid changes in the modus operandi of criminals and their associates. Responding effectively to these developments while attempting to meet increasing public and political demands for human security, and adapting to the prospect of wider police reform, present some significant challenges for the police services all over the world. A key concern is that the cross-border criminal pressures need a reactive response-oriented approach that requires active

international collaboration among states.

It is almost impossible to prevent transnational organised crimes by investing resources only at home. It is impossible to prevent them by closing-up all borders. The best strategic option of fighting cross-border crimes are to invest resources too beyound the border and cooperate with international actors. To identify rapidly changing crime trends and more dispersed patterns and networks of criminal activity proactively requires a broad range of analytical and investigative skills that requires international police cooperation. This is an effective approach to policing in a rapidly changing security environment.

The traditional realist oriented thinking of national defence needs to be critically evaluated in a rapidly changing today's world. Military capability cannot protect the security of the country from all spillover effect of conflicts and TOCs. The major national security threats of Ethiopia are transnational organised crimes as well as conflict spillover effects; not an organised military invasion or attack. Hence, Ethiopia shall need to think like the 'Innovators' in the IDT and strategically think the roles of the police beyound the border of the country. This is a paramount important to strengthen and enhance Ethiopia's police participation in the international police cooperation and in the international peace deals. The need for international police cooperation is for the purpose of responding to the negative effects of the changing world.

The nature of international peace operations has moved swiftly from sole military role posture into multidimensional nature that comprises the police, civilian and the military. The roles of the police have become immense in building peace in war-torn societies through rebuilding, restructuring and reforming the host nation's police institution in order to ensuring sustainable peace, rule of law and human rights. It should be always remembered

the fact that the role of the police in peace operations cannot be substituted by any other actors such as the military and conversely the police cannot substitute others roles. They are all important, but in peacebuilding operations, the roles of the police are immensely significant. Therefore, the Ethiopian police should support the country's political and military engagements to manage conflicts and build peace in the region and beyound by increasing level of deployment of police officers following the required UN/AU deployment procedures and standards.

5.3 Enhance police participation in international peace interventions

Ethiopia understands from experience that its national security is tangled with the security of its neighbours in the Horn of Africa in particular and beyound in general. The country's FANSPS in its foundation underlines first and foremost to ensure national security, issues of prosperity, sustainable peace, and stability. Promotion of regional peace and security is thus a major political consideration of Ethiopian government in sending its peacekeepers to UN/AU missions, mainly in the Horn of Africa region. Ethiopia recognizes participation in international peacekeeping enhances its regional and international influence towards ensuring its national security interests. Despite the policy formulation, the country's intervention in the international peace interventions heavily limited to the military and to some extent to the diplomatic efforts. The country has not utilized yet the opportunities from the international policing aspects.

As discussed in chapters III and IV, the participation of the Ethiopia's police in international peace operations is still insignificant. Astonishingly, Ethiopia made an attempt to deploy police officers to UN-led mission in Congo in the 1960s when there was no idea of police deployment to peacekeeping missions at all. Compared to other African PCCs, the Ethiopia's

police contribution to the international peace operations is very much less, despite the fact that the country has many rationales such as security, political, economic, institutional, and normative to maximize support for international peace interventions. Ethiopia is a big country in all aspects, but its police contribution to international peace is far less than the contribution of Djibouti, the smallest country in the Horn of Africa, which has less than one million population size.

History and current practices tell about Ethiopia's strong commitment and endeavours for international collective security measures to ensure peace and tranquillity in its region, Africa and beyound. The contributions of the Ethiopia's defence forces to international peace operations could be taken to materialize this argument. Ethiopia has ranked number one in Africa and number three in world in its military contributions. The contribution of the Ethiopia's police, however, is discoursing at the moment and needs to be improved as parallel as to the contributions of the defence force of the country. Following the end of the Cold War, the new trends of peacekeeping came to include different components and the roles of the police has come apparently significant in rebuilding, reforming and restructuring of local police as part of security sector reforms to ensure rule of law and human rights in the post conflict societies.

The conflicts in the Horn of Africa region negatively affect the security and development of Ethiopia. The IGAD Member States, including Ethiopia, have special interests in the countries in conflicts such as Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan for this reason. Ethiopia's interests over the conflicts in Somalia, South Sudan, and Sudan are essentially to create and build peace that indeed helps the country to enhance its national security and development agenda. For this reason, Ethiopia has never been reserved from interventions in any conflicts within its region. For example, Ethiopia has huge interventions in the conflicts in South

Sudan, Sudan and Somalia. Ethiopia has been trying to support the security apparatus of these neighbour countries in providing them technical ground supports and scholarships for long-term training and education.

Despite many efforts related to diplomacy and military, Ethiopia did not use the huge opportunities from its police. Ethiopia has police representation in the UN missions in South Sudan (UNMISS), in Abiye (UNISFA) and in Darfur (UNAMID). However, the country does not have police representation in the Africa Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). Even the presentation in UNMISS, UNAMID and UNISFA is insignificant compared to other police contributing countries (PCC), especially African PCCs. For this reasons, there is a need to strengthen and enhance police participation in the international peace interventions.

5.3.1 Increase deployment of police officers beyound the purpose of participation

Deployment of police officers to UNMISS, UNISFA, UNAMID and AMISOM are really beyound participations in these peace operations for Ethiopia, for many reasons. Ethiopia has, for example, security, economic, cultural, political, and good neighbourhood interests with South Sudan, Sudan and Somalia. Thus, it is impossible to believe that Ethiopia will be in peace without existence of peace and stability in these countries. Maintaining peace in these neighbouring countries means ensuring peace in Ethiopia. Therefore, there is a need to rethink strategically for increasing deployment of police officers to UNMISS, UNISFA, and UNAMID beyond the fact of participating in these peace operations. Likewise, strategic thinking to deploy police officers, at least formed police unit (FPU), to AMISOM is highly significant. Strategic deployment of police officers to these peace operations would greatly support the diplomatic and military efforts of the country.

5.3.2 Increase participation of Female Police officers

The role of female peacekeepers in post-conflict societies is of paramount important. It has been proved that gender mainstreaming and perspective enhances the operational effectiveness of international peace operations in several ways. To help understanding the importance of gender equality in peace operations, resolutions and guidelines have been adopted at the UN level and Member States have been requested to increase uniformed female personnel in peace operations at headquarters and in the field mission, including at senior management levels.

Ethiopia, as Member State of the UN, positively responds to the goal of gender equality in the female military peacekeepers, but not in the policing aspect. The study indicated that Ethiopia has deployed only five female police officers to international peace operations since the time the country started involvement. This contribution is insignificant and it needs improvement at least to meet the goal of the UN police Global Effort Initiative that calls Member States to deploy 20 percent female police officers.

5.3.3 Police participations in the decision-making posts

Ethiopia has no significant representation at the UN Police senior management levels both at headquarter and in the field of peace operation missions. In its history, the country only seconded two police officers to UNMISS's police management level posts. Secondements of police officers to the UN police senior leadership posts have advantages to the country in terms of getting updated information and communication from both the headquarters and from the field peace operation missions in a timely manner. Those officers can also represent the country in all global and regional strategic debates on peace operation and peacebuilding; and participating in all decision-making processes of the UN/AU police. Especially,

secondements of police officers to the senior management positions of the UN/AU peace operations in the Horn of Africa have significant advantages for many reasons.

5.4 Representations in the international police cooperation institutions

Given the transnational nature of organised crimes including terrorism, concrete and resolute international action is required to fight them. To this end, States in the world have created a body of law and international police cooperation mechanisms to mount a collective response to these regional and global threats within the framework of international law.

The INTERPOL, the AFRIPOL, and EAPCCO are the three international police cooperation organisations, which Ethiopia belongs to. The main reason of existence of these organisations is to fight the ever-growing threats of transnational organised crimes including terrorism. As the TOCs are major threats and also risks to Ethiopia, the country has become member of these cooperation mechanisms, but its representations and influential roles in all these international police organisations are not encouraging.

It has been repeatedly noted that in today's inter-connected world national approach alone is not sufficient to combat TOCs. Organized crimes have diversified, gone global and reached macro-economic proportions. With this, illicit goods are now sourced from one continent, trafficked across another, and sold in a third. That means criminal networks have forged bonds across borders, overcoming cultural and linguistic differences in the commission of their crimes. The nature of every TOC is not static, rather it adapts as new crimes emerge, opportunity arise and is maintained through flexible, expanding and sophisticated relationships between criminal networks throughout the world.

Prevention of TOCs needs disrupting of the criminal networks and the links between them.

This requires a transnational nature response that shall be coordinated and integrated. The reason why the international police cooperation organisations have been created is to coordinate and integrate collective actions of member countries to effectively prevent transnational nature crimes and apprehend offenders for investigation and prosecution before the court of law. Prosecution of perpetrators of transnational organised crimes is a matter of ensuring justice.

Ethiopia is a member of the INTERPOL since 1958 and cooperates with this organisation through its NCB in certain prioritized areas of crimes. The apprehensions of criminal suspects and the pulling them back home to court from the neighbouring countries such as Djibouti, Kenya, Sudan, and South Sudan are encouraging performances and achievements of the cooperation with these countries through the established mechanism of the INTERPOL. Moreover, Ethiopia has made successes in extraditing criminal offenders from Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Tanzania through the INTERPOL cooperation mechanism.

The welcoming of the INTERPOL requests to open office in Addis Ababa could be considered also as important to the country. The Office will enable Ethiopia's police to closely cooperate with the international police institutions and maximize the benefits. INTERPOL's Special Representative Office at the AU is on the way of establishment after the agreement signed between Secretary General of INTERPOL and MoFA of the FDRE in January of this year. The reason why the INTERPOL desires to establish a Special Representative Office at AU is to enhance international police co-operation with the AU in law enforcement matters and provide direct benefit to African INTERPOL member countries, including Ethiopia.

Despite these facts, Ethiopia should have increased its participation and contribution in the

INTERPOL world by placing representation in the Regional Bureaus and Headquarters of the INTERPOL. It fact, the country in its history has not been represented in any of these Offices.

Ethiopia is also a founding member of the EAPCCO and the AFRIPOL. However, the country's contribution to these regional and continental police cooperation mechanisms is not visible. An evidence to justify the weakness of the country's diplomacy is the decision of the ACOP on the headquarters location of the AFRIPOL. It has been decided Algeria to host the headquarters of AFRIPOL. The purpose of AFRIPOL's establishment is to create effective mechanisms for police cooperation in the Africa continent under the aegis of the AU. The controversy that creates confusion to many concerned peoples is that the AU's seat is in Addis Ababa while the AFRIPOL's headquarter is in Algiers. For many peoples, there is no sound reason to justify why the headquarters for AFRIPOL is located far from the AU. A lesson can be learned from this experience that if the Ethiopia's police was active in the diplomatic efforts, it could not have been moved the headquarters of AFRIPOL from its right place.

Moreover, there are many development activities at the AU level to enhance the roles of the police in conflict prevention, peace operation and peace building under the framework of the African Standby Force (ASF), the Ethiopia's police has never been participated in these continuous events. The Chairperson of the AU Commission has established the PSSG in 2013 for the purpose of creating a platform for the effective coordination, consultation, communication, and networking among AU member countries and support the AUPOL through optimizing the deployment of skilful police officers to support peace operations and peacebuilding of the AU. Although most of the PSSG meetings have been hosted in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia has never participated yet in this continental police platform.

5.5 Representations in the permanent diplomatic missions

As it has been discussed in the previous chapter, the goal and objectives of the FANSPS are ensuring international conditions that are conducive to achieve the development and democratic objectives of the country through resisting external threats to security and building capacity to reduce vulnerabilities. In addition to the diplomatic activities centred on economic diplomacy, the Ethiopia's permanent diplomatic missions work on eliminating or at least reducing external security threats through widening the number of foreign friends who can help to create a regional and global atmosphere conducive for peace and security of the country; forecasting potential threats and addressing them through dialogues and negotiations; and lessening the negative effects of globalization and ICT.

According to the FANSPS, putting the foreign and national security policy and strategy into practice needs full participation of the entire nation, and essentially qualified professionals to be deployed in an organised manner. A simple interpretation to this provision is that the need for deployments of PLOs, as part of the country's permanent diplomatic missions, is quite demanding. As it has been discussed in the previous chapters, the roles and functions of policing have become international due to the negative effects of globalisation and the rapid development of ICT that change the nature of crime and criminality from local to international. As the policy and strategy document explicitly addresses the essential of deploying qualified professionals in an organised manner, the roles of international policing should not be tried to execute by other people who don't have the profession of policing. It is important to note what Argyros, Grossman and Rohatyn (2007: 1) argues in this regard. They notes "tackling today's diverse diplomatic challenges require frontline activity by skilled diplomatic professional operating in – and increasingly out of embassies of the future."

Despite this, Ethiopia has no experience of deploying police officers to any of its diplomatic missions. Therefore, sending PLOs as part of the country's permanent diplomatic missions is a prospect, but inevitable. As TOC including terrorism are the real threats and risks of the country, PLOs can play great roles in preventing and reduce these threats and risks through closely promoting the international police cooperation and foster friendly relations between Ethiopia and other countries. Deployment of PLOs as part of the permanent diplomatic mission foster capabilities of implementing bilateral and multilateral agreements on prevention and supression of transnational organised crimes, which Ethiopia has signed, such as the IGAD Conventions on Extradiction and MLA.

More importantly, Ethiopian citizens living overseas are facining different challenges everyday related to their human rights and diginities. The PLOs within the diplomatic missions can greatly assist in the efforts of protecting the rights of citizen and ensure justice are made in case of violations. PLOs have better ability to liaise with local law enforcement authorities due to their policing professional careers. PLOs can also assist in the protection of the country's diplomatic missions overseas. Of course, according to the 1961 Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations, protecting permanent diplomatic missions is the responsibility of the receiving state. However, the diplomatic missions need liaison officers who liaise with local law enforcement authority, especially the police, and assist them in identifying threats and risks specific to the missions.

Criminal behaviours and their modus operandi is frequently changning as the result of the effects of globalisation. Information and expreince sharing among police institutions of diffent countries are quiet important to update the science and techiques of policing. From this point of view, the PLOs in the permanent diplomatic missions will help Ethiopia in building and frequently updating capacity of the police institutions by bringing new

expreinces from abroad and sharing fellow officers to effectively prevent and/or invetigate crimes. Moreover, PLOs can also serve as mediators to improve international cooperation of sharing of police knowledge, skills and exprience through facilitating training, workshops and seminars between Ethiopia and other countries.

5.6 The Need for revising the existing foreign policy and strategy

There is a need to revise the FANSPS of the FDRE to include the aspects of police diplomacy to fully utilise them in the conduct of the country's international relations. The revision will help to effectively implement the objectives of the country foreign policy and security strategy. Considering some of the strategies with the idea of police diplomacy will help to understand why revision of the foreign policy and strategy is important. Building a reliable defence capability, full utilization of benefits based on proper analysis, minimizing threats on the basis of proper analysis, and reducing vulnerability to threat are some of the strategies that need to be considered in promoting police diplomacy.

There are different reasons why the existing foreign policy and strategy needs a revision. First, revising the document is particularly to recognize the need of police diplomacy at policy level, which is necessary to build police capabilities of preventing and investigating TOCs. Building national defence capabilities is one of the strategies of the FANSPS. The essence of defence capabilities in the policy and strategy document has been the ability of creating information sharing networks, ability of intelligence analysis, capability of predicting threats to security, and playing diplomatic roles in reducing tensions and avoiding conflicts through early negotiation mechanisms. The military and the police institutions including other law enforcement institutions need to build these national defence capabilities. However, the strategy relies on the military capabilities and ignoring the capabilities of other

law enforcement institutions such as the police. It has been proved that TOCs including terrorism and violent extremism are the real security threats to Ethiopia. It should be noted that building-policing capabilities could only effectively prevent these threats and risks of TOCs.

The second reason is to guide utilisation of opportunities of police diplomacy through careful analysis. Ethiopia has huge benefits in the area of international policing. Effective implementation of bilateral and multilateral agreements related to extradition and mutual legal assistance of law enforcement that Ethiopia has signed with other countries, presentation and contributions to international peace interventions, building national image, and enhancing international police cooperation are some of the benefits or opportunities that Ethiopia should work on to effectively utilise them. Although the FANSPS specify the strategy of full utilisation of benefits based on careful analysis, the benefits from international policing is yet to be utilised. The essence of 'benefits' in the FANSPS is protecting national interest, which refers to the economic benefits and maintaining national security of the country through getting political, diplomatic, military and technical supports from the work of foreign relations. From this perspective, police diplomacy can play greater roles in realising and ensuring the country's national interests and core values. These can be careful analysed and utilised when police diplomacy is recognised in the foreign policy and security strategy of the country.

The third reason of revising the document is to recognise police diplomacy as a key implementation tool of the strategy of "minimising threats". The FANSPAS seeks international cooperation as an important component of the efforts to create a fertile ground for democratisation and development at home. Prevention and mitigation of threats and hazards are seen an important aspects of this strategy. The police institutions have primary

responsibilities to prevent TOCs and to minimize the threats and risks of these dangers based on careful studies and actions. As the natures of these crimes are transnational and organized, the police institutions also need to create high-level cooperation with other states, especially with neighbouring countries to share crime intelligences, apprehending of offenders, ascertaining and reporting of crimes and criminal related issues.

The fourth reason of revising the foreign policy and strategy of the country is to recognize the importance of policing in reducing vulnerability to threats and to give policy guide of increasing police presentation in the international police cooperation. The FANSPS notes bad historical image is one of the factors that make the country vulnerable to threats. In this sense, representations of competent police officers from Ethiopia in the international diplomatic world would greatly help in building good national image and simultaneously contribute in reducing the vulnerability to threats. For instance, through increasing police representation and contributions to international peace operations, police officers have huge opportunity of changing negative understanding of fellow police officers and others from other countries on the security capabilities of Ethiopia. Indeed, this contributes in reducing Ethiopia's vulnerability to threats.

The fifth reason is to recognize and rightly respond to the emerging global changes. The assumption of local nature of policing cannot work solely in today's world. Policing has become internationalized in nature due to the effect of globalisation and rapid development of ICT. The FANSPS underlines the issue of globalisation as foundation of the policy and strategy and recognizes the impossibility of attaining rapid development and democracy in Ethiopia by ignoring the regional and global contexts. Threats and risks from TOCs and spillover effects of conflicts are some of the limitations of globalisation that demand police diplomacy as an effective international instrument to narrow the limitations. The police

institution in Ethiopia is the forefront key security organisations in the country that have been given legally primary responsibilities to prevent crimes, including TOCs and apprehend criminal offenders to prosecute. The implication of the policy and strategy to the police institution and the corresponding contribution in the implementation of the policy and strategy is therefore very important consideration.

5.7 Concluding summary

Policy diplomacy is a noble preposition to effectively respond to today's changing world that results of increasing global threats of transnational organised crimes, including terrorism and violent extremism. The ever increasing problems of transnational organised crimes, the rapid economic and social changes in the world, and the greatly accelerated needs for highest intensity of international law enforcement cooperation are some of the rationales for police diplomacy.

The need for international police cooperation was raised over hundred years back when as a result the INTERPOL was established to coordinate global policing with the aim of creating a safer world. Similar platforms have been established at continental and regional levels as the need for international police cooperation has become increasing such as the AFRIPOL and EAPCCO in Africa and East African region, respectively. The activities of all these international police organisations are limited to the operational coordination and it seems that they are not well known as part of the diplomatic relations.

The police have become also a key component in the international peace operations and peacebuilding missions, led by UN, AU and Regional Mechanisms (RM). The work of the police in the international peace deals makes invaluable contributions to peacekeeping, post-conflict peacebuilding, security, the rule of law, and the creation of basis for development.

Moreover, deployed police officers in the international peace interventions played diplomatic roles of representing of their countries as they are working together with fellow colleagues from different countries of the world. The representation role of police officers in the international peace interventions is very unique because they work all days with their national uniform and flag insignia and have operational immunities, not to be subjected for any arrest and prosecutions in the host nation.

It has been argued above that police diplomacy has huge benefits to Ethiopia. It enhance effective implementation of the country's foreign policy and strategy; fosters capability of implementing agreements that the country has concluded with others to prevent and suppress TOCs; enhances the country's contributions of the country to the international peace interventions; and it helps in building and enhancing national image. Ethiopia is a member of the INTERPOL, AFRIPOL and EAPCCO but its representation in these international police cooperation organisation is almost none. Ethiopia also contributes police officers to the UN led peace operations and peacebuilding, but its police representation is very insignificant. Generally, from the findings of this research it is possible to argue that Ethiopia need some changes to carefully utilize the advantages of police diplomacy.

The changes should start from the perspective of looking policing as local affaires. A strategic thinking beyond the border is the first required change. It has been revealed that TOCs are the real security threats and risks of Ethiopia, which the police institutions have primary responsibility of prevention and investigation these crimes. It is almost impossible to prevent TOCs by investing resources only at home. The best strategic option of fighting these crimes is to invest resources beyond the border, in addition to the investment at home, and cooperate with international actors.

Ethiopia has a long and strong belief in the principle of collective security. Its military contribution in the international peace interventions is on top of others; but its police participation has remained insignificant. As police has become a key component of international peace intervention, Ethiopia need to increase the contributions of police officers beyound a mere participation in the UN and AU peace interventions. Moreover, Ethiopia needs to increasing and strengthening representations in the international police cooperation organisations (INTERPOL, AFRIPOL, and EAPCCO) and involve PLO as part of its permanent diplomatic missions to reduce its vulnerability to security threats. The best way in this regard is revising of the country's foreign policy and strategy. The revision will help the country to maximise the benefits from policing in diplomacy.

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