Peacekeeping has been a significant part of Australia’s overseas military engagement since the end of the Second World War. It is part of our history that was largely neglected until the 1990s – even since then interest has been slow to develop. In the last 60 years, between 30,000 and 40,000 Australian military personnel and police have served in more than 50 peacekeeping missions in over 27 different conflicts. Covering the first Australian mission to Indonesia in 1947 and operations in East Timor, Bosnia and Rwanda among others, this book finally gives Australian peacekeeping its proper status.

This insightful, engaging and superbly edited volume approaches Australian peacekeeping from four angles: its history, its agencies, some personal reflections and its future. Contributors discuss the distinction between peacekeeping and war-fighting, the importance of peacekeeping in terms of public policy, the problems of multinational command, and the specialist contributions of the military, civilian police, mine-clearers, weapons inspectors and diplomats. The collection concludes with experts in the field – including Tim Ford, a former Military Advisor to the UN Secretary-General, and distinguished academic Ramesh Thakur – offering their perspectives on future directions for Australian peacekeeping.

David Horner is Professor of Australian defence history in the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University. He is the editor of the Australian Army’s military history series. In 2004 he was appointed the Official Historian of Australian Peacekeeping, Humanitarian and Post-Cold War Operations.

Peter Londey is Lecturer in Classics at the Australian National University. He holds degrees in Ancient History from the University of New England and Monash University. For many years he was a senior historian at the Australian War Memorial, where his activities included researching the history of Australian peacekeeping and curating several exhibitions on the subject.

Jean Bou is an historian at the Australian War Memorial. He holds a BA (Hons) from the University of Queensland and a PhD from the University of New South Wales. He is the author, editor or associate editor of several books on Australian military history.
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ROD BARTON is a former director of intelligence responsible for monitoring overseas developments in the area of weapons of mass destruction. In 1991 he became a United Nations weapons inspector, a job that he was to work at for the next 13 years, including as a special adviser to Hans Blix. Following the 2003 Iraq War he was employed as the senior advisor to the US Central Intelligence Agency in the futile hunt for Iraq’s missing weapons. He is the author of *The Weapons Detective: The Inside Story of Australia’s Top Weapons Inspector* (2006).

JAMES BATLEY joined the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1984. His early postings included Port Vila, Port Moresby and Jakarta. From 1997–9 he was Australia’s High Commissioner to the Solomon Islands, concurrently serving in senior positions on the Bougainville Truce and Peace Monitoring Groups. From 1999–2002 he was Australia’s senior diplomatic representative in Dili, East Timor, and was appointed Australia’s first Ambassador to Timor-Leste at independence in May 2002. From August 2004 to November 2006 he worked as Special Coordinator of the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands. He is presently the Australian High Commissioner to Fiji (with concurrent accreditation to Tuvalu and Nauru).

JEAN BOU is an historian at the Australian War Memorial (and previously the Australian National University) where he is working on *The Official History of Australian Peacekeeping, Humanitarian and Post-Cold War Operations*. He is the author, editor and associate editor of several books on Australian military history, including *A Century of Service* (2007), *Duty First* (2nd edn, 2008) and *The Oxford Companion to Australian Military
Contributors

History (2nd edn, 2008). He has also published journal articles and book entries in the same field.

Bob Breen is a research fellow in the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University. He has first-hand research experience on international and regional peace support missions, beginning in Somalia in 1993 and continuing periodically in Rwanda, the Middle East, Mozambique, Bougainville and East Timor until 2002. He has published two books and a monograph on Australia’s military participation in peace missions in Somalia, Bougainville and East Timor. He is presently writing the volume on peacekeeping in the South Pacific during the period 1980–2005 for The Official History of Australian Peacekeeping, Humanitarian and Post-Cold War Operations.

John Connor is Senior Lecturer in History at the University of New South Wales at the Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, and is writing a volume of The Official History of Australian Peacekeeping, Humanitarian and Post-Cold War Operations. A graduate of the Australian National University and the University of New South Wales, he has been a lecturer at the Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, King’s College, London, and a senior historian at the Australian War Memorial. His book, The Australian Frontier Wars, 1788–1838 (2002) was shortlisted for the British Royal United Services Institute’s 2003 Westminster Medal for Military Literature.

Superintendent Tim Dahlstrom is attached to the International Deployment Group of the Australian Federal Police. A graduate of the Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies, he also holds qualifications from Charles Sturt University and the Australian Institute of Police Management in the fields of police management and public policy management respectively. Since joining the Australian Federal Police in 1981 his service has included community policing and investigations in Canberra, and involvement in a number of national policing functions, including professional standards, protection and national investigations. As a peacekeeper, Superintendent Dahlstrom has served in Cyprus, East Timor and the Solomon Islands.

Major General Tim Ford retired from the Australian Army in 2003, following an extensive career in the Australian Defence Force and the United Nations. He is presently based in Sydney as an international peace
Contributors

and security consultant. During his military career he served in a wide variety of command, staff and training appointments in Australia and overseas, including operational service in South Vietnam. Promoted to major general in 1996, he commanded the 1st Division and the Deployable Joint Force Headquarters. Subsequently, he was the Chief of Staff (head of mission) of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in the Middle East, and the Chief Military Adviser in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations at UN Headquarters, New York. Since then he has undertaken a wide range of projects for the Australian government, the United Nations, the African Union and other international organisations as a mentor, adviser and consultant on international peace and security issues. He is the Chairman of the Australian Peacekeeping Memorial Project.

Lieutenant General Ken Gillespie joined the Australian Army as an apprentice in 1968, graduated from the Officer Cadet School, Portsea, in 1972, and was commissioned into the corps of the Royal Australian Engineers. Following a wide range of regimental and staff appointments in Australia and the United Kingdom, in 1989 he raised, and then deployed with (as the second in command and operations officer) the 2nd Australian contingent to UNTAG in Namibia. Following another period fulfilling a series of senior staff and operational appointments, he commanded the UN Sector West multinational brigade in East Timor, and was the National Commander of Australia’s contribution to Operation Enduring Freedom (Operation Slipper). He is a graduate of the Australian Command and Staff College, the Australian Joint Services Staff College and the Royal College of Defence Studies in the United Kingdom. He was promoted to lieutenant general and appointed Vice Chief of the Australian Defence Force in July 2005. He was appointed Chief of Army in July 2008.

Major General Ian Gordon has been the commander (known as the Chief of Staff and Head of Mission) of the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in the Middle East since December 2006. Previously he had seen peacekeeping service as the first Australian contingent commander in the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) in 1991–92, and as the Deputy Force Commander of the UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) in 2001–02. He has also served as Deputy Chief of Army.

Federal Agent Erica Hanisch has over 18 years’ experience with the Australian Federal Police, almost half of which has been in some kind
of peacekeeping or other overseas mission. Her first mission was to Cyprus in 1999 and she has served twice in Timor-Leste. She has also served twice in the Middle East and in the Solomon Islands.

Commander Geoff Hazel joined the Australian Capital Territory Police Force (later the Australian Federal Police) in 1972, after leaving the Australian Army in which he had seen operational service in South Vietnam. Between 1972 and 1990 he performed a variety of policing roles in uniform and plain clothes, including operational work, training, personnel, media liaison, operational planning and a deployment to Darwin in the aftermath of Cyclone Tracy. Promoted to commissioned rank in 1990, he served as a police officer with UNFICYP (twice), ONUMOZ, UNAMET and the International Peace Monitoring Team, Solomon Islands. He retired from the Australian Federal Police in 2004 and now works as a consultant.

David Horner is Professor of Australian defence history in the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University. A graduate of the Royal Military College, Duntroon, the Australian Army’s Command and Staff College, the University of New South Wales and the Australian National University, he served as an infantry platoon commander in Vietnam and had various regimental and staff appointments until he retired from the Army in 1990. He is author or editor of 26 books on Australian military history, strategy and defence, among them Crisis of Command (1978), High Command (1982), SAS: Phantoms of the Jungle (1989) and Inside the War Cabinet (1996). He is the editor of the Australian Army’s military history series and has been the historical consultant for various television programs. As an Army Reserve colonel, from 1998 to 2002 he was the first head of the Australian Army’s Land Warfare Studies Centre. In 2004 he was appointed the Official Historian of Australian Peacekeeping, Humanitarian and Post-Cold War Operations.

Colonel Keith Howard served in the Second World War and subsequently had a distinguished career as a reserve officer in the Australian Army. From 1967 to 1976 he served with the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in the Middle East, the longest service with UNTSO by any Australian. In this period he served the mission at every level, from military observer to Acting Chief of Staff.
Peter Londey is Lecturer in Classics at the Australian National University. He holds degrees in Ancient History from the University of New England and Monash University. For many years he was a senior historian at the Australian War Memorial, where his activities included curating several exhibitions on peacekeeping. His narrative history of Australian peacekeeping, *Other People’s Wars*, was published in 2004. He is currently writing the first volume of *The Official History of Australian Peacekeeping, Humanitarian and Post–Cold War Operations*.

Ian Mansfield was an engineer officer in the Australian Army for 22 years where he held a variety of command, field, training and headquarters appointments. A graduate of the Royal Military College, Duntroon, and the Army Command and Staff College, his final military posting was as commanding officer of the Australian contribution to the UN Mine Clearance Training Team in Pakistan, where he held national command responsibilities and a UN appointment. Between 1991 and 1998 he managed several large-scale UN mine action programs, including in Afghanistan, Laos and Bosnia. From 1998 to 2002 he was the Mine Action Team Leader with the United Nations Development Programme in New York. Presently he is the operations director of the Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining based in Geneva.

Lieutenant Colonel Andrew Meacham is an armoured corps officer whose peacekeeping experience includes service as a troop leader in the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) in 1993. Subsequently, he has been responsible for deployment of units to East Timor, Operation Sumatra Assist in Indonesia, and to Iraq and Afghanistan. During 2006–07 he was the lieutenant colonel commanding the Australian contingent to UNTSO, and served as the Chief of Observer Group Lebanon.

Lieutenant General John Sanderson is a graduate of the Royal Military College Duntroon, the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, the Australian Staff College, the Joint Services Staff College and the United States Army War College. During his military career he commanded at all levels, including on operational service in Borneo and Vietnam, and in Cambodia he commanded the military component of UNTAC from March 1992 until its successful completion in October 1993. Subsequently, from 1995 to 1998, he was Chief of the Australian Army. He was appointed governor of Western Australia in 2000, from which position he retired in 2005.
Contributors

a long-term interest in the philosophy and practical dimensions of international intervention he has lectured and published widely on these subjects. A civil engineer by background, he is an Honorary Fellow of Engineers Australia and holds several honorary doctorates. He is presently an Adjunct Professor of both Murdoch and Griffith Universities, a special adviser to the Western Australian government on indigenous affairs, on the board of the Australian Centre for Christianity and Culture, Austcare Ambassador to Cambodia and chairman of the Advisory Council for the Global Foundation.

Major General Michael G. Smith

Major General Michael G. Smith is a graduate of the Royal Military College Duntroon, the Australian Army Command and Staff College, and the Australian Defence College. During his military service he held command appointments from platoon to brigade level, and saw service in Cambodia, East Timor, Kashmir and Papua New Guinea. His last military appointment before retirement in 2002 was as Deputy Force Commander for UNTAET, on the basis of his experiences in which he subsequently published Peacekeeping in East Timor: The Path to Independence (2003, with Moreen Dee). Since leaving the army he has been on the executive committee of the Australian Council for International Development, is an adjunct professor at the Key Centre for Ethics, Law, Justice and Governance at Griffith University, a member of the National Consultative Committee on International Security Issues to the foreign minister and a member of the international advisory board of the Asia–Pacific College of Diplomacy at the Australian National University. He was also chief executive officer of Austcare (2002–8).

Federal Agent James Steedman

Federal Agent James Steedman holds a Diploma of Business from Monash University and is a masters student in diplomacy and trade there. A policeman for 24 years, he has extensive experience in community policing and investigations in both the Victoria Police and the Australian Federal Police. On deployment to the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands in 2006 he was attached to the Strategic Planning, Policy and Projects Unit of the Solomon Islands Police Force. He is a senior policy officer at the International Deployment Group, Program Analysis Unit, of Australian Federal Police, where he is involved in the development and review of police peacekeeping missions.

Brigadier Paul Symon

Brigadier Paul Symon is the Director, General Preparedness and Plans – Army. He has had a notable career as a peacekeeper: in 1997–98 he served in the Middle East as the lieutenant colonel commanding the
Australian contingent to UNTSO; in 1999 he was Chief Military Operations Officer with the UN Mission in East Timor (UNAMET); and in 2003, he was appointed Military Adviser to the Regional Assistance Mission in Solomon Islands (RAMSI). Subsequently, he has also served as Australian Commander, Middle East Area of Operations.

Ramesh Thakur is distinguished fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation and professor of Political Science at the University of Waterloo, Canada. He was vice-rector and senior vice-rector of the United Nations University (and assistant secretary-general of the United Nations) from 1998–2007. Educated in India and Canada, he was a professor of International Relations at the University of Otago in New Zealand and professor and head of the Peace Research Centre at the Australian National University, during which time he was also a consultant/adviser to the Australian and New Zealand governments on arms control, disarmament and international security issues. He was a commissioner and one of the principal authors of The Responsibility to Protect (2001), and senior adviser on reforms and principal writer of the United Nations Secretary-General’s second reform report (2002). Author or editor of over 30 books and 300 articles and book chapters, he also writes regularly for newspapers around the world. He serves on the international advisory boards of institutes in Africa, Asia, Europe and North America. His two most recent books are The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect (2006) and War in Our Time: Reflections on Iraq, Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction (2007).
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is based on the papers delivered at a major conference held in September 2007 at the Australian War Memorial to mark 60 years of Australian peacekeeping. The conference was organised by the team of historians who are working on The Official History of Australian Peacekeeping, Humanitarian and Post-Cold War Operations. The three editors, who are members of the team, warmly acknowledge the contributions of the other team members, their efforts in helping to plan the conference and to shape this book: Dr Bob Breen, Dr Steve Bullard, Dr John Connor, Ms Miesje de Vogel and Dr Christine Winter. We are also grateful to the other contributors who made the conference a memorable one and generously gave their time to rework their papers into a form suitable for publication.

We especially thank the Australian War Memorial for hosting the conference, and the Department of Veterans’ Affairs for its generous support, under the Saluting Their Service program, for both the conference and the production of this book. Ms Merrilee Chignell and other Memorial staff were of great assistance in ensuring the success of the conference.

Authors’ royalties from the sale of this book will go towards the Australian Peacekeeping Memorial, to be opened in Canberra in 2009.

David Horner
Peter Londey
Jean Bou
April 2008
ABBREVIATIONS

ACFID  Australian Council for International Development
ADF  Australian Defence Force
AFP  Australian Federal Police
ALNAP  Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action
AMIS  African Union Mission in Sudan
ASEAN  Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AUSAID  Australian Agency for International Development
AWM  Australian War Memorial
BRA  Bougainville Revolutionary Army
CCJAP  Cambodia Criminal Justice Assistance Project
CERF  Central Emergency Response Fund (United Nations)
CIVPOL  Civilian Police
CMAC  Cambodian Mine Action Centre
CMF  Commonwealth Monitoring Force
COMASC  Commander Australian Contingent
CPD  Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates
DCP  Defence Cooperation Program
DFAT  Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
DHA  Department of Humanitarian Affairs (United Nations)
DOMREP  Mission of the Representative of the Secretary-General in the Dominican Republic
DPKO  Department of Peacekeeping Operations (United Nations)
DSTO  Defence Science and Technology Organisation
ECOWAS  Economic Community of West African States
ECP  Enhanced Cooperation Program
GICHD  Geneva International Centre for Humanitarian Demining
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>Human immunodeficiency virus/Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR</td>
<td>House of Representatives</td>
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<tr>
<td>IASC</td>
<td>Inter-Agency Standing Committee (United Nations)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICRC</td>
<td>International Committee of the Red Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDG</td>
<td>International Deployment Group (Australian Federal Police)</td>
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<tr>
<td>INTERFET</td>
<td>International Force for East Timor</td>
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<td>IPMT</td>
<td>International Peace Monitoring Team</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISAF</td>
<td>International Security Assistance Force</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISF</td>
<td>International Security Force (Timor-Leste)</td>
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<tr>
<td>JIPTC</td>
<td>Jordan International Police Training Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>KFOR</td>
<td>Kosovo Force</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAC</td>
<td>Mixed Armistice Commission</td>
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<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>MFO</td>
<td>Multinational Force and Observers</td>
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<tr>
<td>MIF</td>
<td>Maritime Interception Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MINURSO</td>
<td>United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara</td>
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<tr>
<td>MNF</td>
<td>Multinational Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAA</td>
<td>National Archives of Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>NZDF</td>
<td>New Zealand Defence Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCHA</td>
<td>Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (United Nations)</td>
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<td>OGL</td>
<td>Observer Group – Lebanon</td>
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<tr>
<td>ONUC</td>
<td><em>Opération des Nations Unies au Congo</em> (United Nations Operation in the Congo)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ONUCA</td>
<td>United Nations Observer Group in Central America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONUMOZ</td>
<td>United Nations Operation in Mozambique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OP</td>
<td>Observation post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIR</td>
<td>Pacific Islands Regiment</td>
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<tr>
<td>PMG</td>
<td>Peace Monitoring Group (Bougainville)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PM&amp;C</td>
<td>(Department of) Prime Minister and Cabinet</td>
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<tr>
<td>PNG</td>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
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<tr>
<td>PNGDF</td>
<td>Papua New Guinea Defence Force</td>
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<tr>
<td>POLISARIO</td>
<td><em>Frente Popular de Liberación de Saguía el Hamra y Río de Oro</em> (Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguía el Hamra and Río de Oro)</td>
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Abbreviations

POLRI  Polisi Negara Republik Indonesia (Indonesian National Police)
R2P  Responsibility to protect
RAMSI  Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands
RPF  Rwandan Patriotic Front
SLA  South Lebanon Army
SPARTECA  South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement
SPPKF  South Pacific Peacekeeping Force (Bougainville)
SWAPO  South West Africa People’s Organization
TLPDP  Timor-Leste Police Development Program
TMG  Truce Monitoring Group (Bougainville)
UNAMET  United Nations Mission in East Timor
UNAMIC  United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia
UNAMID  United Nations/African Union Hybrid Mission in Darfur
UNAVEM  United Nations Angola Verification Mission
UNBRO  United Nations Border Relief Operation (Thailand)
UNCIP  United Nations Commission in India and Pakistan
UNDOF  United Nations Disengagement Observer Force
UNDP  United Nations Development Programme
UNEF  United Nations Emergency Force
UNFICYP  United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
UNFPA  United Nations Population Fund
UNGC  United Nations Committee of Good Offices
UNGOMAP  United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan
UNHCR  United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF  United Nations Children’s Fund
UNIFIL  United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNIIMOG  United Nations Iran–Iraq Military Observer Group
UNIPOM  United Nations India–Pakistan Observer Mission
UNITAF  Unified Task Force (Somalia)
UNMAS  United Nations Mine Action Service
UNMCTT  United Nations Mine Clearance Training Team
UNMEE  United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea
UNMIL  United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMIS  United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNMISET  United Nations Mission in Support of East Timor
UNMIT  United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
UNMO  United Nations Military Observer
Abbreviations

UNMOGIP United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan
UNMOVIC United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission
UNOCHA United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Aid to Afghanistan
UNOMSA United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa
UNOSOM United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNOTIL United Nations Office in Timor-Leste
UNPROFOR United Nations Protection Force
UNSCOB United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans
UNSCOM United Nations Special Commission
UNTAAC United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UNTAET United Nations Transitional Authority in East Timor
UNTAG United Nations Transition Assistance Group
UNTEA United Nations Temporary Executive Authority
UNTSO United Nations Truce Supervision Organization
UNYOM United Nations Yemen Observer Mission
UXO Unexploded ordnance
VMF Vanuatu Mobile Force
VPFCBP Vanuatu Police Force Capacity Building Project
WFP World Food Programme
WMD Weapons of mass destruction