WHITE PAPER

ON

SOUTH AFRICAN PARTICIPATION

IN

INTERNATIONAL PEACE MISSIONS

Compiled and submitted for publication by the Department of Foreign Affairs

This document presents a proposed policy on South African participation in Peace Missions. It represents the culmination of an interactive process, which incorporated the views of representatives of the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Department of Defence, various other State Departments and the intelligence community. Interested parties from Parliament and civil society were also consulted and/or participated in the process of compilation.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since the advent of democracy in 1994, domestic and international expectations have steadily grown regarding South Africa's role as a responsible and respected member of the international community. These expectations have included a hope that South Africa will play a leading role in international peace missions.

The nature of these missions has changed dramatically over the past decade. They are now complex multidimensional conflict management operations with a diplomatic/political focus. The military is now but one of many role players in processes in which civilians and police officers have become increasingly essential to mission success.

The South African approach to conflict resolution is strongly informed by its own recent history. This strong national interest and experience in the peaceful resolution of seemingly intractable conflicts compels us to participate in peace missions to alleviate the plight of other peoples who are struggling to resolve similar conflicts.

South Africa may thus provide civilian assistance, armed forces and police officers for common international efforts when properly authorised by international and domestic authorities to help in such missions. South Africa will therefore support the United Nations and, where relevant, the Organization of African Unity and the Southern African Development Community by making an appropriate contribution to international peace missions.

South Africa's potential contributions include the voluntary services of a diverse group of civilians with expertise and experience in areas which may be fundamental to the success of a peace mission (conflict resolution, election monitoring, medical care, demining, telecommunications, etc.). The government will facilitate the selection of such people for specific peace missions. This will be done through the creation of a suitable readiness system or resource bank of competent personnel residing in South Africa who are available for international assignments.

South African policemen and women are also well-suited for service as UN civilian police officers and are capable of assisting international efforts to ensure that law and order are maintained effectively and impartially, and that human rights and fundamental freedoms are fully protected. South Africa will therefore prepare a limited number of experienced SAPS personnel for voluntary deployment in support of peace missions.

In terms of the mandate of the SANDF, participation in international peace missions is a secondary function. The "Growth-Core Force Design" recommended in the Defence Review "provides for participation in peace support operations at the level of up to one infantry battalion group". The Defence Review also notes that: "The SANDF has particular skills and expertise in communications, field engineering (including mine-clearing), medical, and command and control functions which are relevant to peace support operations". The SANDF will formalise its potential contribution to international peace missions through an appropriate readiness system. This will include notifying the UN Secretariat of available contributions and determining appropriate tables of personnel and equipment in collaboration with DPKO.

In principle, the level and size of South African contribution to any particular peace mission will depend on how closely the mission relates to our national interests and the type of demand that exists for the type of contributions outlined above. The deployment of a national military contingent requires a clear international mandate. Sufficient collective means must also be available for the execution of this mandate.

South African support depends on the principle of volunteerism and clear criteria for entering and exiting the peace mission with our national pride intact.

South Africa will continue to co-operate with regional partners, especially those within the SADC, in enhancing its capacity to participate in international peace missions. South Africa will also continue to welcome foreign offers of assistance with improving the quality of South Africa's contributions to international peace missions, but we shall not rely on any single donor for the provision of such assistance.

South Africa's Permanent Mission to the United Nations will remain fully seized of the country's potential diplomatic, military and police contributions to peace missions and will communicate these to the UN Secretariat on a regular basis. The Permanent Mission will also solicit information from the Secretariat as to the needs of the UN in terms of contributions to existing and new peace missions.

While government should do everything in its power to facilitate voluntary international service by individual South Africans, the deployment of a national military contingent in support of an international peace mission will always be subject to more rigorous procedures, which will be refined with growing experience of deploying on international service. Such experience can only be gained by converting potential resources into actual capabilities. It is hoped that this White Paper will initiate such a process.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Since the advent of democracy in 1994, domestic and international expectations have steadily grown regarding a new South African role as a responsible and respected member of the international community. These expectations have included a hope that South Africa will play a leading role in a variety of international, regional and sub-regional forums, and that the country will become an active participant in attempts to resolve various regional and international conflicts.

The nature of international activities aimed at international conflict prevention, management and resolution has changed dramatically over the past decade. A radically altered post Cold-War security environment has seen the transformation (or mutation) of classical peacekeeping operations into complex, multidimensional conflict management activities with a diplomatic/political focus in which the military is but one of many participants. Whilst South Africa has, as a member of bodies such as the United Nations (UN) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), begun to play an active role in diplomatic conflict resolution initiatives, the country is also expected to contribute to wider multinational "peace missions".

Contemporary peace missions are fundamentally political initiatives, despite the complex admixture of political, humanitarian and military concerns and means. South Africa must therefore make a careful appraisal of the political and strategic environment within which peace missions are to be launched and the principles governing South African participation in such efforts. A precise understanding is required of the type of mandate that governs peace missions in order to facilitate a detailed articulation of acceptable entry and exit criteria and to determine the scope, level and type of resources that South Africa is willing to commit to future peace missions. This will provide a clear indication to the international community (including South Africa's regional and sub-regional partners) of the country's stance on participation in peace operations.

A clearly articulated policy in this regard will contribute towards the countering of unrealistic expectations of South Africa's potential role in third-party interventions.

However, such policy guidelines will entail a significant degree of compromise - between ideal scenarios and concepts for South African participation, and the realities of a very imperfect system for coping with threats to international peace and security. Policy, which is overly prescriptive, may mean that South Africa will continue to play the role of spectator to international and regional peace missions. On the other hand, policy guidelines that are too open-ended may mean that South Africa will become embroiled in contentious, ineffective and costly interventions from which there is little chance of an honourable withdrawal.

1.2   Aim and Scope

The aim of this White Paper is to describe the nature of contemporary peace missions and to provide clear and concise inter-departmental policy guidelines on South African participation in such missions. In particular, the White Paper addresses the following:

- The nature and scope of contemporary peace missions;
- The international mandate for conducting peace missions;
- South African philosophy on participation in peace missions;
- South Africa's potential contributions to peace missions, including the concept of standby arrangements and a readiness system;
- Principles governing South African participation in peace missions; and
- Procedures for the deployment of South African personnel.

As each peace mission is unique in character, this document should be regarded as an aid to capacity building and decision-making, rather than a definitive set of prescriptions. The very nature of contemporary conflicts means that each and every attempt to contribute to the maintenance or restoration of peace and security will require a judicious consideration of all mission-specific factors at the highest level. However, the positions reflected in this document should provide a meaningful point of departure for such deliberation.

2.   THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF CONTEMPORARY PEACE MISSIONS

2.1   The Changing Security Environment

South Africa finds itself in a profoundly new and different environment to that of the pre-1990 period. The demise of the Cold War and the collapse of the ideological barriers that separated the world have meant that the prospects of nuclear war and full-scale confrontation between East and West are receding. It has also vastly improved the potential of the international community to jointly address threats to common security. This has been particularly manifest in the growing commitment and co-operation with regard to conflict resolution that has emerged in various regional and international forums in recent years.

At the national level, democratisation has brought South Africa a greater degree of political and social stability, and has substantially improved the prospects of deepening and consolidating peace, security and stability within the Southern African region. However, this peace must be nurtured, as intra-state conflicts in various foms are still evident within both Southern and South Africa.

Against this background, regions, governments and communities have begun to challenge traditional concepts of security and to re-configure the strategies required to deal with previously ignored sources of insecurity and instability. This process has typically involved the broadening of traditional concepts of security - hitherto limited largely to the military dimensions - to include political, economic, social, cultural and personal security. It has also led to widespread acknowledgement of the fact that appropriate responses to ongoing political, economic and social instability must include a focus on effective governance, robust democracies and ongoing economic and social development.

Notwithstanding these developments, the changing security environment and enlightened security thinking have not eradicated armed conflict and violence. These continue to manifest themselves in a variety of different forms and continue to pose profound challenges for the manner in which international security is managed and maintained.

Poverty, disease, hunger, illiteracy and malnutrition are present in many different regions, particularly the countries of the South and the developing world. Moreover, the demise of superpower conflict has been accompanied by the emergence of a variety of new conflicts. Prominent in this regard have been the emergence of new ethnic rivalries, the resurfacing of old ethnic, religious, historical and regional differences, the fragmentation of sovereign states, increased contest over territories and national boundaries and the attempted resolution of these differences via a resort to arms. Such conflicts inevitably cause or exacerbate the above-mentioned sources of human insecurity.

An ongoing and pressing need still exists for the international community to provide political, diplomatic, economic and military support for the resolution of these problems. Indeed, the demand for peace missions is now greater than at any time during the Cold War. Greater consensus within the UN Security Council (UNSC) has resulted in an increased deployment of civilian, military and non-governmental organisation (NGO) personnel in a wide spectrum of operations, ranging from peace building and peace making to humanitarian relief and peace enforcement operations.

2.2   From Peacekeeping to Peace Missions

In less than a decade, United Nations peace operations have evolved rapidly and in an *ad hoc* fashion, from classical peacekeeping (involving military interposition to monitor inter-state cease-fire agreements) to complex multidimensional interventions where the military component is but one of many participants within an involved peace process. Each new peace operation bears little resemblance to its predecessor, as the international community and regional organisations become involved in a succession of intra-state conflicts, each with its own unique demands and dynamics.

The rapid pace and unplanned nature of these developments have defied scholarly attempts to clearly present to practitioners a clear concept for these new types of operations. Confusion has developed regarding the terminology and definitions that are used, and different countries and organisations attach different meanings to the various terms and definitions which have emerged. Moreover, terms such as "peacekeeping operations", "peace operations", "wider peacekeeping

operations", "peace support operations", "peace missions" and more recently, "multifunctional peace operations", are being used interchangeably to define the overarching spectrum of activities related to multinational endeavours to prevent or settle international disputes in terms of Chapters VI, VII and VIII of the UN Charter.

If South Africa is to formulate a meaningful policy for participation in peace operations, a clear understanding of the exact meaning of key terms and definitions is of utmost importance as a clear point of reference. Of particular concern in this regard is the current practice of interchangeable use of the term "mission" and "operation", as well as the scope and use of the term "peace support operation".

Peace Mission. Although there is general consensus today that all measures aimed at conflict prevention, management and resolution are in essence political and diplomatic activities (of which the military is but one, subordinate player), the term peace "operation" immediately creates the perception of military dominance. The term "mission", on the other hand, suggests a broader series of political and diplomatic activities. As all current UN activities to prevent or settle international disputes are, in essence, political and diplomatic activities, the term "peace mission" constitutes an appropriate generic term to include "preventive diplomacy", "peace-making", "peace-keeping", "peace enforcement", and "peace-building".

Peace Support Operations. The term "peace support operations" is widely used to cover "peacekeeping" and "peace enforcement" operations. The UN has also accepted the meaning as such. The term "peace support operations" should therefore be used to refer to all military activities in support of a peace mission. This includes military activities in support of predominantly political activities, such as "preventive diplomacy", "peacemaking" and "peace building".

Preventive Diplomacy. "Preventive diplomacy" is primarily a political/diplomatic process, mandated under Chapter VI of the UN Charter in order to prevent disputes from developing between parties, or existing disputes from escalating into open conflict, or to limit the escalation of conflict when it occurs. Notwithstanding the fact that the military could be requested to provide limited support for efforts towards "preventive diplomacy" (transport, protection, etc.), this is not primarily a military responsibility.

Peacemaking. "Peacemaking" is also primarily a diplomatic process/activity, which is conducted with the aim of bringing hostile parties to a negotiated agreement through peaceful means. This process, also mentioned under Chapter VI of the UN Charter, could include activities such as the brokering of cease-fire agreements or more comprehensive peace accords. Again, military support (transport, protection, etc.) could be requested to support the diplomatic process. However, as in the case of "preventive diplomacy", "peacemaking" is not primarily a military responsibility.

Peacekeeping Operations. "Peacekeeping operations" describe the activities of the United Nations in the field. Modern peacekeeping operations now normally involve both military and civilian personnel, who are tasked with monitoring and assisting with the implementation of agreements reached between belligerent parties. Such activities are also mandated under Chapter VI of the UN Charter. They take place with the consent of the conflicting parties and do not involve the use of force (other than in self-defence) by the peacekeepers.

Peace Enforcement. "Peace enforcement" describes activities where, in terms of Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the Security Council deems it necessary to use armed force to maintain or restore international peace and security in situations where the peace is threatened, where a breach of the peace occurs, or where there is an act of aggression. The use of armed force will only be authorised when all other peaceful means have failed. Although "peace enforcement" still forms part of the overall political/diplomatic process (the "peace mission"), the military will obviously

play a leading role in the process of achieving set military objectives (as determined and authorised by the UNSC).
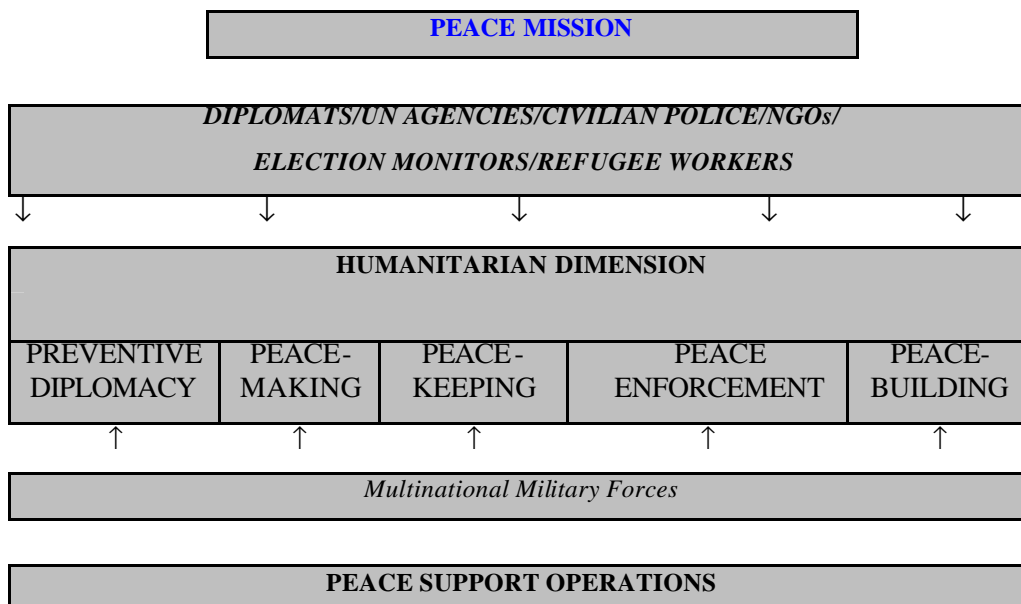
Peace Building. "Peace building" may occur at any stage in the conflict cycle, but it is critical in the aftermath of a conflict. "Peace building" includes activities such as the identification and support of measures and structures that will promote peace and build trust, and the facilitation of interaction among former enemies in order to prevent a relapse into conflict. In essence, "peace building" is mainly a diplomatic/developmental process. Although the military might be requested to support this process, "peace building" does not constitute a military operation in the true sense of the word. It is important that the military involved in "peace missions" will have knowledge of the role of the different role players within the "peace building" process, but as in the case of "preventive diplomacy" and "peace making", "peace building" is not primarily a military responsibility.

Humanitarian Assistance. The international community provides "humanitarian assistance" (in the form of emergency food and medical supplies, health care, sanitation, shelter, etc.) to people at risk in a wide variety of regions and countries. With increasing recognition of the importance of human security over state security, it is unavoidable that humanitarian concerns will also be prominent in contemporary "peace missions". Indeed, many of the civilian actors in "peace missions" will be attending to humanitarian (rather than political) concerns. Their work may be motivated by a singular desire to alleviate human suffering, rather than to contribute to the overall peace process. The military, when engaged in "peace support operations" should therefore be aware of the humanitarian dimension and of the role of actors such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Food Programme, and a variety of NGOs working in the humanitarian field.

Humanitarian Intervention. Humanitarian assistance is often provided by civilians with the negotiated consent of governments and local authorities. There is often an imperative for "humanitarian intervention" where humanitarian access is denied the international community as a result of unresolved armed conflict, and where military has a distinct role to play in the coercive or protective creation of "humanitarian space". "Humanitarian interventions" may resemble other forms of peace support operations (in terms of an international mandate, multinational forces etc.) but they are not, strictly speaking, part of a peace mission with an overarching political objective and imperative.

The overlapping concepts described briefly above and the various actors in contemporary peace missions are depicted schematically below:

Table 1

PEACE MISSION

DIPLOMATS/UN AGENCIES/CIVILIAN POLICE/NGOs/ ELECTION MONITORS/REFUGEE WORKERS

↓　　　　↓　　　　↓　　　　↓　　　　↓

HUMANITARIAN DIMENSION				
PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY	PEACE-MAKING	PEACE-KEEPING	PEACE ENFORCEMENT	PEACE-BUILDING

↑　　　　↑　　　　↑　　　　↑　　　　↑

Multinational Military Forces

PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS

2.3　The Roles of Civilians

Before 1989, peacekeeping was a predominantly military activity and civilians were largely involved in humanitarian assistance. In general, both peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance efforts were relatively small, specific and contained. With the change of function, scope and size of peace missions over the past decade, however, the distinction between political, military and humanitarian tasks in the pursuit of peace has become blurred. More often than not, a larger, multifunctional task force was set up which collapsed peacekeeping, peacemaking, humanitarian assistance and even enforcement into a single effort.

The new multifunctional peace missions (sometimes referred to as "new generation peace operations") have involved complex processes, which require the use of both civilian and military personnel in unified and consolidated missions. Traditional military tasks such as monitoring cease-fires, maintenance of buffer zones between hostile forces and the monitoring of troop withdrawals have frequently been expanded to include the disarmament and demobilisation of combatants and the monitoring of adherence to the broader terms of a peace agreement. Again, however, it must be emphasised that such tasks are executed in support of political objectives.

The political objectives of a peace mission are commonly defined either by the conflicting parties in the form of a peace accord, often reached with the support of the international community in the form of the UN, or regional and sub-regional groupings such as the OAU and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). In the case of Chapter VII peace support operations, however, the UN Security Council must provide a mandate which will define the politico-military objective.

Most modern peace missions are led by a civilian representative of an intergovernmental organisation - most commonly a Special Representative of the UN Secretary General (SRSG). The SRSG is normally a high-ranking diplomat with international status who has been carefully chosen for his/her credibility amongst the conflicting parties and knowledge of the conflict in question.

The SRSG is supported by an experienced multi-national staff with a wide range of responsibilities for the success of the peace mission. These people are not political actors in their own right but form a direct link in the SRSG's line of authority to the other civilian role players in the peace missions. The staff typically includes political officers, secretarial staff, translators/interpreters and technical staff required to manage the control and communication requirements of the SRSG.

At the functional level, a large number of civilians will also be engaged in a wide range of activities such as electoral monitoring and assistance, promoting and monitoring human rights, monitoring disarmament and adherence to sanctions, providing humanitarian assistance, de-mining and security provision. The exact mix of civilian role players will depend on the particular demands of the peace process and will differ from mission to mission. This has often resulted in uncertainty and confusion as to what the exact role of various civilian players should be and has created tremendous challenges in the realm of co-operation and co-ordination. The latter is compounded by the fact that most of the civilian component is appointed by the UN as individuals who are not responsible to their national governments, or belong to a multiplicity of private or non-governmental organisations which are not part of the UN system.

Whenever countries are stricken by war, famine or natural disaster, the UN helps provide humanitarian aid. Part of this aid is in the form of direct assistance from the UN operational agencies and programmes: the UN Development Programme (UNDP); the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs (UNDHA); the World Health Organisation (WHO); the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the UN (FAO); the World Food Programme (WFP), and the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF).

The Office of the UNHCR is responsible for the protection and assistance of over 26 million people around the world who have fled war or persecution, seeking at the same time durable solutions to their plight. In early 1997, UNHCR's major operations were in the Great Lakes Region of Africa, with over 1.4 million people in need; the former Yugoslavia (over 2 million people); and western Asia (some 2.3 million Afghan refugees). All UN emergency relief is co-ordinated by the UN Emergency Relief Co-ordinator, who heads the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs.

In addition to the UN agencies, non-governmental organisations have become increasingly important players in the humanitarian and human rights areas. Major NGOs such as CARE, Save the Children, Catholic Relief Services, *Medecins Sans Frontieres*, and World Vision - as well as many lesser known organisations - have been in the front lines of relieving desperate human suffering.

Because of their disciplinary system and hierarchy, it is much easier to co-ordinate the activities of civilian police within contemporary peace missions. While many multifunctional peace missions since UNTAG (Namibia, 1989) have included a significant police component, the role of the police is now eclipsing that of the military in a number of ongoing UN missions. For example, two of the most recently established missions are dedicated exclusively to issues of policing - the UN Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONHU), and the UN Police Support Group in Croatia.

The mandate of the longer-standing UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1995 to present) is also concerned exclusively with law enforcement activities and it is executed by some 1 976 civilian police from 40 countries (with only three military support personnel). While not

exclusively devoted to policing matters, the UN Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) had some 361 civilian police. With the gradual withdrawal of military personnel the mission's police component continued to verify the neutrality of the Angolan National Police, the incorporation of UNITA personnel into the national police, as well as the quartering and occasional deployment of the rapid reaction police.

Contrary to popular misconceptions, civilian police do not deploy to maintain law and order within the host country of a peace mission. According to the UN handbook, the mission of the Civilian Police Component is to *"undertake the supervision or control of local civil police in order to ensure that law and order are maintained effectively and impartially, and that the human rights and fundamental freedoms are fully protected"*.

2.4   *The Military Role*

This military commitment to peace missions (peace support operations) includes those activities where the military operates in support of the political / diplomatic / humanitarian objectives of the broader mission. Latter-day peace missions have been associated with the ending of proxy Cold War conflicts, assisted by the UN or other multinational organisations (Namibia, Cambodia, El Salvador, Mozambique and Angola). In these cases, the peace process started with a cease-fire as part of a comprehensive peace agreement and multinational military forces deployed in the affected areas with the consent of the parties to the conflict. The role of the military included activities such as:

- The separation of combatants;
- The disarmament of irregular forces;
- The demobilisation and transformation of regular and irregular forces into a unified army;
- Assistance with reintegration into civil society; and
- Assisting with elections for new governments.

Such operations brought Namibia to independence, transformed society and politics in Cambodia and El Salvador and provided a basis for the reconstruction of Mozambique, demonstrating the utility of a broader concept of peace support operations. None of these missions required the UN to deviate significantly from the established peacekeeping principle of the non-use of force.

On the other hand, peace missions have also been launched in the wake of conflicts precipitated by the resurgence of more primordial animosities that were suppressed, rather than addressed, during the Cold War freeze. Peace missions have been launched where there is no peace to keep, but where there is a strong international desire to support humanitarian assistance efforts while attempts are made to find a political solution to the conflict. In such insecure environments, the military obviously has a prominent role to play in providing minimal standards of security and stability. The two most salient examples of this type of operation are those conducted in Somalia (UNOSOM I and II, April 1992-March 1995) and the former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR, March 1992-December 1995), whilst the Rwandan mission (UNAMIR, October 1993-March 1996) is recognised as the most obvious failure.

In all cases, international law has particular relevance for peace support operations in two major areas: authorisation and competence; and operational capabilities. In the first area, the law provides a legal basis and assists the peacekeeper with firm legal authority. In the second area, the

law provides the peacekeeper with international status and ground rules. It also furnishes principles of responsibility to guide the conduct of the force.

Rules of Engagement (ROE) provide political direction, within legal parameters, and guidance to commanders at all levels governing the use of force. Force Commanders will analyse the relevant Security Council resolution mandating the operation, assess the threat in their designated area of operations and make recommendations for approval of specific ROE by the responsible international organisation. At all times forces involved in peace support operations must operate in full compliance with the rules of the law of armed conflict.

One of the guiding principles of peace support operations is that the mission should generally be achieved without the use of military force, although circumstances may necessitate the use of force to ensure the safety of the force or to fulfil the mandate of the operation. Incidents should be prevented or stopped by negotiation, persuasion or show of force, rather than by the use of force. Force should only be used when peaceful means have failed to stop a hostile act or when necessary to accomplish mandated tasks.

The use of unnecessary force undermines the credibility and impartiality of a peace support force to the host countries, the parties in the conflict and within the international community. It may escalate the level of violence and create a situation in which the peace support force becomes part of the local problem. The use of force must be carefully controlled and restricted. ROE will therefore provide detailed prescriptions on aspects such as restraint in use of weapons and pyrotechnics, circumstances warranting the use of force, as well as rules to be adhered to once the decision to use force has been taken by the proper authority.

The military force structure depends on the political mandate of the mission, the size of the area, the nature and expected duration of the mission and other factors such as lines of communications, terrain, weather, threat and logistical requirements. To enjoy broad legitimacy, the force must be a task oriented, multinational organisation. The dominance of a single nationality in the force should be avoided. In practice however, the final composition of a peace support force is very often the result of a negotiated agreement involving considerable political and practical compromises.

The most significant component will normally be infantry battalions that can hold positions, provide presence and observation, man checkpoints and conduct patrols. Armoured reconnaissance units are particularly useful when the situation is fluid or involves a large area. Helicopter units will perform essential functions such as movement of personnel and material, reconnaissance, surveillance and medical evacuation.

Although the posture of the military force to be deployed is determined by the mission in question, certain generic military force elements can be partially or entirely present in particular peace mission. For planning purposes, the UN maintains a record of the number of civilian police pledged by member states for participation in peace missions, as well as a predominantly military standby roster divided into the following categories of personnel: military observers; operational; support; medical; and "others" (including a small number of civilian specialists and experts ranging from surgeons to procurement personnel).

More than half of the UN peacekeeping operations established before 1989 consisted solely of unarmed UN **military observers** (UNMOs). Traditionally, the primary tasks of UNMOs have been the supervision, monitoring, verification and reporting of cease-fire agreements, separations and withdrawals of forces, as well as the cessation of foreign assistance to former belligerents. Since 1989, however, UNMOs have had to accept numerous other organisational and representative tasks and responsibilities in the performance of their mandated duties, including:

- Monitoring of the disarmament, demobilisation, regrouping and cantonment processes of military forces;
- Assisting in the location and confiscation of weapons caches;
- Maintaining liaison with and between belligerent factions, other (civilian) UN agencies, NGOs, and neighbouring countries; and
- Providing assistance to humanitarian agencies in the supervision and conduct of prisoners of war exchanges, food distribution, the provision of medical care, etc.

The diversity and complexity of the tasks of the military observer will depend on the mandate of the particular mission and the prevailing political and military situation. UNMOs usually perform such tasks alone or in pairs, in a foreign cultural and linguistic environment, under difficult living conditions and in high stress situations. UNMOs have lately been regaining some of the prominence they enjoyed during Cold War era peace missions. After a brief experiment with large-scale, multifunctional peace missions (1989-1995), the UN is now conducting much smaller and more specialised military observer missions, whilst delegating the large-scale, military functions to regional organisations and arrangements. In fact, 14 of the 16 UN peace support operations currently deployed are either decades old, or observer missions, or both.

Most peace support operations within which the military assumes a prominent role tend to be primarily landward by nature. The **army** will, accordingly, play a prominent role in such missions. Typical elements of an army contribution to a peace support operation would include infantry (to perform protection and escort duties); engineers (demolition, demining, construction, water provision etc.); signals/communication contingents; armour (ensuring effective traffic control and vehicle control points in peacekeeping operations, and to play a more offensive role in peace enforcement operations), and military police personnel (to ensure discipline within the armed forces in question). The very nature of peace support operations has meant that the bulk of operational personnel has been infantry, and infantry contingents continue to constitute the bulk of the forces deployed in contemporary peace support operations. However, the UN has noted that there remains a shortage of communications and logistics personnel, as well as engineers.

The primary task of **engineers** is to provide ground mobility. Other important tasks will include: provision, storage and distribution of water; provision of sewerage and other waste disposal facilities; provision and distribution of electrical power; maintenance and repair of existing essential civil facilities and installations as appropriate; and location, removal and disposal of mines and other unexploded ordnance. Prior co-ordination will ensure that there are adequate engineering resources available for deployment.

Military police have appropriate training, experience and equipment to contribute significantly to peace support operations, especially where there may have been a breakdown in law and order. Military police units would work in close co-operation with the civil police component of the force, as well as the local police authorities. Because of the sensitive nature of such missions, military police would also focus on curtailing illegal activities or breaches of local law by members of the force.

Military **medical** capabilities may be called on not only for military reasons but also for assistance to civilian populations affected by natural disasters or conflicts. This could range from the provision of a medical task team to the establishment of a fully-fledged Military Hospital.

Air force elements are always in demand, but often in short supply during peace support operations. Air assets have the flexibility to deploy across long distances in a very short time and once deployed, can cover large areas for surveillance, reconnaissance, communications, search and rescue or, in extreme cases, close air support to besieged forces or for their extraction. Maritime patrol aircraft can more closely monitor coastal and international waterways to identify

potential violators of internationally agreed sanctions and embargoes. Transport aircraft are able to move large quantities of goods, services and resources in and out of a region. These aircraft may also be used to deploy forces rapidly or transport fact-finding teams and mediators throughout the area. Aircraft are also able to evacuate sick and wounded personnel to medical facilities outside the mission area.

Navy vessels and aircraft can patrol international waterways, as well as coastal waters with the consent of the host country, to monitor cease-fire agreements or in compliance with internationally sanctioned embargoes. Maritime assets would be essential for support operations such as the clearing of mines from designated waters and the escort of merchant ships passing through areas of conflict. Maritime task forces can provide search and rescue, intelligence, logistical, communications, medical evacuation, and possibly close air support, to peace support forces. Embarked amphibious forces can provide an immediate reaction force to a peace support operation and can be available to support humanitarian missions. Both air and sea transport assets have been listed by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) as presently in short supply.

To meet specific needs during a peace support operation, the military forces of individual nations usually deploy with a national **support unit**. This unit provides logistic services such as stores, finances and secure rear-link communications for the transmission of national situation reports and other traffic.

3. THE INTERNATIONAL MANDATE FOR PEACE MISSIONS

3.1 The UN Mandate

The competence of the UN to conduct peace missions flows from its basic purpose to maintain international peace and security, as detailed in the provisions and principles of the Charter. Within the UN, competence to establish peace missions resides with two principal organs: the Security Council and the General Assembly. In practice, the Security Council has the primary responsibility for the conduct of peace missions, while the Secretary-General and the Secretariat provide executive direction and supervision of such operations.

While authority to establish a mission rests solely on the sovereign powers of the overarching organ (the UN), authority to deploy is derived, in part, from the consent of the host country. The principle of consent and request by the host country is essential for the establishment of a peace mission in any sovereign territory, except when the mandate of the Security Council indicates otherwise (according to Chapter VII powers).

A UN peace support force is strictly an impartial international force. In the sense of the UN Charter, such a force, authorised by the competent organ of the UN and operating under its supervision, is a subsidiary organ of the UN - in effect, a UN agency. The fundamental status of a UN force in a host country is derived from Articles 104 and 105 of the UN Charter. These articles confer on the UN the legal capacity, privileges and immunities that are necessary to fulfil its purposes. Similarly, officials of the UN will benefit from privileges and immunities necessary to the exercise of their functions in connection with UN activities.

The above provisions were developed in the 1946 Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the UN and adopted by a large majority of UN member nations. Where a UN force deploys in a host

country not party to the Convention, the legal regime of the Convention is nonetheless declared applicable in the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) entered into between the UN and the host country.

Where possible, the legality of a peace support mission in any country's territory should be guaranteed by a SOFA signed between the host country and the UN, regulating the following in detail:

- Privileges and immunities of the force, officers, officials and members of the force;
- Matters concerning the application of taxation, customs and fiscal regulations;
- Communications and postal services;
- Freedom of movement;
- Use of roads, waterways, port facilities and airfields;
- Use of water, electricity and other public utilities;
- Availability of local currency for use by the force;
- Provisions, supplies and services;
- Terms and conditions of locally recruited personnel;
- Settlement of disputes or claims;
- Arrangements for liaison between the armed forces and security personnel of the host government and the Force;
- Civil and criminal jurisdiction; and
- Identification and status.

As a rule, the UNSC decides on the establishment of UN peace support operations. When the need for a peace support mission is raised by a member of the Security Council and before it makes a decision on the matter, the UN Secretariat will make an initial assessment of the task, send out a fact-finding team, and ask several nations and regional organisations about possible contributions. A report by the UN Secretary-General will be considered by the Security Council in conjunction with other information made available by its members. Once the Security Council resolution authorising a new peace support mission is agreed on and the mandate is published, every effort is made by the Secretariat to recruit contingents with broad geographical representation. The Security Council resolution provides international legal authority for the mission.

Once the force is established, the overall direction of the operation is in the hands of the Secretary-General, acting on behalf of and being responsible to the Security Council. The Secretary-General delegates the daily operational handling to the Head of Mission (traditionally the military Force Commander, but now almost always a civilian SRSG), but usually retains direct control over policy and major decision-making. This principle, which may limit the Head of Mission's freedom of action, is generally required by the Security Council.

To facilitate early involvement in the planning process, the UN should maintain liaison with national military headquarters as soon as it considers involving a particular country in an operation. Throughout the life of a mission, the political sensitivity and multinational character of peace support operations require very clear command relationships, which are generally as follows:

- For UN peace support operations the Security Council will exercise political control and guidance through the Secretary-General or his designated agent, the Head of Mission;
- The Head of Mission for a particular mission will be selected by the Secretary-General in consultation with the contributing nations, regional organisations involved and the parties in conflict;
- The Force Commander of a peace support operation is usually chosen from one of the nations contributing to the operation;
- The Force Commander exercises operational control over all units contributed to the operation for the duration of their participation;
- A national military contingent consists of a nation's entire contribution to a peace support operation, which may include several separate units without a functional relationship to each other. Each nation designates one officer, not necessarily a unit commander, to serve as its contingent commander to interact on behalf of the nation with the Force Commander. In addition to other duties, contingent commanders will be responsible for the good order and discipline of their personnel, as well as administrative matters;
- Civilian police personnel do not have a national chain of command, but resort as individuals under the direct authority of the UN Police Commissioner and his/her chain of command. The Police Commissioner may liase closely with the Force Commander, but reports directly to the Head of Mission; and
- Other civilians contributing to the peace mission, in the employment of the UN, are likewise responsible to the Head of Mission via the civilian administrative structure. A lead UN agency (such as UNHCR) is normally appointed to co-ordinate the humanitarian assistance and peace building efforts of all UN agencies, as well as NGOs working in the mission area.

3.2 Regional and Sub-Regional Mandates

UN peace missions are widely perceived to be in a state of crisis in terms of finances, doctrine, co-ordination, and quality troop contributions. According to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan,

> *"The United Nations does not have, at this point in its history, the institutional capacity to conduct military enforcement measures under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Under present conditions, ad hoc member states coalitions of the willing offer the most effective deterrent to aggression or to the escalation or spread of an ongoing conflict. ... The Organisation still lacks the capacity to implement rapidly and effectively decisions of the Security Council calling for the dispatch of peacekeeping operations in crisis situations. Troops for peacekeeping missions are in some cases not made available by member states or made available under conditions which constrain effective response. Peacemaking and human rights operations, as well as peacekeeping operations, also lack a secure financial footing, which has a serious impact on the viability of such operations".* **(UN Report on Reform, released 16 July 1997.)**

Chapter VIII of the UN Charter provides for regional bodies such as the OAU, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) or ECOWAS to participate in peace missions in their respective regions on the basis of their own initiative. The only proviso is that such missions should fall within the area of regional jurisdiction of the regional body and be consistent with the purposes

and principles of the UN. Moreover, any involvement in peace enforcement operations must receive prior authorisation from the UN Security Council.

There is presently a clear trend towards the deployment of an increasing number of non-UN peace missions under Chapter VIII of the Charter. Substantial and forceful missions have been conducted since 1990 by ECOWAS in West Africa, since July 1992 by Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in Georgia, Azerbaijan and Tajikistan. However, it is since the 40 000-strong NATO Implementation Force (IFOR) took over from the over-extended UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslavia at the end of 1995, that the idea of regional peace operations has steadily gained ground.

The turning point for the OAU, in terms of a role in the maintenance of peace, security and stability in Africa, came in 1993. The Cairo Declaration established the OAU Mechanism on Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. In establishing the Mechanism, the African Heads of State and Government emphasised that the United Nations, with its cumulative experience, expertise and greater resources than the OAU, should clearly remain the pre-eminent international authority with the responsibility for dealing with international peace and security - including internal crises which threaten regional stability in Africa.

However, it was also realised that regional and sub-regional organisations on the one hand, and the United Nations system on the other hand, should endeavour to share proportionately the burden relating to the maintenance of world-wide peace, security and stability. Moreover, the OAU realised the need to take the primary ownership of its own problems, especially those relating to issues of peace, security and stability. Paragraph 15 of the Cairo Declaration states that: *"In circumstances where conflicts have occurred, it will be the Mechanism's responsibility to undertake peace making and peace building functions in order to facilitate the resolution of these conflicts. In this respect, civilian and military missions of observation and monitoring of limited scope and duration may be mounted and deployed."*

Since 1993, conflict resolution has been handled by the OAU mainly through the concept of preventive diplomacy which has taken many forms, including the use of the good offices of the Secretary General, the use of Eminent Persons, the use of Special Envoys, Representatives of the Secretary General, direct contacts between the OAU and the government of the country concerned, as well as missions from the General Secretariat to the country in question.

The OAU has also mandated and funded the deployment of military observers to assist with conflict resolution in countries such Rwanda, Burundi, and the Comoros. While the OAU recognises the fact that the bulk of activities within the realm of conflict management should be in the field of prevention, the Organisation has realised Africa must also be prepared to take some degree of responsibility for broader peace support operations, in collaboration with external friends and operational partners. In addition to the efforts being deployed by the OAU, extra-continental powers have become increasingly involved in attempts to enhance African capabilities for the conduct of peace operations.

Since the OAU only has a permanent secretariat and no permanent ambassadorial presence from different states (unlike the UN Security Council and the General Assembly), the communication of member states' intentions and concerns are mainly channelled through the Secretary General via either the ambassadors in Addis Ababa or personally by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs or the Heads of State. No formal mechanism exists via which speedy approval can be secured for the deployment of a peace mission, except in those cases where the Summit or Foreign Ministers of the OAU Central Organ for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution is summoned to lend its approval. Any OAU Member State can request this.

Unlike the UN Charter the OAU Charter does not provide for a mechanism to control or enforce the implementation of the Organisation's decisions. Rather, under the auspices of the Mechanism,

the OAU is mandated to co-ordinate closely its activities with African regional and sub-regional organisations and to co-operate, as appropriate, with neighbouring countries with respect to conflicts arising in the different parts of the continent.

The OAU encourages sub-regional organisations to initiate preventive diplomacy efforts. In this instance, the OAU Secretary General is kept abreast of all initiatives and, in turn, maintains contact with the OAU Chairperson as well as the UN Secretary General. He or she has the Summit's mandate to despatch special envoys and observer missions and to initiate related efforts to establish the relevant facts on the ground.

At the sub-regional level, South Africa is a signatory of the <u>Southern African Development Community (SADC) Treaty</u>, which commits its members to recognising the sovereign equality of all member states, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and the observance of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. In Article 21 of the SADC Treaty (which deals with areas of co-operation), member states also explicitly agree to co-operate in the area of "politics, diplomacy, international relations, peace and security". To give effect to these provisions, in May 1996, the SADC Heads of State and Government endorsed the recommendations of the SADC Ministers responsible for Foreign Affairs, Defence and Security, proposing the establishment of a SADC Organ for Politics, Defence and Security.

On 28 June 1996, the Summit of Heads of State and Government reaffirmed that the SADC Organ constituted an appropriate institutional framework by which the SADC countries would co-ordinate their policies and activities in the areas of politics, defence and security. The Summit also decided that the objectives of the Organ would include: regional security and defence co-operation through conflict prevention, management and resolution; the promotion of peace-making and peacekeeping in order to achieve sustainable peace and security; co-ordination of the participation of member states in international and regional peacekeeping operations; and the addressing of extra-regional conflicts which impact on peace and security in Southern Africa.

The institutional framework for achieving these objectives is presently much less developed than that of the OAU, but it includes the Inter-State Defence and Security Committee (ISDSC). The ISDSC has already made significant progress in the realm of co-operation in capacity-building for participation in peace support operations, but modalities for conflict resolution and mandating actual peace missions under the auspices of the SADC remain unclear, pending further institutional development of the SADC Organ.

4. SOUTH AFRICAN PHILOSOPHY ON PARTICIPATION IN PEACE MISSIONS

4.1 Support for International Conflict Management and Resolution

In the regional, sub-regional and national context within Africa, many of the crises that beset individual countries and their respective sub-regions have deep-rooted causes. These often include a lack of coincidence between nation and state, resultant ethnic tension and the suppression of minority and majority groups; corrupt and dictatorial regimes; military support for these regimes by neighbouring states and/or by Northern powers through arms trade and sales;

unstable civil-military relations; chronic underdevelopment and poverty, and a grinding debt burden.

All too frequently, the resources and energies of the international community, regions, sub-regions and the national state are mobilised mainly around the symptoms of conflict - particularly when these reach the proportions of genocide or civil war. When addressing such crises, it is important to realise that they will recur if the underlying causes of the crisis are allowed to persist. Highlighting the distinction between conflict and crisis underlines the importance of managing the former and addressing the causes of the latter. Because conflict is ever present and the causes of the crisis are numerous, complex and structural, both processes have to be undertaken in a sustained and systematic manner.

In particular there is no single, simple or short-term approach to resolving crises. Peace missions should therefore be viewed as long-term endeavours, which include a significant investment in peace building, and not merely as short-term engagements. Peace building involves the inculcation of respect for human rights and political pluralism; the accommodation of diversity; building the capacity of state and civil institutions; and promoting economic growth and equity. These measures are the most effective means of preventing crises, and are therefore as much pre-crisis as post-crisis priorities. In all cases, peace missions should aim at the empowerment of peoples and be based on local traditions and experiences, rather than the imposition of foreign modes of conflict management and governance.

The greatest need for capacity building in conflict arenas is, indeed, in the realm of governance. While the staging of free and fair elections normally marks the transition to the post-conflict state, this state has little chance to prosper unless emphasis is also placed on the essentials of efficient and effective governance, namely: adherence to the rule of law; competent and fair judiciaries; effective police services and criminal justice systems; professional civil services with an ethos of democratic governance; and the reorientation of the state and its personnel away from partisan interests towards developmental goals.

Preventive diplomacy, peace building and peace making must therefore be the essential pillars of any peace mission. South Africa will endeavour to support such efforts aimed at addressing the causes of crises when and where possible and appropriate - to the extent that its resources allow. The South African government must also assist the international community in managing the symptoms of crises. Sine the UN has very limited assets of its own to run field operations, member states are the main providers of the resources required for such operations. Such support is sometimes provided by collectivities of UN member states, acting under the auspices of regional or sub-regional organisations or security arrangements, or sometimes as more *ad hoc*, UN authorised "coalitions of the willing". As a responsible me mber of the UN, the OAU and the SADC, South Africa must prepare for active participation in peace missions and, where appropriate and authorised, humanitarian interventions. Such participation will not only serve the cause of international and regional peace and security, but will also be in pursuit of its national interests.

4.2   *Peace Missions and National Interests*

South Africa provides the international community with a unique example of how a country, having emerged from a deeply divided past, can negotiate a peaceful transition based on its own conflict-resolution techniques and its own vision of meaningful and enduring development. The South African approach to conflict resolution is thus strongly informed by its own recent history and this strong national interest and experience in the peaceful resolution of seemingly intractable

conflicts compels it to participate in peace missions to alleviate the plight of other peoples who are struggling to resolve similar conflicts.

South Africa's emerging national interests are underpinned by the values enshrined in the Constitution, which encompass the security of the state and its citizens, the promotion of the social and economic well-being of its citizenry, the encouragement of global peace and stability and participating in the process of ensuring regional peace, stability and development. These national interests are concretely reflected in key national policy documents - examples of which include the Constitution, a range of White Papers on the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR), the Transformation of the Public Service, Intelligence and Defence.

South Africa's foreign policy, as an important component of this definition of national interest, is based on six key principles:

- A commitment to the promotion of human rights;
- A commitment to the promotion of democracy;
- A commitment to justice and international law in the conduct of relations between nations;
- A commitment to international peace and to internationally agreed- upon mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts;
- A commitment to the interests of Africa in world affairs;
- A commitment to economic development through regional and international co-operation in an inter-dependent world.

In short, it is in the South African **national interest** to assist peoples who suffer from famine, political repression, natural disasters and the scourge of violent conflict. South Africa may thus provide civilian assistance and armed forces in common international efforts when properly authorised by international authorities to help in such efforts.

Such participation is increasingly a prerequisite for international respectability and for an authoritative voice in the debate on the future of international conflict management and the reform of intergovernmental organisations such as the UN, the OAU and the SADC.

The experience of other countries indicates that multinational peace missions contribute to the professionalism of their personnel that participate in these missions - be they civilians, police or military. People with mission experience tend to be comfortable with working in a multinational environment and can cope with linguistic and cultural diversity. They are also less parochial in their outlook towards their profession than colleagues who have not had similar exposure. This aspect is extremely significant for South Africa, which is emerging from years of international isolation where there were few opportunities for international military and police exposure.

Although South Africa acknowledges its global responsibilities, the prioritisation afforded Africa in South African foreign policy makes Africa the prime focus of future engagements. South Africa has an obvious interest in preserving regional peace and stability in order to promote trade and development and to avoid the spillover effects of conflicts in the neighbourhood.

5. SOUTH AFRICA'S POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

5.1 Standby Arrangements

The scope of South African involvement in peace missions can range from involvement in broader diplomatic and political initiatives - preventive diplomacy, peace-making, and peace-building - to those missions with a more reactive focus - observer missions, peace-keeping, peace enforcement and humanitarian assistance.

South Africa would obviously prefer to contribute to those initiatives that aim to address the underlying causes of conflict and not simply its short-term containment. However, it is not always possible to be selective in this regard. In the event that military forces are required to respond to a humanitarian emergency, or to support an important peace process, South Africa may have to provide an appropriate contingent to supplement the international or regional effort.

If South Africa is to fulfil its obligations under the Charters of the UN and the OAU and the SADC Treaty in a responsible manner, it must be prepared for the contingencies and requirements of a broad range of peace mission scenarios, and signal this preparedness to the region and the international community. This would best be done by creating a pool of high quality personnel who could be made available for active participation in peace missions through the existing UN Standby Arrangements System, and through information sharing at the regional and sub-regional levels.

In order to meet the demands of rapid deployment and to avert tragedies such as the Rwandan genocide of 1994, the UN created a "Standby Arrangements System" in November 1995. The purpose of this system is to have a precise understanding of the forces and other capabilities a Member State will have available at a given condition of readiness for movement from the home country if it agrees to contribute to a peacekeeping operation. Such an understanding facilitates the organisation's efforts in mission force planning and force building and also contributes to its rapid deployment. Similarly, it places the participating government in a better position to plan and budget for a possible contribution to a peacekeeping operation, to train and prepare its personnel and, if necessary, to arrange for the acquisition of the necessary equipment required for peace missions.

The Standby Arrangements System is based on the established principle that a member state retains the right to say "no" to the Secretary General's request for participation in a specific UN peacekeeping operation. Hence, it cannot be assumed that all resources included in the system will be made available when so requested.

The effectiveness and optimisation of the Standby Arrangements System is linked to detailed information on resources specified in each of the standby arrangements. By maintaining a comprehensive database, the UN Secretariat is in a better position to determine the resources available to meet peace mission requirements. It also enables departmental planners to tailor realistic tasks for resources provided by the governments according to their capabilities as well as identifying what services and materials should be procured or contracted if deficiencies exist. Standby Arrangements are not only confined to resources directly required in the mission area but also cover air and sea strategic lift resources offered by governments and needed in rapid deployment of all resources into the peacekeeping operation area.

To assist member states and Secretariat planners, standard standby components have been devised and are listed in Tables of Organisation and Equipment that have been made available to member states. The tables provide guidelines on tasks, organisational structure, size and equipment,

including the number of vehicles, of the types of units typically deployed in contemporary peace support operations. The guidelines and modalities for potential civilian contributions are far less specific at the level of the UN, but a few member states are pursuing innovative strategies in this regard.

Given the strong preference of the South African government for contributing to peace making and peace building, some form of standby arrangement is necessary for delineating and preparing civilian- and civilian police volunteers, as well as the military for participation in multinational peace missions.

5.2   Civilian Resources

No nation simply "assigns" civilians to a UN peace mission. All political and key civilian office-bearers are appointed by the United Nations itself. While any country can volunteer the services of certain diplomats and civilian experts, these are not likely to be appointed unless they are in good standing within the UN "system" and have extensive experience which is relevant to the peace mission in question - and each peace mission is unique in terms of composition and mandate. The UN and other international bodies engaging in peace missions should therefore have the widest and most accurate information basis in order to assist with the appointment of suitably qualified and motivated civilians to key posts in each mission.

South Africa has considerable civilian expertise and experience in areas that may be fundamental to the success of a peace mission. In certain geographic and socio-economic contexts, South African civilian expertise may be even more appropriate than that offered by other out-of-area contributors. Examples in this regard include support for mediation and diplomatic settlement of micro -disputes in the region; the treatment of tropical diseases; the provision of medical and nursing support; the provision of field support (transport, water purification, demining, food, telecommunications and field management of particular humanitarian or political processes); and the provision of trained statisticians and human rights observers for electoral and human rights monitoring functions.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) will therefore encourage, facilitate, and support the selection of civilian volunteers for specific peace missions, through the creation of a suitable readiness system or resource bank of competent personnel residing in South Africa who are available for international assignments which promote democracy, human rights and peace building. In this sense, South African civilian experts on peace missions, like military and police personnel will represent South Africa's commitment to peace missions. Because of the many political sensitivities when working in areas such as human rights and democracy, the resource bank will be located within a stand-alone, non-profit organisation.

The crux of the readiness arrangement would be the identification of South Africans who meet the profiles of the individuals sought by the UN and other international agencies, such as civil servants and private persons with expertise in foreign relations and diplomacy, democracy and good governance, safety and security, justice, transportation, communications and health. At a minimum, this should result in the provision of a list of appropriate names and résumés to the UN Secretariat, which would then directly hire the individuals they select from the list. In the case of civil servants, leave of absence will have to be negotiated for the duration of deployment with the Department concerned.

The system would further involve the maintenance of a comprehensive database of South African experts; active tracking of possible openings in existing or planned UN missions; screening of

South African volunteers; and the training of some volunteers. The South African government may, at times, also choose to fund the secondment of individuals to international peace missions. In such cases, the standby system may be used to assist in the selection of these individuals.

Even where South Africans join existing UN teams, some administrative and logistical support may be needed. Such administrative and logistics functions could be contracted out, through the standby system, to various international organisations or NGOs with an established presence in the field.

In the understanding that civilians are a crucial component of any contemporary peace mission, the South African government will promote national and regional public awareness on the importance of having a resource bank of civilian volunteers and will support the establishment of relevant civilian training courses for those earmarked for international service. Acknowledging the need for enhanced regional and international co-operation for peace missions, the latter should be open to participants from South Africa, the region and abroad. In the interests of enhanced civil-military co-operation within peace missions, civilian attendance of pertinent military training activities and vice versa will be encouraged - especially in relation to personnel who are included in standby arrangements.

5.3   Police Resources

The South African Police Services (SAPS) is one of the largest and best-trained civilian police services in Africa. Indeed, while the SAPS is becoming increasingly civilianised, many countries on the continent are still policed by paramilitary style forces. The earnestness with which the government has undertaken a process of transforming South Africa's police from a force to a community-friendly service provides and excellent example of what can be done to restructure the provision of safety and security in an embryonic, post-conflict democracy. South African policemen and women who have experienced the process of transformation first-hand, are well-suited for international service in support of the broad UN police officers' mission, to *"undertake the supervision or control of local civil police in order to ensure that law and order are maintained effectively and impartially, and that the human rights and fundamental freedoms are fully protected"*.

The UN has urgent need of high quality officers for increasingly police-intensive peace missions. As the emphasis is on quality rather than quantity, international obligations and domestic needs can be balanced by preparing a limited number of experienced SAPS personnel for deployment in support of peace missions. This number could be as few as twenty or as many as one hundred, with the understanding that only half the number would be deployed externally to allow for rotation. In essence, the upper limit would mean that less than 0,01% of the 136 000 SAPS personnel would be eligible for service in peace missions.

This size of contribution should be acceptable to even the most critical elements of the South African public - especially if it is emphasised that the experience gained on peace missions will undoubtedly contribute to the overall professionalism, human rights awareness, and service orientation of the SAPS. In any event, the Department of Safety and Security would approve each individual application for leave of absence for international service. Such approval would not be granted if it was to the obvious detriment of the safety and security of the South African public.

Participation in international missions will provide select South African police officers the opportunity to operate in a foreign culture and to be exposed to unique policing problems, as they confront cultural and ethical issues on a daily basis. Although the SAPS will lose the officer for a

short period of time, the skills acquired and refined abroad will, in the long run, complement what the officer has already learnt in South Africa.

International service will be based on applications to join specific police missions. No police officer can be commanded to serve internationally. However, the Department of Safety and Security will facilitate such applications through creating a suitable readiness system, which includes a standby roster, selection procedures, and appropriate training opportunities. Candidates must go through a selection process that is tailored to the requirements of the UN DPKO training unit. This typically includes attributes such as at least eight years of police experience, sound mental and physical health, good driving skills, good English language and report writing skills and basic computer literacy. Candidates must also hold values and attitudes towards other cultures that are consistent with UN (and South African constitutional) principles.

5.4   Military Resources

For obvious historic reasons, South Africa has not yet provided troop contributions for peace support operations under the auspices of the UN or other international organisations. However, the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) has provided select logistic, airlift and specialist support for such missions since 1990. The SANDF provided electoral assistance in the form of air transport for UNAVEM II in Angola and ONUMOZ in Mozambique. The SANDF also provided logistic support for the UNAVEM III operation in Angola, in the form of tentage and equipment for four of the assembly areas set up by the UN in that country. Moreover, the SANDF has provided humanitarian assistance to Burundi in the form of medical assistance and the provision of essential humanitarian supplies, and has assisted the government of Angola with the training of de-mining teams.

In terms of the mandate of the SANDF (as specified in the Defence Review), participation in international peace missions is a secondary function of the armed forces. The SANDF will, therefore, not normally create special structures for such operations, but will rather provide for them with the primary structure. For example, peacekeeping and peace enforcement have been specified as secondary functions of the SA Army's Rapid Deployment Ground Force which includes mechanised, motorised and parachute forces. Similarly, the South African Air Force, the South African Navy and the South African Medical Services will not create dedicated force components for peace missions, but will ensure that the components that might be deployed in these operations are equipped and trained appropriately.

The SANDF believes that when it does contribute troops to international peace support operations, its contingents must be well equipped and trained to the highest standards. Personnel development is an important part of this equation, including the attendance by select personnel of peacekeeping-related courses in foreign countries. Since the middle of 1995, SANDF officers have attended a wide variety of peacekeeping courses in the region and abroad. The aim has been to establish a pool of knowledge and expertise among career officers and soldiers, which can be utilised to enrich the quality of existing and planned training programmes for peace operations.

As with many other countries, the development of peace operations training and capacity is centred on the South African Army. The Army has already produced a Joint Warfare Manual: Peace Support Operations, which will be revised according to new trends in peacekeeping, and according to experience gained by the Army over time. However, the contribution of a troop contingent to multinational peace operations has hitherto been hindered by the ongoing process of transforming the SANDF from an agglomeration of former statutory and non-statutory forces into a single, national defence force which is appropriately structured and oriented for serving the

democratic South African state. This transformation has involved both the integration of diverse armed forces and the rationalisation of the resultant national force to achieve an appropriate level and composition of personnel.

An additional restrictive factor has been the ongoing internal deployment of large numbers of SA Army personnel in support of the SAPS, in order to maintain internal stability, law and order. Moreover, the SANDF has had to cope with the financial burden of a defence budget that is constantly declining, as government seeks to redress the socio-economic imbalances created by past policy.

Notwithstanding such limitations, the final size and orientation of the SANDF has been approved through a consultative defence review process involving the armed forces, parliament and civil society. The "Growth-Core Force Design" recommended in the Defence Review *"provides for participation in peace support operations at the level of up to one infantry battalion group"*. The Defence Review states that participation in peace support operations is a secondary function of the SA Army's Rapid Deployment Ground Force, and that two battalion groups will be prepared for participation in peacekeeping operations (with the understanding that only one battalion group will be deployed at a time, with the other held in readiness for rotation). Where participation in operations with a Chapter VII mandate is required, the capabilities of the mechanised and parachute forces may also be used.

The Defence Review also notes that: *"The SANDF has particular skills and expertise in communications, field engineering (including mine-clearing), medical, and command and control functions which are relevant to peace support operations",* and which are in great demand by the UN DPKO. However difficult it may be at this stage of force transformation, the SANDF must now formalise its minimum potential contribution to international peace missions through an appropriate readiness system, which will include notifying the UN Secretariat of available contributions and determining appropriate tables of personnel and equipment in collaboration with DPKO. This contribution should be no less than that outlined in the Defence Review, but may include additional assets such as air force elements.

International service (and the prospect thereof) will contribute to higher force morale and military professionalism. Particular attention will be paid to providing the UN with a select but limited pool of trained officers who are available for deployment as UN Military Observers. The earliest deployment of select SANDF officers as UN Military Observers will provide a core repository of experience and expertise in the conduct of multinational peace support operations. This is essential for furthering peace mission training in South Africa.

6.   PRINCIPLES FOR PARTICIPATION

6.1   Level and Size of Contribution

In principle, the level and size of South African contribution to any particular peace mission will depend on how closely the mission relates to national interests and the type of demand that exists for the type of contributions outlined above. Indeed, where core national interests are clearly at stake, the level and size of the South African contribution may well exceed that of the envisaged potential contributions.

In the case of contributions involving individual civilians, the level and size of contribution will depend largely on demand by the UN or other international organisations and agencies and the efficacy of the civilian standby mechanism outlined above. Civilian police contributions will be somewhat more politicised and military contributions even more so. The larger the contribution in terms of weight of personnel and equipment deployed, the more politicised the decision to deploy will become. On the other hand, with the exception of perhaps key high-level diplomats, the deployment of civilians to international peace missions should be flexible and responsive to demands, and not be subject to political controls. In each case, the level of national and international politicisation involved in decisions to deploy will determine how thoroughly the principles outlined below are weighed against requests for a particular contribution.

The principles outlined below are derived largely from the lessons learnt by more experienced contributing countries and the UN Secretariat. This means that South Africa should feel fairly secure in contributing to an established UN mission (especially for the sake of gaining experience) and that careful consideration of principles is far more important when the country is approached to contribute towards the establishment of a new mission. These principles are:

- A clear international mandate;
- Sufficient means;
- A domestic mandate and budget;
- Volunteerism;
- Clear entry and exit criteria;
- Regional co-operation; and
- Foreign assistance.

6.2   A Clear International Mandate

The framing of a realistic and appropriate mandate for any peace operation is essential to the success of any mission. If a peace operation has a clear and realistic mandate, and the means to achieve this mandate, then there is every chance that the mission will be successful. On the other hand, if the mandate is patently unrealistic, the mission is doomed to failure from the outset.

The mandate for the peace mission in question must therefore be clear and agreed to between the UN, regional bodies (where applicable), the host country and conflicting parties and contributing countries. The mandate should be linked to concrete political solutions and the deployment of a peace mission should not be seen as end in itself. South African participation in peace missions should only occur when there is a clear threat to and/or breach of international peace and security and/or a disaster of major humanitarian proportions and/or endemic causes of conflict, which, unless addressed, may cause long-term instability.

Despite the application of these principles, it must be noted that many recent UN mandates have not been static, but have been frequently adapted or changed after deployment. Some of these mandates have, in many respects, been contradictory and the UNSC has often decided upon changes with little explanation to member states, troop-contributing countries, the humanitarian community, or the host nation. South Africa therefore requires a clear mandate that can be translated into a detailed operational plan, leaving no room for ambiguity or differing perceptions as to the roles and tasks of various elements and national contingents. Moreover, once a commitment is made to participation, South Africa will insist on being consulted before any substantial changes are made to the original mission mandate.

6.3 Sufficient Means

The commitment of South African forces to service in peace missions is contingent upon comprehensive mission planning with the relevant national and international authorities to ensure that the form and function of forces committed to such operations are both necessary and sufficient to attain the stated goals and objectives. South Africa will not commit itself to participating in any peace mission which is patently under-resourced and which does not have sufficient means to achieve the set mandate.

At the national level, military resources and police personnel earmarked for contribution to peace missions must be available for international service, and should not be committed elsewhere. The possible expansion of the SANDF's other secondary roles - for instance, support to the SAPS and border protection - should be considered prior to any agreement to participate in a particular peace support operation. South African contingents will be self-sustaining for a period of at least six months and adequately structured and equipped to carry out the tasks they are assigned.

6.4 A Domestic Mandate and Budget

The securing of a mandate for South African participation in a new peace mission involves three distinct spheres - the international mandate as provided by the UN; the regional or sub-regional mandate (where relevant); the approval of this international mandate by the appropriate regional and sub-regional bodies and vice versa (where relevant) and the securing of a domestic mandate for South Africa's participation in the peace mission. In the case of an established or on-going international peace mission, the first two elements will, of course, normally be secured, and the decisional emphasis will fall almost entirely on the domestic mandate.

In determining whether South Africa should participate in a particular peace support operation, the Executive should operate on the basis of the principle of shared responsibility. This principle dictates that participation in peace missions is never the prerogative of one state department or one set of actors alone. Contemporary peace missions require a combination of political, civilian, military and police elements, and South Africa may contribute to one, more or all of these elements in one or more missions. The key players in authorising such participation are Parliament, the President's Office, the Department of Foreign Affairs, diverse civilian state departments, the Department of Defence, and the intelligence community. As any form of participation in peace operations is an extension of South African foreign policy, the Department of Foreign Affairs will be the lead department in co-ordinating such participation. The role of civil society is also acknowledged as a key element in securing the overall success of peace missions, as evidenced in the proposal for a non-government civilian standby mechanism.

Parliament plays a critical role in securing approval for South African participation in international peace missions. Acceptance of this White Paper by Parliament will be regarded as sufficient authorisation for the participation of South African **individuals** in peace missions, subject to the directions and guidelines determined by the Department of Foreign Affairs and other departments (such as Safety and Security, and Defence) where applicable. Where South African military **contingents** are involved however, Parliament has additional key responsibilities, as outlined below under "Military Deployment".

South Africa will not participate in any mission that is inconsistent with South African values, or that cannot be justified to the South African public. Parliament must be responsive to the opinions of the broad electorate, which are not always easy to gauge with respect to specific elements of South African foreign policy, such as participation in peace missions. In this regard, the results of a nation-wide opinion survey conducted in 1997 on public attitudes towards South African participation in peace missions revealed that the overwhelming majority of South Africans - nearly two-thirds - are indeed in favour of such participation.

Nevertheless, an extensive media campaign should be launched prior to the deployment of a national military contingent for service in international peace support operations to ensure that requisite levels of popular and political support are sustained for the operation. This campaign should be spearheaded by the Office of the President in consultation with relevant parties.

In all cases, Parliament must authorise finances for South African participation in peace missions. Once again, the legislature will play a minimal role in this regard with respect to the deployment of individuals who may be directly employed by the UN or seconded by the Department concerned. In the case of the latter, acceptance of this White Paper by Parliament will be regarded as sufficient authorisation for Departments to fund the participation of individuals within such Departments in peace missions, within reasonable limits and provided that such funding is included in the annual Departmental Budget.

Where troop contingents, equipment and other personnel are made available for UN missions, South Africa will be reimbursed for such participation. However, troop contributors to past UN missions have sometimes had to wait an inordinately long time for such reimbursement. In this regard, it must be noted that subscribing to the UN Standby Arrangements will greatly facilitate the budget planning process at the UN Secretariat and expedite the reimbursement of contributing countries. The Standby Arrangements will be linked to the budget planning process by identified personnel, equipment and services. With this information entered into the Peacekeeping Database, budgeting for the participation of a troop-contributing country is facilitated by simply transferring the Standby Arrangement of the selected troop-contributing country into the budgeting module of the database, identifying the financial resources required and creating at the same time the related annexes of the Contribution Agreement.

Bridging finance will, however, be required for participation in UN operations (to sustain the contingent until the UN logistic system "kicks in" and to cover the delay in UN reimbursements). Moreover, if the operation is only endorsed and not conducted by the UN, alternative mechanisms of funding will have to be explored for the reimbursement of some or all of the costs of South African participation. This could include collateral payment (use of the infrastructural facilities of another country) or alternative payment by countries not participating in the operation but supportive of the operation in question.

In all cases, the Department of Foreign Affairs will take the lead in securing finances for South African participation in specific peace missions. The Department of Finance, on instruction from either the President or the Deputy President, will authorise the necessary funds. The Department of Defence and the Department of Safety and Security will be responsible for budgeting for and meeting the pre-deployment costs, as well as a six-month post-deployment cost of the potential contribution earmarked for each department.

6.5   Volunteerism

The very nature of the civilian readiness arrangement proposed for South Africa means that willingness to participate in international peace missions in general and participation by civilians in any particular peace mission are matters of individual choice. This is equally true for members of the SAPS.

The <u>Defence Act</u> currently provides that SANDF personnel may only be compelled to serve outside the borders of the RSA *"in time of war ... against the enemy"*. Individual officers may thus apply voluntarily for international service as military observers through the SANDF readiness system in much the same way as civilians or police personnel will apply for such service.

The principle of volunteerism must, however, be applied somewhat differently with regard to military units or sub-units, which are required to train together as a team for long periods in order to be proficient. Individuals must therefore volunteer for service in those units or formations that are earmarked for participation in international peace support operations, with the full knowledge that they are likely to be deployed on such operations during their time of service. In the case of existing units (such as those of the Rapid Deployment Ground Force) which are earmarked for participation in peace support operations, personnel must be consulted on this issue and given the opportunity to transfer to other units if unwilling to perform international service.

6.6   Clear Entry and Exit Criteria

Entrance into the mission area of any multinational peace mission should be preceded by a sound assessment of the situation within which it is proposed South African forces be deployed. The intelligence community must provide decision makers with a thorough evaluation of: the nature of the conflict at hand; the prospects for a political resolution of the conflict; the extent to which third-party political and military involvement will facilitate or impede conflict resolution; and the political objectives of the mission, if any, and to what extent these accord with South African national interests and domestic responsibilities and capacity.

South Africa should also be assured of clear exit criteria before committing a national contingent to any peace mission. This aspect refers to the achievement of a desirable political end-state to the involvement within an acceptable period of time, rather than to the technicalities of any military withdrawal plan. Political decision-makers must be reasonably assured that South African involvement will not be open-ended and that such involvement will not be regarded as part of a larger diplomatic or political failure on the part of contributing nations.

6.7   Regional Co-operation

South Africa will continue to co-operate with regional partners, especially those within the SADC, in enhancing its capacity to participate in international peace missions. This is particularly important with regard to the SANDF. Indeed, the Defence Review states that: *"It may therefore be worthwhile to establish a small peace support operations centre, under the auspices of regional defence structures, to develop and co-ordinate planning, training, logistics, communication and field liaison teams for multi-national forces"*.

Continued co-operation in the realm of preparation may eventually lead to a joint and combined SADC contribution to a peace mission under the auspices of a larger international organisation (the UN or the OAU), or indeed, to the launching of a peace support operation as part of a SADC peace mission. However, the foundation of South African policy on peace missions is one of **national** contributions to international efforts, whether these be at the level of the UN, the OAU, or SADC.

In the spirit of co-operation, it is important that information on South Africa's capabilities, intentions and deployment with respect to peace missions be shared with the secretariats of all three organisations.

6.8   Foreign Assistance

South Africa, as a newcomer to the realm of international peace missions, is grateful for the foreign assistance it has received for the purpose of building capabilities for participation in peace missions. Such assistance has ranged from the provision of expert speakers at seminars, to the funding of participants on foreign courses and support of training exercises. It has been non-intrusive and has aimed at long-term capacity building in South and Southern Africa. South Africa will continue to welcome such offers of assistance, particularly those that may expedite and add to the quality of the type of contributions to international peace missions outlined in this paper. This may include assistance with establishing appropriate structures, new and ongoing training and may even extend to assistance with equipment and deployment.

In principle, South Africa will not depend on any single donor for the provision of assistance with participation in peace missions. All such assistance should be compatible with regional interests in the realm of peace and security and none should be accepted which may be interpreted as threatening by our regional partners.

7.   PROCEDURES FOR PARTICIPATION

South Africa's Permanent Mission to the United Nations will remain fully seized of the country's potential diplomatic, military, and police contributions to peace missions and will communicate these to the UN Secretariat on a regular basis. The Permanent Mission will also solicit information from the Secretariat as to the needs of the UN in terms of contributions to existing and new peace missions. The institution charged with administering the civilian readiness system will play a similar role with respect to *ad hoc* civilian participation.

At the national level within South Africa, the precise procedures to be followed will depend on the level, scope and nature of the contribution requested. Although such procedures will be refined over time with increasing South African experience in international peace missions, it is envisaged that the following broad procedures will be followed with respect to the deployment of civilians, civilian police and military personnel.

7.1 Deployment of Civilians

The establishment of meaningful procedures for the deployment of civilians in support of international peace missions will depend heavily on the enthusiasm of the Department of Foreign Affairs and the efficacy of the civilian readiness arrangement outlined above. It will be based on accurate information about South African volunteers who meet the profiles of the individuals sought by the UN and other international agencies, such as civil servants and private persons with expertise in foreign relations and diplomacy, democracy and good governance, safety and security, justice, transportation, communications, and health.

Such individuals may be directly hired by the UN or other international organisations, or they may be seconded upon favourable consideration of a request to the Department of Foreign Affairs (and with the permission of the relevant state department where civil servants are involved). Once selected, individuals should be trained and prepared for field operations. As public funds for such training will always be limited, volunteers will be provided with suggestions on the kinds and availability of relevant training. Donor funding may also be sought to defray the costs of such training.

It may be expected that the majority of assignments and the largest number of individuals will be utilised in relation to election observation and supervision. Such missions are generally of relatively short duration (one week to three months). In all cases, civilians returning from international service should be thoroughly debriefed and the lessons learnt recorded for training purposes.

7.2 Police Deployment

A request from UN Headquarters for civilian police will usually be directed to South Africa's Permanent Mission. Such requests are normally quite specific in terms of the required number of persons, type of experience that is appropriate, requisite years of service for police officers, etc. Such requests will be communicated through the Department of Foreign Affairs to the Ministry of Safety and Security for consideration.

A Selection Committee is to be established within the Department of Safety and Security as part of the police readiness system for participation in international peace missions. The Selection Committee will call for applications from suitably qualified police officers that show a genuine interest in volunteering for service in international peace missions. After a pre-selection, promising applicants will be interviewed by the Selection Committee and measured against the generic qualities required for UN civilian police officers. Successful candidates will then be nominated for an approved basic UN police officers course of no less than two weeks duration.[1]

Once a request for South African UN police officers is approved by the Minister of Safety and Security, the details of this request and the mission in question will be communicated to the Selection Board, who will select the requisite number of officers, according to specific mission requirements, from volunteers from the pool of officers who have successfully completed the basic

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[1] Such courses are presented by many of the traditional contributing countries to UN operations, and a limited number of funded berths are open to South Africans. The UN also has a correspondence course for UN police officers which could easily be taught in collaboration with the SA Police College.

UN police officers course. Successful candidates will then undergo a shorter mission-specific training course prior to deployment.

The SAPS will remain responsible for the uniform and salary of police officers deployed on international service. Other terms of employment will be specified in a contract between the UN and the individual police officer concerned. All police officers returning from international service will be thoroughly debriefed, so that the relevant lessons can be incorporated into future training programmes.

7.3   Military Deployment

The deployment of individual military officers as unarmed military observers should follow similar procedures to that of UN civilian police officers, but will obviously be co-ordinated and administered by the Department of Defence. Such officers will have the status of detached duty for the duration of their deployment on international service. Where a broader contingent with a national command structure is involved, however, the process will be more complex and time-consuming.

Once the Permanent Mission to the UN[2] has received a request to contribute a military contingent to a peace mission, the extra-territorial deployment of South African forces in fulfilment of an international obligation to participate in a peace mission will, in terms of the Constitution, require the authorisation of the President. The President, acting on advise from the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Defence, will decide in principle whether or not to authorise the deployment of the required military forces.

This should be done on the basis of a Cabinet memorandum jointly prepared and submitted by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the appropriate Ministry and/or Ministries concerned and approved by the Cabinet. Where the mandate involves the potential use of military enforcement measures, under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the President will authorise the deployment of the required forces to that end once Parliament has approved, in principle, the proposed participation in such an operation upon the recommendation of the Executive given at the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In all cases, in terms of the Constitution, Parliament is empowered to review the President's decision regarding such deployment. Prior to tabling a proposal in Parliament for ratifying the participation of a South African military contingent in a particular peace support operation, the following procedures must be followed:

- The President will promptly and in appropriate detail inform Parliament, if in session, or, if Parliament is not in session, the appropriate Parliamentary Committees, as to the reasons for the deployment; the place where the force is to be deployed; the number of persons involved; and the expected duration of the deployment;
- Those Parliamentary Committees with a direct interest in South Africa's involvement in peace support operations - the Parliamentary Committees on Defence, Foreign Affairs, Intelligence and Finance - should be briefed on the preparation for the peace support operation in question;

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[2] Or South Africa's Ambassador to Ethiopia and the OAU, in the case of a request for military contributions to a regional operation.

- The Parliamentary Committees must be informed of the proposed entry and exit criteria and risks involved, and the Treasury Committee on the financial implications of the operation in the operation;
- The Parliamentary Committees should be informed of the proposed command and control arrangements and the details of the proposed force, as well as the proposed ROE and the proposed withdrawal plans for the force in question; and
- Documentation must be provided to parliamentarians in a timely fashion to expedite their decision. This would outline to the parliamentarians whether the operation, in the opinions of those state departments involved in preparing for the operation, accords with South African national interests, national policy and foreign policy objectives.

A clear understanding of the SOFA between the UN and the host country/countries concerned must be communicated by the Department of Foreign Affairs to those other South African agencies committed to the peace support operation. Where a SOFA is still in the process of being finalised, an agreement must be reached between South Africa and the country/countries hosting its forces for deployment. This is the responsibility of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

An agreement must be reached between South Africa and the UN (Agreement between the UN and Troop Contributing Countries). Such agreements are technical and administrative in nature, and do not need to be submitted to Parliament for approval. Under the guidance of the Department of Foreign Affairs, the following should be clearly outlined in such an agreement:

- The authority under which the force resorts and the details of the appropriate command and control arrangements;
- Administrative, financial and personnel matters (for example contracts) relating to the deployment and utilisation of South African troops and equipment;
- The applicability of international conventions to the force;
- The settlement of disputes between the troop-contributing country and UN, should such disputes emerge, as well as the mechanisms via which this will be addressed; and
- The time frames under which South African personnel are prepared to participate in the operation and the withdrawal procedures once their deployment period has been terminated.

Once the mandate and SOFA have been clarified and determined, ROE must be developed and included in the Agreement between the UN and the Troop Contributing Country. These ROE must take careful cognisance of the following:

- Relevant provisions of international law and their implications for the ROE;
- Standardisation of ROE within the multi-national force in question;
- Familiarisation of all South African personnel involved in the operation with the ROE; and
- A clear outline of the circumstances under which ROE can be changed within a particular operation (the worsening of a situation for example).

Once an agreement has been concluded to participate in a peace support operation, the Department of Foreign Affairs will have lead responsibility for overseeing and co-ordinating continuing South African involvement in the operation at a national and international level. Given the fact that all peace support operations are essentially political operations, such oversight and co-ordination will involve the determination of the political contours of the operation, diplomatic liaison with the United Nations and other regional bodies, and diplomatic liaison with all troop contributing countries and/or those countries who are committing resources to the operation.

The Department of Defence will have lead responsibility for the management and oversight of the operational deployment and maintenance of the South African military forces in a peace mission. This will be done in regular and close liaison with other state departments and will be co-ordinated via the establishment of a Joint Peace Operations Co-ordinating Committee within the Department of Foreign Affairs, or as determined by the President.

Once deployed, national contingents participating in UN peace support operations are placed under the operational control of the force commander, but remain under national command. South African participation in international peace support operations is always voluntary, and troops can be withdrawn at any stage of the operation subject to the details of the agreement between the UN (or other relevant international organisation) and South Africa.

8. CONCLUSION

This policy document has sought to explain the nature and scope of contemporary peace missions and to define the parameters for South African participation in such missions. South Africa is obliged to support international efforts at conflict management and resolution and it is clearly in the national interest to do so. South Africa will therefore participate in such missions where there is a clear need for our national contribution and where there is a legitimate and realistic international mandate for executing the mission.

South Africa has limited but valuable resources to offer the international community for the conduct of peace missions. These include civilians with a diverse range of skills and experience appropriate to peace processes, professional and experienced police officers and well-trained and disciplined military elements. If these resources are to be utilised by the international community in the cause of peace, their approximate nature and size must be defined through an appropriate readiness system for each component.

On the other hand, a number of key principles must be met before these potential resources are deployed in support of a particular peace mission. Some of the responsibility for adhering to these principles lies at the level of the international community - such as the formulation of a clear and realistic mandate. On the other hand, it is a national responsibility to support and budget for such participation.

While government should do everything in its power to facilitate voluntary international service by individual South Africans, the deployment of a national military contingent in support of an international peace mission will always be subject to more rigorous procedures. While such procedures have been suggested in this document, they will have to be refined with growing experience of deploying on international service. Such experience can only be gained by converting potential resources into actual capabilities. It is hoped that this White Paper will initiate such a process.