

NATIONAL INTERESTS, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

Defence policy can be described as that subset of government policy concerned with countering military threats and with the development, maintenance, preparation and employment of armed forces. Defence policy cannot be considered in isolation, but needs to be formulated in harmony with all other aspects of government policy, especially foreign policy. A policy on global peace support efforts would reflect the national values and interests of the state as a responsible member of the international community concerned about global stability in the interest of common and national security in the broadest sense.

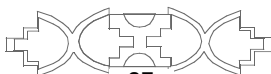
This paper is intended to provide an overview of the context within which such policy could be contemplated and to suggest the direction it could take. The perspective is that of Defence. There is no intention to prescribe or transgress on the domain of Foreign Policy, as the title may suggest. It should, however, be added for the record, that close co-operation already exists between the Departments of Foreign Affairs and Defence on a number of issues addressed in this paper.

THE CHANGING CONTEXT

When considering South African policy on global peace support efforts, it is necessary to consider the changing context within which the international community finds itself, since this has changed traditional views of global security and national security. Indeed, it has changed both the likelihood and the potential nature of armed conflict. South Africa cannot escape the effect of these changes.

The world has entered a period of global transition into a new order that is, as yet, undefined. Although the nature of the transition processes vary in different parts of the world, the submission of authoritarian regimes to more democratic forces, and the move to more accessible forms of economic policy, are sufficiently similar to indicate a global phenomenon. Yet, the transition is also marked by a number of contradictory trends.

Characteristics of globalism and the fading of international borders contrast with trends towards nationalism. In terms of international politics, it appears that a mixed system will come into effect that is characterised by cultural pluralism.¹ Viewed from an economic perspective, the world appears



multipolar, with the USA's declining share of the global product decreased from its position at the end of the Second World War by fifty per cent. In terms of military power, however, the world is monopolar.

The collapse of the ideological barrier between East and West and the consequent improvement in relations, afford new possibilities for co-operation in the search for common security. At the same time, dividing issues between North and South, along lines of economic power, are growing more acute. New economic groupings or blocs are taking shape, tending to replace the old alliances that were defined more on ideological lines. The future accent will be on economic bloc forming, and a more stable trade environment.

The end of the Cold War has not resulted in peace. The shift from a bipolar to a multipolar and multifaceted world, was cause for lifting the lid that constrained simmering conflict and for restraints on armed conflict to be removed in many parts of the world. While the threat of conventional inter-state war has been reduced, the risk of regional instability has increased. Indeed, many of today's conflicts are within states rather than between states. This trend is indicated in Table 1, depicting United Nations (UN) Peacekeeping operations.

NO OF OPERATIONS ESTABLISHED	INTER-STATE	INTRA-STATE	% INTRA-STATE
AS AT 31/1/1988	4	1	20 %
31/1/1988-31/1/1992	8	13	62 %
Since Jan 1992	2	9	82 %

TABLE 1: United Nations Peacekeeping Operations²

Advanced technology simplifies the production of a variety of weapon systems and makes prices affordable to an increased number of nations. As major nuclear powers begin to negotiate arms reduction agreements and policies on non-proliferation are expanded and refined, the lack of effective arms control measures results in the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, while conventional arms continue to be amassed in many parts of the world.³ These contradictions in the concept of international security, providing smaller states with a clear view of the self-interest of major powers, result in many states being disillusioned with global developments, an increase in fundamentalism, and, moreover, the rise of radical groups and warlords.

Yet, in recent years the UN has become more involved and generally more effective in peacekeeping activities. The dramatic increase in UN activities related to the maintenance of peace and security is illustrated in Table 2. This increased activity in itself puts pressure on states to give effect to the Secretary-General's call for "... *the will to take the hard decisions demanded by this time of opportunity.*"⁴ On the other hand, major industrial powers do not favour military intervention unless it will provide them with internal political advantages or if their security and economic interests are threatened, and then

only if acceptable levels of safety can be assured for their forces. Indeed, self-interest remains the overriding factor.

	AS AT 31/1/1985	AS AT 31/1/1992	AS AT 16/12/1994
Security Council Resolution adopted i the preceding 12 months	15	53	78
Disputes and conflicts in which the United Nations was actively involved in preventive diplomacy or peacemaking in the preceding 12 months	11	13	28
Peacekeeping operations deployed			
Total	5	11	17
Classical	5	7	9
Multifunctional	-	4	8
Military Personnel deployed	9 570	11 495	73 393
Civilian police deployed	35	155	2 130
International civilian personnel deployed	1 516	2 206	2 260
Countries contributing military and police personnel	26	56	76
United Nations budget for peacekeeping operations (on an annual basis) (US\$ millions)	230,4	1 689,6	3 610
Countries in which the UN had undertaken electoral activities in the preceding 12 months	-	6	21
Sanctions regimes imposed by the Security Council	1	2	7

TABLE 2: Trends of UN Activities Related to Peace and Security, 1988 to 1994⁵

With the increased volume of peace support activities, even more significant qualitative changes have taken place. It has already been pointed out that current armed conflict tends to be intra-state rather than inter-state. The rash of wars since the disappearance of the inhibiting constraints of the Cold War, has often had a religious or ethnic character that has involved unusual violence and cruelty.



When considering policy for peacekeeping operations, it is useful to bear in mind that the new breed of intra-state conflicts has certain characteristics that present particular challenges⁶:

- Apart from the involvement of regular armies, they are usually fought by militias or armed civilians with rudimentary and unclear command structures and little discipline.
- There are seldom clear front-lines in these, often guerrilla, wars.
- Civilians are often the main targets, and certainly the main victims.
- Humanitarian emergencies are commonplace and local authorities, if they can be called thus, lack the capacity to cope with them. Refugees and internally displaced persons are an ever present and increasing problem. For example, the number of refugees registered with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees has increased from thirteen million at the end of 1987 to 26 million at the end of 1994.
- A frequent feature is the collapse of state institutions, the collapse of the functions of government and the destruction or looting of government assets, resulting in the breakdown of law and order, general banditry and chaos.

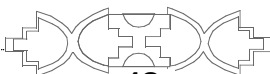
Peacekeeping in such a context can involve constant danger and is far more complex and expensive than the classic monitoring of cease-fires or control of buffer zones that occurs with the consent of the states involved. It also implies that international intervention must extend beyond military and humanitarian tasks and must include the re-establishment of effective government and the promotion of national reconciliation.

This survey of changes in the international environment and the nature of peacekeeping is of necessity brief, incomplete and perhaps simplistic. It does, however, provide a background against which to assess South Africa's national interests and obligations with regard to UN peace support operations.

SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERESTS

South Africa's national interest can probably best be summarised by the words 'peace' and 'prosperity'. This does not only refer to national peace and prosperity, but also international and especially regional peace and prosperity, without which South Africa would not be in a position to attain internal peace and prosperity.

The South African Government's ultimate responsibility is to ensure the safety, security, welfare and well-being of its citizens, as well as that of the state within the international community. These dual responsibilities are not separate entities, but are interdependent. Safety and security in South Africa is the key to increased economic growth and development and therefore also to stability. Similarly, the building block for greater regional security in Southern Africa is progress towards a shared system of democratic values amongst the various states of the region, coupled to rapid and sustainable economic growth.



Maintaining stability is essential for development, while development will enhance stability.

The concept of security has shifted, locally and internationally, to include the full spectrum of political, social, military, economic and technological factors that can cause instability and impede development. Conflict, migration, disease, terrorism and unemployment are examples of such factors.

In the past the concerns of industrialised nations regarding defence, security and stability, had been reduced to military strategic terms. These traditional approaches to security tended to focus mainly on the political and military security of nation states, on external rather than internal threats to security, and on political-military measures such as arms control, deterrence, forward deployment, etc. In Southern Africa and elsewhere new challenges demand their full share of attention. As a result, concepts of security and stability have been deepened and broadened to include economic crises, ethnic conflict, mass migration, international terrorism and trans-border pollution. Massive population growth in the developing world, global warming, deforestation, lack of water and environmental degradation command attention that is equal to that being paid to armed, inter-state threats.

Security is, therefore, defined less in military terms and more in the broader sense of freedom from vulnerability, in other words, freedom from fear in the broadest sense.

The new way of regarding security and stability that has been embraced by the Government, includes concern over the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery. In this, South Africa has set an international example with the unilateral and complete destruction of its nuclear weapons programme, as well as imposing a moratorium on the export of landmines on itself.

It is necessary to understand this changed view of security that reflects wider geopolitical changes at the local level, because peace and prosperity will require the establishment of a place for South Africa in the new emerging patterns of international relationships and where possible, these patterns should be shaped to provide for South Africa's interests and needs.

This requires a co-ordinated and integrated approach, applied across the range of international policies, such as trade, immigration, foreign and defence policies, as well as domestic policies, such as those dealing with economic, social, environmental and industrial issues. Much has been done with regard to the latter in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

Defence policy contributes to this integrated effort by making armed hostilities less likely. This is achieved by:

- contributing to a global and regional environment within which direct military threats against South Africa are less likely; and
- ensuring that South Africa can defend itself against armed attack. In making sure that successful attacks are less likely, or at least that the cost



is disproportionately high, potential aggressors would be reluctant to contemplate such action.

These two dimensions of Defence Policy will be discussed below.

GLOBAL AND REGIONAL DEFENCE INTERESTS AND OBLIGATIONS

After some thirty-odd years of virtual isolation, South Africa is now considered to be a full and equal member of the international community. International relations have been normalised and the country has joined or returned to various international organisations and bodies. This has not only reduced threat levels, but has also created opportunities and expanded options for pursuing defence policy.

South Africa has, however, not only rejoined the international community and normalised its international relations, but is regarded by some to be a significant regional power and leader. This implies that certain expectations have been created with regard to South Africa's role in the international community. The status of a country obviously has a direct influence on its ability to ensure security and create wealth. South Africa will be expected to make a contribution.

THE GLOBAL DIMENSION

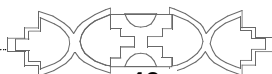
Peace, security and stability and the prevention, management and resolution of conflict cannot be seen only in military terms, and cannot depend solely on defence capabilities. Global and regional security arrangements enhance our security environment by making armed hostilities less likely and by increasing the prospects of support from others should South Africa be threatened. They contribute to the establishment of credible mechanisms for conflict resolution and by reducing the role of armed coercion in international affairs.

Co-operation with other countries, on a bilateral or multilateral level, within or outside the context of international organisations, is therefore an essential element of the country's Defence Policy.

South Africa's national interests are served by the existence of an effective UN organisation for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict. It is clearly in the country's interest to work towards an orderly international system in which agreed norms of conduct constrain the use of force, and to participate constructively in global and regional institutions. South Africa supports UN peace support efforts, not because it is obliged to do so, but because institutions that are currently effective, are more likely to be effective in helping to protect the country's interests should they be challenged in the future.

ARMS CONTROL AND NON-PROLIFERATION

Similarly, the country's support for arms control and non-proliferation measures does not merely reflect a moralistic abhorrence or opposition to the use of weapons of mass destruction and inhumane weapons. Nor does it simply indicate a firm resolve to act as a responsible and law abiding world citizen. It is in the country's national interest to prevent the spread of such weapons



among countries which could use them against South Africa, thus seriously complicating and increasing the cost of its defence.

Apart from nuclear disarmament and ending the export of landmines as mentioned above, two further examples illustrate South Africa's position in this regard.

- On 19 April 1995, Mr Alfred Nzo, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, supported the five nuclear powers (USA, Russia, China, Britain, France) on the indefinite and unconditional extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in addressing the United Nations in New York. In addition, he made constructive proposals to strengthen the treaty by meeting the concerns of non-nuclear states.⁷ The South African proposals have been embraced in the Resolution adopted on 11 May 1995, and, in the words of the Pretoria News diplomatic editor, Jean-Jacques Cornish, "[h]istorically, South Africa will be remembered for making an early and significant contribution to the complex business of multi-lateral politics."⁸
- The Cabinet has also approved South Africa's accession to the 1980 Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the use of Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW). Parliamentary ratification is at present being processed.

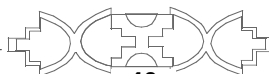
THE REGIONAL DIMENSION

South Africa cannot be secure in an insecure region. The words of the Australian Defence White Paper are equally applicable to South Africa: "*Active engagement in the strategic affairs of the region will be as important to Australia's long-term security as economic engagement will be to our prosperity.*"⁹ Multilateral co-operation, especially in a regional context, offers a framework in which trust, confidence and mutual understanding can be developed, disputes can be detected in time, avoided or resolved and the more demanding environment can be managed.

The need for socio-economic development in Southern Africa is urgent. The high population growth, the weak state of regional economies, poor infrastructure and low levels of education result in acute and increasing poverty. The circumstances of the people of the region are further exacerbated by disease, malnutrition and hunger. These circumstances, coupled with social instability and political strife, that result in a mass migration of destitute people to South Africa, could pose a major threat to the South Africa's national security.

The only way to surmount these difficulties would be to enhance the prospects of regional co-operation in all spheres, thereby minimising the potential for conflict. It is, therefore, in the interest of South Africa to promote the welfare of states in the region and regional security in general. This will include defusing adversarial relationships and preventing the accumulation of arms that divert resources away from socio-economic development.

The history of Southern Africa has taught that, where political freedom and economic development were absent, the potential for conflict remained high.



Until recently, South Africa's neighbours were extremely wary of its military prowess. Deliberate transparency, the concerted utilisation of common resources to ensure regional stability and a pragmatic commitment to co-operation and peacemaking will lay the cornerstones for fruitful inter-state co-operation in future.

It is imperative that any regional mechanism established for the prevention, management and resolving of regional conflict must act within the parameters of the UN Charter and the policy guidelines emanating from its Security Council. In a regional context, South Africa has taken cognisance of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution established by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), on 30 June 1993. Within Southern Africa, the country has played a key role in the establishment of the Association of Southern African States (ASAS) as the political arm of the SADC on 3 March 1995. In addition, South Africa's participation in the Inter-State Defence and Security Conference (ISDSC) demonstrates its commitment to preventive diplomacy and peacebuilding.

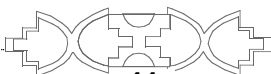
The SANDF's efforts should be seen as part of a wider regional co-operation policy that is co-ordinated by the Department of Foreign Affairs. The SANDF's contribution to this wider effort will obviously focus on the armed forces of Southern Africa and will include the following:

- Participation in multilateral co-ordination mechanisms. It is, however, not considered feasible to create a combined standing force within the foreseeable future.
- Conducting combined exercises, where possible.
- Co-operation in the field of logistics.
- Mutual secondment of personnel and co-operation and assistance in training. This will enable appropriate transparency between armed forces and thus reduce threat perceptions.
- Co-operation in the development of common doctrine and operational procedures.

If prevention of conflict is to succeed, it should be supported by deliberate confidence building measures. Confidence building aims at demonstrating good intentions and gaining acceptance, even support, for legitimate national defence measures.

Managing confidence building in South Africa's international relations is primarily a diplomatic function. This responsibility rests with the Department of Foreign Affairs. The Department of Defence plays a supportive role to the diplomatic effort. Possible ways in which the SANDF can support confidence building have been mentioned above. An important factor is to maintain and clearly communicate a non-threatening force posture.

The underlying motivation for promoting stability and socio-economic reconstruction and development in Southern Africa is not philanthropic in



nature. The fact remains that South African domestic reconstruction and development will face serious setbacks if instability and socio-economic problems persist in the Southern Africa region. Promoting and enabling stability and socio-economic reconstruction and development in Southern Africa is, therefore, in the vital interest of South African security, and not merely charitable.

ENSURING THE DEFENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Armed force remains a factor in international affairs. It continues to be one of the ways in which national self-interest may be pursued and national power asserted.

The Government has accepted its fundamental responsibility to ensure South Africa's security by advancing favourable regional relationships, supporting global security arrangements, and by establishing a national defence force which, in terms of the Interim Constitution, may be employed "*for service in the defence of the Republic, for the protection of its sovereignty and territorial integrity.*"¹⁰

The Constitution also provides for the SANDF to be employed for a number of other functions, but these are in support of the line functions of other departments. Only the SANDF can execute the task of defending South Africa's sovereignty. It is precisely because the SANDF would only be used in this role as a last resort, and armed force can ultimately only be resisted by armed force, that an effective military capability is imperative.

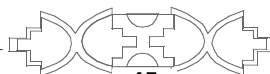
An effective military capability is essential to support defensive military strategy that is based on the concept of deterrence, and to defeat the use of armed force against the country, should deterrence fail.

South Africa's national interests include the preservation of its sovereignty, territorial integrity and economic interests, the protection of South African lives and property, while simultaneously avoiding undue risk to personnel and equipment of the SANDF. Above all, it is in the country's national interest to achieve a cessation of hostilities as rapidly and conclusively as possible, consistent with the interests that are at stake. A fundamental defensive strategy should not be seen to imply that the SANDF is limited to defensive operations only.

The forces should therefore provide a range of cost effective options, but at the same time the scale and scope of the task should be carefully balanced against national resources and priorities, since the country cannot afford to spend resources on capabilities that are not essential.

With the national security stake, however, the realities of the international environment and our interests in that environment should be recognised. South Africa's position and the role it would like to play in the international community should be clearly defined.

Defence planning should not be based, as a point of departure, on an expectation of a threat from any country. A threat only arises when, in addition



to a capability, there is an issue providing motive, and an intention to use force in regard to that dispute. At present, no country has such motive or intention, nor is such likely to develop one in the short to medium term.

South Africa's interests and priorities, the league in which it is participating and the threat scenario seem to indicate a modest investment in defence. It must be recognised, however, that in a dynamic environment, motives and intentions that are shaped in the human mind can develop much faster than military capabilities can be built up. Forces capable of dealing with conflict at short notice need to be maintained, because there would be no time to acquire additional capabilities. While the national survival would not be threatened in such a conflict, great damage could be done to national interests if the country is unable to deal with it in favourable terms.

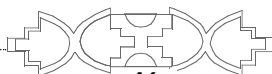
Maintaining sound and responsible regional and wider international relations, and an evidently strong and efficient defence force, would ensure that changes in motive and intention are unlikely and would not arise instantaneously. It would also provide for clear and early detection of indications of such changes taking place. Good intelligence is vital, because it will allow for the maintenance of force levels at the lowest practical level in peacetime, and buy the time to build up a larger force should the need arise.

SELF-RELIANCE

South Africa is a member of the non-aligned group of nations. As such, it is unlikely to become a member of a formal defence alliance, other than short term alliances established to deal with specific contingencies. The country also cannot expect a major power to come to its defence. Regional co-operation is therefore important, and even vital, in order to create a more secure environment. It would not include involvement in a defence mechanism that would subsume South Africa's defence into a regional defence organisation. At the same time, it should be realised that an attack on a state in a specific region usually also affects the security of its neighbours.

It is thus in the national interest to maintain a realistic level of self-reliance, not only in view of the strategic realities above, but also to signal the perception of South Africa as a nation proud of its freedom and its place in Africa, conscious of its international standing and national independence, and committed to preserving these.

To ensure the continued support and sustenance of South African forces in conflict, they need to be supported as much as possible by South Africa's wider resources. It is necessary to be able to draw on the full range of available industrial and scientific capabilities, just as it is necessary to draw on the full range of skills and capabilities within the wider South African community.



POLICY APPROACHES TO PARTICIPATION IN UN PEACE SUPPORT-ING OPERATIONS

At the pinnacle of international peace efforts is the United Nations (UN) and specifically, the Security Council (SC), which is primarily concerned with matters affecting global peace and security.

The term peacekeeping has been used to describe a variety of internal security operations in which military and police forces have been involved, generally in a monitoring and enforcement capacity. Peacekeeping is essentially a third party initiative by means of which an uncommitted, non-aligned 'agent' can keep two or more hostile states or communities apart. It includes the prevention, containment, moderation and termination of hostilities between or within states through the medium of peaceful and impartial third party interventions, organised and directed internationally, using multinational forces of soldiers, police and civilians to restore and maintain peace.

South Africa is a signatory to the UN Charter and as such is expected to contribute towards UN efforts to maintain international peace and security. The nature, extent and conditions of any possible contribution must, however, be determined against the background of national, regional and international interests and within the existing legal, financial and political framework.

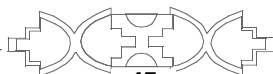
LEGAL BASIS

Member states of the UN undertake, in terms of Article 43 of the UN Charter, to provide armed forces, assistance and facilities to the Security Council on request, for the maintenance of international peace and security. The size and shape of such assistance is, however, the subject of an agreement between the Security Council and member states, or groups of members, and is subject to ratification by the governments of participating states.

The legal basis for South Africa's operations is to be found in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No. 200 of 1993 (Section 227(1)(b)), read alongside the Defence Act, Act No. 44 of 1957 (Section 3(2)(a) and Section 2 (b)), and in the Application of Resolutions of the Security Council of the UN Act, Act No. 172 of 1993 (subject to the President's discretion, Section 1(1) and ratification by Parliament, Section 2).

The employment of the SANDF in UN peace support operations outside the country's borders, is therefore provided for by South African law, subject to the discretion of the President.

Although South Africa only resumed formal participation in the work of the United Nations on 23 June 1994, it already responded positively to a UN call for assistance in the following month. This contribution, in the form of relief supplies to the people of Rwanda, was a joint effort by government and non-government organisations (NGOs). The SA Air Force was responsible for the transport of the supplies and undertook a total of seven flights. Subsequent assistance to the UN comprised helicopter support to Mozambique during the elections in August 1994, and the transportation of emergency supplies to Rwanda by the SA Navy and the SA Air Force in September 1994 and May



1995 respectively. The latter consignment included two MAMBA armoured vehicles donated to the World Food Programme.

FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS

The UN is experiencing a financial crisis with regard to peacekeeping operations.¹¹ In 1992, UN unpaid arrears to troop-contributing countries stood at more than US\$ 800 million, with the cost of approved peacekeeping operations estimated at US\$ 3 billion.¹²

Participation in UN peace support operations will certainly imply a financial burden, the size of which would be extremely difficult to forecast, but could be considerable.

Each unit taking part in a UN operation is expected to support itself for the first sixty days of deployment, after which support becomes a UN responsibility. The UN pays allowances varying from about US\$ 30 to US\$ 200 per day, depending on status, qualifications and area of deployment, and reimburses governments for use of contingent owned equipment at a rate of ten per cent per annum.

South Africa's obligatory annual contribution to UN peace support operations is assessed at approximately R60 million.

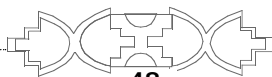
REGIONAL MECHANISMS

Due in part to the strain on the financial capacity of the UN as a result of its current involvement in peace support operations, the tendency is to promote regional security co-operation.

Indeed, the UN Charter encourages regional arrangements through which regional organisations or agencies such as the OAU can contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security by taking the initiative to procure peaceful settlements to local disputes within their regions (Article 52). It is incumbent upon the regional organisations or agencies not to use enforcement action to settle disputes without the prior authorisation of the Security Council. The Council may, where appropriate, utilise an organisation such as the OAU or SADC for enforcement action under its authority (Article 53). In its relations with the OAU, SADC and the ASAS, South Africa will scrupulously abide by these and other criteria with regard to any involvement in regional peace support operations.

CONDITIONS AND ISSUES

The military integration process and the imminent rationalisation of the SANDF dictate that any such involvement in the short term should not be embarked upon lightly. However, various measures are currently being taken, such as the placement of military liaison officers at the UN in New York, as well as the imminent deployment of SANDF military observers to monitor and learn from existing international peacekeeping operations. This, together with military-to-military liaison doctrine development and logistic preparations will, in due



course, ensure that the SANDF will be competent to participate in international peacekeeping operations in a responsible and fruitful manner.

The Departments of Foreign Affairs and Defence are co-operating in a process to build consensus and to define South African policy for peacekeeping operations. Whether or not to participate in a given operation, as well as the nature and scope of the contribution are, of course, political decisions, based on a multitude of factors. It may not be possible to formulate a general policy in this respect, as all requests have to be considered individually. Yet, it may be possible to arrive at a set of criteria, considerations and/or guidelines that would facilitate contingency planning.

Aspects of concern to the Department of Defence include, for example, the need for clearly defined aims and objectives for the operation, command and control arrangements and measures to prevent or limit casualties to the country's forces and the civilian population that could be affected by such operations.

Certain issues which may affect the structure of the SANDF eventually will have to receive attention. These include:

- whether the SANDF should develop and maintain forces specifically for peace support operations, or structure its forces purely for the defence of South Africa, relying on the versatility inherent in such a force in contributing to peace support operations; and
- whether force levels should be increased to more than those required for local self-defence in preparation for peace support operations, or be allowed to drop below those that are required locally in the event of a significant foreign deployment.

Peace support operations are even more complex than military operations conducted at national level. A country's approach to these operations could clearly have an impact on its defence forces. To quote one further example: the 21 Council, a Canadian thinktank advising on these issues, recommended that, "*Canada should strengthen its capacity to contribute to peacekeeping and peacebuilding; but Canada should not participate in combat operations involving heavy armour or modern air power.*"¹³

CONCLUSION

In the past five years dramatic and fundamental changes have occurred on an ongoing basis in the international, regional and national environments. As the UN Secretary-General put it: "... *the different world that emerged when the Cold War ceased is still a world not fully understood.*"¹⁴

These changes also brought about a change in perceptions of the concept of security and the realisation that the management of the complex business of the prevention and resolution of conflict required a co-ordinated and integrated effort at global, regional and national levels.



The UN's role in peacekeeping activities is increasing, and South Africa's contribution since recently resuming full participation in its activities, may be seen as a clear signal of intent: South Africa is committed to peace and

security, because it is committed to growth and development, at home and abroad.

South Africa is ready to support the UN Secretary-General's Agenda for Peace. The miracle of the South African transition presents this country with a unique opportunity and moral responsibility to do so. This being said, its role will of necessity be a limited one, due to constraints on its resources resulting from internal commitments and guided by its own national interest.

1. United Nations, An Agenda for Peace: Preventative Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping, Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992, Boutros Boutros-Gali 1992, New York, (A/47/277 - S/24111). The Secretary-General reported that: "*National boundaries are blurred by advanced communications and global commerce, and the decisions of states to yield some foreign prerogatives to larger, common political associations.*" But at the same time there are also tendencies toward non-alignment, fierce new assertions of nationalism and polarisation, "*... and the cohesion of states are threatened by brutal ethnic, religious, social, cultural or linguistic strife.*"
2. United Nations, Supplement to An Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, 3 January 1995, New York, (A/50/60 - S/1995/1), par. 11.
3. *Ibid.*, par. 97-101.
4. *Ibid.*, par. 2.
5. Supplement to an Agenda for Peace, *ibid.*, par. 12 and 13.
6. *Ibid.*
7. The Star, 20 April 1995.
8. The Pretoria News, 11 May 1995.
9. Defence White Paper 1994: Defending Australia, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1994, par. 3.13.
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