

ASSESSMENT OF NAMIBIA'S INVOLVEMENT WITH THE UNITED NATIONS SINCE 1990

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ABSTRACT

Despite, Namibia's challenges, shortly after independence, the country was able to honour its international obligations through the United Nations. This was done by participating in the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). Albeit, Namibia's involvement at the UNTAC lasted for only six month, the mission has been characterized as successful and her contribution to peace and security in Cambodia was highly appreciated and valued. It is on this basis that I wish to examine the country's international engagement with the United Nations since 1990, by specifically looking at Namibia and the United nations General Assembly (1999-2000); Namibia and the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (PKO); and Namibia and the United Nations Security Council with a special focus on the United Nations Security Council resolutions on UNITA and the Democratic Republic of North Korea. Namibia's engagement in the United Nations peacekeeping mission in Cambodia has culminated in Namibia's contribution on several occasions by way of troops, law enforcement, and security personnel and observers to the UN's international peacekeeping and security missions around the world. United Nations Peacekeeping helps countries torn by conflict create conditions for lasting peace. Peacekeeping has proven to be one of the most effective tools available to the UN to assist host countries to navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace. This article aims to shed light on a matter that had received relatively little attention, namely Namibia's commitment and collaboration with the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) since 1990. This paper also analyses the origin and concepts of peacekeeping and peacebuilding and their contributions to international peace and security. Generations of United Nations peace operations will also be assessed.

1. Introduction

Namibia is a relatively small country in comparison with other members of the United Nations in terms of its population size and Gross Domestic Product (GDP). However, considering its long fight for liberation, domestic progress on the economic and political front and major strides in building a nation characterized by peace, democracy and political stability in the post-independence period. Despite the existence of significant challenges, after independence, freedom, peace and security still prevail, and the country is considered a democracy both in legal and political terms.

In attempting to describe Namibia's engagement in the United Nations (UN) peacekeeping Mission abroad for the first time, this paper will focus on one of the pillars of the United Nations, namely peace and security. The paper will further highlight Namibia's involvement in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations by way of contributing both military and police civilian personnel in Africa as well as Asia and Pacific.

According to Templesman (1999), the Namibia commitment with the United Nations is at least partly rooted in history. Templeman (1999) further notes that the United Nations effectively served as midwife to Namibia's birth as a nation state, and the subsequent success of Namibia's policy of national reconciliation suggests what can be accomplished in surmounting the bitterest legacies of division.¹

¹Mwaura, P. 1999. Namibia lead UNGA: Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab is 'the right man at the right time'. Africa Recovery, Vol.13, No. 1-3 (September 1999), p.4. United States of America, New York.

2. Namibia and the United Nations

The United Nations is made up of a group of international institutions, which include the central system located in New York, United States of America, the specialized Agencies, such as World Health Organisation (WHO), International Labour Organisation (ILO) and Programmes and Funds such as UNICEF and United Nations Development Fund (UNDP).² When created more than five decades in the aftermath of the World War I, the UN reflected the hope for a just and peaceful global community. However, threats to global security addressed by the UN now include inter-state conflict, threats by non-state actors, as well as political, economic, and social conditions within states.³ It can be concluded that since the foundation of the UN, there has been a massive expansion of UN activities to address conditions within states, an improvement in UN capacity in its economic and social work, and an increased tendency to accord the UN a moral status.⁴

Furthermore, it is imperative to note that despite the growth in United Nations activities, however, there are some questions about the relevance and effectiveness of the United Nations. The United Nations was established on 24 October 1945 by 51 countries, as a result of initiatives taken by the government of the states that led the war against Germany and Japan. When joining, member states agreed to accept the obligations of the United Nations Charter, an international treaty that sets out basic principles of international relations.⁵

Accordingly, the Charter of the United Nations had four purposes, notably, a) to maintain international peace and security; b) to develop friendly relations among nations; c) to cooperate in solving international problems and in promoting respect for human rights; and d) to be a centre of harmonizing the actions of nations.⁶

²Baylis, J. et al. 2011. The Globalization of world politics: An introduction to International Relations. (5th edition). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

³ (Ibid)

⁴ (Ibid)

⁵United Nations. 2008. United Nations: Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Department of Field Support. New York, USA.

⁶United Nations. 2008. United Nations: Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Department of Field Support. New York, USA

Namibia's engagement in the UN peacekeeping missions manifested in Namibia's contribution on several occasions by way of troops, law enforcement, and security personnel and observers to the UN's international peacekeeping and security missions.⁷ Namibia's contributions toward and support of the maintenance of international peace and security is a result of principle, policy and constitutional consequence and is thus well founded. The Namibian Constitution states that Namibia, in its conduct of international relations, is obliged to promote international cooperation, peace and security, and encourage the settlement of international dispute by peaceful means.⁸ It is for this reason that these provisions complement and countenance the UN Vision of maintaining international peace and security as outlined in the UN charter.

In addition, these provisions of the UN also guided Namibia's foreign policy, which has as its prime objective the promotion of national security, peace and prosperity. Egge avers that these provisions help to form the basis of Namibia's international engagements and, most importantly support the UN principles of peaceful settlement to international disputes.⁸

The UN, having no permanent military infrastructure to draw from, relies on the contribution of its member states to assist in maintaining international peace and security. Article 43 of the UN Charter calls upon all its members to contribute towards the maintenance of international peace and security by providing armed forces, facilities and assistance. Chapter VII, Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression; Article 43 (1-3).⁹ Since independence, Namibia has actively and positively responded to the UN's calls to contribute forces and other forms of assistance.

The charter of the UN was signed in San Francisco, on 26 June 1945 and is the foundation document for all the UN work. The UN was established to “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war” and one of its main purposes is to maintain international peace and security.¹⁰ Peacekeeping, although not explicitly provided for in the Charter, has evolved into one of the main tools used by the United Nations to achieve this purpose.

⁷Egge, K. 2014. The United Nations and Namibia since 1990.

⁸Republic of Namibia, 1990. Constitution of the Republic of Namibia.

⁹[Http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter/chapter7.shtml](http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter/chapter7.shtml). Last accessed on 17/10/2016.

¹⁰ Umber, I. 2012. Peacekeeping.

The Charter gives the United Nations Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In executing this responsibility, the Security Council may adopt a range of measures, including the establishment of a United Nations Peacekeeping Operations. The legal framework for such action is available in Chapter VI, VII and VIII, of the Charter. Whilst Chapter VI deals with the “peaceful settlement of disputes”, Chapter VII contains provisions related to “Action with respect to the peace”, breaches of the peace and Acts of aggression”. Chapter VIII of the Charter also provides for the involvement of regional arrangements and agencies in the maintenance of international peace and security, provided such activities are consistent with the purposes and principles outlined in Chapter I of the Charter.¹¹

Peace Enforcement, involves the application, with the authorization of the Secretary-General, of a range of coercive measures, including the use of military force. Such actions are authorized to restore international peace and security in situations where the Security Council has determined the existence of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression. The Security Council may utilize, where appropriate, regional organisations and agencies for enforcement action under its authority.

Peacekeeping, it is a technique designed to preserve the peace, however, fragile where fighting has been halted, and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers. According to the UN, over the years, peacekeeping has evolved from a primary military model of observing cease-fires and the separation of forces after inter-state wars, to incorporate a complex

model of many elements such as military, police and civilian, working together to help lay the foundations for sustainable peace.¹²

The term ‘peacekeeping’ has been used to describe all types of operations from the first UN Peacekeeping mission monitoring the cease-fire among the British, French, Israelis and Egyptians in the Sinai (the UNEF1 of 1956) to the UN-authorized operations expelling Iraq from Kuwait, to the operations protecting the delivery of humanitarian relief during the civil war in Somalia.¹³

¹¹United Nations. 2008. United Nations: Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Department of Field Support. New York, USA

¹²Bacalbasa, B. Peacekeeping.

¹³Doyle Michael, W. and Sambanis, N. 2006. Making war and building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations. Princeton University Press, Oxford.

Peacekeeping “refers to any international effort involving an operational component to promote the termination of armed conflict or the resolution of the longstanding disputes”.¹⁴The UN continues to refer generally to such international efforts.

Peacekeeping, as defined by the UN, is “a way to help countries torn by conflict to create conditions for sustainable peace”.¹⁵It refers to anything that contributes to the furthering of a peace process, once established. Bacalbasa argues that peacekeepers monitor and observe peace processes in post-conflict areas and assist ex-combatants in implementing the peace agreements they may have signed. Such assistance comes in many forms, such as enforcing and supervising the rule of law, monitoring of withdrawal by combatants from a former conflict area, power-sharing arrangements, supervision of elections, provision of reconstruction aid, delivery of food supplies, and other specific operations.¹⁶

The primary objective of peacekeepers is towards establishing a permanent state of cease-fire in the affected areas. In order to achieve a lasting peace, peacekeepers have refocused their attention to long-term measures aimed at building confidence and ensuring economic and social development.¹⁷

¹³Doyle Michael, W. and Sambanis, N. 2006. Making war and building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations. Princeton University Press, Oxford.

¹⁴ (Ibid)

¹⁵Bacalbasa, B. Peacekeeping.

¹⁶ (Ibid)

¹⁷ (Ibid)

Alongside with peacekeeping (PK) there are also peacemaking (PM), Peace Enforcement (PE), Peacebuilding (PB), Conflict Prevention (CP) and Humanitarian Operations (HO). These are all part of Peace Support Operations (PSO) and are often mistakenly put under the umbrella term 'Peacekeeping'.

Peacekeeping is established to deploy a "UN presence in the field hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, as a confidence-building measures to monitor a truce between the parties while diplomats strive to negotiate a comprehensive peace or officials to implement an agreed peace."¹⁸

Peacekeeping is one among a range of activities undertaken by the United Nations and other international actors to maintain international peace and security through the world. Albeit, the focus of this article is on peacekeeping initiative, it is imperative to understand how it relates to and differ from conflict prevention, peacemaking, peace enforcement and peacebuilding.

Peacemaking, designed "to bring hostile parties to agreements" through peaceful means such as those found in Chapter VI of the UN Charter.¹⁹ The term refers to diplomatic activities to resolve outstanding issues such as demobilization, disarmament, or reparations, once the parties to a conflict have agreed to stop fighting. Surprisingly, the term is not mentioned in the UN Charter. Peacemaking generally includes measures to address conflict in progress and usually involves diplomatic action to bring hostile parties to a negotiated agreement. It is incumbent upon the

Secretary-General of the United Nations, upon the request of the Security Council or the General Assembly or at his or her “good office” to facilitate the resolution of the conflict.

Peacemakers may also be envoys, governments, and group of states, regional organisations or the United Nations. It is also important to note that peacemaking efforts may also be undertaken by unofficial and non-governmental groups, or by a prominent personality working independently.²⁰

¹⁸Umber, I. 2012. Peacekeeping.

¹⁹(Ibid)

²⁰(Ibid)

The first United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF1) was deployed to the Middle East under the command of Canadian, L. General E. L. M. Burns. UNEF1, was the first UN operations to use military personnel to create a buffer zone between belligerents and to supervise the withdrawal of forces. ²¹

2.2 Origin of Peacekeeping

United Nations Peacekeeping was initially developed during the Cold War as a mean of resolving conflicts between states by deploying unarmed or lightly armed military personnel from a number of countries, under UN command, to areas where warring parties were in need of a neutral party to observe the peace process. Peacekeepers could be called in when the permanent members (P-5) of the Security Council tasked the United Nations with ending conflicts that were threatening regional stability and international peace and security.

Conflict Prevention, it involves the application of structural or diplomatic measures to keep intra-state or inter-state tensions and disputes from escalating into violent conflict. It is interesting to note that a well-structured early warning information gathering and careful analysis of the factors driving the conflict to be developed as a way of preventing and stalling the conflict. Conflict prevention activities may use of the Secretary-General’s “good offices” preventative deployment or confidence-building measures. From 1947 to 1986, the United Nations undertook 15 operations

of varying scope and duration. Most observer missions involving unarmed military personnel who would observe and report on a cease-fire but, unlike peacekeeping forces, would not interpose themselves between antagonists.²²

²¹Umber, I. 2012. Peacekeeping.

²²Laakso, L. and Hautaniemi, P. 2014. Diasporas, Development and Peacemaking in the Horn of Africa. Zed books, London.

Peace Enforcement, involves the application, with the authorization of the Secretary-General, of a range of coercive measures, including the use of military force. Such actions are authorized to restore international peace and security in situations where the Security Council has determined the existence of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression. The Security Council may utilize, where appropriate, regional organisations and agencies for enforcement action under its authority.²³

In respect to *Peacekeeping forces*, they primarily act as a buffer between the belligerents. They detect violation of cease-fires, supervise troop withdrawal, help maintain law and order, and administer quasi-governmental function, usually within the area where the force is deployed.²⁴

Peacebuilding, involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels, for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development.

Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, presented a report entitled: '*An agenda for peace: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping*' in which the term 'post-conflict peacebuilding was defined for the first time. In his document, post-conflict

peacebuilding was defined as an action to identify and support structures that tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.²⁵ To this end, peacebuilding has been associated with actions carried out to prevent the recurrence of violence and conflict.

Peacebuilding is deemed to be a complex, long-term process of creating the necessary conditions for sustainable peace. It addresses the deep-rooted, structured causes of violent conflict in a comprehensive manner.

Peacebuilding measures address core issues that affect the functioning of society and the state, and seek to enhance the capacity of the state to effectively and legitimately carry out its core functions.

²³Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. D., and Griffins, S. 2010. Understanding Peacekeeping. Cambridge: Polity.

²⁴ (Ibid)

²⁵Laakso, L. and Hautaniemi, P. 2014. Diasporas, Development and Peacemaking in the Horn of Africa. Zed books, London.

In the same vein, there is a growing recognition that responses to humanitarian emergencies and post-conflict reconstruction activities must transcend relief to address the long-term welfare of distressed people. In this connection, social and economic development is viewed as an integral part of all peacebuilding efforts designed to attain lasting and durable peace. In the Cambodian context, social and economic development relates to the process of repatriation and reintegration of refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and former combatants; reconstruction of infrastructure such as roads, electricity, water and telecommunications) to fulfill public functions and make people feel that peace indeed brings **benefits.**²⁶

2.3 Types of Peace operations

Peace operations tend to be deployed either after or during an armed conflict. It can be pointed out that there are seven types of peace operations which are based on what each type is supposed to achieve. The primary distinction between the seven types of peace operations lies in the *intended*

ends they hope to achieve rather than the *means* that are employed to achieve them. The seven different types of peace operation are as follows²³:

- *Preventive deployments*, these usually conducted with the consent of the host state, and deploy peacekeepers with the purpose to prevent either violent conflict from emerging in the first place or a specific threat to a civilian population from materializing. To this end, the dividing line between preventing violent conflict and preventive deployments is not always visible and absolute. Preventive violent conflict on the other hand, have revolved around the distinction between structural and operational. It can be further contended that structural prevention entails strategies to address the root causes of deadly conflict to ensure that crises do not arise in the first place. It includes a wide range of activities, such as putting in place international legal systems, dispute resolution mechanisms, and cooperative arrangements, meeting people's basic economic, social, cultural and humanitarian needs, and rebuilding societies that have been shattered by war or other major crises.

²⁶Fortuna, V. P. 2014. Does Peacekeeping work? Shaping belligerents' choices after civil war.

²⁷Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. D., and Griffins, S. 2010. Understanding Peacekeeping. Cambridge: Polity.

- *Traditional peacekeeping*, these operations are intended to support peacemaking between states by create the political space necessary for the belligerent states to negotiate a political settlement²³. This kind of peacekeeping takes place in the space between a ceasefire agreement and the conclusion of a political settlement.
- *Wider peacekeeping*, these operations are intended to fulfil the aims of traditional peacekeeping as well as certain additional takes such as the delivery of humanitarian relief in a context of ongoing conflict.
- *Peace enforcement*, these operations aim to impose the will of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) upon the parties to a particular conflict. These operations are the closest manifestation of the collective security role originally envisaged for the UN by the authors of its Charter, though they depart from the vision in important respect.

- *Assisting transitions*, these multi-dimensional operations involve the deployment of military, police and/or civilian personnel to assist the parties to a conflict in the implementation of a political settlement or the transitional from a peace heavily supported by international agencies to one that is self-sustaining. These operations tend to take place after both a ceasefire and a political settlement have been reached.
- *Transitional administrations*, these are also multi-dimensional operations deployed after a peace agreement of some sort, but they are distinguished by their assumption of sovereign authority over a particular territory. Transitional administration have exercise control over all aspects of a territory's borders, regulate the media, manage property law, run schools, hospitals, the sanitation system, the electricity grid, the roads and other forms of transportation, and administer the judicial.
- *Peace support operations*, these are designed to help establish post- Westphalia peace. In this context, they aim to establish liberal democratic political systems and societies within states.²⁸

²⁸Bellamy, A. J., Williams, P. D., and Griffins, S. 2010. Understanding Peacekeeping. Cambridge: Polity.

2.4 Peacekeeping as an international Institution

As neoliberalism predicts, issue areas that feature much incomplete information are ripe for international institutions. Fortuna & Martin (2014) focus on the demand for international institutions in peacekeeping operations in civil wars, and question about the conditions under which governments and opposition agree to involve non-state actors, such as peacekeeper forces.²⁹Peacekeeping, which they defined as the deployment of international troops and monitors to war-torn areas, is an international institution intended to help recent belligerents maintain peace. In furtherance, they model peacekeeping as an institution that is able to provide information to both sides in a conflict through a signaling mechanism. It can be concluded that, allowing

peacekeeping provides a costly signal of each side's intent to abide by a peace agreement. Whilst, both sides in a civil war prefer to the interference of outsiders, the costs of peacekeepers to an unreliable government, that is, one that will renege on its agreement to quit fighting are higher than the cost to a reliable government.³⁰

Moreso, international institutions are not only non-state actors of importance to neoliberal institutionalism. Non-governmental Organisations and private sector actors may also play key roles in world politics, especially in certain issue areas. It is further submitted that the state and non-state players are interdependence, and power is asymmetrically distributed, currently in favour of the developed and existing producers.³¹

²⁹Fortuna, V. P. 2014. Does Peacekeeping work? Shaping belligerents' choices after civil war.

³⁰(Ibid)

³¹Milner, H. V., & Moravcsik, A. 2009. Power, Interdependence, and Non-state actors in World politics. United Kingdom, Princeton University Press.

2.5 Monitoring and composition of Peacekeeping forces

Article 43 of the United Nations Charter lays down the commitment expected to member states in respect of their contributions from their armed forces and police for maintenance of international peace and security. This Article has never be ratified, though certain states have earmarked and promised support, and when called upon have made available contingents for United Nations Peacekeeping operations and observer mission.³² It can be argued that so far these states are few in number. As part of chapter VII of the Charter, refers to enforcement actions, the procedure

currently followed in the United Nations is to canvas for contingents as and when a requirement exists for a peacekeeping force.³³

2.6 Principles of Consent and Request

The principle of “consent or request” allows the host government a prerogative of choice. Though it is not an automatic or binding prerogative it has become a prerequisite to the establishment of a United Nations Peacekeeping Force or Mission in any sovereign territory. In other word, until the host country has indicated its willingness to accept the force or mission, the United Nations operations cannot be mounted. Similar option is open to the host government as regards the composition of the force. As each contingent is recruited the host government will be advised so that it can exercise its prerogative to the consent or refuse. In the same vein, the choice of the force commander and certain of his senior staff officers is subjected to the same procedures though in their case they have to be acceptable to all parties concerned in the dispute.³⁴

³²Zhon, Y. 2005. Peacekeeper's Handbook: International Peace Academy. Frankfurt (Germany), Pergamon Press.

³³ (Ibid)

³⁴(Ibid).

2.7 Principles of Peacekeeping

The practice of peacekeeping has evolved accordingly now generally involving much more extensive civilian components such as electoral observation; police monitoring and training, and civilian administration. Since the Cold War, the primary purpose of peacekeeping has been to

prevent the resumption of civil conflict. It can be reasoned that the relationship between peacekeeping and duration of peace changed with the end of Cold War.³⁵ Some member states, including many leading contributors, have expressed to the UN Panel their strong view that the three core principles of peacekeeping should be upheld. The UN Panel outlined three core principles of peacekeeping as pertinent to any peacekeeping mission, notably, *consent of the party*; *impartiality*; and *non- use of force except in self-defence or defence of the mandate*.³⁶ It should be argued that the importance of the core principles of peacekeeping should serve as a guide to successful UN peacekeeping operations in observing ceasefires and implementing peace agreements.

It is further debated that the core principles of peacekeeping should never be used as an excuse of failure to protect civilians or defend the mission proactively.³⁷

³⁵Fortna, V. P. 2008. Does Peacekeeping works? Shaping belligerents' choices after civil war. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

³⁶The Role of UN Peace Operations strategic Partnership in Africa: Uniting our strengths for peace-politics, partnership and people. Report of the High-level independent Panel on UN Peace Operations (16/06/2015).

³⁷Michael, W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis. 2007. The United Nations Record on peacekeeping operations. International Journal, Vol. 62, No. 3, What kind of Security? Afghanistan and beyond. (Summer, 2007), pp.494-518. Canadian International Council. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40184857>. Accessed on 01 April 2017.

Consent, it is imperative to note that consent of the main parties had a clear meaning when peacekeepers were deployed in the context of a ceasefire or peace agreement in an inter-state conflict or between clear Parties in a civil war. The UN Panel argues that in conflict management

settings, where fighting continues and is not confined to two parties, there may be practical obstacles to obtaining consent beyond that of the government. Surely, the consent of the government is fundamental for the deployment of a mission, this should be reinforced.³⁸

The UN Panel stated expressly that Missions should protect civilians irrespective of the origin of the threat. Mission should promote respect by all actors for the human rights of the local population and the combatants regardless of affiliation.

It is further contended that missions should seek political solutions respectful of the legitimate interests and grievances of all parties and society at large³¹.

It should be further noted that the principles of *neutrality* referred to the national origin of

United Nations troops and precluded the use of troops from the Permanent five members of the Security Council (P-5) in order to quiet fears of superpower intervention.³⁹

Impartiality, therefore implies that the United Nations would not take sides in the dispute and was a precondition for the attainment of the consent of all the parties. In this context, Doyle and Sambanis (2007) pointed out enjoying the consent of all factions in turn made it easier for monitors of peacekeepers not to have use force except in self-defence.⁴⁰

Self-defence is well-recognized concept and well-catered for in UN rules and engagement. However, the concept of defence of the mandate requires clarity as to which tasks within the mandate may require the use of force. In this context, this should always include the responsibility to protect civilians and the pro-active in doing so³⁴. The UN Panel further argues that different threats must be met with the appropriate use of military force, ranging from containment via deterrence and coercion to direct confrontation, particularly when civilians or peacekeepers are at risk.⁴¹

³⁸Michael, W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis. 2007. The United Nations Record on peacekeeping operations. International Journal, Vol. 62, No. 3, What kind of Security? Afghanistan and beyond. (Summer, 2007), pp.494-518. Canadian International Council. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40184857>. Accessed on 01 April 2017.

³⁹Uniting our strengths for peace-politics, partnership and people: Report of the High-level Independent Panel on United Nations peace operation. UN report on Peacekeeping operations (16 June 2015). United Nations, New York, United States of America.

⁴⁰(Ibid)

⁴¹(Ibid)

1. Peacekeeping Operations

In the contemporary world and current debate, United Nations peacekeeping is defined as the multidimensional management of a complex peace operation, usually ensuing the termination of civil war, designed to provide interim security and assist parties to make those institutional, material, and ideological transformations that are essential to make peace sustainable. Similarly, the above definition is considered to be a new role for the United Nations. In the past, the United Nations operations especially during the Cold War were more restricted and focused on monitoring or policing the adherence to a truce by hostile parties.⁴²

Doyle and Sambanis (2007) acknowledge that this new role of the United Nations, expanded role for the United Nations represents an effort to respond to complex new challenges to international security that have emerged since the end of the Cold War 11. They further contend that an explosion of new internal armed conflicts led to a similar explosion in the United Nations peacekeeping missions in the mid/1990s. They perceived the United Nations, new perspective on how to build sustainable peace after civil war as embodied in two landmark reports, the “Brahimi” and “No exit without strategy” reports of 2000 and 2001 that built on Secretary-General Boutros-Boutros Ghali’s 1992 report, “Agenda for Peace”, and its 1995 supplement.⁴³

It can be argued that the United Nations has been generally effective in its new role, important and highly publicized failures have generated policy debate on how to improve the United Nations peacebuilding capacity.

Peacebuilding involves a mixture of several intervention practices, including mediation, observation, policing, tactical enforcement, conflict resolution, humanitarian assistance, reconstruction, and institutional transformation, all helping to locate sustainable peace.⁴⁴

⁴²Michael, W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis. 2007. International Journal (Summer 2007)

⁴³(Ibid)

⁴⁴(Ibid)

Fortna (2008) argues that of the range of operations covered by the term peacekeeping, not all missions are the same. She further contends that among the four types of peacekeeping operations, namely observation missions; interposition missions, multidimensional missions, and peace enforcement. The first three of which are consent-based, and authorized under Chapter VI missions, while the fourth is authorized under Chapter VII missions.⁴⁵

According to Fortna (2008), *observation missions* are small deployment of military and sometimes civilian observers to monitor a cease-fire, the withdrawal, or cantonment of troops or other terms of an agreement, such as elections. They are usually unarmed, and their main tasks are simply to watch and report on what they see.

The peacekeepers deployed in Angola in 1991 (UNAVEM II) or in the Western Sahara (MNURSO) are example, as are the missions led by New Zealand and then Australia in Papua New Guinea in 1997-1998 (The Truce Monitoring Group and Peace Monitoring Group, respectively).⁴⁶

Interpositional missions or traditional peacekeeping missions are somewhat larger deployments of lightly armed troops. Fortna (2008) outlines their main tasks as to monitor and report on compliance with an agreement, but they also often serve to separate forces by positioning themselves in a buffer zone or to help demobilize and disarm military factions. The UN missions in Angola in 1994 (UNAVEM III) and in Guatemala in 1996 (MINUGUA) are classical examples.⁴⁷

⁴⁵Fortna, V. P. 2008. Does Peacekeeping works? Shaping belligerents' choices after civil war. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

⁴⁶Fortna, V. P. 2008. Does Peacekeeping works? Shaping belligerents' choices after civil war. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

⁴⁷(Ibid).

Multidimensional missions consist of both military and civilian components helping to implement a comprehensive peace settlement. It can be argued that these missions perform tasks such as the organizing of elections, human rights training and monitoring, police reform, institutional building and economic development. The missions in Namibia (UNTAG), El Salvador (ONUSAL), and Mozambique (ONUMOZ) fall in this category.⁴⁸

According to Fortna (2008) all three of those afore-mentioned types of mission are based on the consent of the parties and are authorized under Chapter VI of the UN Charter.

Peace enforcement missions involve substantial military forces to provide security and ensure compliance with a cease-fire. They have mandate to use force for purposes in addition to self-defence. The West African and UN missions in Sierra Leone in 1999 (ECOMOG and UNAMSIL) and NATO missions in Bosnia (IFOR and SFOR) are included in this category.⁴⁹ As Fortna (2008) alluded to earlier that enforcement missions are authorized under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, and do not necessarily require the consent of the belligerents. She contends that their forces are generally better armed and larger, mandated to impose peace by force. Baylis et al (2011), thus maintain that many peacekeeping mandates passed by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) since 2000 contain an instruction for international soldiers to protect endangered civilians, using force if necessary and prudent.⁵⁰

⁴⁸Fortna, V. P. 2008. Does Peacekeeping works? Shaping belligerents' choices after civil war. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

⁴⁹(Ibid)

⁵⁰Baylis, J. et al. 2011. The globalization of world politics: An introduction to international relations. Oxford, Oxford University Press

3. Generations of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

It should be debated that with the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, the United Nations Agenda for peace and security rapidly expanded. The SC Summit of 1992, requested Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the then Secretary-General of the United Nations to prepare the conceptual foundations of an ambitious United Nations role in peace and security in his seminal report, "Agenda for Peace"⁴⁵. In addition to preventive diplomacy designed to head off conflicts before they become violent, the then Secretary-General outlined the four interconnected roles that he hoped the United Nations would play in the fast-changing context of post-Cold War international politics:

- 1) *Peace enforcement*, authorized to act with or without the consent of the parties in order to ensure compliance with a ceasefire. This role will be mandated by the Security Council acting under the authorization of Chapter VII of the Charter, these military forces are composed of heavily armed national forces operating under the direction of the Secretary-General.
- 2) *Peacemaking*, it designed "to bring hostile parties to agreement" through peaceful means such as those found in Chapter VI. The United Nations peace making initiatives such as judicial settlement, mediation and other forms of negotiation, would seek to persuade parties to arrive at a peaceful settlement of their differences.
- 3) *Peacekeeping*, established to deploy, a "United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned" as a confidence-building measure to monitor a truce between the parties while diplomats strive to negotiate a comprehensive peace or officials to implement an agreed peace.

Peacekeeping further refers to military operations designed to preserve peace where fighting has halted, often to support implementation of cease fire agreement or truce, and to support diplomatic effort to reach a long-term political settlement.⁵²

⁵¹Michael, W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis. 2007. The United Nations Record on peacekeeping operations. International Journal, Vol. 62, No. 3, What kind of Security? Afghanistan and beyond. (Summer, 2007), pp.494-518.

⁵²Military Reference Guide (pp43/46)

It is further concluded that “traditional” peacekeeping often mandated under Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter (*Pacific Settlement of disputes*). It occurs with the consent of all major parties to the conflict⁴¹. Whilst “robust” peacekeeping on the other hand, often mandated under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter (*Action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression*). It should be noted that robust peacekeeping may be required when some actors do not provide “tactical” consent to the mission. Peacekeepers may be required to use force on selected occasions for self-defence or defense of the mandate, including support of the protection of civilians.⁵³

- 4) *Post-conflict reconstruction* is organized to foster economic and social cooperation with the purpose of building confidence among previously warring parties, and developing the social, political and economic infrastructure to prevent future violence and laying the foundations for a durable peace.⁵⁴

According to Doyle &Sambanis (2007), “Agenda for Peace”, is the culmination of an evolution of United Nations doctrine and an adjustment of the instruments used to maintain the peace since the Organisation was formed in 1945. It emerged in a radical way, instruments for warlike enforcement and peace-like negotiation that were once kept separate and that evolved separately. It serves as unique vocabulary separates distinct strategies that fit within the generic United Nations doctrine of building peace.

In furtherance of their arguments, they contend that these strategies, evolving over time, have encompassed generational paradigms of peace keeping. Albeit, they include not only the early activities identified in the United Nations Charter, Chapter VI (or so/called “6 and ½”) *First generation peacekeeping*, which calls for the interposition, *second generation operations*, *third generation operations*.⁵⁵

⁵³Michael, W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis. 2007. The United Nations Record on peacekeeping operations. International Journal, Vol. 62, No. 3, What kind of Security? Afghanistan and beyond. (Summer, 2007), pp.494-518.

⁵⁴(Ibid).

⁵⁵(Ibid)

First Generation Peacekeeping Operations

It refers to a call for the interposition of a force after a truce has been reached. First generation peacekeeping is also known as traditional peace operations. They were designed to respond to interstate crises by stationing unarmed or lightly armed United Nations forces between hostile parties to monitor a truce, troop withdrawal or buffer zone while political negotiations went forward. Doyle & Sambanis (2007) assert that the principles and practices of first generation peacekeeping constituted a stable and interdependent combination. They further demonstrate that these key principles were articulated by Dag Hammarskjöld, former Secretary-General of the United Nations and Lester Pearson, former British Prime Minister in conjunction with the creation of the first peacekeeping operations (PKO), the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) in the Sinai that was sent to separate Israel and Egypt following the Franco-British-Israel intervention in Suez in 1956.⁵⁶

It is imperative to highlight the significance of the First generation operations, as was known as the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) in Egypt, deployed in October 1956 with the mandate to maintain a truce between the Egyptian army and Israel, England and France during the Suez crisis. UNEF's experience helped define the four principles of traditional peacekeeping, namely consent and request, impartiality, and neutrality.⁵⁷

The United Nations has a commendable record of success, ranging from mixed to transformative in second-generation, multidimensional peace operations as diverse as those in Namibia (UNTAG) and El Salvador (ONUSAL), Cambodia (UNTAC), Mozambique (ONUMOZ), and Eastern Slavonia (UNTAES). It is further debated that the United Nation's role in helping settle

those conflicts has been four-fold, notably, it serves as a peacemaker facilitating a peace treaty among the parties; as a peacekeeper monitoring the cantonment and demobilization of military forces; resettling refugees, and supervising transitional civilian authorities; as a peace-builder monitoring and in some cases organizing the implementation of human rights, national democratic elections, and economic rehabilitation, and in a very limited was as peace enforcer when the agreements came unstuck.⁵⁸

⁵⁶Michael, W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis. 2007. The United Nations Record on peacekeeping operations. International Journal, Vol. 62, No. 3, What kind of Security? Afghanistan and beyond. (Summer, 2007), pp.494-518

⁵⁷(Ibid)

⁵⁸(Ibid)

Second Generation Peacekeeping Operations

The second generation operations is refers to multidimensional operations that involve the implementation of complex, multidimensional peace agreements designed to build the foundations of a self-sustaining peace and have been utilized primarily in post-civil war situations.⁵⁹ It should be noted that, in addition to the traditional military functions, the peacekeepers are often engaged in various police and civilian tasks, the goals of which is a long-term settlement of the underlying conflict. Doyle &Sambanis argue that these operations are based on consent of the parties, but the nature of and purpose for which consent is granted are qualitatively different from traditional peace keeping.

Third Generation Peacekeeping Operations

In Boutros-Ghali's lexicon "peace enforcing", effectively war-making missions are third-generation operations, which extend from low-level military operations to protect the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the enforcement of cease-fires, and when necessary authoritative assistance in rebuilding of so-called "failed states".

To this end, Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter enforcement action to roll back aggression in Korea in 1950 and against Iraq in the Gulf-War, is the classical example of third generation operations⁵⁴.

It can be concluded that the defining characteristic of third-generation operations is the lack of consent by one or more of the parties to some or all of the United Nations mandate. Doyle &Sambanis contend that these operations have been of three types. In the first, international forces attempt to impose order without

significant local consent, in the absence of a comprehensive peace agreement, and must in effect conquer the factions. In the second, international forces do not have unanimous consent and choose to improve distinct arrangements, such as no-fly zones or humanitarian corridors of relief, on parties in the midst of an ongoing war. In the third, international forces exercise force to implement the terms of comprehensive peace from which one or more of the parties have chosen to defect.⁶⁰

⁵⁹Michael, W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis. 2007. The United Nations Record on peacekeeping operations. International Journal, Vol. 62, No. 3, What kind of Security? Afghanistan and beyond. (Summer, 2007), pp.494-518.

⁶⁰Ibid)

4. Namibia and the United Nations Security Council Resolutions

4.1 Security Council Sanctions against UNITA

The enforcement of Security Council sanctions in Africa must be understood within this context. It is evident that the scales are rather tipped to the side of sanctions evasion as opposed to sanction enforcement. Strydom and Tunguru (2004) concludes that after a false and dismay start, reconsidered and refocused efforts and measures in the case of Angola at least there was improved cooperation between States in compliance with Security Council resolutions.⁶¹

Strydom and Tunguru (2004) observed that the UNITA problem in Angola, like other elsewhere in Africa, provides an interesting testing ground for the utility of the United Nations' new generation of targeting financial sanctions in an area of the world where corruption and criminality are extensive regional and international network of collaborators.⁶² According to Strydom and Tunguru (2004) the refusal of UNITA to accept the results of the September 1992 Angolan election in which Jonas Savimbi lost to President Dos Santos led to the Security Council adopting Resolution 864 (1993) in terms of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter "with a view to prohibiting all sale or supply to UNITA of arms and related matériel and

military assistance, as well as petroleum and petroleum products”.⁶³ In this regard, related materiel included “weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment and spare parts”. This mechanism was intended to assist with implementation of the embargo. The arms embargo was lifted by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1448 in December 2002 in the light of the continuing peace process.

⁶¹Strydom, H. and Tunguru, T. (2004). South Africa and Namibia. In Gowlland-Debbas, V. (2004). National implementation of United Nations Sanctions: A comparative study. Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

⁶²(Ibid)

⁶³(Ibid)

Strydom and Tunguru (2004) pointed out that the refusal of UNITA to comply with its obligations under the “Accord de Paz” and its rejection of the results of the UN supervised September 1992 election constituted a threat to international peace and security in the region and, therefore, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations adopted the said resolution.

Furthermore, it has been argued that these measures were intended to operate extraterritorially and retrospectively. As a norm, states were obliged to prevent the sale or supply of contraband “by their nationals or from their territories. It should be noted that the conflict in Angola was a resource-based, intra- state conflict. Sanctions were thus imposed against non-state entity, namely UNITA, with frequently shifted territorial control. It was observed that the emphasis on the enforcement of sanctions measure against UNITA was therefore only applicable to individuals, either in the enforcing country, or from the targeted entity.”⁶⁴

In the same vein, the implementation of the Security Council resolutions sanctions against UNITA (Angola) by the countries of the SADC region, in particular, Namibia should be situated in the geographical and developmental setting as well as the historical perspectives of the region. Strydom and Tunguru (2004) further observe that the Security Council sanctions against UNITA, as well the United Nations Panel of Experts on violations of Security Council sanctions against UNITA, as well as its successor, the Monitoring Mechanism on Sanctions against UNITA found, were made ineffective as a result of smuggling.⁶⁵ For instance, the Panel

of Experts reported that “Credible and reliable reports were received of significant fuel smuggling across the Zambian border,... further information has also been received on relatively small scale fuel sales across the Angola-Namibia border, but these seem to be primarily of a private nature. Strydom and Tunguru (2004) contend that an effective enforcement of sanctions against UNITA in dealing with petroleum, the Panel of Experts recommended that SADC should take the lead in ensuring that proper monitoring systems were put in place.

⁶⁴Strydom, H. and Tunguru, T. (2004). South Africa and Namibia. In Gowlland-Debbas, V. (2004). National implementation of United Nations Sanctions: A comparative study. Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

⁶⁵(Ibid)

Strydom and Tunguru (2004) further argue that, generally, Diamonds and arms, particularly the former, are the most smuggled commodities in the world. Namibia being a diamond producing country, in the SADC region, there are other diamond producing countries such as Botswana and South Africa, and of course Angola. It is for this reason that the economy of Angola depends heavily on diamond mining, and Namibia therefore has very stringent laws against diamond smuggling. According to Strydom and Tunguru (2004), any dealing with unpolished diamonds, whether sale or disposal, receipt or purchase, export or import are strictly prohibited in Namibia. They further concurred that Namibia has a stringent law dealing with arms, the Arms and Ammunition Act, 1996 (Act No. 7 of 1996), stipulates in section 22 (1): “ ...No person shall, except on behalf of the State, import or export from Namibia any arms or ammunition, including any arms or ammunition in transit through Namibia to any place outside Namibia”.⁶⁶It is against this backdrop that Namibia has thus sufficient laws to enforce the Security Council sanctions against UNITA. In its response to the Report of the Panel of Experts on violations of Security Council Sanctions against UNITA, the Government of Namibia responded that its investigation revealed that some of those listed as UNITA officials were refugees at the Osire Refugees Camp. The Government of Namibia, further reiterated its determination and commitment to fully implement the Security Council sanctions against UNITA.

Similarly, the Monitoring Mechanism on sanctions against UNITA on its visit to Namibia was informed that on one cross-border aggressive pursuit operation, the Namibia Defence Force (NDF) discovered petroleum dumps in Angola and 32 full 5 000 litre petroleum containers were unearthed. It was also reported by the Government of Namibia that Monitoring Mechanism was accorded an opportunity to view the military equipment captured by the Namibia Defence Forces from UNITA. This is a clear testimony from the above that Namibia was determined to ensure enforcement of Security Council Sanctions against UNITA. Strydom and Tunguru (2004) further insinuated that what may have hampered effective enforcement of the sanctions against UNITA and which is not limited to Namibia alone, but applicable to the entire region, is the constraint of under-development, particularly of advanced devices to detect smuggling of prohibited items.

4.2 Security Council Sanctions against Democratic Republic of Korea (PDK)

The United Nations Security Council has unanimously decided to step up sanctions against North Korea, by imposing ban on the country's textiles export and capping on imports of crude oil. According to the United Nations, Sanctions can be usually range from "comprehensive economic and trade sanctions to more targeted measures such as arms embargoes, travel bans and financial or commodity restrictions. It is for reason that United Nations member States are required to adopt the sanctions regime. Normally, a Sanction Committee will be in place with the view to acts as a subsidiary of the Security Council. The Sanctions Committee is tasked to implementing, monitoring and providing recommendations to the Security Council on particular sanctions regimes.

In 2016, the Namibian army has been exposed for violating United Nations sanctions against North Korea since 2006, severely dealing Namibia's international reputation as an exemplary African country.⁶⁷Honourable Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of International Relations and Cooperation of the Republic of Namibia, found herself in a diplomatic minefield after she confirmed a wide ranging military cooperation programme with North Korea, but she repeatedly claimed this co-operation had been a thing of the past since 2005. This turned

out to be somewhat short of the full truth, as the United Nations' Panel of Experts on North Korea noted in their report of 22 February 2016 on international compliance with sanction against Pyongyang.

⁶⁷Mail and Guardian, (15 April 2016). <https://mg.co.za>.

It is worth to mention that the United Nations Panel of Experts was set up in 2009 in order to enforce compliance with the terms of United Nations Security Council resolution 1874, which banned, among others, any technology transfer or training that could be used for military purposes between North Korea and United Nations member countries. Although Hon. Minister confirmed recently that the Ministry of Defence of Namibia had several military co-operation agreements with North Korea, these include the construction of a munitions factor at Oamites, the Suiderhof Military Headquarters in Windhoek and a military school and Museum in Okahandja, 72 km north of Windhoek. She further argues that these contracts were implemented from 2002-2005 before the United Nations Security Resolution 1718 was passed, and Namibia was therefore not in violation of any United Nations Security resolutions⁶⁸.

In the same vein, Ambassador Linnekela J. Mboti, Acting Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of International Relations and Cooperation, contends that the government has terminated the contracts of Komid and Mansudae in Namibia, for as long as the United Nations Security Council sanctions against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) are in place. He also pointed out that all North Korean nationals have departed from the country as part of the sanctions resolutions implementation on that country.⁶⁹ Ambassador Mboti, further added that the government was committed to comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions on the DPRK, and has in the past invited the Panel of Experts to assess the country's compliance with the sanctions on North Korea.

It was further argued that even though Namibia reported positively in relations to the sanction enforcement and compliance, *all the United Nations Experts consulted were in agreement on one aspect: Namibia was clearly in violation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution sanctions, and especially of those passed since 2009.*

In contrary, it was noted with displeasure that although the North Korean contractors were sent parking in 2016, Mr. Hugh Griffiths, a coordinator of the Panel of Experts argues that Namibia is still not in the clear.

⁶⁸Namibia compliant on North Korea. "The Namibian". 22 November 2017. Windhoek, Namibia.

⁶⁹Namibia under pressure over North Korea. "New Era, 224 October 2017. Windhoek, Namibia.

5. Namibia and the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Missions

Namibia Military Observers and Civilian Police Personnel took part in various United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Missions, such as in Burundi, Eritrea and Ethiopia, Sudan, Ivory Coast and Liberia. The peacekeepers were all serving on rotational basis.

It is worth to mention that United Nations military personnel are called the 'Blue Helmets' on the ground. All military personnel working under the Blue Helmets were first and foremost members of their own national armies, for example, in the case of Namibia, members of the Namibia Defence Force (NDF) and were seconded to work under the command and control of the UN. The UN has been deployed military personnel for service in peace operations since 1948 when the Security Council authorized the deployment of UN military observers to the Middle East, to monitor, the Assistance Agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbours.⁷⁰

It is imperative to note that UN military personnel were called up in Cambodia and tasked do the following *inter alia*:

- Protect civilian and UN personnel;
- Monitor a dispute border;
- Monitor and observe processes in post-conflict areas;

- Provide security across a conflict zone;
- Assist in- country military personnel with training and support;
- Assist ex-combatants in implementing the Peace Agreements, they may have signed⁵⁷.

Similarly, the United Nations Transitional Assistance in Cambodia (UNTAC) was authorized by the United Nations Security Council for February 1992 to September 1993. The following countries contributed military and civilian police personnel to United Nations Peacekeeping Operations.⁷¹

⁷⁰Michael, W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis. 2007. The United Nations Record on peacekeeping operations. International Journal, Vol. 62, No. 3, What kind of Security? Afghanistan and beyond. (Summer, 2007), pp.494-518. Canadian International Council. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40184857>. Accessed on 01 April 2017.

⁷¹(Ibid.

In 1994, Honourable Peter Mweshihange, the then Minister of Defence, informed the National Assembly that, at the request of the UN Secretary General, the government of the Republic of Namibia took part in the UN peacekeeping operations in Cambodia. He further averred that a contingent of 43 NDF personnel, equipped with 15 Wolf Armoured Personnel Carriers, was sent to Cambodia to assist the UN with the monitoring of elections⁵⁹. According to the Minister's statement, the mission, which lasted for six months, was successful and all personnel and equipment were returned home safely. To this end, the Ministry was determined to assist in future UN peacekeeping operations where their resources can afford.

The Namibian Government has necessary policy framework to promote gender equality in the Ministry of Defence as well as within the Namibian Police Force. Over 500 women served in the United Nations and African Union peace-support operations as peace-keepers, military observers and staff officers between 2005-2008 in Liberia, Sudan, Burundi, Ethiopia/Eritrea and Ivory Coast. A number of women participated in peace and rescue assignments that were as physically demanding as combat and involved significant risk of harm⁶⁰.

Furthermore, since the Namibian Defence Force has extensive experience in the United Nations and Regional Peacekeeping Missions Operations. In 2010, Namibia was requested by the United

Nations Secretary General to contribute Troops to the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT), which took over from a 3 300 European Union Troops at the end of March 2009.

Namibia pledged a Motorized Infantry battalion of eight hundred (800) Contingent for a United Nations Mission to the Central African Republic and Chad. The Namibian Contingent was deployed in the area of KoukouAngerana in Chad. An Advance Infantry Group of 300 Contingent had been authorized to be deployed by March 2010.

During the period of January and February 2004, the Namibian contingent of Mechanised Infantry battalion strength has been deployed in Liberia fully and equipped by the Namibian Government as agreed between the United Nations and the Government of Namibia⁶¹.

⁵⁹Ministry of Defence, 1993. Defence Policy: White Paper on Defence. [Http:// www.mod.gov.na/pdfs/defence%20policy.pdf](http://www.mod.gov.na/pdfs/defence%20policy.pdf). Accessed on 27/10/2016.

⁶⁰ (Ibid)

ANNEXURES

The tables below illustrate how Namibia has been participating in the UN Peacekeeping Operation henceforth 1993.

UNITED NATIONS TRANSITIONAL ASSISTANCE IN CAMBODIA(UNTAC)

February 1992- September 1993	UNTAC	Countries contributed military and police personnel
		Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Egypt, Fiji, France, Germany, Ghana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Malaysia, Morocco, Namibia , Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Russian Federation, Senegal, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, United Kingdom, United States of America and Uruguay ⁵⁸ .

⁵⁸Source: *United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations*([Http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/military/index.html](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/military/index.html). Accessed on 03/11/2016)

UNITED NATIONS ANGOLA VERIFICATION MISSION (UNAMVEM III)

February 1995 to 30 June 1997	UNAVEM III	Country contributors
		Brazil, Bulgaria, Congo, Egypt, France, Guineas Bissau, Hungary, India, Jordan, Kenya, Malaysia, Mali, Namibia , Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Senegal, Slovak Republic, Sweden, Tanzania, Ukraine, Uruguay, Zambia.

Source: *Department of Public Information, United Nations.*

UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN ANGOLA (MONUA)

June 1997to February 1999	MONUA	Country contributors
		Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Congo, Egypt, France, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Hungary, India, Jordan, Kenya, Malaysia, Mali, Namibia , Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Senegal, Slovak Republic, Sweden, Spain, Tanzania, Ukraine, Uruguay, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Source: Department of Public Information, United Nations.

UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN SIERRA LEONE (UNOMSIL)

13 July 1998 to 22 October 1999	UNOMSIL)	Country contributors
	Contributors of uniformed personnel	Bangladesh, Bolivia, China, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, France, Gambia, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Krygyzstan, Malaysia, Namibia , Nepal, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, , Russian Federation, Sweden, Slovak Republic, Sweden, Thailand, United Kingdom, Tanzania, Ukraine, Uruguay, Zambia,.

Source: Department of Public Information, United Nations.

UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN SIERRA LEONE (UNOMSIL)

22 October 1999 to 22 October 2005	(UNOMSIL)	Country contributors
		Australia, Bangladesh, Cameroon, Canada, Gambia, Ghana, India, Jordan, Kenya, Malawi, Malaysia, Mauritius, Namibia , Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, , Russian Federation,

		Senegal, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Tanzania, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
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Source: United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

UNITED NATIONS TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN EAST TIMOR

25 October 1999-20 May 2002	(UNTAET)	Country Contributors
		Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Benin, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Brazil, Canada, China, Egypt, Gambia, Ghana, Jordan, Kenya, Malaysia, Mozambique, Namibia , Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Portugal, Russian Federation, Samoa, Senegal, Singapore, Slovenia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Ukraine, United kingdom, United States of America, Vanuatu and Zimbabwe.

Source: United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA (UNMEE)

31 July 2000 to 31 July 2008	(UNMEE)	Country contributors
		Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Mongolia, Namibia , Nepal, Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation,

		Singapore, Slovakia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States of America, Zambia and Uruguay.
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Source: www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/un

UNITED NATIONS OPERATIONS IN COTE D'IVOIRE (UNOCI)

4 April 2004 to 22 June 2005	(UNOCI)	Country contributors
		Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Mongolia, Namibia , Nepal, Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Singapore, Slovakia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States of America, Zambia and Uruguay.

Source: *United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations*

UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN LIBERIA (UNMIL)

19 September 2003 – 13 July 2005	(UNMIL)	Country contributors
		Algeria, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Belarus, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Cape

		Verde, Central Africa Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cote d' Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, DR. Congo, Egypt, El Salvador, Estonia, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Honduras, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Moldova, Mongolia, Montenegro, Morocco, Myanmar, Namibia , Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Papa New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russia, Rwanda, Samoa, Senegal Serbia.
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Source: Department of Public Information, United Nations.

UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN THE CENTRAL AFRICA REPUBLIC AND CHAD (MINURCAT)

Authorized: 25 September 2005 – 31 December 2010	(MINURCAT)	Country contributors
		Austria, Albania, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, DRC, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Egypt, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Ireland, Nepal, Nigeria, Namibia , Poland, Pakistan, Paraguay, Portugal, Russia Federation, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Serbia, Senegal, Spain, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United States of America, Uruguay, Yemen, and Zambia.

Source: Department of Public Information, United Nations.

UNITED NATIONS OPERATIONS IN BURUNDI (ONUB)

Authorized: 01 June 2004- 31 December 2005	(ONUB)	Country contributors
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		Algeria, Bangladesh, Benin, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Chad, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, India, Jordan, Kenya, Krygyzstan, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia , Nepal, Netherlands, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Romania, Spain, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uruguay, Yemen and Zambia
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Source: Department of Public Information, United Nations.

UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN THE SUDAN

24 March 2005- 9 July 2011	(UNMIS)	Country contributors
		Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Canada, China, Croatia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Finland, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Krygyzstan, Malaysia, Mali, Moldova, Mongolia, Namibia , Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, Thailand, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United kingdom, Yemen and Zambia.

Source: United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

UNITED NATIONS INTEGRATED MISSION IN TIMOR-LESTE

25 August 2006- 31 December 2012	(UNMIT)	Country contributors
		Australia, Bangladesh, Brazil, Canada, China, Croatia, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Gambia, India, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Krygyzstan, Malaysia, Namibia , Nepal, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palau, Philippines, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russian Federation, Samoa, Senegal, Singapore, South Korea, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, Uruguay, United States of America, Vanuatu, Yemen, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Source: United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

6. Namibia's Defence policy

In February 1993, late Honourable Peter Mweshihange, the first Minister of Defence, presented to Parliament a statement on Defence policy in the form of White Paper. The statement outlined the mission and roles of the Ministry of Defence (MoD) and the Namibia Defence Force (NDF) as provided for in the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia⁶³. The statement on Defence Policy gives the NDF directions and implementation, ranging from the force structure and design, manning training equipping and managing the Defence Force, to the direction of its activities related to the promotion and fostering of peaceful co-existence and friendly relations with other armed forces in the world, including *inter alia*, promoting international peace and security through participation in Southern African Development Community (SADC), African Union (AU) and United Nations (UN) mandated Peace Support Operations.

It is important to note that the Defence Policy's aims and objectives are to support, strengthen and defend the cherished ideas and aspiration of Namibia, of maintaining a stable, peaceful and vibrant society which co-exists peacefully with its neighbours. The primary objective of the Defence Policy is to ensure the security of the country, to allow it to pursue by just and peaceful means, its national interests and activities, both at home and abroad⁶⁴.

⁶¹ Ministry of Defence, 1993. Defence Policy: White Paper on Defence. [Http:// www.mod.gov.na/pdfs/defence%20policy.pdf](http://www.mod.gov.na/pdfs/defence%20policy.pdf). Accessed on 27/10/2016.

⁶³(Ibid)

Peripheral interests are derived from the understanding that Namibia is not an island. It is a nation living among a community of nations. The country's survival and progress are largely influenced by its position and the role it plays in the international arena. Namibia's peripheral interests concentrate on the promotion of friendly relations with other nations and the maintenance of global peace and stability⁶⁵.

According to Defence Policy, Namibia aims to pursue the following peripheral interests:

- 1) cooperation, peace and stability, sustainable economic development and security environment within the SADC region;
- 2) Durable progress and cooperation in the African Union, leading to the well-being of the African people, stability and entrenchment of democracy on the African continent;
- 3) Global economic and social progress based on equality, peaceful co-existence, justice, fairness and the respect for international law and human rights;
- 4) Non-alignment, but forging military cooperation and alliances in the region for mutual and collective security interests in the SADC region;

A functioning and effective UN by means of, and through which world disputes and crises will be resolved, and the sovereign equality of all nations will be respected pursuant to the provision of the Charter of the United Nations⁶⁶.

⁶³Ministry of Defence, 1993. Defence Policy: White Paper on Defence. [Http:// www.mod.gov.na/pdfs/defence%20policy.pdf](http://www.mod.gov.na/pdfs/defence%20policy.pdf). Accessed on 27/10/2016

⁶⁴(Ibid)⁶⁵(Ibid)

International obligations: In honouring and pursuit of its regional and international obligation, Namibia may be called upon to commit its defence force together with other international troops to respond to regional or global security emergencies. In this regard, Namibia's soldiers would therefore be expected to operate in unfamiliar terrain, climate and cultural environment which are significantly different from the home environment they are used to. As a result, this will pose physical and psychological challenges to would-be mission undertakers in foreign lands. When Namibia's troops are committed to international duties they should be expected to overcome and adjust to the factors of force integration, equipment inter-operability, adaptation and acclimatization ⁶⁷.

⁶⁶Ministry of Defence, 1993. Defence Policy: White Paper on Defence. [Http:// www.mod.gov.na/pdfs/defence%20policy.pdf](http://www.mod.gov.na/pdfs/defence%20policy.pdf). Accessed on 27/10/2016.

⁶⁷Du Pisan, A. 2014. Namibia's Foreign Relations and Security Policy: Exploration of a critical nexus. [Http://www.kas.de/...Namibias_foreign_relations/](http://www.kas.de/...Namibias_foreign_relations/). Accessed on 27/10/2016.

7. Defence Oversight bodies in Namibia

The Parliamentary Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Security, and the Cabinet Committee on Defence, Security and International Relations (CCDSIR) are bodies which are established to oversee the defence and security issues of the country. They have to advise the

Executive and the Legislature on matters pertaining to defence and security⁶⁸. It is worth to mention that both the Ministry of Defence's vision and mission derive their thrust from the principles and objectives set out in Article 96 of the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia, which states that Namibia will:

- adopt and maintain a policy of non-alignment;
- promote international cooperation, peace and security;
- create and maintain just and mutually beneficial relations among nations;
- foster respect for international law, treaty and obligations; and

encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means⁶⁹.

The Article 96 further stipulates that the composition, powers and procedures are to be prescribed for the NDF in order to protect Namibia's territorial integrity and National interests. It is further argue that political and legal obligations flow from Namibia's membership of the African Union and the United Nations. In the case of the African Union, the most important policy and legal frameworks include:

- The constitutive Act of the African Union (2001;
- The protocol relating to the establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the AU (2002); and
- The African Union Non-aggression and Common Defence Pact (2005).

⁶⁸Republic of Namibia. 2008. Defence Policy. Windhoek: Government of the Republic of Namibia

⁶⁹Constitution of the Republic of Namibia, 1990. Government Printer, Windhoek, Namibia.

Barely two years after independence, Namibia had contributed a mechanical infantry company to the UN Peacekeeping Operations in Cambodia from 1992-1993⁷⁰. Since then, Namibia has been a supporter of UN peacekeeping mission by providing troops and observers ⁷¹.

Below is summary of contributions to Peacekeeping Operations by Namibia as of February 1992

NAMIBIA (UNTAC)	Total Civilian Police	Total Troops	Total Military Observers	Grand Total
	0	43	0	43

Source: United Nations (Troop and Police contributors Archive (1990-2014))⁷²

⁷⁰A Statement on the Defence Estimates for financial year 1994/1995: Presented to the National Assembly by the Honourable Minister of Defence Peter Mweshihange. Republic of Namibia, Ministry of Defence

⁷¹[Http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contribution](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contribution). Accessed on 08/11/2016

⁷²Mathieu Dennis, 2008. Sixty years of UN Peacekeeping. The Namibian. 06 June 2008.

8. Conclusion

In conclusion, since the end of the Cold War the international community in general and the United Nations in particular have moved beyond “traditional peacekeeping” between states and have become much more involved in civil conflicts, monitoring and often administering various aspects of the transition to peace within states.

Scholars and practitioners of peacekeeping have mooted the merits of the new wave of more “robust” and complex forms of peacekeeping and peace enforcement after the Cold War.

Namibia was ‘born’ of the United Nation and her commitment and collaboration with the United Nations Peace keeping missions is consistently strong and constructive. The government’s committed support of United Nations reform is highly respected. Namibia has, despite its small population, contributed to more than half a dozen United Nations Peacekeeping Missions.

Namibia has, since early 1993, when she first deployed peacekeepers in Cambodia, become an important contributor to multi-national peace missions under the aegis of the UN and the AU. To this effect, Namibia has been at the request of the United Nations Secretary General, and African Union Chairperson, participated in several UN, and UN-AU Hybrid Peacekeeping Missions such as UNAVEM III, MONUA, UNAMIL (2003), UNMEE; DARFUR (UNAMID and UNAMIS; and SADC Peace Mission in the Kingdom of Lesotho, just to mention but a few.

The contingent of 43 personnel formed part of the UN military component and paved the way for Namibia’s future engagement with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations at the United Nations. As a result, Namibia has participated in eleven (11) peacekeeping and multinational support operations to date under the country’s regional and international obligations. It is worth to mention that these deployments have taken place under three different mandates: that of the United Nations, the African Union, and SADC. With the experience and expertise gained during the UNTAC mission, Namibia could easily serve as a role model for other Middle-income countries in peace and security areas where they have a lot to learn. There is no doubt that Namibia needs the UN system, the contributions of Namibia in UN Missions are also crucial.

ENDS.