

Police Diplomacy of the South African Police Service

by

Thobeka Hepercia Jozi

10672070

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATION

AFRIPOL	African Police Co-operation Organisation
AMIS	African Union Mission in Sudan
AMISOM	The African Union Mission in Somalia
ANC	African National Congress
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
AU	African Union
AUPOL	African Union Police
BNC	BI-National Commission
BRICS	Brazil,Russia,India,China and South Africa
CAR	Central African Republic
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahelo-Saharan States
CFIR	The Consultative Forum of International Relations
DIRCO	Department of International Relations and Cooperation
DoD	Department of defence
DOJ&CD	Department of Justice and Constitutional Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EUROPOL	European Union's Law Enforcement Agency
FPU	Formed Police Unit
FTX	Field Training Exercise
G20	Group of Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors of 20 major Economies
IAWP	International Association of Women Police
ICOP	International Criminal Police Organization
ICTS	International Cooperation, Trade sand Security
IGD	Institute for Global Dialogue
ILEA	International Law Enforcement Agency

INTERPOL	International criminal police organization
IPO	Individual Police Officers
IRPS	International Relations, Peace and Security
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MTSF	Medium Term Strategic Framework
NCB	National Central Bureau
OAU	Organisation of African Union
ORS	Operational Response Services
PCRD	Post Conflict, Reconstruction and Development
PNC	Police Nationale Congolaise
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCPOL	Southern African Development Community Police
SA-EU	South African - European Union
SAHO	South African History online
SAIIA	South African Institute for International Affairs
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SAP	South Africa Police
SAPS	South African Police Service
SARPCCO	Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization
SIPO	Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ
SOMILES	SADC Observer Mission in the Kingdom of Lesotho
SSPS	South Sudanese Police Service
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	United Nations African Union Mission in Darfur
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNPOL	United Nations Police
USA	United States of America

ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
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ABSTRACT

The concept of police diplomacy was realised more than a century ago and was perceived to be merely police international cooperation aspect aimed at tracing fugitives from justice. Within United Nations perspective, this notion changed as in conflict and post-conflict countries, the public loses confidence in domestic security forces, and, the presence of international police and collaboration amongst other law enforcement agencies help in restoring the lost confidence and the rule of law through peacekeeping.

Previous research on the police in the international realm focused mainly on international policing and multilateral frameworks such as International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL) and how these organisations exercised their responsibilities. However, certain areas of police involvement have been overlooked due to the over-emphasis on police responsibilities regarding crime patterns and the criminal justice system. These limitations also extend to international police obligations and they neglect the study of intercontinental police roles as a distinct research topic.

As already mentioned above, transnational policing has been in existence for a long time. However, the SAPS international activities before and after 1994 have not been considered crucial as it relates to support of South Africa's national interests. Even after 1994 their role was seen to be that of being Liaison officers. The South African Police Service (SAPS), previously the South African Police – SAP) has been in existence since 1913 and it is one of the government departments which falls under the Security Service Cluster.

The international involvement of the SAPS is not inconsistent with their national responsibilities, and in fulfilling their constitutional mandate they are guided by various pieces of legislation and policy guidelines. Although the South African Police Service continues to perform international obligations, the diplomatic nature of these activities and related involvement in international security cooperation receives little attention.

There is limited information on the definition of police diplomacy and the writer mostly relied on the evidence from personal experience and conducted interviews, hence this research is a position paper. It traces the relationship between police, security, and

defence, with the assumption that their strategies and policies in the area of international relations are similar. It explores the role, more specifically the obligations, involvement and activities of the SAPS at international level and it argues, using defence diplomacy as an analogy, that this involvement constitutes what can be termed police diplomacy. The theme is relevant in theoretical and practical terms and in the absence of a definition of police diplomacy, the theoretical relevance of this study resides in the development of a conceptual framework for the understanding and analysis of the nature and scope of police diplomacy. The practical relevance is, therefore, based on the fact that the SAPS has indeed for a very long period conducted transnational diplomacy which not only corresponds with the defence diplomacy of the SANDF, but which have largely gone unnoticed.

CHAPTER 1

DELINEATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1 Introduction

This study is about police diplomacy as practiced by South African Police Service in support of the country's national interests and foreign policy especially in Africa. SAPS (SAP before 1994) has been engaged in international obligations for a long time but not much has been written to account for this as evidence of an evolving police diplomacy.

The literature on this in Africa and South Africa is scant. In this chapter, we outline the research problem, research questions and methodology used to analyse police diplomacy. We also give an outline of chapters.

1.2. Literature overview

According to the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Article 199(5) of 1996* members of Security Services fulfil various obligations in the performance of their duties in line with the constitution and the law, customary international law, and international agreements binding the Republic. The structures of the Security Services include the Department of Defence (DoD), State Security and the SAPS. They complement each other's both in domestic and international activities in protection of the national security of the country. In this respect, the SAPS fulfils its international obligations at the direction of the Cabinet in support of South Africa's foreign policy and national interests.

Preliminary and exploratory research confirmed, at the outset, that there is a notable absence of literature on police diplomacy specifically in Africa and South Africa. Very few sources were found that actually used and defined the concept, namely Global Trust (2012), Pacific Council on international Policy (2017), and Kekic Dalibor (2009) describe police diplomacy as an element that encompasses the exchange of policing information, development programmes, co-operation and foreign visits to strengthen police relations and long existing trust between states. The work performed by so-called police diplomats include cross border visits, the exchange of political, religious and cultural values, and security tools to enhance the safety of diplomats.

However, for the most part, the emphasis of the literature is on international policing and international police obligations (e.g. Elton, 1972; Nadelmann and Peter, 2008). This includes works very critical of international policing (e.g. Huggins, 1998; Bowling and Sheptycki, 2005; and Deflem, 2004).

Hence, apart from the above and based on an overview of related literature, the transnational and trans governmental diplomatic practices of the SAPS are contextualized by and positioned in three subfields of diplomatic studies. These are the nature, scope and use of diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy; the diplomacy-security nexus, including police involvement in peace support operations; and as a distinct type of niche diplomacy; the analogous of defence diplomacy. Firstly, there is ample literature that provides a general indication of the meaning, nature and scope of diplomacy (e.g. Adebayo Adedeji, 1993; De Magalhaes, 1988; Daniel Don Nanjira, 2010; Daniel Bach, 2016; Walter Carlsnaes and Philip Nel, 2006; Kier, 1995; Berridge, Keens-Soper and Otte, 2001; Scott Thomas 1998; Tim Murithi, 2016; Wiseman, 2005; and Pouliot, 2010 among others).

Secondly, there is literature that links diplomacy to security, the security sector and security issues and that is indicative of the penetration of the diplomatic mode by military, paramilitary and police means and the penetration of the military mode by diplomatic means (Keith *et al*, 1995; Prendergast, 1999; Mandrup, 2007; Du Plessis, 2008; Mwanika, 2010; Pigman, 2010; and Barston, 2013). This is supplemented by literature on the peace support role of the police, more specifically in the context of peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction and development (e.g. Bayley, 2001; Djinnit, 2007; Dordevic, 2011 and Greener, 2011, among others. Thirdly, as far as defence diplomacy is concerned, it is a subfield of diplomacy that has received an increasing attention as evidenced by the proliferation of literature, especially of a more recent nature, on this theme (e.g. Bartlett, 1993; Koerner, 2006; Du Plessis, 2008; Cottey and Forster, 2010; and Martin, 2012).

At a more practical level and as far as the international involvement, obligations and activities of SAPS are concerned, they are framed and guided by several official documents including the *South African Guidelines on the Measures for the Enhanced coordination of South Africa International Engagements, 2007*; the *South African Police Service Act, 1995 (Act No 68 of 1995)*; the *White Paper on Safety and Security, 1998*; the *National Policing Policies*; the *White Paper on South African Participation in International Peace Missions, 1999*, the *White Paper on South African Foreign Policy – Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu, 2011*; the *Consultative Forum of International Relations (CFIR), 2010*; the *International Cooperation on Trade and Security (ICTS) Guidelines, 2011* and the *South African Police Service Act, 1995 (Act No 68 of 1995)*, among others.

At a global level this extends to multilateral cooperative frameworks based on *Interpol's Constitution, 1956*. At a continental level, obligations arise from the *Constitutive Act of the African Union, 2000* and the *Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, 2002*; and at a regional level to the *SADC Protocol on Politics Defence and Security Cooperation, 2001*, the *Revised SADC Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, 2010* and the *Constitution of Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (SARPCCO)*. All these existing formal policy documents are silent about South African foreign policy and police diplomacy. This means we need studies to understand how these international obligations translate into police diplomacy as practiced by SAPS.

Owing to limited literature on the diplomatic role of the police in terms of their international obligations and involvement, it is concluded that there is a lack of research on and therefore scope for a position paper on police diplomacy with reference to the South African Police Service.

1.3. Formulation and demarcation of the research question

This position paper outlines the conceptual and practical aspects of police diplomacy, it examines SAPS domestic responsibilities. Since SAPS has for long assumed and performed certain international responsibilities, the paper identifies activities which correspond with or appear to be similar to the defence foreign relations of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). It point out international responsibilities and obligations and the manner in which they interact with those of the security forces and more specifically the police of other countries at bilateral and at multilateral level. Furthermore, it explains a range of activities that include, amongst others, foreign representation in the form of police attachés, an involvement in peace support operations, exchange visits, foreign training and development programmes.

With regard to formulation and demarcation of the research question of this paper, based on the international involvement, obligations and activities of the SAPS, is whether or not these developments mentioned above represent the development of a distinct type of niche diplomacy that can be labelled police diplomacy. This is encapsulated in the following research question: Does police diplomacy exist and if that is the case, what is its nature and scope, and do the international obligations and involvement of the SAPS constitute this type of diplomacy? This research question leads to the following sub-questions: What is the current policy and institutional framework within which the SAPS undertakes its international obligations and involvement? In terms of the definition, objectives, activities of police diplomacy (based on the example of defence diplomacy), what is the South African practice at trans-governmental, regional and global level? If the *status quo* does not recognise the existence of police diplomacy, what policy option and institutional framework would provide this recognition and enhance the salience thereof. In response to the main question, the analysis seeks to understand police diplomacy in respect of whether SAPS diplomacy is similar to South Africa's defence diplomacy and assess if it can be accommodated in an appropriate policy and institutional framework.

Guided by the research question, the study is demarcated in conceptual, time, and geographical terms. Pertaining to the conceptual demarcation, the emphasis is on diplomacy, niche diplomacy and police diplomacy. With regard to time delimitations, the study concentrates on the current *status quo* regarding SAPS' international obligations, involvement and activities as they developed since 1994, and a future oriented alternative to the status quo.

1.4. Study limitations

The study is limited to the single SAPS-related case study, albeit in regional, continental and global context and is not a principally academic document, but is allowed by the Department to be a policy paper. It is intended to have sufficient understanding of academic and policy discussions in order to unpack the actual practice of police diplomacy.

1.5. The objectives of the study

Considering the above, the objectives of this position paper are, firstly, to assess the current *status quo* that does not sufficiently recognise the theory and practice of SAPS police diplomacy. Secondly, to provide the historical and contemporary background to and context of the evolving international involvement, obligations and practices of the SAPS that may constitute police diplomacy. Thirdly, to analyse the advantages / disadvantages and benefits / costs of the *status quo* and alternative policy options regarding police diplomacy. Finally, to make recommendations on an appropriate policy and institutional framework of the police diplomacy of the SAPS.

1.6. Research Methodology

Since diplomacy and the study thereof is evolving, the research design is literature and document based, and since there is a gap in the literature of police diplomacy, it also provides for an exploratory study. According to Mouton: 2001 exploratory research answers the "what" question as it helps to identify a particular problem that has not been sufficiently studied. Since the study of police diplomacy is under-researched with limited theory, the South African Police Service international obligations is used as a case study.

The latter, taking the form of a forward-looking position paper, using primary documentary sources, analysis of the official sources in the public domain with no security classification (such as legislation, White Papers, annual reports, budgets, policy statements, speeches, undocumented information obtained from SAPS like National Instructions and from internal SAPS Communication.) supported by secondary published material (such as books, journal articles and media information). The approach to the study is descriptive-analytical, in the sense that there are some basic facts to establish because this area is new in the literature and analysis in response to research questions is conducted using qualitative methods. The advantage of the latter is that it allowed a critical consideration and interpretation of existing literature and official documentary material, hence use is made of primary and secondary data sources available in the public domain.

1.7. Approach to Data collection

I used data collected from various sources which were analysed and listed to support findings of the research. All the collected and used documents are cited with clear references. To the extent that these data sources are limited, they are supplemented by unstructured interviews with experts in the field. The focus was on policy developers, managers and implementing officials responsible for international policing and police foreign relations in the SAPS.

Furthermore I conducted interviews with a small focus group of interviewees and the broad research themes and questions explored in the interviews are briefly summarised below. This was not an exhaustive list of questions since new issues and questions were expected to arise during the interview, due to the nature of unstructured interviews. The questions that were used as guide are; whether interviewees are familiar with the international obligations and involvement of the SAPS, whether they would link police foreign relations / international involvement to South Africa's foreign relations / foreign policy, or are they merely police matters across national boundaries and whether these could be linked to diplomacy and defence foreign relations among others.

1.8. Research structure

Since the study involves a position paper, it is structured accordingly and includes a title page, acknowledgements, an abstract, a table of contents, the main body of the position paper and a bibliography. The main body, covering the SAPS case study, is divided into five (5) chapters:

Chapter 1, the first chapter being a problem statement included a clear, concise definition of the problem. It provides literature overview, identification and demarcation of the research problem. Therefore, it explains why the *status quo*, to the extent that the international involvement, obligations and activities of the SAPS are not equated with police diplomacy, is problematic. This has been briefly sketched out in the above paragraphs.

Chapter 2, the second Chapter outlines general conceptual clarification of diplomacy and points out various similarities. The distinguishing characteristics is that they all associate diplomacy with foreign policy and relations between nation-states, illustrating different forms of diplomatic tools ranging from negotiations, representation, intermediation, reciprocity as well as independence and interdependence of nation-state. It also highlights the evolution of Western and African diplomacy and argues that African diplomacy dates back to 1919, followed by the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity and the establishment of Regional Economic Structures as engineering tools of African diplomacy. The Chapter further presents the relationship between diplomacy and security as this was linked to the protection of nation-state sovereignty, the nexus between diplomacy and defence and its role in conflict prevention and peacebuilding programmes. It demonstrates the critical similarities of activities between defence, police and other diplomatic actors.

Chapter 3 focuses on the policy context of South African Police Service diplomacy in line with the development of South African Foreign Policy. For background purposes, reference is made to SA Foreign policy and SAPS international security obligations before 1994 and post 1994, on how SA apartheid policies were used to support repressive government, the role played by the African National Congress in the development of SA foreign policy and its six pillars within which SA foreign policy should be embedded in line with the SA Constitution.

This chapter further outlines SA commitment to peace and security in Africa, constitutional and legal framework for police diplomacy in South Africa post 1994, which transformed police from force to a service involved in democratic policing and participation in peace support missions in support of national interests. It also illustrates how SAPS entered into international agreements on police cooperation and multilateral agreements in respect of cooperation and mutual assistance in the field of combatting transnational crime, among others.

Chapter 4 discusses the operational context of diplomacy as outlined by various policies and official views regarding police diplomacy. The chapter discusses the international involvement of the South African Police Service before 1994 and post 1994. Before 1994 SAPS international obligations were hardly distinguishable from those of the military which participated in international efforts such as world wars or cross border military operations, therefore, the chapter assesses these international activities to determine whether they are not similar to defence diplomacy and later termed as police diplomacy.

Chapter 5 presents conclusion and recommendations. It argues that though there are similarities between police and military diplomacy there are sufficient differences and special areas of exclusively police expertise to warrant the explicit treatment of police diplomacy as a subject which is distinct from military diplomacy. This chapter also explains the disadvantages of maintaining the *status quo*, and then offer a police diplomacy alternative that includes a policy and institutional framework for SAPS.

1.9. Conclusion

Having identified the abovementioned research problem, the literature synopsis, formulation and demarcation of the research question, study limitations, research methodology, approach to data collection and research structure, attention is now given to the theoretical framework and associated aspects of diplomacy, nexus between diplomacy and security, defence diplomacy and their relationship to police diplomacy. The main objective is to explain the essential and associated ideas in order to come up with conceptual framework to illustrate and support the case for police diplomacy using the South African Police Service case study.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONCEPT OF DIPLOMACY: A FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

Diplomacy is frequently considered to be the substitute for violence and also serves as the best method utilized to prevent war. Barston (2013). Whilst diplomacy is considered as an alternative to conflict the author still finds it a bit challenging to define diplomacy. With regard to its definition and interpretation one cannot confidently point out what diplomacy is. Scholars and researchers grapple with the exact definition, the more they define, the more it becomes complicated because of the different theories used to describe it.

Based on the analysis of pertinent literature, the purpose of this chapter is to develop a framework which will not only define the concept of diplomacy in terms of European and African literature, but will also clarify the relationship between diplomacy and security, the nexus between diplomacy and defence diplomacy. This groundwork information will be compared with police diplomacy which can be applied to the South African Police Service case study.

2.2. Definition of Diplomacy

With regard to a general conceptual clarification of diplomacy, the work by De Magalhaes (1988) equates diplomacy to a peaceful instrument of foreign policy which can be in any form of negotiation other than violent means. In defining the concept of diplomacy, he identifies four groups distinguishing diplomacy and these are the ones that “equate diplomacy with foreign policy, with the instruments or technique of foreign policy, identifying diplomacy with international negotiations and lastly describing it as the activity of diplomats”. De Magalhaes, (1988:20). In examining these definitions he links the views of various scholars on diplomacy like Hans Morgenthau, Jacques Chazelle, De Callieres, Edward Satow and Morton Kaplan, among others.

Pouliot 2010's definition of diplomacy focuses on the relationship between diplomatic practice and International Relations theory, which mutually augment each other. His assertions are also supported by Kissinger: (1994) who associates diplomacy with foreign policy, as well as the relations between nation-states.

The concept of diplomacy as understood by Berridge, Keens-Soper and Otte (2001) is not different from that of De Magalhaes as the foreign policy element also features prominently in their discussions, although emphasis is much more on formal communication. Deflem (2004) Sharp and Pigman(2008) support De Derians's (1987) notion that sees diplomacy as an element embedded on independence and interdependence of nation- state. Further, Sharp and Pigman (2010) contend that representation and communication are instrumental in cases of mediation in the pursuit of diplomacy. They further argue that diplomacy manages how state-nations interact with one another, and it involves various role players. This relation has been found to have specific objectives to be achieved regarding advice and implementation of foreign policy. There are no mandatory roles on how this relationship should be maintained as actors can use different forms like representation, intermediation, and reciprocity whilst foreign policy element aims at achieving particular set of interests.

Whilst above scholars and researchers focused on western diplomacy, history exists on Africa's involvement in global arena and one can also argue that in order to define diplomacy in African context, one has to examine what was traditionally practiced and compare it with contemporary diplomacy. Cheeseman *et al* (2017) give an account of evolution of African Diplomacy, and criticise the European scholars and researchers for portraying pre-colonial+ Africa as an island which had no diplomatic collaboration with the outside world and even amongst themselves. Further, when one evaluates the concept of diplomacy in Africa, the African Union Constitutive Act (2000) gives clear picture on the evolution of African diplomacy and that African diplomacy dates back to the initial Pan-African Congress that was held in Paris 1919.This later led to the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, which later amended its structures leading to the formation of African Union in 2002. Dagbo (2013).

In discussing diplomacy, Murithi (2016) highlighted the evolution of pan-Africanism through the establishment of various structures within African Union like Pan-African Parliament, Peace and Security Council and African Peer Review Mechanism among others, which were used as engineering tools for African Diplomacy even though they existed independently from AU. He noted the existing regional economic structures of Africa like Southern African Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), East African Community (EAC) and the Community of Sahelo-Saharan States (CEN-SAD) as mechanisms which enhanced the regional integration, “spirit of solidarity and cooperation.”

Despite the existence of these African mechanisms, Laverty (2012) criticises the lack of research on African Diplomacy as there are many international activities in Africa that are linked to diplomacy. He referred to the role played by African Union and considered AU as the home of African diplomatic culture. He describes how “African Diplomats” or “Afromats” based in Addis Ababa supported the ideals of Nkrumah, Sekou Toure’ and Senghor in liberating African countries as well as advancing Africa regional integration. Laverty’s emphasis is on key objectives of African diplomacy advocated by Nkrumah, which address the question of how Africa can boost its resources and the need for united defence and military strategy for liberated African States.

Laverty’s argument on the existence of African diplomacy is supported by various scholars and researchers for example Dagbo(2013) outlines the manner in which African leaders like Nkrumah, and Modibo Keita viewed and practiced African diplomacy as their dream was for united Africa of which security and economic independence were the driving force for African diplomacy. Like Laverty, Dagbo is also critical of African diplomacy for constantly failing to resolve sub-regional and continental conflicts and solely relying on big powers like international organisations. In explaining African diplomacy they argue that the existence of African diplomacy must be understood and recognised by scholars and researchers and that whatever African Union pursues in the interests of Africans that must be interpreted as African Diplomacy. Dagbo (2013) calls for Africa to realise and understand who they are in the international platform other than emulating western diplomacy.

However, in defining diplomacy he supports western ideology as he links diplomacy with foreign policy, peace and war. He supports the views by Morgenthau on the use of peaceful methods as solution to any conflict. Dagbo's opinion is also supported by Akokpari (2016) as they both link diplomacy to national interests, foreign policy and international relations. Akokpari further alludes to collaboration between the "state and actors both within and outside its borders and that African diplomacy is that "foreign policy is what you do, diplomacy is how you do it".

Mwanika (2010) links diplomacy with human rights and justice, which he describes as alternative modes of mediation during conflict. According to Adegbulu (2011) diplomacy is the best means to avert the management of international relations by force alone. He links the operation of diplomacy to power politics and its contemporary use to varied methods. He also compares modern diplomacy to traditional diplomacy and specifically African diplomacy and argues that diplomacy is not a new phenomenon as its practice in Africa existed and was regulated by customs. He gives an example on how the Igbo speaking communities in Nigeria practiced diplomatic tools through "Igba Ndu" concept. According to Adegbulu this concept was used to conciliate between groups or certain individuals during conflict and will perform certain rituals which involved the "drawing and mixing of blood from the veins of both the contestants and having them drink the resultant mixture" The planting of evergreen tree was also used to symbolise the triumph of their diplomatic statecraft.

The views of Adegbulu and Mwanika are supported by Nanjira (2010) as he argued that the concept of African diplomacy, its foreign policy and international relations are not new phenomena. He contends that Africa was home to the first people in the World and researchers can no longer turn a blind eye to its diplomatic history. He defines diplomacy as an "art of negotiations and the management of international affairs in such a way as to seek to resolve differences through peaceful means" (Nanjira 2010:98) Although there are some differences between Western and African values, the modern diplomatic norms that are practiced were also used by African nation states in pursuit of enhanced cooperation through cultural and ceremonial visits, as well as exchange of gifts.

The sharing of grazing land among different groups, free movement throughout the land and according to Nanjira “the power and governance were neither international nor inter-state and required no foreign policy or diplomatic arrangements” (Nanjira 2010: 99). Further, Chan (2017) traces African diplomacy’s history from 18th century as slave trade, resource expropriation by European powers was long practiced and this also involved international trade by Ashante Kingdom (Ghana) among other activities. In emphasising African diplomacy, Chan highlights similarities on the mediation roles played by Annan in Kenya and Mbeki in Zimbabwe as they both epitomised an “African value of inclusiveness”.

Within South African perspective, according to Muller (1998) the literature shows that diplomacy has been practiced for a long time though it is still ever changing at regional, continental and at global level. SA diplomacy evolved at a fast pace between 1990 and 1994, from that of old South Africa which was “secret and low-key,” characterised by the use of force in interactions with Southern Africa and the rest of the continent .After 1994, South Africa focused on preventive diplomacy in resolving conflict as she has been involved in various mediation efforts in Africa. Muller contends that since South Africa was isolated pre 1994, her diplomatic practice was limited to bilateral engagements.

After 1994 government brought a significant change to South African diplomacy as she began to practice the diplomacy of “Ubuntu” through focussing on Southern Africa and the rest of the continent. Although there is no specific definition of diplomacy, Muller points out the approach adopted by the Department of International Relations and Cooperation(DIRCO) in managing South Africa’s international affairs as South Africa was again in the global map as she increased her foreign representation including multi-lateral missions, consular and diplomatic representation. South Africa also became a member of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and this helped SA to advocate a developmental agenda of the South in other platforms like G20 of which she is a member. Further SA began to play a leading role in resolving conflict in Africa through mediation and peacekeeping processes. In the spirit of Ubuntu, South Africa pursued African diplomacy.

Hengari (2014) places his emphasis on the role of SA in fostering regional cooperation. South Africa has been applauded for its White Paper on Foreign Policy as it outlines how SA prioritises Africa's development and its strategy towards achieving the African agenda. His views are in support of Lavery as they both emphasise regional integration at AU level as well as SADC level, as this remains high in their agenda in pursuit of economic development and managing regional and sub-regional integration in line with Nkrumah's ideology. Hengari contends that SA diplomacy cannot be dissociated from its foreign policy and in maximising its diplomacy, it also adopted foreign policy goals which focused on the transformation of the Foreign Policy itself to allow SA to democratically engage internationally on political and economic issues and promotion of peace and security.

Bischoff (2006) supports Muller and Hengari in their interpretation of SA diplomacy as the manner in which South Africa practiced diplomacy through being "middle power of the South" and its diplomatic efforts in advocating for continental economic integration which has been perceived to be playing active role in a peace missions. Whilst highlighting the commendations by others for South Africa's co-operation with other OAU member states in resolving conflict by diplomatic means, there were also diverging views whereby diplomacy of Ubuntu was widely criticised. South Africa was viewed to be adopting hegemonic stance as well as imposing its political culture on others. This superpower position is illustrated in the manner in which SA managed the 1998 SADC Military intervention in Lesotho, leaving Botswana Defence Force to play subservient role. Bischoff (2006).

There are various debates regarding South Africa world perspective on diplomacy, with some being positive applauding its successes ,some being critical about its failure for bad governance which undermined it's self-portrayed hegemonic leadership, Geldenhuys (2015). Habib and Selinyane (2006) support Tony Leon's criticism over South Africa eagerness in solving Africa's problem at the expense of national challenges. There are other scholars like Alden and Schoeman who also shared their views on how South Africa is perceived to be dominating power within the African continent.

In support of the raised question as to whether the South Africa's self-portrayal as emerging super power is just "a label or true reflection", they argued that, based on the analysis by various researchers who challenged SA Foreign policy's weakness, they maintain that even though South Africa can be accorded international leadership positions, this type of gesture was viewed to be figurative. Aldene (2015).

As there are varieties in the interpretation of the concept diplomacy in Western, and African sphere, the manner in which different groups of people, families and nation-states collaborate with each other, one can conclude that these activities and tools of diplomacy are not different from the manner in which South Africa interact with the outside world. One holds the view that this connotes SA diplomacy concept and it is from where South African Police service can draw power in interacting with its counterparts in fulfilling SA national interests.

2.3. The Relationship between Diplomacy and Security

According to Weaver (2013:137) "Diplomacy and military force mutually support each other as instruments of national policy, functioning better in concert rather than as separate entities". He contends that very few understand the interrelationship between diplomacy and security, as security was traditionally associated with conflict and use of force, whereas diplomacy has been associated with the art of conducting relationship to benefit the states. The moment the country decides to deploy their security forces outside its borders either as a contingent or as individual, many will jump into conclusion that they are being deployed for war. The role of security in international operations was and it is still there to support the political intent in establishing conditions of safety, security and stability in the most appropriate manner. In these international operations security forces are expected to use force within the context of internationally mandated principles enshrined in the UN Charter (Chapter VI, VII and VIII). Their approach in handling foreign affairs is still considered to be more militaristic than diplomatic even though, in their traditional role, they were mandated to use force only as a measure of last resort and only when all other methods of persuasion had been exhausted, was self-defence permissible. Pouliot (2010).

Various assertions have been advanced in the quest to link security and diplomacy. For example Barston (2014) outlines the changing nature and intricacies of the relationship between diplomacy and security. He outlines the move from the use of force to the peaceful settlement of conflict, and to preventive diplomacy which are “the political and related diplomatic aspects of prevention, rather than the militaristic aspects of peace-keeping forces. Du Plessis (2008) contends that all security forces involved in diplomacy have a role to play internationally as ambassadors for peace and security.

At operational level, they are often expected to conduct diplomatic activities through negotiations and helping to address tension among warring parties whilst fulfilling their national interests. Muthanna (2011) focuses on specific national foreign and security policy objectives. He identifies security and diplomacy as an enabling tool in creation of sustainable cooperation at global and at regional level. He makes reference to preventive diplomacy, which also needs the involvement of security forces. Preventive, diplomacy is one of diplomatic tool to be used to prevent the escalation of disputes into the outbreak of serious conflict. Boutros-Ghali clearly defines preventive diplomacy as “action to prevent disputes from arising between the parties, to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur” (Boutros-Ghali 1992:5).

Berridge *et al* (2001) links diplomacy to security, and the use of force in modern diplomacy is deemed obsolete for the purpose of maintaining peace and they conclude that diplomacy remains the most important tool of foreign policy. He demonstrates how Machiavelli believed in military service other than ambassadors and his focus was on states and their stability as he believed in strong armed forces. He concludes that although Machiavelli assumed that great powers could rely on force alone, diplomacy remained crucial. One can conclude that his views are similar to those of Satow, as according to Otte (2001) throughout his career, Satow believed in the engagement of military service in the furtherance of foreign policy, however; he remained guided by professional diplomats.

Keith *et al*, (1995) links diplomacy to security, the security sector, and security issues. They emphasize the role of intelligence and security personnel in foreign missions, as this was viewed critical for the protection of nation state sovereignty. For instance, in the case of South Africa, prior to 1994, some government representatives clandestinely gathered information whilst in foreign missions, however, after complaints from some European Ambassadors, they decided to refrain from that practice, hence the military and the police as attaches became involved in the area of “security surveillance and analysis” as part of their responsibility.

The nexus between diplomacy and security was further emphasised by Predergast (1999) as the involvement of other security sectors in building effective peace processes especially in Africa, was viewed to be crucial as the military cannot resolve conflict without involvement of other diplomatic actors.

With regard to peace diplomacy, Pigman (2010) highlights the relationship between security forces and diplomacy and the important role played by the governments in setting up multilateral institutions for “security diplomacy” like United Nations (UN) and since its establishment has contributed to avoiding “frequent and destructive conflict”. Pigman supports the United Nations Secretary- General Ban Ki-Moon (1992)’s version of preventive diplomacy notion where he emphasised the important role to be played by member states in identifying the root causes of conflict at early stages and prevent it before escalating to war. He further identified peacekeeping, peace-making, and peacebuilding as the building block for sustained peace, development and human rights. For example, in cases of peace diplomacy, the diplomatic tools like peacekeeping which involves the deployment of military, and police to peacekeeping missions to pacify warring parties is still practised. This also involves the peace-making process by civilian component in most cases where they play facilitation or mediation role until settlement agreement is reached for (example the signing of ceasefire agreements between parties), whereas peacebuilding processes expects all the three components: Military, Police and civilian component play a role on the reform and restructuring of security in “post conflict societies”. With all the above diplomatic activities, it is evident that there is nexus between diplomacy and security.

2.4. Defence diplomacy

As far as defence diplomacy is concerned, Bartlett (1993) outlines the evolution of the concept of defence and diplomacy and how armed forces were used by the United Kingdom as far back as 1815 and 1914 to protect national interests. Koerner (2006) defines defence diplomacy as an enabling principle that assisted the West to understand the contemporary international security.

Defence diplomacy has been used by Western states to assist other countries in developing peacekeeping capabilities, and establish civil military relations. Since early 1990's, Western democracies, in particular, used defence diplomacy to support the "conflict prevention, the reform and democratisation of armed forces and the development of peacekeeping capabilities. Furthermore, since the end of the Cold War there have been important changes on the role of armed forces, for example military personnel have been drawn into the field of diplomacy as they are now tasked to perform secondary functions that involves border control, security sector reform, participate in the transformation of their counterparts after conflict and participating in international peace support operations. (Cotter and Forster 2010). The definition of defence diplomacy by Muthana (2017) is not different from those of other scholars as he refers to negotiations as part of international relations to avoid use of force. This involves cooperation and mutual trust amongst the nation-state.

Du Plessis (2008) in defining defence diplomacy, describes the general concept of diplomacy as an element that cuts across all spheres as it closes gaps between "state-centric and multi-centric" and opting for negotiations other than use of force. He defines diplomacy in various perspectives, linking it to "global context and as a master institution of international relations..., in a foreign policy context...as a master instrument to implement foreign policy....and used to maximise the national interests."(Du Plessis, 2008:91). He further associates diplomacy with constant interaction which may involve several international actors and further, alludes to narrow and broader perspective in defining defence diplomacy as these involve the participation of military across the borders for various responsibilities.

On defence cooperation diplomacy, Martin (2012) emphasised the importance of existing bilateral and multilateral international cooperation between nation-states. The example is that of existing multilateral agreements between SADC Member states to fight piracy in the region. Adebajo (2011) also refers to multilateral operations like peacekeeping and peace-making in Africa. He referred to the mediation efforts by South African in bringing peace in the Great Lakes Region, Democratic Republic of Congo, ending war in Burundi and between Sudan and South Sudan. Terrie (2009) discusses the involvement of military forces in Africa for peacebuilding programmes in an attempt to resolve conflicts, however he highlights United Nations limitations as it is forced to rely on private sector to support the modern peace support operations. Gadin (2010) also highlighted other challenges experienced by Africa and among others including warlordism, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, cross border crimes and banditry and these challenges extended the role of military forcing them to go beyond their national borders. According to Okeke and Boucher (2013) since 1989 there is remarkable reduction of war in Africa and democratically elected governments are increasing. In their arguments on diplomacy they start by defining peace and categorized it as positive and negative peace. According to Kerr and Wiseman (2013) the use of military force to settle differences is no longer preferred option; hence use of force is always the last resort.

2.5. Police Diplomacy

With regard to theoretical accommodations of police diplomacy, there is limited literature defining the concept of police diplomacy, and the theory which characteristics police international responsibilities similar to those of defence diplomacy and other diplomatic actors are covered under international policing. Elton (1972) traces international police activities as far as in 1533 whereby Police Commissioners were having specific way of handling their international policing, for example police believed in international espionage and foreign intelligence to protect their countries from foreign criminal threats and these activities were never referred to as police diplomacy.

In defining police diplomacy the Department of United States Security, (US) (1980) argues that the concept of security plays a key role in diplomacy and serves as diplomatic security tool developed to enhance safety of the diplomats of nation-state. Global Trust (2012) defines police diplomacy as an element which encompasses exchange of policing information, development programmes and foreign visits amongst states to strengthen police relations. It further refer to diplomatic relations as long existing trust between the states. It outlines the work performed by police diplomats to include cross border visits for exchange of political, religious and cultural values.

To support the above definition of police diplomacy, there are numerous scholars who have contributed to the study of international policing; however, the concept of police diplomacy does not come out clearly as their definition is more on the activities and policies linked to diplomatic policing.

Deflem (2004) finds it difficult to define police diplomacy due to lack of theoretical research and contends that police international activities and obligations are largely descriptive. However, he holds the view that police are specialized institutions operating differently from military and other government institutions. Interaction among foreign police agencies is still practiced as it yielded positive results as it has been seen to be enhancing multilateral relations, boosting security and bringing more opportunities, e.g. mutual understanding, exchange of information and training programmes. Perkins (2015) in his article on Diplomacy and Policing emphasise the importance of cooperation among law enforcement agencies to fight transnational crime.

The work of Nadelmann (1993) focuses on United States international drug control policies as he discusses the scourge of drugs, organized crime and terrorism which have become an international policing challenge that needs cooperation at continental and international level. Since organized crime is on the increase Nadelmann and Peter(2008) further outline police international obligation as crime control mechanism in international arena, like early warning mechanism which can be achieved through assessments and exchange of information by security agencies. Viano et al (2003) in support of Nadelmann identified international criminal networks which create the need for co-operation among nation-states.

The work of Hansen (2012) on the implications for police work and, beyond analyses, the changing nature of organised crime and how it poses a threat to international peace and security.

Although the element of diplomatic policing is linked to their international policing, there are also criticisms levelled against police international activities. Huggins (1998) describes this as the show of power for political gains. Sheptycki (2005) links transnational policing with “political policing”. Bowling and Sheptycki (2012) defines international policing as a tool that has been manipulated by powerful bodies to justify the creation of a new global policing architecture and how the subculture of policing shapes the world system. However, Sheptycki on the other side supports Nadelmann views on the need for the development of policies to fight the scourge of transnational organised crime in Europe. He identified different types of transnational illegal activities common to international policing hence the need for intelligence-led policing and cooperation among international policing agencies.

With regard to international police involvement in peacekeeping, this is also not new phenomenon and since 1960, police have been involved in various peace missions globally and as peace and security elements continue to dominate international agenda, police responsibilities at international level also increased. Djinnit (2007). According to Cahill (1996) Boutros Boutros Ghali discusses the element of peace and security with specific reference to the provisions of Article 1 of the UN Charter which calls for “effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace hence there is a need of collaboration among security forces. The work of Bayley (2001) links diplomatic policing with the manner police are being used abroad to assist in police reform and “furthering the cause of democracy through police assistance and reform.”

Another dimension on the involvement of police in international arena is by Greener (2011), where he highlights the increasing involvement of police in the international arena. He identifies various actions like transnational police Liaison Officers, response to disaster and post conflict peace building as some of police activities.

Dordevic (2011) supports international police roles and describes them as part of diplomatic practice. He describes how Serbia became involved in international policing as they appointed “liaison officers or police attaches” abroad to deal with emerging global security threats and risks, and the signing of various agreements regarding the police cooperation and link this to police diplomacy.

The police interaction with their foreign counterparts is increasing on a daily basis. There are existing international multilateral police organisations which are being used as a platform to share security information like European Police (EUROPOL), International Police (INTERPOL) African Police (AFRIPOL) and Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation (SARPCCO) among others. Also in cases of peace and security, there are United Nations Police (UNPOL) African Union Police (AUPOL) and Southern African Development Community Police.

2.6. Conclusion

This chapter analysed the definition of diplomacy as explained by Western, African and South African researchers. The author finds that there is a problem with the definition as scholars and researchers’ associate diplomacy with international negotiations, activities of diplomats and how nations interact with each other. In defining African diplomacy researchers also referred to regional and continental institutions as engineering tools for African diplomacy. Having analysed these regional structures they all have common regional instruments and mechanisms and also practise their regional diplomacy through multilateral forums like Summits and Annual General Assemblies. AU Summit :(2016) and 37th SADC Summit (2017) Reports. In view of the absence of literal interpretation of diplomacy one can conclude that these established regional structures and the way they interact with one another can be construed to African diplomacy.

The other finding is that although the literature on African diplomacy has been so limited for many years the available literature on African diplomacy points out various practices, cultures, and traditions, which are different in nature from western culture, however, there are some similarities in areas of cooperation and mediation among other activities.

Further, the concept of diplomacy and security, defence diplomacy and police diplomacy were examined and there is no clear definition, they also refer to international activities and there is limited available literature clearly defining police diplomacy. Taking into consideration the art of negotiation which is prominent in the area of international activities, it is evident that diplomacy remains important tool of foreign policy. In order to understand the linkage between SA Foreign policy and police diplomacy, the following chapter will examine the policy context of South African Police Service diplomacy. For background purposes, reference is made to SA Foreign policy and SAPS international security obligations before 1994 and post 1994.

CHAPTER: 3

THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE DIPLOMACY IN POLICY AND CONSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

3.1. Introduction

This Chapter is divided into separate sections which are pertinent to each other. The end of apartheid in 1994 in South Africa brought enthusiasm to many South Africans. However, South Africa had to make choices in moving away from its past foreign policies. Before discussing the policy context of South African Police Service, the chapter will highlight the concept of foreign policy, assess and discuss the evolution of SA Foreign Policy as SAPS foreign policy context emanates from literature on South African Foreign Policy. The discussions are time specific as they cover the development of South African Foreign Policy and SAPS Foreign Policy before and after 1994. In both phases there are various government and non-state actors which played a role in the shaping up of SA foreign policy including its commitment to peace and security initiatives in Africa.

3.2. South African Foreign Policy and international Security Obligations

Habib (2008)'s explanation of foreign policy is that it is "the product of national interests and nations". It involves various actors like political parties and business playing crucial role in the shaping up of foreign policy programme and in the case of South Africa, the African National Congress has been described to be significant actor. He highlights two (2) divergent groups; others praising South African foreign policy for being "progressive and reflective of a human rights agenda" whilst others see it as radical, and serving its own interest.

Spies (2009) highlights the opposing views by some foreign policy analysts who argue that the development and the implementation of a state's foreign policies is driven by its national interests, others believe that domestic policies highly influence the state foreign policies, whilst others see domestic and foreign policy as augmenting each other. Nanjira (2010) simplifies the theory of foreign policy and within African context, he interprets this to mean the elevation of Africa's internal foreign policies to those at international level.

This elevation can either be at multilateral or bilateral engagements and may “include protection, defence, and promotion of national interests; attainment of international peace and security....cooperation and understanding amongst nations”. (Nanjira 2010:98).He contends that foreign policy cannot be isolated from diplomacy and international interest and the state plays central role. Chan (2017) like Habib, and Nanjira identifies several diplomatic actors and contends that the state remained a central actor and its foreign policy should be linked with domestic policies. One holds the view that the theory of South African foreign policy is by means not different from any policy in the world, however, the motive behind and the manner in which it is operationalised certainly differs. Having outlined the concept of foreign policy in general, South Africa’s foreign policy has a profound history which relates to pre 1994 and post 1994 era, and its diplomacy has gone through many changes.

Before 1994, South Africa’s international relations had a different agenda from those of the post 1994 period. According to Barber and Barratt (1990:5) “South Africa’s foreign policy was pursued in three overlapping but distinctive settings: the regional context of Southern Africa, relations with the West and the broader world context including international organisations”. On the one hand apartheid era South Africa got economic and security support from the international community, the West did not want to completely isolate SA as they were also benefitting economically and strategically from SA, especially in her contribution to the fight against communism. On the other hand, SA’s apartheid policy was internationally criticised, significantly, by the United Nations (UN) and the Organisation of African Union (OAU).

The OAU rejected racism and advocated “human equality “and “dignity” throughout Africa. They believed in the liberation of South Africa through peaceful means, dialogue, and negotiations rather than the use of force. The South African apartheid regime was put under severe pressure by the international community including sanctions which were imposed against her causing a real strain on the SA economy. As SA was feeling the pinch of isolation she opted to build relationship with pliable independent African countries and used economic assistance as bait. Filatova and Davidson (2013)

Whilst SA isolation was intensifying internationally, the African National Congress (ANC) on the other hand was increasingly being recognised in multilateral forums. Tambo (1987) For example, the Congress had representatives in UN and OAU General Assemblies advocating the liberation of South Africa. This is illustrated by the work of Makhathini, who was the Special Representative of the ANC to the UN from 1997-1987. During UN deliberations he strongly condemned the SA repressive government on the grounds that it posed a serious threat to international stability, peace and security. DIRCO (2012).

During 1990 the evolution of ANC's foreign policy and international engagements towards a new South Africa had already commenced as then Department of Foreign Affairs planned to form a "South African Council on foreign relations". ANC (1994). They developed terms of references on how South Africa should position itself at continental and global level in promoting her international relations through participation in international conferences, development of policies that would benefit South Africa's international interests as a whole as opposed to a particular political party. ANC (1990).

Many historical developments have determined the future of South African foreign policy. Many stakeholders played a role as the international community continued supporting the African National Congress to fight apartheid. Asia and African countries also played important roles in the development of SA foreign policy as they gave the ANC support during the freedom struggle. Filatova and Davidson (2013).

Although there are differing views on the role played by the ANC in the development of SA foreign policy, one supports the views by various scholars and researchers, as Zondi (2012) contends, that not much recognition was given to the role played by ANC government in international relations as some argue that it was only in 1994 when SA entered the international forum.

Further, Ndlovu, (2012) in his presentation on "Historical antecedents of the ANC's internationalism", upholds that the ANC has largely influenced SA foreign policy even though the ANC had no formal policy to that effect.

However, the release of Nelson Mandela from prison in 1990 was ground breaking as he took off from where other ANC stalwarts had left off moving forward with the objectives of shaping up SA foreign policy into what it is today.

From 1994 to 1998, the SA foreign policy approach under the Mandela administration was based on normative principles, whilst on the other side South Africa was viewed to be autocratic in its engagements with other African countries. Southhall (2008). A speech by Nelson Mandela, pronounced how the ANC had initiated the process of developing policies which would again put SA to the global picture in consultation with other political parties. Mandela identified six (6) pillars within which SA foreign policy should be embedded for SA involvement in international affairs. These pillars involved the vital issues of human rights, peace, promotion of democracy, justice and respect for international law, interest for Africa and interdependent economic development. He encouraged the tradition of diversity, calling for unity, economic cooperation and that Southern Africa should be at the centre of SA Foreign policy as they were previously economically affected by the repressive SA government. He warned South Africa to guard against hegemony, and in cases of conflict advised that diplomacy should be applied through mediation, facilitation and arbitration processes. Foreign Affairs (1993). The Mandela speech was supported by the work of Aldene and Le Pere (2003) as they refer to the declaration that was made by Mandela in 1994, “that human rights will be the light that guides our foreign policy, set the tone for the shape and conduct of South African diplomacy in the aftermath of apartheid”. Aldene and Le Pere, (2003: 12).

With regard to South Africa and international security, Africa has been marred with internal conflict and United Nations was viewed as failing to get the support it deserves to achieve its objectives. Bischoff (2006) noted that since 1990 UN peacekeeping challenges were escalating in the African peace support operations context. Whilst Africa is expected to solve its security problems, others recognised South Africa as an “important middle power of the South” and felt obliged to play a leading role in peace-building processes.

For example, Bischoff outlines instances where the SA foreign policy was seen to be “playing a leading role in shaping Africa’s new approach to security” as she was requested to contribute towards maintenance of peace and post conflict reconstruction programmes in Angola, Namibia and Mozambique, been serving in OAU conflict resolution mechanism and played “preventive and crisis diplomacy role within the region, negotiated the transition process from “ Mobuto to Kabila regime”, development of White Paper on Defence in 1997 leading to the participation of South African National Defence Force(SADF) in multi-national peacekeeping exercises and African Union peace missions amongst others. ”Bischoff (2006:10)

3.3. The evolution of South African Foreign Policy post 1994

South Africa foreign policy like its diplomacy has been evolving. Muller (1998) recounts foreign policy developments since 1994 and supports Oliver, and Geldenhuys who hold the view that with new ANC –dominated Government of National Unity in power, has to take over from old South African foreign policy and bring about new culture and strategies. Post 1994, South Africa’s foreign policy has drawn criticism from various analysts in the manner she managed its foreign policy especially “on human rights and good governance”. Lipton (2009) focuses on various examples where South Africa was viewed to be serving its interests, for example: during her tenure at United Nations Security Council, she was seen to be supporting some of the world human rights abusers in the world, the move from Mandela’s idealism to Mbeki’s realism and SA stance with Zimbabwe whilst Mbeki was a Facilitator, on the contrary Mugabe was not trusting Mbeki with his quiet diplomacy among others.

Habib (2008:9) also highlights various debates by diplomatic corps and academy as others see SA as a “pivotal state, as distinct from a regional power....and should continue to be one of partnership” whilst he and Selinyane contend that SA should be recognised as regional power and “be allocated the responsibility of stabilising and underwriting the development of the continent”. Whilst there are contrasting debates about SA foreign policy, Landsberg (2012) made comparison as to whether there is stability or any change in the foreign policies of the Mbeki and Zuma governments.

Landsberg compared Mandela administration with that of Mbeki especially Mandela's foreign policies, and argue that Mbeki was "more internationalist than that of Mandela". Mbeki's diplomatic tools were "negotiations, diplomacy and soft power" and had a drive to change South Africa's foreign policy .Further, his advocacy for the concept of African Renaissance became popular within African continent in support of former statesmen like Kwame Nkrumah and Mandela. Alden and Soko, (2005). They define African Renaissance as "..... common vision in favour of African unity and solidarity, African development and renewal and an end to the marginalisation of our continent" (2005: 383). Landsberg further compared Mbeki administration with that of Zuma and conclude that although his ideas in respect of SA foreign policies were similar to those of Mandela and Mbeki, his administration was seen to be weak ,and this greatly affected internal and foreign policy.

Although, there are challenges facing South Africa's foreign policies, it is worthwhile to highlight its foreign policy successes and best practices. In projecting South Africa's foreign policy, the Department of international Relations and cooperation (DIRCO) has a mandate to develop policies and perform international obligations in line with SA Legislative Framework. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 is the Supreme law of the Republic and in terms of Chapter 11(201) (2), the President is responsible for SA foreign policy with various responsibilities including the signing of international agreements.

The Minister of International Relations and Cooperation is responsible for the development, promotion and implementation of SA Foreign policy in consultation with the President. The Diplomatic Immunities and Privileges Act 37 of 2001 as amended by Act 35 of 2008, is another piece of legislation which guides DIRCO in its day to day interaction with her international counterparts. This Act obligates SA as a receiving State to protect the interests of her counterpart and "developing their economic, cultural and scientific relations. The African Renaissance and International Cooperation Fund, Act 51 of 2000 also supports enhancement of the African agenda. The Act provides for the establishment of this cooperation fund for SA to support other countries, particularly in Africa and all six pillars for SA foreign policy are contained in the act.

After SA attained democracy in 1994, there was increased deliberation on the transition of SA Foreign policy. The 1996 discussion document on Foreign Policy for South Africa was one of the base documents which were widely debated. In aligning it with the SA Constitution, various challenges were identified like regional security threats, issues of human rights and economic imbalances which were to be addressed. The economic development of Africa and SA disposition towards African peace processes was emphasised by the former President Thabo Mbeki in 1995 and in a 2009 address by President Zuma on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of South African peacekeeping in Africa. Presidency (2011)

Further, in 1994, the SA government through the Presidency developed a strategy to integrate SA into the global settings. The 10 year Review report from Presidency highlights the progress made by the government in international relations especially on sustainable peace and development in Africa as another key objective. For example, the 2009-2014 MTSF outlines SA main priorities in global relations as that of “Pursuing African advancement and enhanced international cooperation”.... (Presidency 2009:34). The Medium Term Strategic Framework is a five year government blueprint which sets out strategic commitments with clear activities and targets linked to budget and national, provincial and local government have to align their plans accordingly. Presidency (2009). If one considers the information contained in SA Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) document, DIRCO Strategic Plans, reports and policy documents confirms that the SA national interests are deeply rooted in the six pillars of Nelson Mandela and SA Constitution.

In 2010, as peace and development are interlinked the IRPS Cluster was changed to International Cooperation, Trade and Security (ICTS) Cluster to also deal with trade related matter. The Cluster has its own service delivery outputs under Outcome 11 on “Creating a better South Africa and contributing to a Better and Safer Africa in a better world”. This Outcome 11 which was signed by the President is to ensure enhanced African agenda through “trade and investment, regional economic integration and ensuring peace and stability”. Presidency (2012:29)

The 2015-2020 DIRCO Strategic Plan also reaffirms SA's continued support to regional and continental processes in areas of development and furthering foreign policy engagement with Africa's Agenda 2063. SA Foreign policy is largely aimed at consolidating its global economic, political and social relations. Regional integration and strengthening Africa agenda is also the cornerstone of SA Foreign policy. Since 1994, SA has been actively involved in bilateral and multilateral platforms up to levels of signing agreements to enhance areas of cooperation. For instance, at UN, AU and SADC level, SA is actively involved in advocating regional and continental process .DIRCO (2014)

The SA National Development Plan 2030, Chapter 7 puts South Africa in the Region and the World and its objective is to strengthen her diplomatic presence, implementation of regional integration, and consolidating Africa South-South relations. The NDP also serves as SA diplomatic milestone which has been exhibited in various forums AU, SADC, BRICS, UN, and world economic summits. Presidency (2013). South Africa also has Draft White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Policy; 2012 which was approved by the Cabinet on 5 December 2012. The Draft White Paper outlines the responsibilities of the Department of International Relations and Cooperation as the key advisory body on foreign policies and a role player in the coordination of SA international relations and cooperation. DIRCO (2012).

The speech by Minister Nkoana-Mashabane, then Minister of International Relations and Cooperation in 2010 affirms the commitment by SA in safeguarding peace and development in the African continent. She mentioned six pillars of SA national interest emanating from 1993 speech of Nelson Mandela where amongst others; she acknowledged the issue of peaceful resolution of conflict which has to be an aspiration for all nations. Nkoane (2010).

SA Government departments also developed policies that are aligned with SA foreign policy and this include among others; The South African White Paper on Defence which was sanctioned by Parliament in 1996 and Defence Review document of 2015, which was endorsed by the Cabinet. The White Paper on Defence was an initial engineering instrument which changed pre 1994 defence relations between South Africa and its neighbouring countries. DOD (1996).

The key objective of the White Paper on Defence and South African Defence Review document is for promoting peace and security at regional and continental level. According to the Minister of Defence and Military Veterans in 2015, Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, the role of the Defence Review contributes to continental democracy and supporting South Africa's international responsibilities. The strategic objectives of the SA Defence Review documents were aligned with SA Constitution and emphasis was enhanced support of Africa's Agenda. For example, the deployment of SA forces to guard SADC Maritime area against piracy and participation in continental peace support operations is to secure regional economic interests. SANDF (2015).

In 2015, the Institute of Global Dialogue also developed a handbook, which outlines developments in SA Foreign policy from 1994-2014. It supported the views by Nelson Mandela in his 1993 as this Speech paved the way in shaping the future of SA foreign policy. The subsequent statements by the Presidents of SA, Ministers and Deputy Ministers of International Relations and Cooperation reiterate the commitment by SA government towards peace and development in Africa. The Minister of International Relations and Cooperation's public lecture on SA Foreign policy in 2012 shared about the "present and future" of SA Foreign policy and affirmed how SA reclaimed her position in global in defending her national interests. The focus areas in her lecture were mediation, peacebuilding and post –conflict reconstruction and development. SA was then a member of UN Security Council, the African Union Peace and Security Council, SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security and the election of Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as the Chairperson of AU Commission. IGD (2015).

Ubuntu Magazine on SA Foreign Policy portrays SA successes as she was readmitted to UN in 1994, hosting of international events on South African soil, serving as non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council between 2007 to 2008 and 2011 to 2012 respectively. These are the platforms SA used to promote African Agenda of peace and security. In all multilateral platforms, SA continued support of democratic values at regional, continental and at global levels, features prominently in all her speeches, and remains resolute to cite successes and sharing best practices.

3.4. South Africa's commitment to peace and security in Africa

Although there were various criticism levelled against South Africa, especially after its deployment of South African National Defence Force (SANDF) to post election crisis in the Kingdom of Lesotho in 1998, SA remained committed to support continental peace efforts. Selinyane (2008). Since 1994, South Africa has been seen to be playing critical role in Africa peace and security agenda and its foreign policy has been the driving force for peace diplomacy in Africa. Consolidation of regional integration in Southern Africa was viewed to be the priority of the South African government and this was done through the development of the common regional policy to benefit all within the region. "The focus on Southern Africa and the consolidation of continental African Unity and progress constitute the key pillars of South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy "(Zondi 2012:6). He affirmed the ideals of Nelson Mandela that SA foreign policy remained resolute to bring peace and political stability in Southern Africa. He depicts how SA implements her foreign policy priorities through enhanced cooperation on areas of regional stability and economic development, the harmonization and integration of security and political policies for interdependent region remained high in SADC countries agenda.

Post 1994, the SA's foreign policy drastically changed as the main focus was on peace and security and development in African countries. In dealing with other African countries, South Africa wanted to contribute positively and adopted a consensus approach in their political and security commitments as they wanted make a break from the approach of the previous apartheid government. The newly adopted consensus- approach brought some hope and enhanced cooperation through bilateral and multilateral engagement within Regional economic communities (Lalbahadur 2015).

In line with the SA Constitution, South Africa remained committed to implementing her foreign policy as she has continuously contributed by paying her annual financial contribution to AU and SADC as well as deploying personnel to these international organisations to strengthen and support their structures. South Africa has been involved with peace support processes in African countries under various mandates UN, AU and SADC either as Facilitators, Mediators or Peacekeepers. Other than DIRCO, there are other government Departments that are playing a role in peace support operations like

Department of Defence and South African Police Service. SA Members have been deployed to Burundi, Central African Republic(CAR), Democratic Republic of Congo(DRC), Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and Zimbabwe among others. The White Paper on South African Participation in international Peace Missions of 1999 focuses on matters of peace and security and terms on which South Africa participates in peace missions. The framework for SA's participation in global peace efforts "is premised on the country's foreign policy objectives which are guided by the country's vision of a better South Africa, a better Africa and a better World. (DIRCO 3:1). DIRCO continues to play coordinating and advisory role on the processes of deployment of Security Personnel. IGD (2014)

From 1998 to 2008 there were changes in SA foreign policy as Thabo Mbeki's administration shifted to multilateralism approach to address the negative view of South Africa's supremacy associated with Mandela administration. Southall (2008). Also in strengthening regional security agenda for peace, SA was involved in strengthening SADC ability to ensure peace and stability in order to enable development to happen in southern Africa. SA played a role in the establishment of SADC Organ on Politics Defence and Security Cooperation, participating in the development of legal instruments like Protocol on Politics Defence and Security Cooperation, which was later signed in Blantyre, Malawi on 14th August 2001 by SADC Heads of State or Government, and former President Thabo Mbeki signed it then as the President of South Africa. The Protocol outlines the determination of SADC Heads of States and Governments to "achieve solidarity, peace and security in the Region through close co-operation on matters of politics, defence and security". SADC (2001:1). This is further affirmed by its objectives as contained in Article 2 (2) (a) against regional instability either from intra or inter-state conflict. SADC (2001).

Further SA involvement in the policy development like the Strategic Indicative Plan (SIPO) for the Organ on as well as secondment of SA personnel to SADC Secretariat in Gaborone was one of SA example in repositioning itself in regional space. SADC (2005). SA commitment in ending conflicts and rebuilding post conflict societies was also on the support of SADC Collective defence Pact.

The SADC Mutual defence pact confirms the commitment to the SADC Treaty and Protocol on Organ on Politics Defence and Security and resolved to unite their efforts towards collective self-defence and the preservation of peace and stability .This Mutual Defence Pact was signed at Dar es Salaam in August 2003 by SADC Heads of States or Governments. Article 2 of the Mutual Defence Pact provides mechanisms for mutual cooperation in defence and security. SADC (2004).

To build regional collective security, South Africa seconded military and police personnel to SADC as part of a planning element for the establishment of SADC Standby Force.SA was instrumental in the development of SADC Peace Support operations documents and prior to the launch of SADC Standby Force in Lusaka Zambia in 2006. South Africa contributed the biggest contingent of Military, Police and Civilians for the drill although this was seen by other SADC member states as SA's show of force. SADC (2006).

South Africa hosted various peace support operations, field training exercises (FTX) with the aim of testing SADC and AU status of force readiness in areas of peacekeeping. The SADC Standby Force FTX code named Exercise "Golfinho" was conducted in 2009 with the participation of Military, Police and Civilian personnel from SADC Members states. Pretoria News (2009). Further to operationalize the African Union Standby Force, South Africa hosted FTX code named Armani Africa 2 in 2015 and this was a multidimensional exercise with member's contribution from AU Regional Economic Communities. During the closing ceremony, President Zuma in his speech affirms SA commitment to the contribution of silencing the guns within the continent in 2020 and contends that this was the way Africa demonstrates its seriousness on peace and security in the continent. DIRCO (2015).

With regard to peacekeeping, mediation and reconstruction, South Africa has been successful in facilitating and mediating in peace processes within the region. For example, in 2007, SADC formally appointed former President Thabo Mbeki to be a mediator in the Republic of Zimbabwe between Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

This mediation process led to the holding of the elections in 2008, which were questioned leading to an even longer process of mediation that led to a government of national unity and elections in 2013 that concluded the transition. Gwinyayi, *et al* (2012).

After Zuma became president in 2009, there was continuity of SA's involvement in international arena. In 2014 South African was the Chairperson of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation and also played a facilitation role in resolving the unstable political situation in Lesotho in 2014. The SADC Double Troika Summit plus Zimbabwe in its meeting held in Pretoria, Republic of South Africa mandated the deployment of SADC Politics, Defence and Security Observer Mission (SOMILES) in Lesotho and then Deputy President Dr Cyril Ramaphosa was appointed as a facilitator since September 2014. SADC (2015). The establishment of DIRCO Mediation Support Unit and Getrude Shope Annual Dialogue Forum on conflict resolution and peace-making in Africa is another important platform to augment preventative diplomacy in areas of peace resolutions. DIRCO (2016).

3.5. Constitutional and legal framework for police diplomacy in South Africa.

Prior to 1994, the South African police had a long history of playing an extensive role in international operations though their involvement was for different reasons compared to post 1994 diplomatic engagements. The SA colonial policing system was criticised worldwide; and various scholars, researchers and analyst labelled the SAP force as one of the most notorious and outdated forces in the world which was used as the coercive arm of the colonial government. The policing methods of the colonial police were outdated, and this called for reform and restructuring of the old force to legitimize the police and transform them into an organisation that would rise above its colonial foundations. Brewer (1994). These views were supported by Suzanne (1997) as she describes SA Police force left by apartheid government to be heartless, and with no integrity. They were alleged to be lacking basic policing capability required in contemporary police environment hence there was global demand for its transformation from dictatorial to democratic rule.

The work of Watson (1999) describes the disappointing behaviour of the police force as their policing was still focusing on tormenting black people and torture to extract information from suspects was the order of the day. In the early 1990's the SAP was still militarised and could not effectively and efficiently combat and investigate crime as they were perceived to be corrupt and still using outdated policing methods. They were seen to be safeguarding the interests of the white minority and protecting them against crime and political disorder as opposed to protecting all the inhabitants of South Africa. There was no respect for human rights and the police did not follow due process when dealing with suspects. However, according to Rauch (2000), police reform started in 1991 due to worldwide criticism, political changes and crime trends. These changes brought about the signing of "National Peace Accord" in 1991 which was later made into law to address political violence.

Although the international communities had interest in capacity building, and basic human rights training in the SAP, the greatest challenge was how to influence this transformation given that the SAP were isolated from domestic and international forums. The African National Congress and the international communities wanted to see a transformed SAP from a force which was specialising in "riot control" and "political suppression" to a credible one that could resolve crime while respecting human rights. They came up with various mechanisms to ensure police accountability and respect for the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the legislation governing the police in order to be internationally accepted police professionals. It is noteworthy to mention that then SAP did not have its own foreign policy document, even when they were deployed outside the borders for international interventions, they would fall under the mandate of SA Defence Act. SAPS (1988).

3.5.1. The legislative Framework for police diplomacy in South Africa

The SA political transition from apartheid to democracy brought some transformation to South African Police Service as they were to conform to the new democratic policing values. The new Government of National Unity under the leadership of President Mandela in 1994 wanted to see a transformed force and this was also the priority of the African National Congress. The post-1994 elections brought various changes as Interim Constitution of 1994 served as a guide to democratic policing and brought about a new order for the SA Police force under a new Police Act.

The force was reorganised and transformed from a force to a service in order to emphasise a cordial relationship with citizens as opposed to its antagonistic and hostile attitude to citizens in the past. Since April 1995 SAP was formally changed to the South African Police Service. The Act also made provision for the restructuring of Police Service. As the campaign for legitimate police was also intensifying globally, there were other changes, like the rank structures, new insignia, change of colours of the uniform and cars up to the amalgamation of former homeland police and incorporation of former liberation forces to the new South African Police Service. Innes (1999) The South Africa's National Development plan also calls for disciplined police members. The NDP criticises the remilitarisation of police service in 2010 and viewed that as the contributory factor to recent spates of police brutality. Chapter 12 calls for police commitment towards building safer communities in 2030. Presidency (2012). Although these changes can be viewed to be only applicable at national level, the author contends that these changes have effect on how SAPS interacts at international level. Based on the interviews conducted by the author, after 1994, the South African Police Service's international relations activities were perceived to be secondary functions. Although, there has been gradual transformation after 2000, the focus was still on the area of combating transnational organised crime and their diplomatic ties were heavily relying on the West. There is no specific legislation that guides SAPS in its international relations however; SA Constitution remains supreme law which guides SAPS in its domestic and international engagements. In terms of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*, Section 205(3), SAPS primary objectives is "to prevent, combat and investigate crime."

Although the SA Constitution is silent about SAPS involvement in international obligations, their international relations are guided by Section 201 of SA Constitution under defence political responsibility. The Section provides that “Only the President, as head of the national executive, may authorise the employment of the defence force . . .in cooperation with the police service....in fulfilment of an international obligations” (SA Constitution 1996 :117). Based on the provision of the aforesaid section, the Minister of Police remains responsible for the development of policing policies and monitors its implementation. The South African Police Act, 1995(Act 68 of 1995) Chapter 8 (24)1 empowers the Minister to make regulations regarding the exercising of police powers and other functions.

Whilst SAPS has partnered with INTERPOL and SARPCCO in the area of combating and investigating transnational crimes, SAPS Strategic Plans briefly make provision for these regional and global cooperation. For example SAPS 2005-2010 outlines areas of cooperation between SAPS and their counterparts from SADC member states and this includes the prevention of proliferation of small arms and light weapons into the region. The 2005 plan also included the conducting of the joint operations between South African Police Service and Republic of Mozambique Police for illegal arms destruction. SAPS (2005)

SAPS’ international policing has also been relying on existing bilateral and multilateral agreements between South Africa and other nation-state countries. These multilateral agreements paved way for SAPS to participate in international peace support operations. South African government through Department of International Relations and Cooperation has committed itself to assist the Government of Sudan through the Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development programmes. In 2005 an agreement was signed by the Government of South Africa to deploy Police Officers to Sudan, and this was done in Support of AU Peace and Security initiatives for operationalisation of African Standby Force which South Africa is also signatory to those agreements For example SAPS involvement in peace support operations started in 2005 after Cabinet Decision ordered the deployment of SAPS members to Darfur, Sudan, for peace support operations.

This period coincides with former President Thabo Mbeki tenure as the President of the Republic of South Africa and SA contribution towards Africa peace processes was high in SA Foreign policy agenda. SAPS have had to reposition and align its activities with SA Foreign Policy in peacekeeping. Since 2005, there has been an increased demand for SAPS participation in peace processes and this led to development of SAPS National Instruction on Participation to Peace Missions SAPS (2011). The National Instruction gives guidance on how SAPS should manage its participation in international peace mission in line with the SA vision of “Creating a Better South Africa, and Contributing to a Better and Safer Africa and a Better World”. This policy was signed by the National Commissioner of Police in 2012 focuses on administrative responsibilities to be adhered to; for instance it outlines the responsibilities of the National Contact point for peace mission which is the Section of External Deployment. This office coordinate and communicate with DIRCO, UN, AU, SADC, other regional organisation Research and Training Institutions in respect of peace mission. The policy prescribes prerequisites like passing the pre-selection standards as prescribed by mandating authority like UN, AU or SADC and even undergoing medical examination.

In 2005 the concept document on police participation in peace missions was approved by the Cabinet with the aim of responding to conflict in a manner that will be timely and efficient. This necessitated SAPS to have trained Individual Police Officers (IPOs) and a Formed Police Unit (FPU) for deployment to mandated peace missions. Currently SAPS has pledged police officers to the SADC Standby Force. SAPS (2005)

This National Instruction provisions on SAPS participation in peace missions are aligned with to those of SA White Paper on International Peace Missions with the aim of relieving the plight of those African countries who are struggling in resolving conflict. In support of SA national interest within the continent, SAPS commitment to assist in international, regional and sub-regional efforts has yielded positive results in ensuring the maintenance of effective and impartial law and order, as well as the protection of human rights as they have been deployed as unarmed police service to Darfur, Sudan and South Sudan.

The South African Police Service thus provides assistance, for multilateral international efforts when authorized by the Cabinet to assist in such missions. The SAPS support the efforts of the United Nations (UN) the African Union (AU) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) by making an appropriate contribution to peace missions.

The Department of International Relations plays a pivotal role in guiding SAPS in its international obligations and DIRCO Foreign policy interests are the base documents. There are policy and institutional parameters within which these international obligations are accomplished. SAPS international involvements are further guided by set national prescripts like South African Guidelines on the Measures for the Enhanced Co-ordination of South Africa's International Engagements (2007). This document serves as a guide regarding South Africa's participation in international meetings, conferences, and summits. Revised South African White Paper in International Peace Mission (2011), Draft White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Policy (2012) guide SAPS international obligations in support of "promoting the peaceful resolution of conflicts, the creation of an environment that is conducive for sustainable development and commitment to rules-based multilateralism". DIRCO, (2011:4.2.7)

Some policies are for monitoring and evaluation purposes and these include among others Consultative Forum of International Relations (CFIR 2010:5), International Cooperation on Trade and Security Guidelines (2011). On areas of multilateral engagement, according to the SADC Protocol on Politics Defence and Security Cooperation's Article (2) the objectives include the development of common foreign policy and focus on areas of common interests of SADC member states, the promotion of regional co- ordination and co-operation on the matters of defence and security. Further emphasis is on the close cooperation among police to address cross border crime

At sub-regional level, SADC Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security (2003) serves as policy document for the management of defence and security international obligations among the SADC member states. During the review of Strategic Indicative Programme for the Organ (SIPO) document SAPS participated in development processes as there was no section that specifically dealt with police. On

areas of fighting transnational crime, the police international co-operation is managed by Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (SARPCCO) to which SAPS is affiliated. SADC International policing is also guided by SARPCCO Constitution (2011), Article 4 outlines the objectives of the regional policing mechanism and their responsibilities.

Other than engaging with regional and sub-regional bodies, SAPS also liaise with Interpol which is an International Criminal Police Organization – ICOP. Interpol is the world largest international police organization of which SAPS has been a member since 1948. Interpol is instrumental in facilitating international police cooperation. Interpol's Constitution (1956: Article 2) illustrates how its members should engage each other as this will enhance co-operation and co-ordination on international policing.

Since diplomacy is a global concept, regional and sub-regional entities have to develop proactive tools for maintenance of peace and stability. Article 4 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union: 2000, illustrates how AU Member states should address elements of their differences other than resorting to use of arms. This Constitutive Act also serves as a guide to The Protocol Relating to the Establishment of The Peace and Security, Council of the African Union (2002). This Protocol also outlines various principles pertaining to peaceful resolutions disputes and conflicts. It also demonstrates range of components of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and Solemn Declaration on a Common African Defence and Security policy, which also serves as guide to police participation in AU multilateral engagements.

SAPS is involved in other peacebuilding processes in Africa in line with the AU Policy on Post Conflict, Reconstruction and Development (PCRD) of 2006. This policy advocates assistance from AU Member states to support countries and region that are emerging from conflict. This assistance is through development of policies among others, and this strengthens peace and sustainable development. For instance, SAPS assistance towards the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Sudan, South Sudan and Somalia has been largely guided by the PCRD Document, mandating authority and Cabinet approval before deployment. SAPS (2014).

3.6. The South African Police Service Agreements on police cooperation

The South African Police Service has signed various cooperation agreements with her international counterparts. In 2015 and 2017, the author has interviewed members from SAPS and were those that are responsible for the Development of International Agreements on police cooperation, which included multilateral and bilateral agreements and memoranda of understanding (MOU). The members outlined the procedures and processes to be followed regarding the conclusion of Agreements as prescribed by the Department of International Relations and Cooperation.

In most instances, proposals for police cooperation agreements originate largely from deliberations held during Bi-national Commissions, which are chaired by the President and Joint Commissions chaired by the Minister of International Relations and this occurs between the Republic of South Africa and other nations. Other than Head of States and Government deliberations, there are other diplomatic discussions that take place between representatives of South Africa and other countries, as well as from draft proposals that other countries submit through the diplomatic channel.

Since the Minister of Police is an approving authority, SAPS can proceed and negotiate with the relevant authorities of their international counterparts. During these negotiations, there are areas of cooperation that have to be agreed upon, as some will introduce new items in the agreements leading to counterproposal until consensus is reached between SAPS and its foreign counterpart. During the negotiations, the Department of International Relations and Cooperation, as the coordinating body, gives guidance up to final stages of the concluding of an Agreement. Further there are legal instruments that have to be adhered to as these procedures are outlined in Chapter 5 of the Manual on Executive Acts of the President of the RSA and section 231 of the Constitution of the RSA, 1996.

Further, there are other crucial Stakeholders involved like the Office of the Chief State Law Adviser of the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (DOJ&CD) and the Office of the Chief State Law Adviser (International Law) within the Department of International Relations and Cooperation as they are the final certifying department before

the approval by the President and in case of non-binding MoU President authorises a specific Minister to sign the document.

Police Cooperation Agreements are regarded as technical/administrative agreements in terms of section 231(3) of the Constitution of the RSA, 1996. Up to date there are twenty (20) bilateral Police Cooperation Agreements at continental and Global Level and two (2) Multilateral at SADC which is SARPCCO and at AU Level AFRIPOL. DIRCO is the custodian of South African foreign policy, the support from the Political and International Law Desks are essential to the entire process.

3.7. Nature and Scope of the Cooperation with SAPS International Counterparts

Although there are specific areas of cooperation relating to combating transnational crime, there are other fields that are general in nature, the purpose being to provide a broad framework for cooperation regarding sharing of information to combat cross-border crimes. Other areas are on donor assistance programmes for capacity building for SAPS members. To mention few, there is another project between the French Government and the South African Police Service that was signed in 2009 with the aim of fighting transnational crime.

3.7.1. Reform and Restructuring of South Sudanese Police

Following the signing of a Cooperation Agreement between South Africa and Sudan in 2003, a Framework Business Plan was developed and signed by the Norwegian Ambassador, SA National Treasury and SAPS. The purpose of the Plan/programme was for the Government of Norway and South Africa to support the reform in the post-conflict reconstruction and development of South Sudan and this was before it attained its independence on July 2011. In 2004, with the help of Norwegian Government SAPS assigned police Training Experts which were co-located with the members of South Sudanese Police Service (SSPS) for capacity building. This programme was viewed to be effective and efficient process of imparting policing knowledge and skills from SAPS to SSPS members through advising, mentoring and training. The agreed action plan entailed various responsibilities like advising on policy development, training in the area of forensic investigation, human rights, community policing.

They assisted them in the development of Train-the Trainer module with a view of promoting future and sustainable local ownership of policing operations. This agreement was built on the principle of cooperation and the transfer of knowledge was for the mutual benefits for SAPS and SSPS.

3.7.2. Multilateral Agreement in respect of cooperation and mutual assistance in the field of crime combating.

According to SADC (2017) The Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Co-operation Organisation (SARPCCO) is a Regional Police Chiefs' arm which was established in 1995 with the aim of preventing, investigating and combatting cross - border crimes. Regional Police Chiefs in their international cooperation are guided by Multilateral Agreement called SARPCCO Agreement. This agreement, between states in the Southern African region was completed on 1 October 1997 and was operationalised on 29 July 1999. The agreement was drafted in such a manner that it, together with the SARPCCO constitution, strengthens regional cooperation, provides a basis for the activities of that organization and joint operations. South African Police is a signatory of the SARPCCO Multilateral Cooperation Agreement on Combating Crime within the SADC Region. This agreement serves as an international police cooperation tool whereby SAPS members constantly liaise with its international counterparts to address transnational crimes. For example SAPS members can be assisted during their investigation by their international counterparts.

3.8. Conclusion

This chapter used descriptive literature in defining foreign policy and evolution of the SAPS diplomacy. It briefly analysed different government roles after 1994; from Mandela, Mbeki and to Zuma administration. It outlined various actors of diplomacy from state to non-state actors. There are opposing views by researchers and scholars on the motive behind differing government stance in addressing regional political instability, however, it became evident that this is all about national interests which have to be protected.

The chapter explore SA foreign policy in line with regional context of Southern Africa, its relations with the West and international organisations amongst other. Whilst criticism continued, SA remained resolute in sharing its successes and best practises globally. With regard to police diplomacy context, the SAPS Act is not explicit about SAPS involvement in international Relations. Whilst SAPS aligned its international activities with SA foreign policy, it is clear that it is reactive to the needs of particular mandating authority as most of the time they rely on SANDF initiative when it comes to peace support operations. Also if one considers White Paper on Defence, there is clear delineation between military and political roles, whereas SAPS policy is not clear.

There is no internal integrated foreign policy document that guides its international obligations, the existing National Instruction on external deployment focuses on administrative prescripts. Having considered and analysed SA and SAPS policy perspective, the author's views are that the SA national interests are deeply rooted in the terms of SA Constitution and it is about what the government has to do to achieve the good for all and the good for its neighbours. The following chapter will examine the operational framework of SAPS diplomacy in order to establish their role from 1994 to 2016.

CHAPTER 4

THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE DIPLOMACY

4.1. Introduction

The concept of police diplomacy is still underdeveloped, and even though there are diplomatic roles and responsibilities that are performed by police, these are still categorised under international policing not police diplomacy.

According to Deflem(2004), there are various identified processes that can influence international policing, and these include structural and operational conditions. These are viewed as interlinked and necessary for national police to operate beyond national parameters. These structural conditions are deemed to enhance cooperation without police agencies being dependent on their capital for guidance, however, this does not mean they are not accountable to their governments in respect of their cooperation.

This chapter will analyse the operational context of police diplomacy of South Africa with a view to understanding its roles and links to SA foreign policy. Although SAPS involvement briefly covers period before 1994, much focus is from 1994, up to the period between 2005 and 2017. The period 2005 is considered crucial since this coincides with SAPS involvement in the multilateral meetings with regional organisations as well as participating in peace missions. Since the purpose of this chapter is to outline the international activities of SAPS, it will also highlight those obligations if any, which are similar to those of defence diplomacy of SANDF.

4.2. The South African Police Service and International Related matters before 1994

With regard to operational context of SAPS diplomacy, there is no specific literature which clearly outlines police diplomacy or which international activities constitute police diplomacy. According to Du Plessis (2008:89) diplomacy is “the traditional, peaceful, and most direct instrument of foreign policy, practised by official representatives authorised to act on behalf of the governments of states or other recognised entities”

De Witt (1983:45) asserts that “The history of South Africa has in a similar way mirrored the history of the South African Police.” This notion supports the views by Du Plessis since SAP practices inside and outside the borders of South Africa were tools of the government of the day, and in the same vein, for one to appreciate SAP diplomatic relations, it is essential to briefly reflect on what was practiced by then SAP globally prior to 1994, as these have a bearing to typical diplomacy.

Even though some in South Africa have not recognised the concept of diplomacy yet, one has to appreciate that the former South African Police were involved in various international activities for a very long time. They performed functions outside the borders of South Africa and these activities were similar to those that were practiced by their counterparts from former South African Defence Force. For example, during peace time SAP members would perform their domestic responsibilities under Police Act, and at the same time were expected to assist the South African Defence Force during war time as they would be recruited and deployed under Defence Act. There were various activities that advanced SA national interests through coercive diplomacy.

For example, deployment of SADF and SAP forces in 1939 when SA conquered German forces and took over the South West Africa, the deployment of Police Infantry Brigade in 1941 serving with 2nd Infantry Division of the South African Army in North Africa for active service,(unfortunately the entire Police Brigade was captured and became prisoners of war for 3 years in German and Italian camps), international visits whereby US Head of Police visits SA to observe police actions and to deliver lectures to SAP members, as well as official visit by SAP Commissioner to South America, Argentina and Chile to develop diplomatic ties.

These police diplomatic ties with their counterparts led to SAP participation in the “International Police Exhibition Show in Hanover, West Germany showcasing their investigation methods, being deployed to Southern Africa for various missions as they clandestinely operated in Zimbabwe (former Rhodesia) Tanzania and Zambia for counter-insurgency training and information gathering, assisting in the demining of the landmines which were allegedly planted by SWAPO in Namibia (then South West Africa), and in Mozambique. Dippenaar (1988).

Further, the SAP representation through the appointment of liaison officers in Angola and Mozambique under security branch became apparent in 1990 in support of South African Foreign policy. In 1993 SAP was gradually occupying diplomatic space as they joined the SA Diplomatic Mission in London, and United Kingdom as police attachés. The Police Attaches played ambassadorial roles as they were forced to portray a very good picture about SA political instability ,defending the situation as if everything was under control and manageable and at the same time building confidence and making friends for SA Police. Training and delivering of research papers were part of the exchange programmes. They established good relationship, cooperation leading to the agreement between the two countries to have SAP attaches in Argentina and South Africa. SAPS (2012).

There have been various interactions which strengthened diplomatic relations and these included conferences, summit meetings, telecommunications and Video-conferencing among others to extend communications. Dippenaar (1988). Further, within the police international activities, there are other international responsibilities that are similar to those of defence as they both participate in bilateral and multilateral meetings for ongoing dialogues with other international bodies or countries of importance to SA, focusing on police cooperation. In support of De Witt, one can also argue that these international obligations of the SAP embodied the SA Foreign policies.

4.3. The South African Police Service and International Related Matters post 1994

Post 1994 elections, there was a political transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa and this led to various changes within the Security Forces. Not only did the South African Defence Force change to SANDF, but also SAPS underwent changes; ranging from democratic policing, name change from SAP to South African Police Service (SAPS), shared responsibilities between SANDF and SAPS in fighting transnational organised crime and protection of South African borders; for example; the joint deployment of SANDF and SAPS within SA borders, participation in Joint Permanent Commission on Defence and Security bilateral meetings specifically with Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe counterparts. These bilateral engagements from 2011 were later escalated to Bi-National Commission whereby Heads of States approve the Ministerial recommendations emanating from senior official of Defence, Police and State Security. Although with BNC the focus has shifted a bit from defence and security matter to those of Trade and Industry, however, Public Security matters still form part of their agenda items. SAPS (2012).

Du Plessis(2008) in his article on defence diplomacy outlined South African defence diplomacy activities including foreign military visits and training outside the borders of SA, defence attachés, military exercises to test the operability of the pledged forces, and preventative role during peace keeping among others. Same applied to the South African Police Service as the new era in SA not only brought additional policing responsibilities, but also called for change in SAPS organisational structures, shift from the way SAPS have been interacting with her foreign counterparts as they now became actively involved in the diplomatic field supporting SA Foreign Policy at SADC and at AU Level in pursuit of a common agenda of peaceful and developed Africa.

Having briefly outlined SAPS international involvement in line with SA Foreign policies before and after 1994, and looking at the current SAPS organisational structure which is vast, it is also necessary to identify the structure which is responsible for the coordination of SAPS international related activities.

The literature used in the subsequent headings regarding SAPS foreign relations in this study (where source not provided) emanates from unstructured personal interviews conducted with SAPS members who are relevant in the field of international liaison.

4.4. South African Police Service and international related matter's Organisational structure

The former old South African Police (SAP) had one section responsible for communication and it was a nodal point between SAP and the Department of Foreign Affairs. SAPS (1996). Each environment manages its own international engagements either as deployment to peace support operations or as liaison officers: with DIRCO playing coordinating role between SAPS and its international counterparts.

Post 2000, SAPS has been inundated with overseas invitations, donor funding and sponsorship for training, and realised the need for support mechanism for the Minister and the National Commissioner to fulfil international policing role. It was only in 2007 when an investigation was conducted as SAPS was receiving international sponsorship in support of democratic policing, also putting a strain to Department of National Treasury as they have to constantly give guidance on the management of the funding to SAPS. Currently, SAPS have five (5) different Sections which were approved in 2008 for the coordination of SAPS foreign relations related activities; however it is important to outline the responsibilities of each section.

These sections are: International Liaison Nodal Centre under Communication which is responsible for the coordination of all international liaison related functions including the collecting, organizing and presenting the needs of South African Police Service to Department of International Relations. The National Central Bureau(NCB)-Interpol reporting to Crime Intelligence; responsible for the co-ordination and operationalisation of all international criminal investigation to and from the RSA and serves as official communication channel for exchanging of criminal data information between local and foreign law enforcement agencies.

The office of External Deployment and International Obligations under the Division: Operational Response Service and the main objectives of this Section is to ensure that SAPS has a capacity to participate in peace support operation and other international intervention.

The section External Deployment also co-ordinate outgoing and incoming international visits to SAPS, facilitating the development and signing of cooperation agreements between SAPS and its foreign counterparts in liaison with the Department of International Relations and Co-operation. It also represents SAPS in international multilateral forums like UN, AU, and SADC, offer assistance and mentoring programmes to their foreign counterparts in the planning of upcoming Major Events. For example this office played a leading role in the coordination of security related matters whilst South Africa was hosting World Cricket Tournament, All Africa Games, and World Soccer events hosted by. There is another Section responsible for coordination of International Training and capacity development. This section resorts under the Division Human Resource Development. Lastly, the Diplomatic Policing Unit resorts the under the Division Protection and Security Services, and is responsible for the creation of safe and secure environment for all the Diplomatic corps in the Republic of South Africa and this includes the protection of all Foreign Missions and residence of Heads of Missions in South Africa.(Personal Interviews conducted 31 October 2017).

4.5. South African Police Service International Activities

During the post 1994 period the diplomatic activities of the South African Police became more distinct from those of the military and a lot more complex, covering aspects of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the international community through bodies such as Interpol, the African Union [AU] and the United Nations [UN]. Both the AU and the UN have recognized a special role for the police, as opposed to the military, in peacekeeping missions, specialised diplomatic roles of the police which include monitoring elections and assessing whether conditions can be considered favourable for free and fair elections and specialized roles including assisting towards rebuilding and reforming the host nation's police as dictated by a specific mandate.

4.6. SAPS Participation in peacekeeping missions and peace support operation exercises

Since 1994, South Africa identified areas of cooperation which can contribute towards peace and security at regional and continental levels. Also took into cognisance the evolving nature of the security challenges confronting the international communities especially in Africa, and that peacekeeping mandates are also changing calling for paradigm shift from the notion of only deploying SANDF members to peacekeeping missions. Pursuant to the SA Cabinet decision to deploy SA Contingent to the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS)

In 2005, the South African Police Service became actively involved in the peace support missions in the continent. Although there was no approved structure then, SAPS initiated a process of building capacity to support government initiatives, and the Division: Operational Response Services (External Deployment and International Obligations), assisted by Joint Operational Centre: SANDF and Department of International Relations and Cooperation coordinated the peacekeeping training. In the same year, 2005, SA in fulfilling its commitments towards supporting regional and continental Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development plans pledged one hundred (100) police officials towards African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) for peace support operations. The first deployment to Darfur was (60) police officials in 2005, and this was the only peace support operation mission that was led by Africa; with a Police Component Commissioner; a Brigadier from SA.

It is noteworthy to mention that whilst SAPS members were involved in the peace mission; their mandated policing tasks were progressively becoming intricate. Previously, UN police were deployed primarily as observers, as this was the case with SAPS members, however with contemporary police related mandates, police became involved in assisting towards rebuilding and reforming the host nation's police as dictated by the mandate. According to United Nations Peace keeping Operations policy, the positive signs for the observance of any post conflict peace agreement is the conducive environment for the "Reforming, strengthening or re-establishing law enforcement"

According to UNDPKO definition, Reform is “the change process leading to greater capacity.....Restructuring the internal reorganisation.....Rebuilding Provision of the material and financial means to a concerned law enforcement agencies”. UNPOL (2009:8). For example SAPS members who were deployed in South Sudan were mandated to assist the SSPS in the strengthening their capacity through advising, mentoring, provision of new equipment, assisting with re-establishment of administrative processes and training of South Sudan Police Service.(SAPS:2012).

In 2006, African Union Mission in Sudan was changed to African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operations in Darfur (UNAMID) and mandating authority was from now on from both AU and UN. The hybrid mission was one of the biggest experiment in UN support for regional organisations. United Nations made a request to SA for additional police members to the mission and in support of South Africa’s foreign policy of “contributing to a better and safer Africa in a better world”. In 2008 the Cabinet further approved additional (135) individual police officers for a contract with the United Nations as part of Hybrid Force of the African Union-United Nations Mission in Darfur and to date the pledge still stands at (235) members for UNAMID.SAPS(2019).

As at December 2018, there were sixty (60) SAPS members deployed for peacekeeping in Darfur and they rotate after twelve (12) months. Between 2006 and 2008 members from SAPS and SANDF were deployed as Police Military Observers, until the amendment of the mission mandate as since 2008 they were operating under the same mandate; responsible for the protection of civilians and supporting mediation processes of conflict among the community. UN (2007).

In addition to UNAMID, there was another UN request to SA for the deployment of fifty (50) Police Officers to the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) with the aim of “Strengthening the capacity of the Republic of South Sudan Police Services (SSPS) through advice on policy, planning and legislative development/ as well as training and mentoring in key policing areas”. In February 2012, thirty (30) SAPS members were deployed and by December 2018 there were twenty (20) members in South Sudan. Other than UN Missions, SA has responded to requests by the African Union Peace and Security by deploying two (2) SAPS members to the African Union Mission in Somalia

(AMISOM) in 2013; and a Police Commissioner for the Mission in Somalia is a Brigadier from SAPS plus one Police Advisor. An additional SAPS member of Formed Police Unit (140) has been pledged by SA towards AMISOM.

From 2005-2016, SAPS had been occupying strategic positions of Police Division at peace keeping missions, starting with AMIS, UNAMID, UNMISS and AMISOM. Also towards SADC Standby Force in 2006 SA pledged One Hundred and Forty seven (147) Individual Police officers(IPO) and additional (140) Formed Police Unit, the FPU's are cohesive mobile Police Unit providing support and ensuring the safety and security of mission personnel.

In September 2014, the political and security situation in the Kingdom of Lesotho was not stable and this led to a meeting held in Pretoria on the 15-09-2014 by the SADC Double Troika Summit plus Democratic Republic of Congo and the United Republic of Tanzania Heads of States and Government, whereby they mandated the SADC Organ Troika plus Zimbabwe to urgently deploy a SADC Politics, Defence and Security Observation Mission in Lesotho. The deployment period was for a period of three (3) months which was later reviewed to ensure peace and stability within the Defence and Security establishment. The SADC member state were mandated by Double Troika to assist in the Republic of the Kingdom of Lesotho with the deployment of Observers to monitor adherence with the SADC Roadmap to the parties to the conflict through advice on policy, planning and legislative development as well as training and mentoring in key policing areas. SADC (2014)

Within the SADC region for the 1st time SAPS tested its (FPU) status of readiness by deploying its members to Multidimensional SADC Observer Mission in the Kingdom of Lesotho (SOMILES). Members from SANDF were to be Observers whilst the SAPS (FPU) was to Provide Close Protection to the Identified VIPs and Static Protection to the Key Government Installations as well as at VIPs Residents. Since South Africa has already pledged one Formed Police Unit with one hundred and forty (140) members, SA used the same members on SADC Standby Force who served as rapid deployment capability as they managed to deploy to the Kingdom of Lesotho within 48 hours.

SAPS tenure to SOMILES was a period of six (6) months as the Mission closed in 31 March 2015 after Elections and inauguration of the new Prime Minister. However, hardly three (3) months after the closure of SOMILES, SAPS members were again deployed with members of Defence and other expert Advisor to the Kingdom of Lesotho to form part of SADC Commission of Inquiry in July 2015. The purpose for further deployment was for the investigation of the circumstances surrounding the death of former Commander of the Lesotho Defence Force.(Personal interviews 2017).

4.7. SAPS Participation in Multilateral and Bilateral International Forums

The multilateral and bilateral relations have different categories as some can only focus on political and security cooperation whilst others can be related to trade and industry. There are various factors that motivates nation- states to be engaged in bilateral arrangements whilst others prefer multilateral relations like “historical links, and alliance interests.” Barston (2013) If one analyse these factors and compare with SA diplomatic day to day activities one can conclude that these are the factors that motivates SA government and are the best tools to advance SA foreign policy. Bilateral and multilateral engagements have been and are still instrumental to build up relations, and enhance cooperation amongst regional member states and the security forces.

As government of SA became involved in bilateral and multilateral meetings, summits, Annual General Meetings and conferences, the Security Cluster including SAPS, also became part of these multilateral and bilateral meetings and some being hosted by SAPS and her international counterpart. At the highest level, the Minister responsible for police and defence attend these Joints Permanent Commission on Defence and Security bilateral meetings with the aim of promoting national priorities and regional agendas. For instance, for financial year 2015/2016 there were trilateral meetings between South Africa, Mozambique and Swaziland and three(3) separate bilateral meetings with Mozambique, Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe on issues of security which among others included measures to combat transnational organised crime including smuggling of precious stones, copper, theft of motor vehicles, human trafficking and rhino poaching.(SAPS:2016)

At regional level, participation and hosting of bilateral and multilateral engagements increased and various activities emerged as borders of Southern African region were opened leading to legal and illegal cross border movements in the sub-region. South Africa was mostly affected and this also put a strain on SA policing which necessitated SAPS to be part of the regional structures. In an attempt to protect Southern African region, SADC Police Services and Forces joined hands to deliberate on the issues of police cooperation to fight transnational crimes. This led to the establishment of SARPCCO in 1995 and on the side of SA this was viewed to be positive step as SAPS was considered to be advocating SA government global agenda especially in the security field. Dietrich (2016.)

The role of SARPCCO in the region was recognised at the highest political level as SADC Heads of States and Government in August 2006 during its SADC Summit held in Maseru, Lesotho; took a decision to integrate SARPCCO into SADC Structures under Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation. This move benefited the Regional Security Cluster as SARPCCO was officially recognised by Summit, and has continued its responsibility of cracking down crime ranging from transnational organised crime such as drug smuggling and human trafficking; unlawful possession of firearms, illegal migration and stock theft among others. SADC (2006)

When SAPS became involved in the activities of the SADC Organ, their military counterparts were ahead of them as defence became sub-committee of the SADC Organ in 2001. There have been lot of sharing of information and best practices especially in the area of Peace support operations. The Organ meetings are most important ministerial meetings and are always preceded by senior officials of State Security, Defence and Police. Security forces from fifteen (15) SADC member states convene and deliberate among others to enhance co-operation between security services in preventing and combating cross-border crimes, building national capacity of State parties in preparation for peacekeeping, and assisting those countries affected during disasters. These are still standing agenda items in all SADC Organ meetings.

Other than the above mentioned multilateral SADC meetings which SAPS attend, there are existing bilateral meetings between South African Police Service and Zimbabwe Republic Police. The meeting held on the 22 October 2014 led to the signing of Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Police cooperation between the two Police Services. The objective of this bilateral meeting was to enhance cooperation in the field of law enforcement, the prevention, and combating crime affecting common borders of both countries, and to enhance police cooperation, urging and encouraging continuous participation in fighting cross border crimes. (SAPS Report 2014). Other regional meetings that SAPS become involved with are those sessions for the development of policies, for example with the initial development and the reviewing of SADC Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ (SIPO) document, SAPS was the Chairperson of the Public Security Sector and this is the document which outlines co-operation and collaboration between various Regional Forces /Services responsible for law enforcement in the region. (Personal interviews 2017).

SAPS international activities went beyond SADC region as they started engaging with other police agencies at continental and at global level. Since 2006, have been participating in the African Union Peace Support Operation Division consultative forums meeting for policy development, Specialised Technical Committee on Defence, Safety and Security and becoming a member of AFRIPOL which is the African Union Police Strategic Support Group (African Union Mechanism for Police cooperation established in 2013 which coordinates. The police cooperation at AU level are in areas of “harmonised” strategy to fight crime to strengthen collaboration among police contingent deployed during peace support operations (AU Police Component 2005). Meeting with European Union Police in Brussels 2013 and agreed on exchange of documents, information, to specific areas of training programme, projects and other activities with a view to better achieving joint and complimentary action, co-operation and more effective co-ordination between SAPS and EUROPOL.SA-EU Bilateral Meeting. DIRCO (2013).

4.8. SAPS Participation in the SADC Electoral Observer Mission (SEOM)

Within the SADC region, much has been done in the consolidation of the citizen's right to participate in the political decision-making processes through democratic elections. SADC member states who plan to hold elections will invite SADC to observe those elections and this necessitates various expertise from SADC member states SADC (2005). The South African Government continued support and commitment in enhancing democracy and democratic institutions in the SADC Region has been characterised by the deployment of SAPS Officers to be Election Observers in various SADC member states. For example, in order to deliver on the commitments made by SA government towards assisting DRC to realise free and fair elections as per the requirements of international community.

The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) that was signed in April 2005 between South Africa and Democratic Republic of Congo contributed in paving way to the peaceful democratic presidential elections in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The SAPS in partnership with DRC National Police embarked on a program to develop Units in the Police *Nationale Congolaise* (PNC) through training and capacity building projects in order to reduce incidents and ensuring peace and security before, during and after 2006 Elections. SAPS also deployed ten (10) members in each SADC Electoral Observer Mission, 2008 Botswana, Lesotho, and Zimbabwe, deployed to observe Tripartite Elections September 2011 in the Republic of Zambia, Fourteen (14) SAPS Members were also deployed to observe Presidential and Legislative Elections in DRC from November to December 2011, August 2012 and 2017 Republic of Angola, 2014 Madagascar and Malawi. Further, as part of SADC mediation efforts in finding lasting solutions to Madagascar crisis and since South Africa was the Chair of SADC Organ in 2012, between September and December 2011 and April 2012, SAPS formed part of SADC Security cluster which visited Madagascar regarding the progress made in the implementation of the Roadmap for ending the crisis in Madagascar and their focus was assistance than can be offered towards the reform of Madagascar Law enforcement Agencies including their Gendarmerie. SAPS interviews (2017).

4.9. SAPS Foreign Training and Development Programmes

SAPS have been active member of SARPCCO and have been hosting training workshop. This involvement has bolstered both SA national interests in fighting crime and its foreign policy objectives of promoting regional partnership and cooperation in Africa and SADC as there has been cross-training between SAPS at Regional and Continental level. With the existing Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Cooperation (SARPCCO) agreement, SAPS has been hosting other SADC Member States policing agents on training in line with enhancing regional public security initiatives. For example the hosting of SARPCCO Regional Training Conference from 20-21 October 2015 which was aimed at enabling SADC Police to augment their policing skills and capabilities in order to prevent transnational crimes, training offered to Botswana and Namibian Police Force by SAPS Air-Wing in 2010 and 2011 respectively to support these forces in developing their Air-Wings similar that of Defence Airforce. The other recent training was offered to Namibian Police Force to assist its capacity on VIP Protecting course.

With regard to continued exchange programs SAPS also benefited from other police agencies across the region and at continental level. For example, after 1994 the issue of human rights policing and peace and security training was still a challenge as SAPS was still in transition from apartheid government. Since 1996, Botswana Police has been offering training in collaboration with International Law Enforcement Academy (ILEA) in Gaborone, Botswana, as well as training offered by SADC Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre in Zimbabwe and Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, Accra, Ghana to capacitate SAPS members in Peacekeeping training between 2008 and 2010. The recent SA and China collaboration was sealed by a 30 days Martial Arts training programme offered to SAPS members by Chinese Police in April 2017. SAPS(2017)

4.10. South African Police Service International representation

According to Barston (2013), as part of diplomatic practice, all states have different reasons for establishing diplomatic offices overseas ranging from national identity, communication, bilateral and multilateral coordination and national interests.

Same with South African foreign policy, there have been increased diplomatic representatives overseas including Ambassadors, High Commissioners, Consular Services, military attaches, police advisors as well as police liaison officers. Although, there is available researched material in SA regarding representation and liaison roles of SANDF, not much has been published about SAPS representation in overseas countries. If one considers the roles of police and those of military abroad augment each other as they both focus on security elements. With today's intrastate conflicts becoming complex by emerging threats from among others; organized crimes including trafficking in persons, illicit drugs, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, financial frauds and cyber-crime, defence cannot address these challenges and calls for the involvement of the police to play a role of enhancing cooperation between SA and other countries abroad to counter and investigate transnational organised crime.

The South African Police Service with the assistance from DIRCO conducts needs assessment in the countries of accreditation and based on that deploys Police Attachés. Since 2004, South African Police Service has been representing SA at regional, continental and at global level. Within SADC member states, SAPS has nine (9) Police Liaison Officers, four (4) at continental level and eight (8) globally. They are attached to the SA Embassies, and High Commissions abroad, and perform certain functions; like co-ordination of information on transnational crime, Implementation of South Africa's foreign Policy in countries of accreditation, assisting South African National who are staying or visited foreign country who happened to be victims or perpetrators of crime, provide feedback to South Africa on received requests regarding tracing of wanted suspects, fugitives and maximizing intelligence operational effectiveness through SAPS National Central Bureau(NCB)-Interpol, attending meetings with their counterparts on police relations, and coordination of SAPS members visits to the host countries, the list is not exhausted SAPS Annual Report (2017/2018).

The development cooperation agreement on policing in Sudan between the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development, National Treasury South Africa and the South African Police Service that was signed in November 2009 led to the deployment SAPS member as Project Coordinator to Juba, South Sudan to monitor the

implementation of project is still in existence. One (1) SAPS member is attached in the SA Embassy specifically for training coordination of South Sudanese Police and the rotation is after three(3) years same as Liaison Officers.

Further since 2006, SAPS also seconded Police Officials to the International Organisations as Advisors. A senior police Officer at a Level of Brigadier was deployed to SADC Secretariat: Organ on Politics, Defence and Security cooperation for four (4) years as part of SADC Planning Element for the establishment of the SADC Standby Force. Further from 2011 to 2015 SAPS seconded Logistic Expert Police in support of the operationalization of the Standby Force as the Region was preparing for the hosting of the African Field Training exercise since this was to be a multidimensional FTX in 2015. Currently SAPS has two (2) members seconded to United Nations Police Divisions as Advisors since 2014.

4.11. SAPS International Exchange Visits and cultural events

South African Police Service has long been engaged in exchange programs with her counterparts and has never limited itself to SADC region. These international exchange programs varied from informal meetings, awareness campaigns, cultural events and sports participation. There are various levels that participates in these exchange programmes; from Ministers of Police, Police Chiefs and middle management personnel from other law enforcement agencies. Programmes are usually semi-formal and are used to strengthen bond of friendship; like courtesy calls to SAPS and other police forces reciprocate. For example in 2006 SAPS formed part of a Task Team led by SANDF to Burundi on fact finding mission and during the visit SAPS committed itself to assist the Burundian Police on reform and structuring of their Police force. The two parties agreed that the Burundian Police Commissioner would visit South Africa in future and although there is no formal MoU between SAPS and Burundi police, they in turn visited SAPS in 2010. SAPS Police Magazine(April 2011).

The South African Government and the Government of Equatorial Guinea have signed a General Cooperation Agreement between the two countries. The South African Police Service (SAPS) participated in the joint visit, which was held in August 2009 at the

invitation of the Department of International Relations and Cooperation. Further, an invitation from the Minister of National Security of the Government of Equatorial Guinea was extended to the South African Minister of Police in February 2010. The purpose of the invitation was to establish cooperation between both police agencies and ultimately to strengthen their relationship. The relationship that has been built led to SAPS deployment of One hundred and fifty eight (158) members to Malabo, Equatorial Guinea, during AU Summit which was held 30 June -1 July 2011 to assist with security arrangement.

Further, after South has successfully hosted the Soccer World Cup tournament in 2010, the security measures that were put into place by SA was seen to be the best practice by other policing countries and requested SAPS to mentor other security agencies in the areas of planning for Major Events. There have been previous discussions with State of Qatar on a possibility of an agreement on police matters. The South African Police Service has also received a request from the State of Qatar regarding sharing of information on security measures in preparation for their 2022 FIFA Soccer World Cup.

In partnering with other international police agencies, the South African Police Service Women's Network was affiliated to the International Association of Women Police (IAWP) in 2010. The role of International Association is to unite and raise the profile of Women in Criminal Justice and International Police Agencies, also world renowned for its provisioning of professional police training globally. International Association of Women Police Training Conference was hosted by SAPS 2013 and in 2015 South African Police was invited to attend the similar conference in Canada .(South African Police Service Online)

The international sporting activities have also played a role in enhancing diplomatic ties amongst police forces. During the informal networking like sport, the regional partnership is formed, sharing of ideas and building trust amongst each other. SARPCCO Games has been proved to one of those examples, and this takes place biannually in order to enhance sports and recreation. Since the inception of SARPCCO games in 1999 The South African Police Service has been for the past ten (10) years preparing and nominating police officials to participate in SARPCCO games.

The hosting of SARPCCO Games at SADC Region has been managed by the Terms of Reference which have been approved by the Police Chiefs. The main purpose of these games is to enhance areas of cooperation among SADC Police officials through sport. During these events police members interact, building friendship and sharing policing tradition. The 9th SARPCCO games were hosted by the Kingdom of Swaziland from 22 July -2nd August 2015 and the 2017 Games to be hosted by Lesotho Mounted Police Service(Herald news:2015).

The other informal international engagement is when SAPS through SARPCCO conduct joint and simultaneous operations with SA neighbouring countries conducting awareness campaigns in the fight against drug trafficking, trafficking in person, illegal immigration and all matters that relates to the organisational functions at the Borders.

SAPS further, has an existing MoU with EUROPOL on the development and strengthening of joint cooperation that has been beneficial to both parties, provisioning of professional training expertise and technical assistance where appropriate, inviting each other to participate in professional training, seminars, workshops and attendance of meetings where matters of mutual concerns are to be discussed. SAPS (2013).

6.12. Conclusion

This chapter evaluated operational context of police diplomacy and provides that there are various police related activities that are being performed by SAPS internationally. These diplomatic practises are generic in nature and if are compared with those traditionally performed by their defence counterparts at regional and at continental level, there is a lot of similarities. The manner within which defence cooperates and coordinate with their international counterparts is the same within which SAPS engages with her counterparts. These international activities by SAPS have been viewed to continuously enhance confidence, knowledge and reciprocal understanding in international policing matters including democratic policing and the rule of law to prevent transnational organised crime and support towards peace and security.

Available literature on diplomatic practices refers mostly to defence and other government sectors like Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO), and it becomes difficult to get literature which will clearly spell out that these are police diplomatic responsibilities. SAPS implicit diplomacy is linked with structures like International police (INTERPOL), European Union Police, (EUROPOL) United Nations Police (UNPOL) and African Union Police (AFRIPOL).

From this chapter it is evident that after 1994 there has been added representation by SAPS in countries whereby SA has diplomatic ties with. One can argue that these activities are not happening in vacuity, and whatever role they play outside SA borders is in support of SA foreign policies. This leads to the conclusion that SA Police Diplomacy which has similar roles to defence diplomacy, exists. The following chapter will focus on the evaluation of theoretical, policy and operational framework of police diplomacy to offer recommendations for appropriate SAPS diplomacy.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

In countries where normal policing either breaks down or never existed, the fundamental problem is usually the absence of the rule of law and its replacement by the whims of local strongmen and warlords. The establishment of a semblance of police functions in such environments required grassroots police diplomacy to create a rudimentary culture of a society governed by the rules of law. The purpose of this research was to conduct an exploration of the theoretical, policy and operational context of diplomacy in the South African Police Service perspective. Preliminary and exploratory research confirmed that there is notable absence of literature on police in South Africa and thus justifying this position paper.

It often takes lawlessness involving civilians to trigger a violent confrontation between warring neighbours. In such situations police diplomats are absolutely essential to analyse the cross border situation and suggest ways to anticipate problems and to ensure that criminal incidents can be easily distinguished from military acts of aggression. The main question was whether there is substance in the concept of police diplomacy beyond just traditional policing cooperation between nation-state policing agents. The other question pertained to diplomacy-security nexus and the alignment of police diplomacy to SA foreign policy. What was defended was that, other than the role played by civilian diplomats and military, it is police officers who are best placed to guide diplomatic efforts towards peaceful resolution of conflict and combating transnational crime as they operate amongst the civilians.

A diplomatic solution of a problem which occurs in a country does not just involve the establishment of an understanding with top politicians of the country; it also involves the creation of a healthy working relationship among the officials to be involved in implementing the agreements. This second tier of diplomacy can be the sole preserve of police officers, for example, in peace support operations.

With regard to the research structure, this position paper was designed with five (5) chapters. The first and second chapter specified an introduction to the study and conceptual clarification of diplomacy, and chapter three (3) and four (4) covered the policy and the operational context of South African Police Service case study. The first chapter has been used as an introduction to the study and covered literature overview used as source, formulated and demarcated the research questions, highlighted the study limitations, methodology, research structure, data collection where unstructured interviews were conducted with SAPS members. This first-hand information from members immensely assisted the author as this enhanced SAPS literature on police diplomacy. The second chapter defined the conceptual framework of diplomacy and linkage between diplomacy, security, defence and police diplomacy and was applied in a case study of SAPS.

The purpose of the last two (2) chapters focused on policy context and operational context of South Africa's role in the international space. The views by various scholars and researchers in the definition and interpretation of South African foreign policy were discussed including the SAPS and Defence foreign policies. Within operational context, SAPS international activities including SADC Election Observer Missions, foreign visits, deployment to Peace Support Operations in African Countries, sending Police Liaison Officers globally, Foreign Training and development, cultural events and participating in multilateral and bilateral international programmes, among others; were assessed and found to be similar to those of defence diplomacy.

5.2. Evaluation and Findings

With regard to theoretical framework of diplomacy, there are similarities and dissimilarities between defence and police diplomacy. Defence diplomacy is usually involved in resolving a clash between combatants; however, police do not usually feature much in such clashes except as collateral caught in crossfire between combatants. Having considered diplomacy and military force as political instruments, with regard to the hypothetical framework on police diplomacy, just like other areas of diplomacy, this essay has demonstrated that police diplomacy is an important and distinct area of diplomacy which does not deserve to be neglected though it is still a challenge to find concrete

interpretation of police diplomacy. In all its manifestations, diplomacy has common features. If one considers the international activities of the police, these fall under the general definition of diplomacy. These activities range from negotiations, bilateral talks, strategic cooperation, fight against transnational organised crime and terrorism among others.

Within South African Police Service perspective, one can argue that the general concept of diplomacy which entails foreign policy element and diplomatic tools also depicts various similarities and linkages between the generic diplomatic activities, defence activities; and those being performed by police. These diplomatic activities have been practiced for a long time and been used to define the concept of diplomacy.

During interviews with SAPS members, Colonel Mahlangu who is responsible for peace support operations contends that within the diplomatic perspective, although there is a limited theory, the international activities of SAPS are usually perceived to be secondary functions and not fully recognised as core diplomatic activities in their own right even though they also have been in existence and been practiced for a long time.

Even within the South African context, although the concept of police diplomacy is still not known; due to political and environmental changes, SAPS international involvement became prominent after SA Democratic elections in 1994. In practice SAPS serve as diplomatic instruments in managing foreign relations being guided by SA Foreign policy documents in line with South African national interests. However, no explicit mention is accorded to these functions as SA strategies and policies do not recognise police diplomacy as a distinct discipline. Even within SAPS environment these activities are not being measured under SAPS Annual Performance Plan as they are just scantily mentioned in the SAPS Strategic Plan.

There are generic diplomatic tools which are used in all areas of diplomacy including defence diplomacy. For example Negotiation has been viewed to be the defining element of diplomacy required to reach a common understanding during negotiations. A crucial feature of diplomacy is that it must engineer a win-win solution which best suits the interests of nation-state.

The ideal end result is an agreement all parties can live with and willingly cooperate in implementing. SAPS, in collaboration with its international counterparts, participate in similar diplomatic processes. For example according to Brigadier Slabbert from SAPS Legal Services, the organisation has managed to achieve some of its diplomatic goals through signing several Memoranda of Understanding with various international police agencies. Cooperation of police in fighting cross border crime cannot be dismissed as mere international police work as if it falls short of any standards to be characterized as diplomacy. In fact this situation has all the main features of diplomacy which has always been about cooperation necessitated by interdependence.

Also from the interviews conducted with SAPS members, one can argue that, in search of conceptual clarity, these members have differing opinions about police diplomacy. Most felt that diplomacy is for the professionals employed by the Department of International Relations and cooperation and saw neither a need for a special organizational component nor for any policy, for that matter, to deal with SAPS foreign relations as these international obligations have long been practiced without any available SAPS Foreign policy document. This lack of policy has resulted in a situation where several components handle foreign issues in a disjointed manner.

In the preceding chapters the author has argued that, though there are similarities between defence and police diplomacy, there are dissimilarities which is why there is a need for police diplomacy to be recognised as a separate discipline. This argument will be further supported below when these conclusions turn to practical issues. The policies which were written to guide generic and defence diplomacy are therefore inadequate to cover police diplomacy.

By contrast police diplomacy involves strategies to mobilize the assistance of civilians in combating lawlessness. Thus police diplomacy is more likely to involve the exclusive policing skills of mobilizing civilians for common security in areas where normal policing either broke down or never existed.

At practical level, there are identified similarities and linkages between SAPS and SANDF international obligations. At national level SAPS is engaged in crime prevention.

However, once deployed outside SA borders they perform similar activities with their military counterparts; for instance in cases of peace support operations, they jointly plan their activities hence their operations are called multidimensional peace support operations. The other distinguishing feature is that they become autonomous from their governments especially during their operations as they plan and execute their activities based on the guidance of the mandating authority. For examples once deployed in any peace support mission either through United Nations, African Union and Southern African Development Community they are not accountable to their principals. This was also confirmed by Major General Lesia who was the Chief of Operations during SADC Observer Mission in Lesotho 2014. He maintains that during interaction with their counterparts, cooperation has been identified to be crucial element in respect of all other global activities.

The other similarities between defence and police diplomacy are those of foreign representation which also falls under the roles and activities of the diplomats. Although SAPS representation abroad is not much as compared to defence attachés, SA :Department of international Relations and Cooperation in collaboration with South African Police Service has identified strategic countries which have been playing vital role in the areas of sharing of information and fighting transnational crime. These international obligations are similar to those of defence counterparts and their reporting mechanism for Defence and Police attaches are through same command and control structures from their Ambassadors/High Commissioners to DIRCO and then to their respective national departments. This reporting structure is also different from that of peace keeping as highlighted in the above paragraph.

The lack of proper recognition of police diplomacy as an important aspect of diplomacy has negative implications and the following challenges have been identified:

- The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa does not explicitly recognise police diplomacy. For example in terms of Section 200(1)(c) of the SA Constitution, the fulfilment of international obligations are the sole responsibilities of the defence,

whereas at practical level similar authorisation was granted to SAPS by the Cabinet in 2005 to be deployed outside the borders for peace support operation of African Union Mission in Sudan.

- There is limited political support for police diplomacy. It is the military who get recognition even where they got significant support from SAPS. For example, during the alleged attempted coup of August 2014 in Lesotho, the South African Police Service played a leading role in supporting the SADC Observations Mission in Lesotho, however, the political interest was on the role of defence.
- In any diplomatic efforts trust is of utmost importance and agreements reached undermine trust and are not worth the paper they are written on if they cannot be implemented. In peacekeeping efforts a breakdown in trust may cost many lives. In such operations it is therefore of particular importance that diplomatic agreements be implementable. There is no enabling legislation to cover diplomatic activities of SAPS. For example the SAPS Act is silent on police involvement in international obligations of the State. However, the SA legislative framework, policies and activities though not explicit, gives an indication that these characterises police diplomacy.
- The SAPS internal policies and strategic planning documents do not include police diplomacy
- There is no appropriate training of SAPS personnel in this important area. For example focus is on CORE police functions to the exclusion of police diplomacy.
- There is inadequate funding of SAPS activities in this area. For instance the SAPS budget does not even mention funding of diplomatic activities. The SAPS Annual budget plans and final allocations focuses on the national activities, and its training and development on diplomatic related activities are provided for by South African National Defence Force, DIRCO and other International Cooperating Partners who are supporting peace and security architecture in cases of peacekeeping.

5.3. Recommendations

In order to address the identified gaps it is recommended that, since there is no specific legislation which guides SAPS international obligations, there is a need for the review of SAPS Act to make provisions for diplomatic policing.

Although SAPS has a National Instruction on Participation to Peace Missions, and since this is the biggest security organisation which has been involved in international arena for a long period, it is essential that the SAPS Management consider and approve the development of single appropriate Foreign Relations Policy which will integrate all SAPS diplomatic obligations and activities

The specialized roles in which police diplomats play, need to be identified and recognised to facilitate the training of officers with the appropriate skills for police diplomacy. It is hoped that this essay has highlighted the need for the recognition of police diplomacy as a distinct discipline. The SAPS strategic objectives, its approach to SA Foreign policy and existing policies need to be elevated to police diplomacy and to be called as such.

The developing of policies, processes, instructions and procedures in respect of coordination and liaison of all SAPS international activities has to be managed by one Division or Component within SAPS other than duplicated structures.

Lastly, no environment can operate with ad hoc budget and this call for proper budget planning and allocation of funds to support police diplomacy and political intent will significantly contribute towards police diplomacy.

The main recommendation which flow from this observation is the recognition of police diplomacy, in its own right, as an important aspect of diplomacy. In this regard, among other things identified: The need for adequate political support for police diplomacy, explicit provision for a diplomatic role in police legislation, inclusion of police diplomacy in SAPS strategic planning and in internal policies, and adequate training of personnel including allocated budget for the funding of all international related among others.

5.4. Conclusion

It is evident that with the evolution of diplomacy, professional diplomats cannot be viewed to be the only diplomatic actors. There are other SA international actors like military and police who are performing their international activities, not only through embassies or SA Missions abroad, but through international participation in workshops, summits and conferences amongst other.

In conclusion, the explored and analysed theoretical, policy and operational context of diplomacy has given distinct answer; that SAPS diplomacy exists. The author is of the view that although there is insufficient literature about police diplomacy, SAPS international activities cannot go unnoticed as there is substance in the concept of police diplomacy beyond just traditional international policing. The SA government and researchers must accord it a status similar to that of the SANDF diplomacy and other diplomatic actors. Further, Police diplomacy should be institutionalised by SAPS and these findings have to be considered as a guide to the development of comprehensive SAPS foreign policy document.

Annexure A

List of questions asked during the interview schedule

The broad research themes and questions explored in the interviews are listed below. This is not an exhaustive list of questions since new issues and questions were raised during the interview, due to the nature of unstructured interviews. The questions used in the formulation of research problem have been used as a guide by the researcher.

- 1) From your perspective, are you familiar with the international obligations and involvement of the SAPS? If so, provide examples.
- 2) Would you link these police foreign relations / international involvement to South Africa's foreign relations / foreign policy, or are they merely police matters across national boundaries?
- 3) Would you regard these as part of South Africa's diplomacy or could you link it to diplomacy? If so, in what manner?
- 4) Have you ever come across the term police diplomacy? If so, what does it mean to you / how would you define it?
- 5) The following is a definition of police diplomacy. According to Global Trust (2012) police diplomacy is an element which encompasses exchange of policing information, development programmes and foreign visits amongst states to strengthen police relations. Does it make sense to you? Is it acceptable to you?
- 6) Are you familiar with the term defence diplomacy? If so, do you think that it corresponds with what could be termed police diplomacy and in what respects? Which international activities of the police would you regard as being 'diplomatic' in nature or indications / examples of police diplomacy in practice?
- 7) What would you regard as the goals and objectives of SAPS' international involvement / these examples of police diplomacy?
- 8) Does a policy framework for this international police involvement exist and if so, what is it?
- 9) Does an institutional framework for this international police involvement exist and if so, what is it?

- 10) Are you familiar with any policy guidelines and /or departmental directives that serve the SAPS / SANDF foreign relations?
- 11) Defence foreign relations and defence diplomacy, also in South Africa, is a recognised and institutionalised field of specialisation and activity of the Defence Departments / Defence Forces. Similarly, should this also be the case in respect of the police / SAPS, or not?
- 12) SAPS has to develop a policy, institutional and activity framework for South African police diplomacy. Do you agree or not with this statement and why?

Annexure B

Name List of interviewed SAPS Members

- 1) Menziwa, M. Major General. Component Head of Strategic Management and Policy Development. South African Police Service (SAPS)
- 2) Chipu, PP. Major General. Component Head of National Operational Coordination. South African Police Service. (SAPS)
- 3) Lesia, TS. Major-General. Provincial Head; Provincial Coordination Centre, Free State Province. South African Police Service (SAPS) and former Chief of Operations of the SADC Observer Mission to the Kingdom of Lesotho.
- 4) Chilembe, D. Major General. Component Head. Border Co-ordination. Operational Response Services. South African Police Service (SAPS)
- 5) Slabbert, J. Brigadier. Section Head. Operations and International Agreements. Legal Services South African Police Service (SAPS).
- 6) Mashige, L. Brigadier. Section Head. International Police Development Support. Division Human Resource Development (HRD) SAPS.
- 7) Nomvalo, N. Colonel .Section Commander. Anti-Corruption Unit Directorate of Priority Crime Investigation and former police attaché to the Republic of Nigeria and Kingdom of Lesotho, South African Police Service (SAPS).
- 8) Mokholwana, P. Brigadier. Section Head. International Liaison. Division Corporate Communication South African Police Service (SAPS).
- 9) Mahlangu K, P. Colonel. Section Commander. Operations and International Obligations. South African Police Service (SAPS).
- 10) Aucone, NM .Colonel. Section Commander. Policy and Planning. External Deployments. South African Police Service (SAPS).

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