

In the meantime, the mission mandate had been expanded to assist the government to prepare for and conduct the elections, and to provide observers to monitor those elections. The mission was enlarged to cope with the additional responsibilities, and a civilian Special Representative was appointed as Head of Mission. The election was held in September 1992, but UNITA refused to accept the results, which favoured the existing government. Thereafter, the situation completely deteriorated and the size and role of the mission have been reduced pending progress among the parties to the ongoing conflict.

The failure of the peace process in Angola has been attributed to, *inter alia*, less than effective demobilization and storage of weapons, the delay in the creation of the unified Angolan Armed Forces, failure to establish effective civil administration in many parts of the country, and the delay in setting up a neutral police force. It must be remembered that these were all responsibilities of the parties, not the UN. The UN gained more experience in multifaceted missions and took note of the shortcomings in planning and execution. The lessons learned have been applied in a very similar mission in Mozambique, ONUMOZ, which began in early 1993. It is too early to judge the outcome of the Mozambique mission, but early indications are that indeed lessons have been learned and the prospect of a successful outcome is good.

Before leaving this aspect of peace operations it is necessary to remember that peacekeeping has not been exclusively a UN undertaking. Joint operations with other entities were conducted as early as 1965 (with the Organization of American States in the Dominican Republic) and continue today, for example, with the Organization of African Unity in Liberia. Non-UN peacekeeping missions were mounted by the international community in Indo-China (1954) and in Viet Nam (1973). Regional and sub-regional organizations are becoming more and more involved, as will be seen in Chapter VII of this study.

A major ground-breaking operation was the establishment of the Sinai Field Mission (SFM) in 1976 and its successor, the Multinational Force and Observers. The SFM was established and operated by the United States, at the request of Israel and Egypt, in order to provide monitoring and verification of the disengagement of forces following the 1973 Israeli-Arab war. Israel had expressed concern with a United Nations role, concern stemming from the abrupt withdrawal of the first United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I), an event that had contributed to the outbreak of the 1967 war. In order to sooth these concerns and provide a confidence-building measure, the United States agreed to establish and man a ground-based early warning system at strategic passes in the Sinai desert and to conduct aerial reconnaissance missions over the area of disengagement. The early warning system would be based on electronic sensor fields, remote imaging and manned watch stations, all employing civilian personnel. Further, the United States would help establish an Egyptian surveillance station to match one already in operation by Israel, and monitor the operation of both. Procedures were developed for co-operation and responsibility sharing with the UN Emergency Force (UNEF II) operating in the same area.

This system worked well for the next three years, until a further withdrawal of Israeli forces following the peace treaty of 1979 (the Camp David accords) and the decision not to extend the presence of UNEF II. The original intent had been to deploy UN forces to police security arrangements along the common border, but this idea was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The SFM mandate was then adjusted to provide more frequent overflights, and a system of on-site inspections was developed. When the final Israeli withdrawal occurred in 1982, and there was still no possibility of a UN presence, the United States agreed to organize an alternative multinational force, which came to be known as the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO). The MFO took over the SFM verification role and systems, adding to the largely technical and

