Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of Peace Studies
Peace and Conflict Studies Programme

TRANSFORMATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA: THE CASE OF SOMALIA AND BEYOND

Asime YILDIZ

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2018

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Bu çalışmadaki bütün bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar çerçevesinde elde ettiğimi, görsel, işitsel ve yazılı tüm bilgi ve sonuçları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduğumu, kullandığım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadığımı, yararlandığım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduğumu, tezimin kaynak gösterilen durumlar dışında özgün olduğunu, Tez Danışmanının **Prof. Dr. Müge KINACIOĞLU** danışmanlığında tarafımdan üretildiğini ve Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Yazım Yönergesine göre yazıldığını beyan ederim.

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ABSTRACT

YILDIZ, Asime. *Transformation of the United Nations Peacekeeping in the post-Cold War Era: The Case of Somalia and Beyond*, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2018.

Although the United Nations Charter does not articulate peacekeeping missions, the peacekeeping has become one of the most important instruments of the UN to maintain international peace and security. During the Cold War period, peacekeeping forces were deployed between parties after the cease-fire was reached. Peacekeepers were mainly responsible for monitoring and maintaining the ceasefire and creating buffer zones between warring parties. With the end of Cold War, peacekeeping has evolved in response to more complex and dangerous conflicts. In this period, peacekeepers not only assumed a task of keeping the peace but also took part in the peacemaking, peace-enforcement, and peace-building processes. As a result, traditional peacekeeping changed dramatically. A new generation of the UN peacekeeping missions has begun to appear and the organization has moved beyond its traditional peacekeeping principles which are the consent of warring parties, non-use of force except in self-defense and impartiality. The post-Cold War UN peacekeeping missions have required more forceful and interventionist response to conflicts that broke out after the Cold War. It has shifted and expanded its mandates and objectives. This thesis elucidates the transition from traditional peacekeeping to second-generation peacekeeping or multidimensional peacekeeping, and investigates the reasons behind this transformation of the UN peacekeeping during early post-Cold War era. The research analyses this transformation through UN's intervention in Somalia. The Somalia case was one of the significant interventions of the UN after the end of Cold War that affected and shaped the evolution of peacekeeping. It can also be considered as test case for the practice of the concepts of the peace-building and peace-enforcement which were proposed by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Briefly, the thesis seeks to depict the transformations of the UN peacekeeping undergone after the Cold War and investigates the

UN reform efforts immediate after the Cold War. This thesis also focuses on the Brahimi Report published in 1999 after the failure of the UN in the 1990s. With the Brahimi Report, concrete and effective recommendations were put forward to strengthen the peacekeeping capacities and to establish successful operations.

Keywords

United Nations, peacekeeping missions, post-Cold War period, humanitarian intervention, Somalia civil war, reforms

ÖZET

YILDIZ, Asime. *Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Dönemde Birleşmiş Milletler Barışı Koruma Gücünün Dönüşümü: Somali Örneği ve Ötesi*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2018.

Birleşmiş Milletler Sözleşmesi, barışı koruma misyonlarını açık bir şekilde telafuz etmemesine rağmen, barışı koruma, Birleşmiş Milltlerin'nin (BM) uluslararası barış ve güvenliğini sürdürmek için en önemli araçlarından biri haline geldi. Soğuk Savaş döneminde, barışı koruma güçleri taraflar arasında ateşkesin gerçekleşmesinden sonra görevlendirildi. Barış Gücü, ateşkesin izlenmesi ve sürdürülmesinden ve savaşan taraflar arasında tampon bölgelerin oluşturulmasından sorumluydu. Soğuk Savaşın sona ermesiyle barışı koruma, daha karmaşık ve tehlikeli çatışmalara karşılık vererek gelişti. Bu dönemde barışı koruma görevlileri sadece barışı sağlama görevini üstlenmedi, aynı zamanda barışı koruma,barışı güç kullanarak sağlama ve barışı tesis etme süreçlerinde de yer aldı. Sonuç olarak, geleneksel barışı koruma büyük ölçüde değişti. Birleşmiş Milletler barışı koruma misyonlarının yeni nesli ortaya çıkmaya başladı ve örgüt, savaşan tarafların rızasını alma, tarafsızlık ve meşru müdafaa dışında güç kullanmama gibi prensipleri olan geleneksel barışı koruma ilkelerinin ötesine geçti. Soğuk Savaş sonrası BM barışı koruma misyonlarıN, Soğuk Savaş sonrası patlak veren çatışmalara karşı daha zorlayıcı ve müdahaleci bir karşılık vermeyi gerektirdi. Barışı koruma misyonları değişti ve onların yetki ve hedefleri genişledi. Bu tez, geleneksel barışı korumadan ikinci nesil barışı korumaya ya da çok boyutlu barışı korumaya geçişi açıklamakta ve Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde BM barış gücünün bu dönüşümünün ardındaki nedenlerini araştırmaktadır. Araştırma, bu dönüşümü BM’nin Somali’deki müdahalesi ile analiz etmektedir. Somali vakası, Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesinden sonra BM'nin barışı koruma mekanizmasını etkileyen ve şekillendiren önemli müdahalelerden biriydi. Ayrıca Genel Sekreter Butros Butros-Gali tarafından önerilen barış inşası ve barışı güç kullanarak sağlama kavramlarının uygulanması için bir test örneği olarak da değerlendirilebilir. Ayrıca bu tez, BM’nin 1990’lı yıllardaki başarısızlıklarından sonra

2000’de yayınlanan Brahimi Raporu üstünde de durmaktadır. Brahimi Raporu ile barışı koruma güçlerinin kapasitelerini güçlendirmek ve başarılı operasyonlar gerçekleştirmeleri için somut ve etkili önerilerde bulunulmuştur.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Birleşmiş Milletler , barışı koruma misyonları , Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönem , insani müdahale , Somali iç savaşı, reformlar

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ABBREVIATIONS

UN	United Nations
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNITAF	Unified Task Force
UNOSOM	United Nations Operations in Somalia
UNOSOM II	United Nations Operations in Somalia II
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UNSG	United Nations Secretary-General

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

With the end of Cold War and collapse of the bipolar world system in 1990s, civil wars and armed intra state wars conflict have spread in the world rather than interstate wars. These wars were described as human rights violations, forced migration, paramilitary factions, ethnic cleansing etc (Newman, 2014, pp. 177-178). Since these wars generally involve direct, cultural and structural violence, they seem to be more dangerous and more destructive for humanity.[1] This has resulted in wars and conflicts becoming more difficult to prevent or resolve.

The new wars included civilian casualties, rape of women, massacre, mercenaries, arms dealers and criminal gangs (Karl, 2014, pp. 215-216). As of this period, the role of international organizations has increased to ensure peace and order in the world. The most important one of these organizations is the United Nations (UN) which endeavors to bring solution for human rights violations and prevent the serious destructive effects of wars in related places. In this period, the UN found itself in a new role and it had to cope with conflicts that have distinctive characteristics for different reasons (Mayall, 1996, p. 8). In this context, the role of peacekeeping forces was of great importance to ensure international peace and security in the post-Cold War period.

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[1] These three types of the violence were defined by the Johan Galtung who is founding father of the Peace Studies. He emphasizes the distinction between direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence. Direct violence is the existence of war and violation of human rights. On the other hand, structural violence refers to the fundamental problems of the society, like poverty, ethnic problems. Cultural violence is symbolic. It supports to justify direct and structural violence through media, religion, ideology, education. For further information see (Galtung, 1990, pp. 291-292). Cultural violence separates people sharply from one another in society and hate is constructed consciously among people.

As human rights violations rise, demand for human intervention has increased. The inclusion of human rights issues since 1991 in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) decision-making process radically changed the concept of states' sovereignty over a period of twenty years. However, the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 determined the principles that constitute the modern state and sovereignty had become the most vital component of the modern state. According to the 17th century's Westphalian, the sovereignty had two basic principles: First is that rex est imperator in regno suo. This emphasizes the internal sovereignty of a state. Second is that cuius regio, eius religio. This refers to external sovereignty of state which requires its full independence and non-interference from foreign power (Krieg, 2013, p. 5). What is more, Article of 2.1 of the UN Charter states that sovereignty is the universal legal principle of the states and banned use of force against sovereign states except for self-defense (Hehir, 2010, p. 47). On the other hand, when there is a threat to international peace and security, if it is necessary, the UN can apply the use of force without consent of the main parties (Aksu, 2003, p. 78).

It has been debated since post-Cold War period that human rights considerations have undermined sovereignty of states. The UNSC has undertaken the role of protecting human rights in other states under the concept of humanitarian intervention. Afterwards, humanitarian intervention has turned into the concept of responsibility to protect in the UN (Ertuğrul, 2016, pp. 75-76).

Before the UN deploys its peacekeeping forces to troubled areas, it needs to justify interventions. Therefore, there are stories which are told amongst the UNSC members about the source, cause and feature of the conflicts during meetings. These stories are significant for the UNSC members to legitimize their decisions about the use of force in the direction of humanitarian concerns.

> "a story that identifies its causes and describes its character. Members actively construct and defend causal stories because control over the story translates into the power to define threats to international peace and security, to assign responsibility for conflicts and to shape interpretation of relevant norms like sovereignty and human rights." (Walling, 2013, p. 45).

These casual stories are divided into three types to define intrastate conflicts: inadvertent, intentional, and complex. Inadvertent stories characterize violent conflict deaths as the

‘‘unintended consequences of willed human action. On the other hand, intentional stories define perpetrators who violate human rights. Crime against humanity and war crimes generally constitute the concept of these stories. Last story is complex which is about describing conflicts with multidirectional causes and roots. These conflicts stem from institutional and historical backgrounds (Walling, 2013, p. 246). The character of Somalia conflict carries the features of these three casual stories. It can be said that these three stories were used by the UN to intervene Somalia.

- ✓ Inadvertent Story: All parties (clans) were responsible for civilian deaths
- ✓ Intentional Story: The UN personnel and the civilians were killed by Somali rebels
- ✓ Complex Story: Warlords, clans, criminal gangs, armed thugs were responsible for inflicting terror on civilians

After the fall of Siad Barre in 1991, Somalia turned into an atmosphere of instability and civil war. With the defeat of the dictator, Barre, there had been power vacuum within country and clans were fighting to reign of the power. The Hawiee leaders, Aideed and Ali Mahdi did not reach an agreement about sharing of power (Walling, 2013, p. 249). This gave way to emergence of warlords and civil militia groups in Somalia territories.

The belief of “me and my clan against all outsiders,” was considered to be the most significant reason giving rise to Somalia civil war and this idea reflects entirely Somalia culture and polity. Conflicts that had existed among more than 14 clans evolved country into clan-based militia states (Allard, 2002, p. 10). Although Somali people shared same ethnicity, religion, language, tradition and culture, they had different clans that caused conflicts among them. Clan lineages represented politics of Somali and their identity. One of the most important reasons of civil war was their clan affiliations. The words that described the situation in Somalia: ‘condition or war of everyone against everyone,” or “of every man against every man’ (Sadler, 2010, p. 3).

The situation of anarchy in Somalia combined with terrible famine, poverty and disasters.

> “Between November 1991 and March 1992, war accounted for approximately 30,000 deaths and 27,000 wounded. By June 1992, 5,000 were dying each day, 1.5 million were on the brink of death, and 4.5 million were nearing starvation. There were no basic services such as electricity, communication, transportation or health facilities.” (Rees, 2005, pp. 100-101).

Furthermore, restoring peace in Somalia and bringing stability to Somalia was harder because it was a failed state. In Somalia has been an absence of functioning central government and state institutions. To put briefly, there are two important root causes of Somalia conflict: clan system of Somalia and economic factors (Mulugeta, 2009, pp. 9-10).

The UN legitimized Somalia intervention on two ground factors: humanitarian crisis and threat to international peace and security. Firstly, as mentioned above, the UN intervened in Somalia because of humanitarian concerns. Thus, the UNSC used three casual justifications to legitimize its intervention to Somalia: inadvertent, intentional, and complex. Secondly, regional and international peace and security concerns were the main reasons to intervention because anarchy and conflict in Somalia had been affecting neighboring countries and international order detrimentally. It had caused some vital problems which threatened international order and security such as terrorism, refugee problem, human trafficking, piracy (Mulugeta, 2009, p. 15). On the other hand, peacekeeping was unsuccessful in restoring peace and order in Somalia. UNOSOM-II was the last mission retreated from Somalia in 1995 and the UN accepted that it failed to bring peace to Somalia.

Somalia intervention was an exemplary model in terms of the first multidimensional peacekeeping of the UN which requires advancing democracy, supporting economic development, protecting human rights, assisting humanitarian needs etc (Kertcher, 2012, p. 612). Peacekeeping forces undertook peacemaking, peace-building and peace enforcement missions different from traditional peacekeeping operations during the Cold War period.

In general terms, peacekeepers were not only observers; they also had broad functions in the post-agreement process. They ensured interactions among the domestic actors in the direction of its peace-building task (Andrea Ruggeri, 2012, p. 390). Peacekeeping missions in Somalia between 1992 and 1995 were the second-generation peacekeeping operations, which had military, political, economic and social objectives (Knight, 2000, pp. 138-139).

The UN intervened in Somalia through UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II missions. The UN peacekeeping forces aimed to provide humanitarian assistance to people of Somalia and to bring peace and restore order in Somalia (Allard, 2002, pp. 11-13). Peacekeeping mission

in Somalia was accounted as the most expensive intervention of the UN history (Omar, 2002, p. 263).

The main objective of UNOSOM I was to provide humanitarian assistance to people of Somalia. Furthermore, it was constructed to monitor ceasefire and ensure security for the UN personnel (James Dobbins, 2003, p. 55). UNOSOM II was authorized by the UNSC after the disasters of UNOSOM I and UNITAF in Somalia. In the process of defining the new missions of the UNOSOM II, the report of Secretary-General of the UN (UNSG), Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace*, played a vital role. This report added new concepts such as peace-enforcement, peace-building to peacekeeping. UNOSOM II was the first operation authorized by the UN to implement the enforcement measures envisaged in Article 7 of the UN Charter (Demiröğen, 2006, p. 247). Although mandate and activities of UNOSOM II was broader rather than UNITAF, it failed to bring peace to Somalia and mission remained weak. UNOSOM II had some functions such as disarming fighting parties in addition to securing humanitarian assistance as distinct from UNITAF. It undertook a role in the process of nation-building of Somalia when it focused on entire country (James Dobbins, 2003, pp. 59-60).

Following the end of Cold War period, tasks of the peacekeeping forces were expanded due to complexity of intra-state conflicts. The report of Boutros-Ghali of 1992 addressed the issue of achieving international peace within the framework of four main concepts: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping, post-conflict peace-building. The report stressed that peacekeepers should be equipped with heavy weapons and they can apply use of military force if necessary, moving away from the principle of "resorting to weapons for self-defense only" (Demiröğen, 2006, pp. 242-243). Peace enforcement[2] became one of the most important parts of the new peacekeeping missions. It can be said that Somalia served as a guinea pig in which the UN peacekeeping forces moved as peace enforcement unit.

[2] It evolved as a response to growing number of intrastate conflicts that emerged in the 1990s. It reflects the reality of post-Cold War period. The consent of the parties is not required. The use of military force may be applied when necessary. For further information see (Pring).

Boutros-Ghali emphasized that "lasting peace and security can best be achieved when the necessary economic, social and environmental conditions are in place, as well as when democracy and respect for human rights are at hand everywhere." (Kertcher, 2012, p. 623).

In Somalia, poor civil-military integration caused unsuccessful peacekeeping operations. Diplomatic and communication efforts of the UN towards conflicted parties and civilians affected deeply the success of the peace operations. Civil-military interaction in the UN peace operations can be analyzed in four ways: integration at the strategic level, integration in the field, semi- integration with minimum diplomatic input, and complete segregation (Sotomayor, 2013, pp. 202-203). In Somalia, peacekeepers damaged its image because of their human rights abuses (Amanda Murdie, 2010, p. 59). What is more, the case of Somalia had also shown that "applying use of military force" can induce military and political risks that arise from opposing parties for peacekeepers (Demiröğen, 2006, p. 247). In conflicted areas, interactions are provided generally between three main actors: the government, the rebel groups, and the UN mission. From the perspective of the UN peacekeeping missions, cooperation requires wide range of bargaining process between the three actors. When the government is stronger than the rebels, the UN makes a difference in conflicted area and the possibility of cooperation is enhanced (Andrea Ruggeri, 2012, pp. 388-389). Within this framework, when the UN intervened in Somalia, it was very difficult for the mission to be successful because there was no functioning central government and there were many warring clans.

Somalia intervention was one of the failures of the UN peacekeeping in the early post-Cold War period. Somalia catastrophe showed that the UN peacekeeping missions can resort to use of military force in order to protect themselves, civilians, and missions when there is no opportunity to keep peace and violence has increased and it cannot be stopped. This meant that peacekeeping forces were authorized to use all necessary means to carry out its missions. Although the UN returned traditional peacekeeping principles following withdrawal from Somalia in 1995, 'robust peacekeeping' concept was manifested in the Brahimi Report. The Brahimi panel advocated that peacekeepers must be able to defend themselves and their mandate with "robust rules of engagement". (Tull, 2012, p. 128). Brahimi Report was of great importance in terms of showing the responsibilities of the UN

peacekeeping in conflicted areas (Howard V. P., 2008, p. 287). The report stated that the precondition of the deployment of the UN peacekeeping mission must be peace accorded between warring parties (Tull, 2012, p. 129).

The report by Boutros-Ghali, in 1992 - *An Agenda of Peace-*, *Brahimi Report* in 2000, the reform strategy 'Peace Operations 2010', the 'New Horizons' peacekeeping review construct initiatives of the UN to carry out effective peacekeeping operations in the conflicted areas. The need for the reforms to peacekeeping forces stems from the complexity of intra-state conflicts which require flexibility and adaptation of peacekeepers (Tull, 2012, p. 132). In this context, this thesis analyzes the reports of Boutros-Ghali, - *An Agenda of Peace* issued in 1992, and *Supplement to An Agenda of Peace* published in 1995 and Brahimi report issued in 2000.

The experience of the UN in Somalia showed that peacekeeping missions must be deployed in situations where it must be proven that conditions exist for successful peacekeeping (Goulding, 1993, p. 461). "The UN has by and large avoided sending peace operations into countries where there was no or little hope that the blue helmets would make a difference." (Tull, 2012, p. 128). Furthermore, Somalia intervention demonstrated another challenge that the UN faced. The initiatives of the UN to separate fighting factions and to create new civil institutions have showed the organization's weakness in there (Keskin, 2002, pp. 276-277).

There are three conditions which affect directly success or failure of peacekeeping offered in the peacekeeping literature: the situational difficulty, the UNSC interest, organizational learning (Howard L. M., 2008, p. 8).

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research endeavors to answer these questions:

1. Although the primary objective of the UN is to resolve conflicts through peaceful means, what kind of issues stemmed from the capability of peacekeeping operations to use of military force when needed, elaborating on the Somalia case**?**

2. Following the end of Cold War, what sort of policy changes had been recorded towards the formation and structure of the peacekeeping missions? How has the UN peacekeeping evolved after the Somalia disaster?

3. Can Somalia case be an ideal exemplar for the UN missions in coping with civil wars? What was the oversight of peace missions taking place in Somalia?

1.3 . OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The value of the lessons learned is directly proportionate to how much we add to our strategic planning and training. Therefore, the main objective of this study is to show Somalia failure led to certain changes in the UN peacekeeping missions in the process of organizational learning of the UN peacekeeping. “Somalia was a laboratory for all types of peacekeeping and a potential pioneristic operation for solving the emerging crises of stateness.” (Malito, 2010, p. 124).

In this sense, the report by Boutros-Ghali and Brahimi Report which provided the main impetus for organizational learning of the UN peacekeeping missions need to be examined to analyze how peacekeeping evolved aftermath fiascos in civil wars such as Somalia in the immediate post-Cold War period. Besides these two reports, there are related initiatives on reform strategy 'Peace Operations 2010', the 'New Horizons' peacekeeping review (Tull, 2012, pp. 276-277) but this research focused on the reports by Boutros-Ghali and Brahimi Report.

The failure of UNOSOM I required some changes in the concept of peacekeeping. In this sense, the report of Boutros-Ghali, ‘An Agenda for Peace’ provided a guidance to strengthen the concept of the UN peacekeeping. The report came to light at a time of change (Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 1992). “The ending of the Cold War has been raised hopes for a safer, more equitable and more humane world.” (UNSCR, 1992, p. 2). The report revealed that peacekeeping had some problems regarding logistics, personnel

and finance, equipment because of changing the nature of wars and peacekeeping operations could be reconstructed in accordance with these needs (Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 1992). In this context, the new task of peacekeeping forces in peace-building process has played a prominent role in terms of flexibility and adaptability of peacekeeping missions. The concept of peace has broadened in a changing world which includes fundamental human rights, advancing sustainable economic and social development, promoting democracy. Somalia civil war required multidimensional peacekeeping to cope with destructive results created in Somalia.

The other considerable progress in the concept of peacekeeping was Brahimi Report which evaluated the shortcomings of peacekeeping missions. It made realistic and concrete recommendations to conduct effective and successful peacekeeping (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2000). The objective of report was to deal with challenges faced by peacekeepers in conflicted areas where they failed to bring peace such as Somalia. Brahimi Report recommended clear mandate, credible mandates, robust peacekeeping to protect itself and mandate efficiently.

The objectives of this study are:

1. To show how the UN peacekeeping forces tackle with civil war and how the missions of peacekeeping go through a process immediate aftermath Cold War period, elaborating on the Somalia case
2. To define the challenges of the UN peacekeeping missions and their encounters in Somalia
3. To analyze amendments of the UN peacekeeping forces after the end of Cold War and Somalia failure

This research looks at the lessons learnt from the UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II missions and assesses the contributions of the Somalia failure to peacekeeping concept. In this context, Boutros-Ghali's report, *An Agenda for Peace* and *Brahimi Report* are analyzed.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

What makes the Somalia experience significant for this research is that the first multidimensional peacekeeping was conducted in there in the Cold-War era. Somalia intervention was one of the UN peacekeeping that took peace-enforcement and peace-building tasks. “Somalia intervention was to be the model for using military forces in the post-Cold War world. It was a peace operation in which the objective was not to fight war but to stop it.” (Dew, 2006, p. 3). The justification of the UNSC on the use of military force under Chapter VII of the UN Charter because of human right violations was different from other interventions. With the Somalia civil war, legitimacy of the human rights norms and human values enhanced and a new the UNSC practice-humanitarian intervention had emerged (Walling, 2013, p. 63). In addition, the UN had many failures in the conflicted areas in the post-Cold War period and the UN was unsuccessful in Somalia in this period and the failures triggered the UN to make reforms for more effective peacekeeping forces. Additionally, Somalia’s intervention is significant as the disaster of the UN in Somalia affected negatively conflicts in Kosovo and Rwanda and the UN was also disappointed in these areas (Mayall, 1996, p. 10) and the UN was reluctant to intervene in these areas.

In this study, it is expected that Somalia experience would be a good example for the UN to overcome problems of the UN peacekeeping based on the lessons learnt from UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II. The main purpose is to analyze how the UN adapts itself in the post-Cold War period to deal with new conflicts and how the UN had overcome it. Furthermore, this research aims to reveal whether lessons learned by the UN in Somalia were incorporated into the UN Charters and Resolutions and what is the role of reports of the UNSG in resolving challenges faced by the UN peacekeepers in conflicting areas.

1.5 DATA COLLECTION

The research benefits from secondary resources to collect useful information. The primary secondary resources are: books, reports, articles, journals, and academic writings. The major topics sought were with regards to human intervention, the UN peacekeeping, the

efforts of the UN peacekeeping in Somalia, Somalia civil war, intrastate wars after the Cold War period.

1.6 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The chapters are organized as follows: Introduction, Humanitarian Intervention and the UN Peacekeeping in the post-Cold War Period, the UN Peacekeeping Forces in Somalia, Reform Efforts for the UN Peacekeeping and Assessment of Somalia Intervention and Conclusion.

Chapter One**:** *Introduction* attempts to present a general framework about this research which is done. Furthermore, in this chapter, objective of study, research questions, justification of the research, methodology of the research are explained.

Chapter Two: *Humanitarian Intervention and the UN Peacekeeping in the post-Cold War Period* focuses on the meaning and evolution of the UN peacekeeping. This chapter analyses humanitarian intervention and the missions of the peacekeeping forces accordingly. This chapter also deals with challenges of the UN peacekeeping confronting in the conflicted areas.

Chapter Three: *The UN Peacekeeping Forces in Somalia* offers a brief account of Somalia conflict and historical background of the conflict which explains the origin of civil war. This chapter covers the UN peacekeeping operations, UNOSOM I, UNOSOM II, conducted in Somalia. In this chapter, motivations of the UN for the intervention and challenges of the UN peacekeeping in Somalia are analyzed.

Chapter Four: *Reform Efforts for the UN Peacekeeping and Assessment of the Somalia Intervention* explores attempts of the UN to conduct successful peacekeeping operations in conflicted areas after failures of the UN peacekeeping forces in the Cold War period. In this context, this chapter analyzes the report by Boutros-Ghali and Brahimi Report elaborating on challenges of the UN peacekeeping in Somalia intervention. This chapter also explains lessons learned from the UN peacekeeping in Somalia.

Conclusion summarizes the main discussions of the research. This chapter emphasizes the main results of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

2. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION AND THE UN PEACEKEEPING IN THE POST-COLD WAR PERIOD

This chapter analyzes the concept of humanitarian intervention in general and the UN peacekeeping in the 1990s. The main purpose of this chapter is to explore how humanitarian interventions dominated agenda of the UNSC in the 1990s and to scrutinize the UN peacekeeping in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War.

2.1. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN THE 1990S

2.1.1 The Concept of Humanitarian Intervention

The idea of humanitarian intervention could be traced to Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). He primarily worked on sovereignty, international rights of commerce in addition to the concept of 'just war' (Christiansen, 2000, p. 11). The Peace of Westphalia signed in 1648 gives the right to states to self-defense but it outlaws a state to interfere in another's internal affairs. In this context, states have expanded the right of self-defense as subject to different interpretations in the direction of their interests. Thus, Westphalia could not prevent foreign intervention practically. On the contrary, it created a new ground for the intervention because the sovereignty defined in the treaty is open to different interpretations (Asgarov, 2008, p. 13). Following Grotius, his ideas were supported by many scholars. Although the principle of non-intervention gained importance during the 19th century, the right of humanitarian intervention has been acknowledged by many scholars in the end of the 19th century (Christiansen, 2000, p. 11). Tradition of 'Just War' which is about legitimacy of war has constituted the main framework of humanitarian intervention (Hehir, 2010, p. 22).

In the literature on humanitarian intervention, there is no clear definition of this concept, and there is still debate on this subject. There are two reasons why the term 'humaniatarian

intervention' lacks clarity and why there are different perspectives of scholars on defining this term: conceptual and practical reasons. Firstly, in practice, it can be difficult to distinguish between humanitarian intervention and other actions of states on another state because of the different kinds of involvement in another state's affairs such as peacekeeping, peace-enforcement, and armed distribution of humanitarian aid. Secondly, when the term of 'humanitarian intervention' defines according to historical events, this can create difficulties to explain the term since the meaning of the word 'humanitarian' has modified in the time in conformity of changing international atmosphere and environment (Simms, 2011, pp. 2-3).

> "While it has a relatively clear meaning today, it is a rather recent neologism. In the eighteenth century it was used purely theologically, in reference to questions about the humanity or divinity of Christ." (Simms, 2011, p. 3).

Humanitarian intervention is not yet expressed in any international treaty and its status in international level is still being discussed. It can be considered under the general principles of law which is one of the auxiliary sources of international law. According to Acet, it has been argued that with the recent developments since humanitarian intervention has been practiced as a common law, it has proceeded from its doctrine to customary. In other words, it can be said that humanitarian intervention has transited to become customary law because of its lack of written international law context. (Acet, 2017, p. 450). "Customary international law arises wherever there exists a general or uniform practice together with the general acceptance of this practice as law." (Nardin, 1983, p. 167).

Danish Institute of International Affairs defines humanitarian intervention as:

> "Coercive action by states involving the use of armed force in another state without the consent of its government, with or without authorisation from the United Nations Security Council, for the purpose of preventing or putting to a halt gross and massive violations of human rights or international humanitarian law." (Christiansen, 2000, p. 11).

J.L. Holgzrefe who working intensively in concepts and practices of humanitarian intervention defines it as:

> "The threat or use of force across state borders by a state (or group of states) aimed at preventing or ending widespread and grave violations of the fundamental human rights of individuals other than its own citizens, without the permission of the state within whose territory force is applied." (Holzgrefe, 2003, p. 18).

As mentioned earlier, the definitions for the concept of humanitarian interventions vary in literature but when most scholars define the humanitarian intervention, they cooperate in three key characters: “the transboundary interference in the domestic affairs of a foreign state, the predominant humanitarian purposes, and the coercive nature of engagement” (Klose, 2015, p. 8). In this sense, most studies underline the use of force which is the main part of the humanitarian intervention, which distinguishes it from other kinds of humanitarian action, such as aid or humanitarian relief operations carried out by the NGOs or humanitarian organizations. The international organizations such as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR), International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), CARE aim to ensure humanitarian assistance rather than humanitarian intervention (Klose, 2015, pp. 8-9) Although the literature on the concept of 'intervention' concentrate on military action or force, some scholars argue that political and economic actions also can be involved in the concept of intervention (Simms, 2011, p. 6).

Maimonides (1135-1204), Jewish philosopher, jurist, and physician, and intellectual figure of medieval argues that there are four aspects of the decision to act for persons who suffering from violence (Nardin, 2002, p. 15).

- ✓ Who should intervene?
- ✓ Who should be protected?
- ✓ From which harms must they be protected?
- ✓ What must we do to avoid the charge that we are standing idly by? (Nardin, 2002, p. 16).

These questions are significant to analyze the morality of humanitarian intervention but Maimonides assesses Jewish law not common morality. Nardin states that these questions can be used as a guide to measure the morality of humanitarian intervention (Nardin, 2002, p. 16).

According to Wheeler, in order for the humanitarian intervention to be legitimate, there are four criteria and 'Just War' tradition constitutes the main source of this requirements.

- ✓ Supreme humanitarian emergency: This forms a just cause for intervention.
- ✓ The use of force as a last resort
- ✓ Proportionality

- ✓ Humanitarian outcome: There must be a high chance that intervention will bring about a good result for people who suffer (Wheeler, 2003, p. 34).

The literature on intervention shares the same idea that military intervention should be regarded as a last resort. In contrast, other means are applied or do not anything may make the situation even worse and complicated (Hjorth, 2015, p. 24). Since 1990, debate and practice has focused on the question of the legitimization of humanitarian intervention There are three various types of body can legitimate humanitarian intervention: global political institution such as the UN, regional institutions such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), individual states and groups of states acting ad hoc (Roberts, 2000, p. 4).

It should be emphasized that the purpose of humanitarian intervention is related to altruism. Altruism is motivated by empathy or values of morality. In this sense, the main objective of humanitarian intervention, which is helping suffering individuals itself, shows that it follows altruistic motives (Krieg, 2013, pp. 49-50).

The prohibition of war is stated in Kellogg-Briand Pact also called Pact of Paris in 1928 and later in the UN Charter Article 2(4) which allowed waging war only to self-defence. In this sense, the practice of intervention became more complicated. On the other hand, the UNSC determines which actions constitute a threat to peace, a breach of the peace, or an act of aggression under the Article 39 and this has brought to the fore priorities of permanent members of SC politics rather than abiding by the prohibition of war principle (Hjorth, 2015, p. 22). It can be said that humanitarian intervention is a post-Cold War activity. During the Cold War, it was carried out rarely due to three reasons. First, in this period, the two great powers shaped international politics and their main was to enrich their military assets in order to be deterrent power in the world system. The two blocks intervene in Third World conflicts.

> "but 'this was for the purpose of supporting ones' own, or undermining the other sides', client states. Such military intervention served to fuel these proxy wars rather than stop them. The great powers also funded and armed client states engaged in massive human rights atrocities." (Farrel, p. 309).

Second, public pressure on great powers was inadequate to do anything to resolve Third World conflicts. 'Eastern and Western publics were indoctrinated into viewing these

conflicts and client states as elements of a larger cold war battle, in which human rights could be sacrificed in the interests of national security'. Third, Cold War politics made the UNSC non-functional due to a veto of any one of the permanent members (Farrel, p. 309). In addition, Walling argues that during the Cold War, humanitarian intervention was unacceptable because it was considered that human rights should be within the domestic jurisdiction of each state. In this period, in the 1970s, internal situations of mass killing were beyond the purview of the UNSC and it criticized the UN members that authorized military force to neighboring states in order to halt the human rights violations. For example, the intervention of Vietnam in Cambodia in 1979 was condemned by the UNSC (2013, p. 2). On the other hand, there are two significant exceptions opposing the idea of any kind of intervention in states. These two situations in which the issue derived from racial domination by a white minority population were seen as threats to international peace and security by the UNSC. The UNSC imposed sanctions on Rhodesia in 1966 and on South Africa in 1977 under Chapter VII of the Charter.

> "In neither case did the Security Council view the situation as one of acute emergency, nor did it authorize direct external military intervention within the states concerned. Thus, the Council did not support humanitarian intervention in these cases." (Roberts, 2000, p. 13).

During the Cold War period, self-determination, independence and sovereignty concepts had dominated in the world system. Interventions carried out during this period were defined as an indirect humanitarian intervention such as East Pakistan intervention by India in 1971 and Cambodia intervention by Vietnam in 1979 since rivalry between the US and USSR gave rise to different ideas about international problems. Their response to problems was affected by their interests. For example, the reaction of US and USSR to intervention of India to East Pakistan was different from each other completely. While the US defined the intervention of India as an attack, the SU saw this intervention as a legitimate action (Asgarov, 2008, pp. 49-50). In the 1990s, the humanitarian intervention was manifested in two ways. First, human rights have begun to gain a universal character. Second, with the end of the Cold War, ethnic, religious and national conflicts have erupted, which have led to human tragedies and disasters in various parts of the world (Asgarov, 2008, pp. 5-6). In this period, it can be said that humanitarian interventions have not only responded to the

pains caused by authoritarian regimes or governments but also they have addressed circumstances created by internal conflicts, failed and collapsed states causing human rights violations. It has included protecting fundamental human rights, ensuring humanitarian assistance, and supporting international humanitarian laws of war.

In the aftermath of the Cold War, humanitarian emergencies constituted one of the most significant agendas of the UN. According to Hehir, there are three factors which brought humanitarian intervention to the top of the UN agenda: ideological, structural and technological but the conceptualization under those titles is not universally accepted. However technology can be accepted as the chief reason underlying the aforementioned developments. With the acceleration of globalization and rapid development of communication technologies in 1990s, numbers of people from different corners of the world have come to be informed about humanitarian crises, which they had never heard before. The media has become one of the most crucial means that formed the public opinion about what was happening in the other parts of the world. Thus, it was foremost the technological development led to the emergence of public awareness of human catastrophes elsewhere. In this sense, during the 1990s, NGOs were able to influence public opinion and raise awareness by depicting revelations of human rights violations and suffering of people. Therefore, in this period, human suffering in troubled areas such as Kosovo and Somalia became matters concern for internal discussion within Western countries (Hehir, 2010, pp. 5-6). Consequently, public demands took the form of demonstrations and became an influencing factor in the foreign policy-making globally.

In the post-Cold War era, two conditions changed the nature of humanitarian intervention in terms of its image and purpose. First is that the UNSC took various decisions on the use of international force by interpreting human rights violations as ‘threats to international peace and security’ since division between domestic and international conflicts became vague with the increase of internal conflicts (Varlık, 2016, p. 1044). The second is NATO's intervention in Kosovo without the UNSC resolution, being the first example in the history since the establishment of the NATO (Acet, 2017, p. 447).

The end of Cold War and dissolution of Russia led to outbreak of new the conflicts in the form of new civil wars in the several regions, such as in the former Yugoslavia, Georgia,

and Somalia. New conflicts required more comprehensive solutions (Ratner, 1996, pp. 14-15) which presented significant challenges to the UN peacekeeping. These challenges included among others, poverty, environmental problems, spread of diseases etc. As Howard puts:

> "Aside from the tragic killing and injury of innocent civilians, violent civil conflicts inspire lingering, seemingly intractable ills such as state collapse, corruption, dire poverty, rampant injustice, dislocation, environmental degradation, and disease, all of which may in turn instigate renewed and spreading conflict, international crime, and terrorist activity." (Howard L. M., 2008, p. 1).

As a result, in the post-Cold War, main conceptualization of these conflicts was in the frame of 'new wars'. In this respect, Kaldor argues that old wars and new wars are different from each other in terms of their actors, goals, methods and form of finance. Firstly, states as main actors were fighting through their regular armed forces in the old wars but new wars take place between combination of state factions and non-state actors. Secondly, geopolitical interests or ideological ideas motivated states in the old wars. In contrast, in the new wars, identity (ethnic, religious or tribal) has caused conflicts. As to methods used in the old wars, there were battles in which states encounter and territory was captured through military tools. In the new wars, 'battles are rare and territory is captured through political means, through control of the population' (Kaldor, 2013, p. 2). Lastly, financially, old wars were subsidized by states through taxation or outside patrons. In the new wars, on the other hand maintaining violence provides revenues to warring parties (Kaldor, 2013, pp. 2-3).

2.1.2. The Legal Framework of Humanitarian Intervention in the UN Charter

Since the emergence of the UN, there have been debates about the use of force and following the end of Cold War, these debates started to associate with the problem of humanitarian intervention (Christiansen, 2000, p. 12). The fundamental rule of the prohibition on the threat or use of force in international system is stated in Article 2(4) of the UN Charter:

> "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any

> other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations." (Charter of the United Nations).

Nonetheless there are different interpretations about this article. One view is that this article prohibits only the use of force in international relations, i.e between states. In other words, the right to use force for the suppression of an uprising within a country by the regime against own citizens is its purview. When states resort to force within their countries in order to suppress the uprisings, international human rights law principles and international laws about armed conflicts can be stepped in but the use of force by a state within its own territory is not banned by Article 2(4) (Keskin, 1998, p. 39).

The UN Charter provides only for only two exceptions to prohibition of the use of force in international relations under Article 2 (4). First, use of force can be mandated in practice according to the right of individual and collective self-defense when there is an attack against state. This is laid down in Article 51 of the Charter.

> "Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security." (Charter of the United Nations).

Second, the UNSC may decide to resort to force when there is an attack or a threat against international peace and security. This is stated in Chapter VII, Articles 39 and 42 of the UN Charter (Charter of the United Nations). Chapter VII of the UN Charter has been evoked as the legal basis for the use of force to deal with humanitarian emergencies. SC authorized the military enforcement under this chapter to maintain or restore international peace and security (Christiansen, 2000, p. 58). Although the conditions necessary for the use of force articulated in articles of the UN Charter has not changed military interventions for humanitarian purposes in the 1990s became a measure invoked to deal with humanitarian crisis (Christiansen, 2000, p. 13).

The interventions in the 1990s were enabled by a shared belief that internal conflicts which cause serious human rights violations can pose a threat to international peace and security. When the UNSC consider the human rights violations as a threat to international peace and security, a serious contradiction arises between preservation of state sovereignty and protection of basic human rights because while preservation of sovereignty requires non-intervention in internal affairs, protection of basic human rights proposes the opposite.

Humanitarian interventions in cases such as Somalia, Bosnia, Sierra Leone and Libya were approved by the members of the UNSC to the extent the intervention under consideration was anticipated to play a supportive role for the state sovereignty together with promoting human rights norms. In contrast, members decided against humanitarian interventions in Rwanda, Kosovo, and Darfur because they considered that these interventions undermined the state sovereignty (Walling, 2013, pp. 254-255). In this sense, it can be said that protection of state's sovereignty and promotion of human rights should be provided in interventions at the same time but how it is possible to achieve this.

Humanitarian intervention has been considered to be a subject of internal affairs of any state during the Cold War era. Therefore, the UNSC refused to allow intervention in times of internal crises emphasizing the importance of state sovereignty (Walling, 2013, p. 2).

Binder argues that the decisions of SC on humanitarian intervention are shaped by interaction of the three motivational dynamics: humanitarian considerations, material interests, and institutional effects. Humanitarian considerations refer to the moral obligation of the states to protect the victims of a crisis and to advocate international norms. This is the first explanatory factor for why SC deploys its forces to troubled places. Secondly, material interests point to possible negative effects of the crisis such as refugee flows, terrorism, and conflict dispersal. These undesirable results have a vital role in decision of the UNSC members for humanitarian intervention (Binder, 2016, pp. 11-12). The fear of spillover effect has affected SC decisions in responding to crisis (Binder, 2016, p. 44). This explanation is underscored by realist approach in which states act rationally considering their interests (Binder, 2016, p. 41). The third dynamic is the institutional effects within the UNSC. The fact that the Council has the necessary material and reputational resources from the past experiences in the conflicted areas has encouraged the UN to take action in response to emergencies.

> "The strength of this institutional dynamic in the Council depends on the extent to which the Council has invested its time, material resources, and diplomatic prestige toward resolving a humanitarian crisis." (Binder, 2016, pp. 11-12).

In addition to these, Binder points out that these explanations are significant for calculating the changes in the action of UNSC in the Post-Cold War era but none of them is adequate

by itself to analyze the UNSC behavior in the crisis. Nevertheless, he emphasizes that these factors are crucial in exploring the actions of SC in reaction to crisis (2016, p. 12).

The effect of media on the decision-making process of states and organizations are significant. This effect is defined as “CNN effect”, The Cable News Network, which involves press, televisions, radio, and electronic news in the process of opinion building. The literature on the “CNN effect” describes the concept as one of the most influential factors that give impetus to political decisions towards the released issue. The CNN effect debate gained significant attention due to the changing geo-political conditions with the Cold War period and increasing humanitarian emergencies in the world (Robinson, 2013). Boutros-Ghali described CNN effect as ‘CNN is the sixteenth member of the Security Council’. The media impact on the UNSC carried out mostly through its member states. The public pressure shaped by the media and this pressure compels government action (Malone, 2004, p. 12).

Researchers have pointed out the press coverage of the hungry children in Somalia to claim that the media has "forced the United States to adopt an intervention policy for humanitarian reasons" (Binder, 2016, p. 49).

2.1.3. Opponents and Proponents of the Humanitarian Intervention

Humanitarian intervention has been criticized for being illegitimate because of the violations of the UN Charter since intervention violates the principle of non-use of force and the principle of non-interference to the states' internal affairs. At the UN World Summit on UN reform in 2005, leaders discussed the principle of ‘Responsibility to Protect’ (R2P) (Ertuğrul, 2016, p. 445). The UNSG Kofi Annan questioned that if humanitarian intervention is undesirable and unacceptable because of undermining states’ sovereignty, how will human rights violations be prevented such as in Rwanda? In responding to the question, Canadian Government announced the formation of International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) which aims at reconciling humanitarian intervention for the protection of civilians and sovereignty, and provides a global political unanimity on any action (2001, p. 2). The contributions of the Commission was to

redefining the concept of state sovereignty, bringing a new perspective to humanitarian intervention, and lastly emphasizing that R2P which included 'responsibility to prevent, to react and to rebuild' was much more than military action (Kwiatkowska, 2014). Interestingly, ‘Responsibility to Protect’ report came to the agenda when US declared “global campaign against terror” (Andreopoulos, 2010, p. 362).

The opponents of humanitarian intervention criticize from several perspectives. Firstly, they point out that it has damaged the basic norms of the international system and society such as the principles of sovereignty and non-intervention. In this sense, they emphasize that humanitarian intervention has undermined the international system. Secondly, it is considered that humanitarian intervention is a ‘Western’ term that serves the neo-colonial intentions and interests of powerful states (Binder, 2016, pp. 7-8). In this respect, according to realists, truly humanitarian intervention is unimaginable and it seems to be a deceptive mask for the states to achieve their interests (Crawford, 2002, p. 426). US intervention can stands as a striking an example for this assertion. Iraq intervention which was interfering in the internal affairs of Iraq can be shown as an example to this. This intervention is important for clearly showing how national interests of great powers have affected interventions (Duran, 2001, pp. 89-90). In other respects, liberals who consider that human rights and values are supreme believe in the possibility of truly humanitarian intervention (Crawford, 2002, p. 427).

> “Liberals have difficulty theorizing the who, what, where, when, why, and how of humanitarian interventions. Liberals want to do good, and they try, but they are troubled by the difficulty of doing so, in part because the historical context of colonialism and decolonization makes any intervention suspect.” (Crawford, 2002, p. 427)

Thirdly, other critics point out that such interventions result in moral hazard on civilians and made them rebellious against the authorities, which in turn causes insurgencies in society. (Binder, 2016, pp. 7-8). On the other hand, advocates of the humanitarian intervention underline that the sovereignty should not be seen as sacred to states and human rights must be protected against sovereign states when it is necessary. Human rights come before the sovereignty of states (Yaşın, 2012). Furthermore, proponents refer to customary law on humanitarian intervention and discuss that international society has to “Responsibility to Protect” lives of the victimized people (Binder, 2016, pp. 7-8). The

UNSC Resolution 1653 drew attention to the responsibility of states to protect their citizens. This argues that if a state violates human rights or if a state cannot meet the rights of its citizens, it comes to the agenda that the UNSC moves as a preventive measure and use its authority (Arsava, 2007, p. 4).

2.1.4. Peculiarities of the Somalia Case

In the literature, the concepts of peacekeeping and intervention are problematic. Academics and policymakers use different terminologies - peacekeeping, peace enforcement, humanitarian intervention, peace operations to define a complicated operations. It can be said that there are no clear definitions and boundaries between these concepts (Cottey, 2008, p. 432). After the Cold War period, distinction between humanitarian intervention and new form of peacekeeping began to disappear. Therefore, Somalia intervention included humanitarian concerns but in Somalia, the UN peacekeeping involved peace-building and enforcement mandates. There was a matter of transformation of the traditional peacekeeping after the end of the Cold War.

With the end of Cold War period, humanitarian emergencies caused by civil and internal conflicts dominated the new world system. In order to address the humanitarian emergencies efficiently, expanded peacekeeping emerged in the new area. Peacekeeping has undertaken a new and ampler responsibility in the area of human rights protection such as assisting with reconstruction and provision of aid for humanitarian delivery. Mayall defines this new area as *New Interventionism Era* (Frontmatter, 2 May 1996, p. 3). In this sense, Somalia intervention is one of the expanded peacekeeping of the UN in the post-Cold War. Peacekeeping forces in Somalia took an active role in peace-building and institution-building.

The intervention to Somalia under the framework of UNOSOM I overlapped traditional peacekeeping principles which are the consent of warring parties, non-use of force except in self-defense and impartiality[3]. UNOSOM I was lightly armed and limited to use of force.

[3] Hammarskjöld first articulated impartiality in the report of UNEF. He argued that the UN missions must be partial in the use of force non-Chapter VII operation. This means that the use of force does

In contrast, the UN authorized UNOSOM II in order to establish a secure environment for humanitarian assistance to Somalis under Chapter VII of the UN Charter which allows the use of force.

Humanitarian interventionism or eagerness to use of force under the framework of protection humanitarian values had a significant role in shaping international relations during immediate post-Cold War period. The problems about the legality and morality of humanitarian rendered became one of the most widely discussed issues in the international arena. For example, the response of NATO in Kosovo or the UN intervention in East Timor came to the fore in the international legal and political agenda considerably. In this period, the justifications for the humanitarian values are explanatory of transformation presented by stories or narratives which reinforce international law (Orford, 2003, p. 2).

In mid-1990s, it became clear that humanitarian problems were at the core of peace and security issues. The aim of the UN whilst intervening in Somalia, which is the first military intervention by the UN under Chapter VII, was to establish a secure atmosphere to provide humanitarian aid to Somalis. Because of the rising complexity of the crisis, the UN fostered a type of peace-building[4] that combined military and humanitarian action. This approach included overseeing the cease-fire and providing humanitarian assistance and promoting social reconciliation, contributing restoration of institutions etc. (Franke, 2006, p. 7).

There were two factors which help to examine why humanitarian intervention was applied first in Somalia. First, the UNSC members shared the same interpretation of the conflict.

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not serve the will or interests of one party and local balance of power. In other words, force should not 'be used to enforce any specific political solution of pending problems or to influence the political balance decisive to such a solution.' (Yamashita, 2008, p. 615) In the Brahimi panel argued the principle of impartiality. "Impartiality..... mean adherence to the principles of the Charter and to the objectives of a mandate that is rooted in those Charter principles. Such impartiality is not the same as neutrality or equal treatment of all parties in all cases for all time, which can amount to a policy of appeasement." (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2000, para. 50). Analysts and commentators have different ideas about the concept of impartiality. For instance, Maj.-Gen. Patrick Cammaert's distinction: 'being neutral means that you stand there and you say "Well, I have nothing to do with it", while being impartial means that you stand there, you judge the situation as it is and you take charge.' (Yamashita, 2008, p. 617).

[4] It was used first time diplomatically the report of Ghali, An Agenda for Peace. It was described as "efforts to identify and support structures which will tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people."

Causes, character, and victims of conflict provided a legitimate framework for intervention. Second, Somalia conflict was different from other conflicts such as Bosnia, Rwanda since Somalia was an absence of legitimate government. The reason for why humanitarian intervention was authorized first because it lacked sovereign authority (Walling, 2013, p. 78).

As mentioned in introduction chapter, the UNSC needs to some justifications to intervene in conflicted areas. According to Walling, these justifications are called casual stories which enable to the use of military force under the framework of the humanitarian intervention to crisis areas.

> "Examining the arguments that council members make and the justifications for their behavior reveals the normative context in which they operate and illustrates how opportunities for humanitarian intervention are discursively produced in specific cases." (Walling, 2013, p. 244)

Three stories or justifications are inadvertent, intentional, and complex (Walling, 2013, pp. 245-246). When the UNSC decides humanitarian intervention to a crisis, stories about causality and stories about sovereignty or justifications which they constituted by them to intervention affect its decisions (Walling, 2013, p. 264).

Inadvertent Story	Intentional Story	Complex Story
All parties were responsible for civilian deaths	UN personnel and the civilians were killed by Somali rebels	Warlords, clans, criminal gangs, armed thugs were responsible for inflicting terror on civilians

Figure1. The casual stories presented by the UNSC for justifying humanitarian Intervention

The intervention of the UN in Somalia was different from the resolutions of the Iraq intervention. Resolution 688 authorized for the protection of minorities in Iraq because the UN was alarmed the trans-border effects of interior humanitarian crisis but Resolution 794 of the UN defined the internal human rights violations as a threat to international peace and security. In addition, Somalia lacked sovereign state and functioning government unlike Iraq (Walling, 2013, p. 259).

After Barre was dislodged by a Hawiye rebel group and the United Somali Congress in 1991, Somalia turned to clan-based factions combined with terrible famine, drought.

> "The fighting and banditry led to a famine that threatened the lives of half the population (4.5 million Somalis.) An estimated 300,000 Somalis died, and two million people fled their homes." (Latif, 2000, p. 24).

The UN intervened in Somalia in order to meet humanitarian emergencies and restore peace (Latif, 2000, p. 24). The UNSC evaluated the situation in Somalia passing Resolution 794 which emphasized that the human rights violations and the barriers to the provision of humanitarian relief created threats to international peace and security. Motivations for the Somalia intervention were Bush's personal feelings, the resources interests such as petroleum, and local political interests. On the other hand, some argued that Somalia intervention launched in the name of principles and values rather than in the name of national interests (Kırdım, 2017, pp. 619-620). For example, Crocker states that 'Operation Restore Hope was an act of human solidarity without regard to race, religion, or region'. As Congress and American people helped the Iraqi Kurds in 1991, they also wanted to help Somalis under the concept of humanitarian protection. That is to say, the cause of both interventions is the same which is humanitarian considerations (Crocker, 1995). Situation in Somalia will be analyzed in detail Chapter 3.

2.2. THE UN PEACEKEEPING AND ITS EVOLUTION

2.2.1. Conceptual Analysis and Legal Basis of the UN Peacekeeping

The sufferings brought about by the Second World War to the states and humans led to the establishment of the UN. The main objective of the organization was to 'save succeeding generations from the scourge effects of war' (Latif, 2000, p. 24). In addition, according to the UN's Charter, the other main the UN's objectives are to maintain international peace and security, to achieve international cooperation in solving the problems of economic, social and cultural (Aggarwal). Peacekeeping forces established by the UN member states voluntarily when it is necessary are one of the most effective means of the UN to restore peace in conflicted areas.

The UN is not the only organization that undertakes peace operations; it is by far the most important one, since it has carried out more operations than other organizations such as EU, ECOWAS, AU, NATO (Varlık, 2016, p. 1042). The UN peacekeeping is separated from other missions of international organizations like NATO in many ways. Firstly, the UN does not have an official and comprehensive peacekeeping doctrine. Peacekeeping forces are not mentioned in the UN Charter. Secondly, the UN demands that peacekeeping soldiers meet two conditions unlike other organizations. Peacekeepers have foreign language knowledge like English and they are volunteers to join operations. Due to its lack of comprehensive doctrine for peacekeepers, the UN has published the *UN Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines* report in 2008 to provide basic directives and procedures for peacekeepers because the UN required unified and centralized framework to conduct peacekeeping operations . (Sotomayor, 2013, pp. 71-72).

The administration of the UN peacekeeping is regulated by the Secretariat and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), which constitutes the core of peacekeeping operations bureaucracy. The tasks of the DPKO are to 'plan, prepare, manage and direct the UN peacekeeping missions' (Rees, 2005, pp. 8-9). It is headed by SG who organizes peacekeeping operations and forms the control mechanism of the peacekeepers' behaviors. The active role of SG of the UN in the peacekeeping have crucial role in terms of mediator and coordinator of peacekeeping operations (Rees, 2005, pp. 8-10).

"Peacekeeping" has not been mentioned and explained in the UN Charter. It lacks any clear universally agreed definition. Peacekeeping forces were established as ad-hoc mechanism to respond urgent situations by the UN. Peacekeeping has been developed mainly by the UN as "a tool to soften conflicts and crises, to prevent their growth and to assist in resolving disagreements through peaceful means" (Güngör, 2013, p. 9). Even though the United Nations Charter does not explicitly identify the means of peacekeeping, it can be said that Chapter VI forms the legal basis for peacekeeping. Article 36 (1) of Chapter VI:

> "The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment." (Charter of the United Nations).

In the article, understand what the term of a 'method' means is significant to analyze point of origin of peacekeeping forces.

Article 37 (2) of Chapter VI:

> "If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate." (Charter of the United Nations).

Hammarskjöld defined peacekeeping missions as Chapter VI and 1/2' operations (Aksu, 2003, p. 24). As it is not directly referenced to the concept of peacekeeping in the UN Charter, this makes it difficult to define missions' tasks clearly (Aksu, 2003, p. 25). This is related to the way in which the UN operations over time are loading new functions into themselves because every operation and intervention has brought new problems to the UN.

It can be said that peacekeeping developed in the grey zone between pacific settlement and military enforcement. Non-coercive and facilitative activities mainly constitute the functions of the peacekeeping operations. They are not focused on repelling aggression. Therefore, they resemble armed police work rather than normal combat. 'Peacekeeping forces have no military objectives: they are barred from active combat, located between rather than in opposition to hostile elements, and negotiate rather than fight' (Thakur, 1994, pp. 392-393). In this respect, the definition of peacekeeping is a controversial issue. In the Peacekeepers Handbook the International Peace Academy describes peacekeeping as:

> "the prevention, containment, moderation and termination of hostilities between or within states through the medium of third-party intervention, organised and directed internationally, using multinational military, police, and civilian personnel to restore and maintain peace." (Aksu, 2003, p. 21).

The UNSG -Boutros Ghali- defined peacekeeping in *An Agenda for Peace* that is a report written for the UN by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in 1992:

> "Peacekeeping is the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Peacekeeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace." (Rees, 2005, p. 5).

Peacekeeping can be defined in reference to two components: form and intent. With respect to form, peacekeeping forces consist of deployment of the other states' military personnel voluntarily. Intent refers that peacekeeping aims to guarantee peace and minimizing violence. This component involves both principles of the traditional peacekeeping and multidimensional peacekeeping (Beardsley, 2011, p. 1052). Traditional peacekeeping

missions included observer missions or lightly armed military units. These missions are authorized under three principles: the consent of parties, non-use of force, non-interference in domestic affairs of state. On the other hand, multidimensional peacekeeping missions have more broadened functions such as monitor elections, promoting human rights, reconstruction of institutions (Fortna, 2004, p. 270). The UN describes multidimensional peacekeeping mission as an integrated mission:

> "an instrument with which the UN seeks to help countries in the transition from war to lasting peace, or address a similarly complex situation that requires a system-wide UN response, through subsuming various actors and approaches within an overall political-strategic crisis management framework." (Hartnett, 2005, p. 9).

In the Chapter VII of the UN Charter, Article 39-41 sets out measures that the Organization may apply in cases of threat to peace, deterioration of peace or acts of aggression. According to Article 39, the UNSC determines that the peace is threatened, deteriorated or an act of aggression takes place and following that it gives recommendations for protection or reconstruction of international peace and security, and decides what measures to take in accordance with Articles 41 and 42 (Charter of the United Nations). Enforcement forces are provided in Chapter VII. (Article 42). In peace enforcement operations which authorized under Chapter VII, missions do not necessarily meet the consent of warring parties. These missions include larger armed forces and their aim is to restore peace by force (Fortna, 2004, p. 270).

States have the obligation to comply with the measures decided by the UNSC and the Charter grants a wide range of authority to the UNSC (Charter of the United Nations).

2.2.2. UN Peacekeeping Operations until 1990s

The first the UN peacekeeping mission which was the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) was sent to Palestine in 1948 as an observer mission. The mission comprised of unarmed military personnel and it aimed to control the cease-fire that negotiated by Count Bernadotte who was a Swedish diplomat between Israel and Palestine. A few months later, unarmed UN mission was deployed in Kashmir. The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was the first armed mission of the UN deployed in Egypt in

1956 because of Suez Crisis which broke out between Israel and Arab states (Goulding, 1993, p. 452). For the mission, the UN deployed armed forces for the first time rather than the unarmed and overseeing observers. The main objective of the UNEF which consisted of about 6,000 troops from ten different countries was to resolve Suez Crisis through monitoring the retreat of the military powers of France, United Kingdom and Israel from Suez (Weinlich, 2014, pp. 18-19). Actually, mission in Suez Canal was the first peacekeeping operation in 1956 (Hatto, 2013, p. 501). Before the Suez Crisis, there were two observer missions. But until this crisis, they had not been described as the peacekeeping operation. Since the UNEF I has generated the fundamental rules and principles of peacekeeping, it has been a precedent for other missions which have followed (Fetherston, 1994, pp. 12-13). It was fairly effective in completing its objectives on securing truce and facilitating the retreating of foreign powers from Egypt. This experience provided to raise a considerable optimism for the hopes of the peacekeeping (Fetherston, 1994, p. 13).

The UNEF also has formed a precedent for the scope of the Secretariat's responsibilities since the General Assembly demanded to prepare a report to develop the concept of peacekeeping from GS, Dag Hammarskjöld. Authorities and responsibilities of GS broadened with the Hammarskjöld's initiatives (Weinlich, 2014, pp. 19-20). He explained more clearly the functions of the Secretariat in peacekeeping operations in the report which is known 'The Summary Report' in 1958 (Rees, 2005, p. 21). Hammarskjöld who was the GS of the UN between 1953 and 1961 years (United Nations), has a crucial role to analyze the concept of peacekeeping. Hammarskjöld was the first the UNSG to launch a peacekeeping operation in which peacekeeping mission undertook the role as an interposition or third party between factions (Hatto, 2013, p. 502). The basic principles of traditional peacekeeping had been originated from Hammarskjöld's recommendations. These principles were the principle of consent, impartiality, non-use of force, the principle of volunteering of the UN member states when contributing peacekeeping missions, and lastly being under the control of the UNSG (Aksu, 2003, pp. 22-23). Those five principles formed the UNEF's policy base (Hatto, 2013, p. 503).

Whereas the UN controlled by the US and its Western countries during the early Cold War period, this situation changed with the beginning of decolonization process in 1960s. This destroyed the balance between the UNSC and the GA and this caused a domination of the Third World within the UN system. Nevertheless, the UN could not meet the demands of the First and Third World countries (Latif, 2000, pp. 34-35).

According to Goulding, I956 -1974 was the golden age of the UN peacekeeping. The number of the UN peacekeeping operations reached 13 during the Cold War period. They were successful to supervise regional conflicts such as in the Near East, although it was difficult to take a decision within the UNSC because of the deadlock by the US and USSR to resolve conflicts (Goulding, 1993, p. 452).

The UN established four short-term missions: from June to December 1958 the UN Observation Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL), from October 1962 to April 1963 the UNSF/UNTEA, from July 1963 to September 1964 the UN Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM), and from July 1960 to June 1964 ONUC (Hatto, 2013, p. 503). In addition, other missions during this period were in 1965, Representative of the Secretary-General in the Dominican Republic, DOMREP, and in 1965, United Nations India-Pakistan Observer Mission, UNIPOM (Fetherston, 1994, p. 17). Nevertheless, the Congo operation (I960-64) was one of the significant experiences of the UN because of the three reasons. Firstly, when the UN intervened in Congo, its institutions were collapsing, which was the different from practice of the peacekeeping intervention in other places. Secondly, this operation was the first mission which included a very significant number of civilian elements. When the UN realized that the mission faced with difficulties to fulfill its tasks and responsibilities, it resorted to the use of more force during its operation, which is the first operation of shifting from peacekeeping to peace enforcement until Somalia case the only (Goulding, 1993, p. 452).

From 1973 to 1978, the UNSC authorized three force-level operations all of which established in the Middle East. These operations were as follows:

> "United Nations Emergency Force II (UNEF II), in 1973, in the Sinai, United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDO F), in 1974, in the Golan Heights, and United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), in 1978. The latter two, UNDOF and UNIFIL are still functioning." (Fetherston, 1994, p. 18).

It is noteworthy to see that the peacekeeping missions were not established outside the Middle East between 1965 and 1988. Between 1978 and 1988, new operations were not established. One of the quite possible reasons of this was the attitude of Reagan toward the UN. Reagan kept away from cooperation. In this period, rivalry between Soviet Union and United States prevented the UN's peacekeeping work in conflicted areas (Fetherston, 1994, p. 18).

The 13 operations which were authorized by the UN during the Cold War were effective to strengthen the principles, techniques, procedures, and practices of peacekeeping missions (Goulding, 1993, p. 453). During the Cold War, the operational roles of the permanent members of the UN especially United States and Soviet Union in peacekeeping operations were too limited. The major countries supporting to peacekeeping operations were Australia, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Ghana, India, Ireland, Italy, Nepal, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Senegal, Sweden and the Netherlands (Rees, 2005, p. 22).

The peacekeeping missions established during the Cold War period had five common principles. Firstly, they were established by the UN and conducted by the Secretary-General who informed regularly the UNSC with reports to every operation. Furthermore, UN member states met the costs of the operations. Secondly, the peacekeeping missions were established according to whether there was the consent of host states. It had been realized by the UN that the consent of parties was crucial to conduct successful and effective operations. It also had been seen that impartiality emerged as an important principle of the peacekeeping in operations performed during the Cold War.

For example, when the UN intervention was approved and enacted against North Korea, it aimed to protect interests of the South Korea. However, after the Cold War, the principle of impartiality emerged in order to prevent peacekeeping operations from being inclined to a party’s claims and positions as in the case of UNEF (Goulding, 1993, p. 454).

The fourth principle was related to how the troops were to be provided for the peacekeeping missions. It was realized that it would be practicable for the UN to establish ad-hoc forces to resolve conflicts. The UN member states provided troops for the missions. Last principle was the use of force. Most of operations which were before 1988 were

consisting of unarmed military observers. When the missions were armed, they resorted to the use of force only for the self-defence (Goulding, 1993, p. 455).

> "During the Cold War, the Secretariat had decided that peacekeeping operations should not be endowed with offensive capabilities. It was argued that the real strength of a peacekeeping operation lay not in its capacity to use force, but precisely in its not using force." (Rees, 2005, p. 32).

With these principles, the UN peacekeeping which covered operations during the Cold War can be defined as:

> "Field operations established by the United Nations, with the consent of the parties concerned, to help control and resolve conflicts between them, under United Nations command and control, at the expense collectively of the member states, and with military and other personnel and equipment provided voluntarily by them, acting impartially between the parties and using force to the minimum extent necessary." (Goulding, 1993, p. 455).

Peacekeepers were seen as an interposition between warring parties and they were assumed to be instruments of the diplomacy (Rees, 2005, p. 32). On the other hand, in late 1980s, this situation changed and military force had been part of the UN peacekeeping. In this context, Somalia is of great importance to understand uncertainty of the UN peacekeeping about the use of force against belligerents under the Chapter VII.

In a conclusion, the effect of peacekeeping operations which were organized during the Cold War period was tremendously limited just because tasks and authorities of the UN peacekeepers were restricted. Their main function was to observe and monitor the conflicts (Rees, 2005, p. 27). What is more, these missions were small in terms of size and resources to deal with conflicts (Fortna, 2004, p. 270).

In the late 1980s, between 1988 and 1989, UN established five new peace missions (Weinlich, 2014, p. 21). In 1988, the UN organized two new observation missions: The United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan in May and the United Nations Iran–Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG) in August (Hatto, 2013, p. 506). By 1993, additional 12 peace operations had authorized by the UN. It had been realized that the principles of the traditional peacekeeping were inadequate to cope with intra-state wars which were seen after the Cold War. "Peacekeeping forces were deployed in conflict zones where ceasefires and consent from the parties were extremely fragile, partial or non-existent." (Weinlich, 2014, p. 21).

After the disappointments in Somalia, Yugoslavia, Rwanda, the UNSC refrained from authorizing any peacekeeping mission between 1995 and 1999 (Weinlich, 2014, p. 21). In the mid-1990s, the number of the UN operations decreased dramatically because of the failures of the UN in these areas and western states intervened in conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo (Boulden, 2003, p. 2). But this would not last long and the second wave started in 1999. The operations established in this period were described as more complex and larger. With the operations authorized in Kosovo (UNMIK) and East Timor (UNTAET) in which deployed tripled the number of police and civilians, the UN peacekeeping gained an impetus (Weinlich, 2014, p. 21).

In the post-Cold War period, the UNSC organized some 42 operations, 33 of them were fulfilled. In this period, an interesting point was that the focus of operations geographically shifted from the Middle East to Africa and Europe, likewise to a degree Central America and Asia. In addition, in this period, tendency for the UN to deploy peacekeeping in environment where the conflicts continued has increased and the UN has been allowed to use the military force to complete its mandates. Along with this period, the functions and authorities of peacekeeping forces had not confined to only stop the violence but also, they meet new requirements such as taking part in the process of the peace-building in the crisis area. Peacekeeping missions had consolidated the civil society, democracy and strengthened institutional development in conflicted areas as in the East Timor, Bosnia (Rees, 2005, p. 28).

2.2.3. Deployment of the UN Peacekeeping Missions

The UN can be instrument for its members to achieve their own goals (Latif, 2000, p. 35). There are debates about where the peacekeeping forces have deployed and which criteria have been resorted to deploy its mission by a state. Some authors claim that the strategic interests of the permanent members of the UNSC have played a vital role in the deployment of the mission. According to their interests, the states decide whether they will intervene or not. Others claim that the main purpose of the UNSC is to widen democracy around the world (Salverda, 2013, p. 708).

According to Rost ve Greig, there are two factors that motivate the states to deploy their troops to the conflict areas. First, interests of the states like security gain motivate states to send peacekeepers to troubled areas. What is more, the states that have experiences in peacekeeping operations can led an enormous positive effect on their international political image and improve their military professional skills. The UN training and experience allow the states contributed to their troops to modernize their doctrines, tactics and plans (Sotomayor, 2013, p. 68). Since military training is accepted to contribute to the skills other than solely military ones in order to serve more effectively to ensure peace, training for UN peacekeeping forces is suggested to achieve more if the training includes "diplomatic and mediation skills, concepts of humanitarian law and human rights, and basic UN rules" (Sotomayor, 2013, p. 70). Secondly, security concerns and potential threats affect states to intervene to civil conflicts. The political, economic, social and cultural linkages between states provide motivations for states to send peacekeepers to a conflict area. The civil wars have caused civilian displacement and refugee crisis in the other countries. This has raised awareness of the humanitarian emergency among the states agreed to deploy peacekeepers to these areas. Jakobsen (1996) emphasizes that humanitarian concerns create pressures on the states and he defines this effect on the governments as a 'CNN-effect', that is, media force to states to act against the humanitarian emergencies (Greig, 2011, pp. 173-174).

On the other hand, Findlay states that the pressures from outside such as states' allies or from the UNSG or Secretariat or some other international organizations motivate states for participation to the UN peacekeeping forces. For example, US pressured many of the Caribbean states to participate missions such as MNF in Haiti and later in UNMIH in order to give multinational feature to US-dominated mission. A similar process took place in the consolidation of forces for UNITAF. Russia pressured other CIS members to join peacekeeping force in Tajikistan. In addition, the one of the factor to motivations for participation is altruism. Some of the "old" peacekeepers, such as Canada, Norway and Sweden have considered participation to peacekeeping forces as the essence of good international citizenship. Furthermore, participation can be seen as improving national prestige and image. These factors have significant impact on newly independent states of the former SU. In addition to that, public opinion can affect the states to intervention in

troubled area, -which suffered from humanitarian emergencies such as in Somalia. Motivations of states for the intervention generally are different from each other. While participation is regarded as a contribution to their national security interest by Spain, participation in peacekeeping is essential for states such as Brazil, Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Nigeria and Pakistan who are awaiting the choice of the candidate for permanent membership of the UNSC (Findlay, 1996, pp. 7-8).

Finger underscores that the significant task of the UN peacekeeping is more political than military. First, the task of peacekeepers must comply with the national security interests of the concerned countries, including those who contribute to the military force. In addition, it is necessary to have the consent of host government or parties. This force itself should apply to violence when it is necessary to defend itself and primarily to fulfill its political mission. Finally, all main parties of the conflict must be strongly willing to cooperate (Finger, 1977, pp. 196-197).

2.2.4. Peacekeeping Generations: First and Second Generation Peacekeeping

The ideas of authors are different from each other about how to classify the peacekeeping missions. While one idea is to categorize peace operations according their roles and objectives in conflicted areas, the other is to define them according to their features such as size, mandate, and resources. Therefore, the number of peacekeeping generation varies according to the approaches of the writers (Bellamy, 2004, p. 20). While Marrack Goulding distinguishes ‘six phases’ (Goulding, 1993, p. 456), much of literature classifies ‘two generations’ under the first-generation peacekeeping of the Cold War and second or new generation peacekeeping of the post-Cold War period. This type of typology implies that the peacekeeping evolution takes place sequentially and progressively (Hatto, 2013, p. 501) but as each conflict has its own character, the type of the peace operation varies from each other. For this reason, it is difficult to classify peace operations (Bellamy, 2004, p. 21).

Conceptual framework and practice of the UN peacekeeping missions have changed over the time. As the conditions of the period changed, peacekeeping missions have tried to adapt themselves to new situations. The components of the peacekeeping expanded such as

including electoral and training functions, protection of civilians, provision of humanitarian assistance, rebuilding institutions (Howard V. P., 2008, p. 285).

Different generations of the peacekeeping represent the changing nature of missions.

> "As they have progressed through the generations, UN peace operations have moved from a reactive stance that seeks to freeze or palliate conflict to one that is proactive and seeks to influence its outcome." (Kenkel, 2013, p. 124).

As earlier mentioned, there is no consensus on the exact definitive descriptions of these generations but there are some points separating generations from each other. The degree of use of force used by missions, the type and the content of tasks have determined the peacekeeping generation (Kenkel, 2013, p. 124).

The research distinguishes in broad terms between traditional peacekeeping and second-generation peacekeeping or multidimensional peacekeeping. Firstly, during the Cold War, from 1950s to 1970s (Roberts, 1994, p. 134), the UN peace operations overlapped with the principles of the traditional peacekeeping or first-generation peacekeeping. "Traditional peacekeeping is the product of Cold War." (Williams, 2009, p. 4). The peacekeeping missions that formed this group are lightly armed and limited to use of force. The first-generation peacekeeping has acted under the Chapter VI of the UN Charter (Kenkel, 2013, pp. 125-126). This chapter requires the pacific settlement of the UN peacekeeping to deal with the dispute. In article 33 of Chapter VI,

> "The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice." (Charter of the United Nations).

The tasks of traditional peacekeeping are monitoring and maintaining of truces, observing frontier lines, being third party between warring parties (Roberts, 1994, p. 134). This type of the peacekeeping aims enforcing confidence between belligerents to facilitate the conflict resolution (Williams, 2009, p. 4).

In the type of the peacekeeping, there are three principles: the consent of warring parties or host nation(s), the political impartiality of the mission between the conflicting parties and lastly non-use of force by the UN troops (Tull, 2012, p. 130). First of all, the consent had been seen that the consent principle is one of the greatest weaknesses in maintaining peace. As indicated by UNEF I, the consent which given could be removed later, thus affecting all

attempts of the peacekeeping officers negatively. Furthermore, as shown in Cyprus case, the consent to the presence of the UN mission was restricted. This meant that the movement of the UN forces was limited. As a result, the consent of host state has affected success of the UN peacekeeping deeply (Rees, 2005, p. 26). What is more, after the Cold War, with the spreading civil wars which induced many human rights crises and violations have undermined the need for the consent of parties involved. In this period, intervention has been perceived as legitimate to overcome the threats which aimed directly human life (Latif, 2000, p. 53). With the increasing number of clashing groups in civil wars has diminished the possibility of the consent of warring parties to intervene in conflicted areas. This tendency has been very common in war torn regions particularly in Africa. Secondly, impartiality is necessary for the fighting factions to cooperate with a UN mission. Effective peacekeeping mission requires assuring the credibility with all conflicting parties together with holding fairness and transparency. In the case of Somalia, the UN indicated that it failed to gain Somalis' trust because they perceived the UN missions as a huge threat for themselves. Thirdly, the UN has outlawed the use of force except in self-defence (Tull, 2012, pp. 130-131). In some cases, the principle of non-use of force by the peacekeepers has caused them to be ineffective in conflicted areas. For example, in 1974 in Cyprus and in 1982 in Lebanon, the UN peacekeeping forces failed to stop collapsing of order and foreign involvement followed in these places (Yılmaz, 2012, p. 4).

But, the emerging of the concept of 'robust peacekeeping' with Brahimi Report has made the principle of the non-use of force debatable topic because of the two reasons since the use of force in the conflicted areas brought on the agenda of the UNSC with this report. First, most members of the UN were harshly against any military intervention (Tull, 2012, p. 131). Nevertheless, militarization of the UN peacekeeping missions through robust means caused killing or injuring civilians as demonstrated in the past experiences. In the Somalia case, peacekeepers were accused by the local people because they were seen as invaders by Somalis (Yılmaz, 2005, p. 25). Secondly, it was the idea that robust peacekeeping may damage impartiality of the mandate (Tull, 2012, p. 131).

"More than half the UN peacekeeping operations before 1988 had consisted only of unarmed military observers and not counting situational exceptions, force was used only in cases of self-defense." (Yılmaz, 2012, p. 4).

The other peacekeeping generation is the second-generation peacekeeping, Findlay defined this generation as new peacekeepers (Findlay, 1996, p. 3). The formal beginning of the second generation peacekeeping was the late of 1980s. This type of the peacekeeping operations in 1980s were UNTAG which began in 1989 in Namibia, in Central America (ONUVEN established in 1989, ONUCA created in 1989, ONUVEH organized in1990, ONUSAL created in 1991), MINORSO which established in 1991 in Western Sahra, and in Angola (UNAVEM I and UNAVEM II created in 1991) (Ratner, 1996, p. 117).

After the Cold War, there was a meaningful change in the attitude towards the use of force because the UN peacekeeping had to deal with more complex conflicts. The UN member states started to sympathize the use of force under Chapter VII (Rees, 2005, p. 33). Intra-state wars and complex conflicts which expanded and deepened after the Cold War required the combination of traditional peacekeeping and multidimensional principles. Namely, peacekeeping forces in this period undertook the roles in the process of peacekeeping, peacemaking, peace enforcement, and peace-building (Franke, 2006, p. 7).

The functions of the multidimensional peacekeeping can be divided into three groups; military, governmental/political, and civil. Military functions have included observing and monitoring ceasefires; supervision of the withdrawal of forces, preservation of buffer zones, regulation of the mission, preclusion of infiltration and civil war, confirmation security deals, disarming of the warring parties, securing of the humanitarian relief, mine clearance, and etc. Governmental/political functions comprise of the conservation of territorial integrity, monitoring/supervision of the law and order, providing political independence, to help establish a viable government, negotiating with civil society, overseeing and securing elections, assisting in the establishment of local government, reconstruction of the economic life, and etc. Civil functions include to ensuring the humanitarian assistance, monitoring and securing the flow of refugees, assisting in the returning of refugees, and etc. (Fetherston, 1994, pp. 32-33).

In addition, after the Cold War period, there was a shift from peacekeeping to peace enforcement which explained by the British Army Field Manual as: "Operations carried out to restore peace between belligerents who do not all consent to intervention and who may be engaged in combat activities." (Rees, 2005, p. 33). On the other hand, there have been some significant issues about the concept of peace enforcement. It lacked a clear definition in the UN peacekeeping literature. Although the aforementioned definition may seem clear-cut, it bears complication what 'peace-enforcement' means in some respects. Above all, the concept 'peace' is understood differently by people[5]and institutions. The ways to reach peace are also regarded to be just or unjust in various circumstances. Furthermore, what 'enforcement' is and how it should be done is a subject of discussion (Rees, 2005, p. 33).

2.3. THE UN PEACEKEEPING IN THE POST-COLD WAR

2.3.1. Post-Cold War Parameters of the UN Peacekeeping

A shift from a Westphalia to a post-Westphalia approach in the international system has constituted the biggest conceptual change of the peacekeeping missions. At the same time, this shift has changed the peacekeeping operations in practice. "Post-Westphalia" world order reorganized the concept of sovereignty. With this process, human rights considerations have gained importance against the sphere of influence of states and non-intervention to their domestic affairs (Kenkel, 2013, p. 123). Rapid globalization which has provided the flow of goods, services, capital, people among the states in the late of 1980s eroded the sovereignty of nation-states. Another factor that changes the notion of state sovereignty was related to the growth of influence and power of civil society and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (UNND, 1997, pp. 11-12). It can be said that the sovereign nation state is weaker than since its first form was created in 1648 with Westphalia Agreement (Hehir, 2010, p. 57). With the diminishing of sovereignty and authority of national states has induced to emerge the new threats to international peace

[5] For example, Johan Galtung discerns 'positive' and 'negative' peace.

and security such as terrorism, international weapon and drug trafficking and etc. (UNND, 1997, pp. 10-11).

As mentioned above, the post-Cold War period could be identified with intra-state conflicts, multiple warring parties, and unclear battlefield (Yılmaz, 2005, p. 13). The 1994 UN Commission on Global Governance alerted that "war between states is not extinct; in the years ahead the world is likely to be troubled primarily by eruptions of violence within countries" (Hehir, 2010, p. 51). This situation caused the dispersal and erosion of states' sovereignty and appearance of supranational and subnational risks to global peace and security and human being (UNND, 1997, p. 10).

After the Cold War period, the number of peacekeeping operations dramatically increased. There were many reasons of this expansion. Firstly, the UN SC reached agreements on to crises more easily. During the Cold War, the use of veto by the five permanent members was the main obstacle to take a decision for any intervention (Roberts, 1994, p. 136). During the Cold War period, the number of vetoes of permanent members was China, 3; France, 18; United Kingdom, 30; US, 69; and the Soviet Union, 114 (Yılmaz, 2005, p. 17). The aim which is to provide balance of power between the US and the USSR shaped the security system of this period (Kertcher, 2012, p. 613). Especially, the UNSC had difficult in making a decision to any intervention due to rivalry between two superpowers. On the other hand, from June 1990 to 11 May 1993, permanent members did not use the right of veto against the any intervention (Roberts, 1994, pp. 136-137).

> "During the Cold War, between 1946 and 1989, the Council adopted 646 resolutions. This number rose to 1439 adopted resolutions over the period 1990–2012." (Binder, 2016, p. 6).

The declining ideological conflicts between the US and the USSR provided to decrease of use of veto in the decision-making process of the UNSC (Yılmaz, 2012, p. 4). There was one exception which Russia prevented a resolution on financing of peacekeeping mission in Cyprus in 1993 (Yılmaz, 2005, p. 17).

Second reason of expansion the peacekeeping missions could be a widespread optimism towards the UN actions and there was a considerable confident to the UN which has sufficient capacity and resources to deal with current issues. The report of Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, -*An Agenda for Peace*- published in June 1992, strengthened this

optimism. Many people supported that the UN undertook the role of multilateralism in the new world system (Keskin, 2002, p. 272). Last factor is that with the end of Cold War, the demand for the peacekeeping missions raised because of that some states experienced severe conflicts. This situation alerted the UN to act immediately (Roberts, 1994, p. 137).

Aftermath the Cold War, a transformation process started in the UN. New hope has emerged that the UN system can be renewed for proper operation (Latif, 2000, p. 62). In this period, for the reasons I explained above, demand for the peacekeeping operations has increased to deal with many conflicts taking place in many parts of the world (Latif, 2000, p. 25). The increasing number of peacekeeping operations after the Cold War was combined with basic changes in their objectives, nature and content. These operations referred the second-generation peacekeeping. They included security, political, economic, humanitarian aspects and they were multilateral, multidimensional and multinational/multicultural (Oliver Ramsbotham, 2011, p. 149). The peacekeeping operations launched since 1988 make up more than %75 of all of that kind of operations recorded in the UN history (Diehl, 2005, p. 621).

The conflicts which broke out in the post-Cold War period like in Rwanda, Somalia are different from the conflicts of the Cold War period. In the conflicts taking place during the Cold War period, the reasons of the conflicts and the parties, their main aspirations and interests could be clearly identified, and this made easier to reconcile the conflicting parties. Conversely, in the post- Cold War era, parties were too numerous and complex. Unstable and anarchic atmosphere, failed states, illegitimate governments were some of the crucial handicaps to deal with these conflicts (Latif, 2000, p. 53). In this period, civil wars dominated in international arena. Civil wars or intra-state wars are the most serious and dangerous kind of conflicts.[6] They did not only kill and destroy the conflicting parties, but also cause severe damage to the country's civilians through genocide and forced displacement which have caused long-term negative consequences for public health (Greig, 2011, p. 172).

[6] Intrastate conflict is defined as “a conflict between a government and a non-governmental party, with no interference from other countries

> "In civil wars unlike the legitimate states‟ conventional warfare methodology asymmetric and hybrid tools and strategies, and terrorist tactics and organisations are commonly used." (Varlık, 2016, p. 1044).

Therefore, the principles of the traditional peacekeeping and basic principles of the UN charters which are non-intervention, non-use of force except in self-defence and respecting of the state sovereignty had to be left by the UN (Latif, 2000, p. 62).

The United Nations has undertaken the role of the world policeman since the end of Cold War.

> "From 1948 to 1992 around 650,000 personnel participated in peacekeeping operations at an estimated cost of US$8.3 billion. 14 Since I988, eighteen new missions have been established, five more than in the previous forty-year history of UN peacekeeping. In 1992 alone, the numbers of peacekeepers on the ground increased from approximately 10,000 to 62,000, while the budget rose to US$1.4 billion. 15 There are currently around 80,000 peacekeepers on the ground and estimates suggest that this figure could increase to 1 00,000 by the end of 1993. 16 Of these 80,000 peacekeepers, 4500 are civilian police (in 1987 only 35 civilian police were deployed) and 10,000 are civilian personnel (in 1987 only 1000 civilian personnel were deployed)." (Fetherston, 1994, p. 23).

Its contribution to settlement and management of the conflicts was very significant such as the Iran-Iraq war, Afghanistan's invasion, Cambodia, Cyprus and Western Sahara problems. With the increasing demand for the UN's help and growing expectations regarding the UN's function in international arena served to reveal the strengths and limitations of organization. Since member states of the UN faced the crisis and problems in which they could not manage alone, they canalized the organization to take new obligations, including responding to refugee flows, protecting human rights, and ensuring sustainable development. These tasks could only be carried out through a global organization such as the UN (Keskin, 2002, p. 274).

2.3.2. The Challenges to the UN Peacekeeping in the 1990s

Intrastate conflicts which increased with the end of Cold War because of diminished states' authority can be characterized by failed states, breakdown of economy and social life, competition between criminal factions. The reason why the UN were facing difficulties in civil wars was that peacekeeping intervened in conflicts directly in the post-Cold War period. Otherwise, there were civil wars before this period such as in China before the

revolution, in Nigeria in the late 1960s. But the UNSC did not take part in these civil wars directly (Roberts, 1994, p. 149).

The UN peacekeeping was mostly unprepared and ill-equipped to cope with intrastate conflicts which broke out after the Cold War (Fetherston, 1994, p. 20). Much of literature about the new wars has debated that economic gains and motivations and greed are the main reasons of the conflicts (Newman, 2004, pp. 176-177). For example, in Somalia, the main reason of the rivalry between clans was the economic concerns. Economical motivations shaped the conflicts between clans.

There were three basic trends which formed the significant challenges for the UN peacekeepers in the post-Cold War era. Firstly, with the increase in the number of peace operations, the nature of the wars became more complicated. Therefore, the need for more personnel and budget has grown. Another problematic issue was about the frequent turnover, which adversely affects the stuff in terms of their professional military knowledge, skills and most importantly experience. To be clear, the inexperienced newcomers needed guidance to be able to deliver orders adequately. Secondly, the principle of non-use of force which is main principle of traditional peacekeeping created a great danger for blue helmets and local civilians. So, the UN called for the ways to use of force against to protect peacekeepers and civilians against attackers (Thorsten Benner, 2011, p. 5).

> "The objective of the use of force in peacekeeping operations is to influence and deter, not necessarily to defeat threats seeking to threaten or harm United Nations personnel or associated personnel or the civilian population. In some cases, the use of force may also be authorized to respond to other threats, including those caused by armed spoilers intending to distract peace processes." (DPKO, 2017, p. 3).

Third, the mission of the peacekeepers expanded and peacekeepers began to play a significant role in the process of peace-building which included building or rebuilding state institutions and ensuring economic development. But they were inexperienced in this regard and needed to specialize to conduct its peace-building functions (Thorsten Benner, 2011, p. 5).

> "The consequences of involvement in the new peacekeeping for states participating for the first time are immense. Political and constitutional complexities may delay, constrain or rule out their participation; the military or other personnel being offered may not be trained or equipped for peacekeeping; governments may not wish to accept

> UN command and control of their forces; public opinion may not countenance casualties or tolerate the subtleties, ambiguities and frustrations of peacekeeping; and, for a variety of reasons, the new peacekeepers on the ground may not shape up." (Findlay, 1996, p. 14).

In addition to three challenges, there are also other problems which the UN encountered in the post-Cold War area. Other problems were the consent of parties and impartiality of the UN peacekeeping which are the principles of traditional peacekeeping. When the consent of parties is not provided or the consent is withdrawn, there is a high probability of occurrence of troubles. The consent principle can limit mission's movement and caused to confuse their functions. Therefore, that UN peacekeeping negotiates with parties have significant a place in order to gain or strengthen its credibility and trust. The other problem is that peacekeepers can be direct target for the belligerents and can be regarded as enemy for them in the situations of abandonment of impartiality (Findlay, 1996, pp. 24-26). When the UN peacekeeping turns into a direct party in the clash, this directly affects the impartiality of the peacekeeping forces (Lewis S.). This situation emerged in Somalia was unique in that peacekeepers were killed for the first time. What is more, the image of peacekeepers can be damaged enormously by civilians and impartiality of the UN was questioned.

In summary, the three principles of the traditional peacekeeping have been great challenges for the peacekeeping forces in civil wars such as in Somalia, Yugoslavia, and Rwanda (Roberts, 1994, p. 149). Finally, after the Cold War, the UN also has faced financial problems to conduct peacekeeping operations. "As of 31 May 1995, outstanding assessments to the UN for peacekeeping amounted to $1.03 billion."

CHAPTER THREE

3. UN PEACEKEEPING FORCES IN SOMALIA

This chapter provides a brief history of Somalia followed by an analysis of the reasons of the conflicts which accelerated in the late 1980s. The chapter focuses on the effects of civil war on the Somalis and analyses the international interventions to Somalia. Additionally, the motivations and interests of the UN and as well as their road to Somalia intervention are examined. Within this context, UNOSOM I, UNITAF, UNOSOM II missions will also be analyzed.

3.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CONFLICT AND ITS EFFECTS IN SOMALIA

3.1.1. Country Profile

Somalia is located in the area is called the Horn of Africa in reference to the eastern part of the continent. It stretches out to cover 637, 657 square kilometers (Janzen, p. 1). It has borders with the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean and alongside east of Ethiopia. The border countries of Somalia are Djibouti (61 km), Ethiopia (1,640 km), Kenya (684 km) (CIA). Somalia which has the longest shoreline in Africa extends along of coasts 2680 km, surrounded by the Gulf of Aden in the north and the Indian Ocean in the east. Because of its geographical location, Somalia links the Arabian Sea to the Gulf of Aden which is of international commercial importance. Therefore, Somalia has significant strategic location (Maden, 2013, p. 9). The Somalian lands, the weather is hot throughout the entire year. Rainfall is sparse and most of the lands are convenient only for nomadic pastoralism. In the northwest and southwest, there are limited areas that attract moderate rainfall. The rest of the country suffers from drought (Metz, 1993, p. 59).

Somalia: general map:

Source: **Abbink, J. (2009).** ***The Total Somali Clan Genealogy.*** **Leiden, The Netherlands: African Studies Centre.** ***p.8***

In Somalia, regarding the ethnic groups, Bantu constitutes the 85% of the population and 15% (including 30,000 Arabs) are the non-Somalians (CIA). With regards to the linguistic and cultural connections, Somalia ethnically belongs the Cushitic-speaking family[7]. In terms of religion, almost entire population belongs to Sunni Islam. The majority of the Somalian people traditionally belong to the pastoral nomadic cultures. They herd sheep and goats, as well as cattle in the convenient regions (Lewis, 2008, p. 3). Somalia's population was predominantly comprised of nomadic pastoralists and seminomadic herders up until the early 1990s as they made up three-fifths of the total population, followed by the one-fifth of cultivators and one fifths of town dwellers (whose vast majority resided in Somalia's capital, Mogadishu). With the fall of the Barre government, patterns of residency in the country changed significantly. For example, when the population of Mogadishu, with

[7] A division of the Afro-Asiatic phylum, comprising about 40 languages that are spoken mainly in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, and northwestern Kenya.

the estimation of 500,000 in the mid-1980s, reached to 2 million, this figure did not include the refugees who had fled from Ethiopia in the early 1992 (Metz, 1993, p. 57).

Again, when the Somalian's population was estimated 7.1 million in 1990, the 40 to 60 was nomadic. (Seth G. Jones, 2006, p. 89). According to UN estimates, the population of the Somalia was about 7.7 million with exception of the Ethiopian refugees in 1991 but other figures show that the population reached 8.4 million in mid- 1990 in Somalia (Metz, 1993, p. 67).

Until 1991, the modern public education was mostly free. In the 1970s, the demand for schools increased in the settled areas. Estimations indicated that the literacy rate was around 24 percent of the population in 1990 in Somalia but this percentage changed after the collapse of state. The small manufacturing sector was dedicated mainly to the processing of the agricultural products. While the large-scale enterprise was based primarily on the processing of sugar, milk, and hides and skins, with the outbreak of civil war in Somalia in the late 1980s, manufacturing business was destroyed. The agricultural raw materials as well as the processed food products constituted most of the exports of the country. The main export products were livestock and bananas, followed by hides, skins, fish, and fish products. Italy was the leading country that imported the Somalian goods in 1990 (Metz, 1993, p. 148).

In Somalian history, there have been two catastrophes that affected Somalian people dramatically. Among which one is human-made and the other is natural. While the former is related to the fighting between clans, and the warlordism, the latter reflects the hardship of Somalia conditions caused by the tough climate.

The clan lineages of Somalis have traditionally shaped the country's social, economic life and its political systems and institutions. There are six major clan families - Darod, Digil, Dir, Hawiye, Issaq and Rahaniwan. These clans are further divided into smaller clans (Carment, 1993, p. 172). Whereas the Dir, Daarood, Isaaq, and Hawiye families make around the 70 percent of Somalia's population, the Digil and Rahanwayn represent around the 20 percent of the total population. In Somalia, the clan lineages are not blood-related, but primarily "...the fruit of the nomadic pastoral life" and the challenges of the security, migration and co-existence enhance them. (Abbink, 2009, p. 4).

Map of Clan Areas in 1970s-1980s

Source: **http://www.ciaworldfactbook.us/africa/somalia.html**

Clan differences, pan-Somali nationalism, militant Islam, and the terrible reign of Barre have engendered the anarchy in Somalia. It is difficult to categorize the Somalia case among with the other case studies since it encompasses a variety of complex elements, some peculiar to Somalia. Concerning its clan structure and warlords, it is similar to Afghanistan, in terms of its colonial background; it is comparable to East Timor and Iraq. In addition to these, however, Somalia was ruled by the Barre dictatorship from 1969 to 1990, and this separates the conflict from other cases (Philipp, 2005, p. 518).

3.1.2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF SOMALIA CONFLICT

3.1.2.1. Barre Dictatorship in Somalia

The roots of Somalis could be traced back to 2000 years ago, when they were a displaced proto Arabic people. In the Islamic area, they were not united under a single state but were under different administration of the different Islamic states. Somalia's modern history began in the late 19th century, when Somalia lands were colonized by various European countries (Philipp, 2005, p. 519).

At the end of the 1800s Somalia was exploited by four foreign powers which were Ethiopia, Britain, Italy and France. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, Somalia was divided into 5 parts: British Somalia, French Somalia, Italian Somalia, Ethiopia Somalia (Ogaden) and Kenya's North Frontier Territory (NFD) (Duke TIP International Affairs Institute, 2007, p. 4). Most of the northern region was controlled by the British; northwest was ruled by the French, the southern region was controlled by Italians, and the western Ogadeni region was ruled by the Ethiopians. Divisions among Somalis imposed by colonial powers induced the rise of pan-Somali nationalist. The Somalian nationalist movements would later result in the outbreak of conflicts with the African neighbors. In addition to nationalism, colonialism also induced the emergence of militant Islam in Somalia. In the 1890s, the nascent Islamic fundamentalism in British Somaliland caused clashes in the region (Duke TIP International Affairs Institute, 2007, p. 6).

The colonialist period which started in 1884, was one of the most significant periods for Somalia in terms of shaping its economic and political future as it brought along solid social and political changes. Since the colonization process in Somalia awakened the national sentiments and it triggered nationalist and irredentist movements. On the other hand, colonialism had a positive impact on Somalia as colonialist countries made Somalia's integration into the world economy and system easier. They established cotton, plantations later banana whose harvest was exported abroad. Again, as positive impact of colonialists, Somalis could have adopted agrarian and urban lifestyles. For example, Hargeisa and Mogadishu, which were developed as urban the centers, became the central hubs for

politics, business, and commercial activities (Pettersson, 2011, p. 51). The most lasting impact of colonization was on the state administration that the artificial borders which imposed by colonialist powers. The five parts that the European powers divided Somalia into were homogenous in terms of religion, language, and values. This partition nonetheless gave rise to conflicts between clans and factions. The last impact of colonialism on the Somalian society is legal. The Somalis were traditionally consisted of nomad pastoralists and cultivators whose commercial connections with outside was very limited. Prior to colonialism in Somalia, the customary law, known as Xeer was resorted to arrange the relations between communities. The cultural and political norms which Somalis had to obey constituted the customary law. Together with the colonization process, the integration of the Somalia society into the world economy caused rivalries among the pastoralists and a population flow to the cities took place. These changes contributed to appear conflicts between communities (Pettersson, 2011, pp. 73-75).

In the 1960s, the situation changed rapidly and the Somalia protectorates gained their independences. Whereas the Somaliland Protector under the British rule declared its independence on June 26, 1960, the Italian Somaliland under UN tutorship gained independence on July 1, 1960 (Lewis I. , 2002, p. 164). The Somali Republic was founded in 1960 as a result of merger of former Italian south colony and a British north protectorate (Janzen). Adan Abdulle Osman from Hawiye clan was elected as the provisional president of the new state (Lewis L. , 2008, p. 33).

The incompatibility between the British and Italian colonial legacy and traditions was a major concern during the first few years of independence. There were significant divergences in the administrative practices, bureaucratic procedures, and legal codes. What is more, there were frequent disagreements between the British- and Italian-trained personnel. For example, when on 20 June 1961 a constitutional referendum was held in Somalia to approve the provisional constitution for the country formed in 1960 as result of the merge of the union of British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland, about 100,000 votes (60%) from the north region or Somaliland rejected the new constitution. Although there was a simmering resentment, integration in administration and politics between them was achieved in considerable level in the mid-60s (Lewis L. , 2008, pp. 34-35).

By the 1960s, the Somali nationalist movement gained momentum (Duke TIP International Affairs Institute, 2007, p. 7). The aim of the Somali nationalists was to unite Somalia under one single administration. This goal was specified in the constitution in writing and it was represented by the national flag of Somalia on which five-pointed stars refer to all population of Somalia (Mayall, 1996, p. 110). Since Somalia did not contain one nation, it was an incomplete state. Three parts of Somalia were under foreign rule in Ethiopia, Djibouti and northern Kenya (Lewis L. , 2008, p. 36). The Ogaden region of Ethiopia, the north-eastern province of Kenya and Djibouti had been left the Somalia's territorial integrity after the Somalian independency. The Somalia government attempt at retrieving their territories that they had lost. They resorted to diplomacy while at the same time provoked low-level insurgency in Ogedan and mobilized rebel groups alongside the propagandas against the Kenyan and Ethiopian governments. Furthermore, they sought military and political alliances with the US or USSR but Somalia was unsuccessful achieving its irredentist goals as it could not receive support from the region countries at the founding meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in May 1963. Somalia faced two wars with its borders, one in 1963 and other in 1967. The war in 1963 which had begun in Ogedan had further exacerbated the state of affairs in Somalia since it did not only fail to modify the status quo but had also led the OAU to adopt a binding resolution compelling all African governments to accept the frontiers that they had acceded since the independence. In 1967, the fighting between the rival parties again began to unearth and the Somalia failed. A defence pact was concluded by Kenya and Ethiopia against their common enemy, Somalia (Mayall, 1996, p. 110). Until 1967, it could be argued that for the Somalis, nationalism was unifier power. When Muhammad Haji Ibrahim Egal was elected prime minister in 1967, the Somali foreign policy however shifted remarkably. He pursued moderate policies against pan-Somali issues and launched some positive initiatives with Ethiopia and Kenya (Duke TIP International Affairs Institute, 2007, p. 7). In that sense, Egal followed a policy of détente with their neighbours and sought cooperation and negotiation with the leaders of Kenya and Ethiopia (Lewis L. , 2008, p. 37). For instance, he established commercial air and telecommunication connections with its neighbour, Ethiopia. Such approach of Egal towards the Pan-Somali issues was one of the factors that

led to his downfall and military rule finally seized power (Duke TIP International Affairs Institute, 2007, p. 7).

3.1.2.2. Barre Dictatorship in 1969-1991

After Mohamed Siad Barre seized power in 1969, the regional conflict cooled down into stability in the short term while he dragged Somalia the rivalries between the two super powers of the Cold War period (Mayall, 1996, p. 110). General Siyad Barre took over the power in 1969 with a bloodless military coup. He governed with the one man rule the country from October 1969 to January 1991, when he was ousted in a bloody civil war led by clan-centered guerrillas (Janzen).[8] He acquired power from the support of three clans which combined 'his own clan, Darood clan, his mother's clan and the clan of his son-in-law – commander of the secret police'. Such support constituted the enormous hegemony of clan numerically (Mayall, 1996, p. 117). "Barre ruled with an iron fist, dealing with critics by suppressing them, detaining them, or bribing them" to silence (Lewis I. , 2002, p. 222).

> "The aim, which was popular initially, was to clean out the Augean stables and restore Somali virtues with a concerted onslaught, under energetic leadership, on the real enemies of progress: poverty, disease and ignorance." (Lewis I. , 2002, p. 38).

Although after the coup, Barre declared an end to "tribalism, nepotism, corruption, and misrule". Somalia became one party-state under the rule of the Somalia Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP) created by Barre. One party rule manifested the brutal dictatorship of Barre. The National Security Service (NSS) also formed by Barre in 1970 consisted of his clan members, which means Barre's clan was in charge of the intelligence and internal security of Somalia (Mwangi, 2015, p. 28).

Under Barre's dictatorial administration, the executive and legislative powers were assigned to the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) which was comprised of 20-members and chaired by President General Siad Barre himself (Country Watch, 2018, p.

[8] Clan is the principal unit of tribal organization. It is based on real or assumed descent from common ancestors. Villages or local communities consist of the members of a clan under the leadership of a chieft ain who is head of an extended clan family

12). In the meantime, as Barre declared Somali's transition to Marxism– Leninism (Mwangi, 2015, p. 29), the SRC experimented with a new regime called "scientific socialism". Barre announced that Somalia depended on the Soviet Union ideologically and militarily (Country Watch, 2018, p. 12). In this way, Barre's regime banned all kinds of clannish behavior formally (Mayall, 1996, p. 116). This new regime's slogan was as follows: "socialism unites; tribalism divides'' (Pettersson, 2011, p. 522). Following the Barre's coup, scientific socialism constituted the cornerstone of the official system. It was closely related to 'togetherness', 'self-reliance', and 'self-help'. However, its actual meaning for Somalis was "wealth-sharing based on wisdom" (Lewis I. , 2002, p. 209). The aim of the scientific socialism was to undermine the ancient clan system. Barre launched a national company against the values of the clan system. He outlawed the greetings and terminology of kinship which represented the ancient clan way of life (Peterson, 2000, p. 12). When Barre imposed socialism on every aspect of the Somalian daily lives, he faced traditional two main constraints: Islam and tribalism. In the 1970s, Barre focused on the concept of scientific socialism in his speeches in order to help Somalis adjust to this new policy. He declared religion or Islam and scientific socialism were not incompatible and emphasized the similarities of between them. For example, he argued that both of them rooted in justice (Lewis I. , 2002, pp. 219-220). He further asserted in his speech in 1972 as such:

> "As far as socialism is concerned, it is not a heavenly message like Islam but a mere system for regulating the relations between man and his utilization of the means of production in this world. If we decide to regulate our national wealth, it is not against the essence of Islam. God has created man and has given him the faculty of mind to choose between good and bad, between virtue and vice. We have chosen social justice instead of exploitation of man by man." (Lewis I. , 2002, p. 220).

As a matter of fact, Barre seized power in Somalia; he initially left a good impression on Somalis. He launched some reformative initiatives such as the coding of a written language, the advancement of women's rights, the establishment of public schools, and construction of businesses (Seth G. Jones, 2006, p. 85). On 8 March1974, at the Women's International Day ceremony, Barre declared in a speech that:

> "The Key …….. is to give everybody the opportunity to learn reading and writing….It is imperative that we give our people modern revolutionary education…. to restructure their social existence…. It will be the weapon to eradicate social balkanization and

> fragmentation into tribes and sects. It will be bring about an absolute unity and there will be no room for any negative foreign cultural influences." (Lewis I. , 2002, p. 217).

Furthermore, Barre government launched a series of development projects. The most impressive achievement among these became the crash program that introduced orthography for the Somali language which raised the literacy rate of the population (Country Watch, 2018, p. 12). According to the UN estimations, in 1990, the literacy rate in Somalia was 24 percent (Seth G. Jones, 2006, p. 90).

In addition to these reformative initiatives, the SRC began to take increasingly radical decisions on foreign affairs. Somalia and the USSR concluded a long-term treaty of cooperation and friendship in 1974 (Country Watch, 2018, pp. 12-13). This agreement was the first friendship treaty between the USSR and a sub-Saharan African country (Peterson, 2000, p. 12). The authoritarian regime of Barre was thus openly supported by the USSR initially. However, when the Soviet support shifted towards Ethiopia during the coup, Barre would seek support from the US (Howard L. M., 2008, p. 22) .

In the early 1972, tensions began to rise along the Somali-Ethiopian border (Country Watch, 2018, pp. 12-13). Support for dissidents from neighboring countries constituted a major factor of conflicts emerged in Africa. For example, Mengistu Haile Mariam who was a Colonel in the Ethiopian Armed Forces overthrew the king in Ethiopia in 1974. He too adopted a kind of scientific socialism but he encountered oppositions of Barre. Both Barre and Mengistu supported the opponents of each other in their countries (Omar, 2002, p. 13). Mengistu pursued policies to lighten the pressure coming from the Eritrean and Tigrean rebels targeting his own regime by supporting the internal conflict in Somalia. However, with the end of the Cold War, Siyad's ability to resist declined. Aftermath, in 1988, two leaders, Barre and Mengistu compromised to stop supporting rebel movements in each other's country in order to survive in the post-Cold War global system (Mayall, 1996, p. 113).

In the mid-1970s, the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) initiated guerilla operations to Ogedan which belong to Ethiopia and consequently Somalia waged war against Ethiopia. Struggle between the conflicting parties increased and the Somali National Army (SNA) entered to Ogaden to support the rebels. The SNA quickly moved towards the major cities of the region such as Harer, Jijiga and Dire Dawa. During the

fighting, while the USSR helped Ethiopia by providing arms, it withdrew its supports Somalia and established an embargo on weapons. With the outbreak of the Ogaden War, President Barre asked for help from the West for military equipment and economic aid. The US and other Western countries did not want to provide arms since the Somali government had been supporting the rebellious activities in Ethiopia but in the end, in 1978, the US activated the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) mission in Somalia. When the Ethiopian forces occupied Somalia along the central border, the US provided two emergency air services to Somalia in order to preserve its territorial integrity (Country Watch, 2018, p. 13). What is more, the US allocated $620 million to the Somalia to be used exclusively in agriculture, health care, and infrastructure projects (Seth G. Jones, 2006, p. 86). The US military schools gave the opportunity of training to Somalian officers of the National Armed Forces. From 1982 to 1990, there were strong cooperation in defense between the US and Somalia (Country Watch, 2018, p. 13).

Ogedan war resulted in defeat of Somalia and leaving behind 25,000 casualties (Bank, World, 2005, p. 9). Barre had two miscalculations about Ogedan. Firstly, Barre ignored how influential the Ethiopian nationalism could be and therefore, believed that Ethiopian nationalism could be undermined by centrifugal forces. Secondly, he undermined "the extent of Soviet commitment to the new Marxist Derg regime". He considered that "the moment had come when the Ethiopian army, needing to replace its old military hardware was denied a military consignment promised by the Americans to Haile Selassie: now or never" (Ambroso, 2002, p. 22).

In 1978, the downfall of Somali created two intertwined results. First, it caused instability in the country with a permanent refugee problem since more than 500,000 people followed the army back to Somalia consequent to its withdrawal from Ogaden. Secondly, Barre had to resilient strong uprisings in the northeast and northwest, all of which aimed to overthrow government. In 1988, Siad Barre was obviously at war with factions of the nation (Mayall, 1996, p. 113). "In the late 1980s, Barre's soldiers bombed civilians, killed livestock, poisoned wells, and dropped mines." (Duke TIP International Affairs Institute, 2007, p. 8). It was clear that Barre's defeat in Ogedan induced strong public dissent and several Somali liberation movements such as the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) which

established in 1978 primarily comprised of Majerten clan members. Additionally, in 1981 the Somali National Movement (SNM) which was mainly consisted of Isaq clan initiated a resistance campaign against the Barre government (Pettersson, 2011, p. 54). The civil war in Somalia triggered by the SNM started in May 1988 and created a horrible disaster in the country. It is estimated approximately 50,000 to 60,000 Somalis died. Later, the SNM took over the control Somaliland, which would declare its independence in 1991 as the Republic of Somaliland. The new state, however, has not been recognized by the international society and remained in a de facto separate status (Bank, World, 2005, p. 10).

3.1.2.3. The Civil War in 1990-1992

According to Menkhaus, underdevelopment, clannism, corruption, repressive regime, the end of the Cold War and missed diplomatic opportunities constituted the reasons of the Somalia civil war. Firstly, underdevelopment was one of the major causes of conflict in Somalia. The predominant population was working in a subsistence economy either as pastoralists (60% of the pre-war population) or farmers (17%). In pre-war studies, Somalia's GNP per capita was only $170 USD, the fifth lowest in the world, and its life expectancy was 47 years. The climate of Somalia made life even more difficult for people. Somalis frequently suffer from severe drought and floods (Menkhaus, 2003, pp. 1-2). Secondly, clannism created fragmentation and divisions among the people of Somalia (Menkhaus, 2003, pp. 1-3). Clan linkages and family customs divided Somalis drastically although they were the same people in terms of traditions, language, and religion. Since the independence of Somalia in 1960, the rivalry between the leaders of clans who desired more power induced constant political and social instability. Clans always sought to gain control over Somalia (Walling, 2013, p. 65). Thirdly, due to maladministration Somalia became a corrupt and repressive state. Barre implemented authoritarian regime during his presidency. Fourthly, the end of Cold War transformed the conflict in the region in a way to accelerate the violence of civil war. With the disappearance of the Cold War dynamics, the strategic importance of Somalia decreased for the West. The loss of the external support facilitated the collapse of Somalia. Lastly, there were missed diplomatic opportunities.

Even though anarchy and crisis were inevitable in Somalia between 1988 and 1990, diplomatic efforts have been made to manage the crises. Hence, 'Somalia was simply left to its own fate' (Menkhaus, 2003, p. 3).

In 1991, after 21 years, Barre was dislodged by a Hawiye rebel group and the United Somali Congress (Walling, 2013, p. 65). Consequent to the widespread uprisings in the 1990s, when President Barre fled Somalia, he left behind a country without a national president or a central government. Somalia disintegrated into clan-based segments and descended into chaos, terror, and humanitarian crisis (Kengni, 2013, p. 44).

Barre himself set the conditions that brought along the destruction of the future of Somalis. Barre used to say: “If I go there will only be land and not people.” (Omar, 2002, p. 11).

> “By March 1992 the population of Mogadishu had been decimated, at least 300,000 people having died of hunger and related diseases, and the direct death toll from the fighting amounting to around 44,000. The severe famine suffered by the civilian population (also partly caused by a drought) was finally ‘discovered’ by the international media.” (Moller, 2009, p. 12).

Mohamed Osman stated that:

> “For all that happened in Somalia we usually blamed Siad Barre, who had sown the seed of hatred in our society. It was believed that he used to say: “I am sitting on a volcano, and the day I go it will explode and no one will be able to stop it.” He meant that no one else would enjoy peace in the country after his removal. And, in fact, that is what happened after he was removed from power.” (Omar, 2002, p. 17).

The legacies of the Barre’s presidency only intensified the conflict in Somalia. State had been authoritarian and repressive. The resources of state were exploited by leaders and their families and bedfellows. Over two decades of Barre dictatorship, he created dramatic divisions among clans and left a country with never ending clan grievances (Bank, World, 2005, p. 10). Before the colonization by European powers, although Somalis shared a common language, religion and cultural identity, they could not have established a state of their own and remained in clan-based factions without a powerful dynastic rule (Mayall, 1996, p. 114).

The situation in Somalia was expressed in the Bedouin Arab maxim:

> “My full brother and I against my half-brother, my brother and I against my father, my father's household against my uncle's household, our two households (my uncle's and mine) against the rest of the immediate kin, the immediate kin against non-immediate members of my clan, my clan against other clans, and, finally, my nation and I against the world.” (Metz, 1993, pp. 93-94).

Once again, it was the Cold War structure that consolidated Barre's presidency. He received large amount of military and economic support from both of the superpowers. In the late 1980s, when Cold War period came to an end, Somalia's strategic importance for those great powers decreased. Somalia collapsed economically and the level of expenditure to maintain bureaucracy was unsustainable (Bank, World, 2005, p. 10).

Power addiction constituted one of the worst Barre's aspects of administration. The Somali writer Mariam Arif Gassem explains this as below:

> "The dark culture of his dictatorial regime injected into the minds of every single Somali the appetite for power, either for the individual or for the tribe. Power in Somalia is synonymous with wealth, freedom and personal security." (Peterson, 2000, p. 22).

The activities of the Somali National Movement (SNM) in the northwest of the country in 1988 marked as the beginning of the collapse of Somalia. The civil war began with the attacks against dissidents by Barre government and this resulted in the disintegration of the central government in the region. The largest clan, Issak which dominated the northern of Somalia rejected Barre's authority over its territory in south Somalia (Kengni, 2013, p. 44). The Barre's response to Isaaq clan which founded the SNM was rather brutal. This caused many Somalis refugees to flee to Ethiopia. In this period, the external support from the Western donors ended and clan-based liberation fronts that launched by the SNM increased. Somalia was dragged into a heavily-armed conflict of chaos and anarchy, which ended in massacres, ethnic cleansing and a massive flow of displaced persons to neighbor countries such as Kenya and Ethiopia. The armed battles between Darood and Hawiye clans caused serious agricultural degradation in the Bay region, the Lower Shabelle, and the Jubba valley and those areas were plundered (Menkhaus, 2003, p. 3).

With the end of the Barre regime the disintegration in Somalia accelerated dramatically because of two reasons. First, the only possible common ground that the opposition could come together around was the defeat of the dictator. The overthrow of Barre created a power vacuum which openly manifested how divergent the opposition was lacking a cohesive power to unify them (Walling, 2013, p. 66). Accordingly, the fall of Barre removed the common objective for the opposition to come together and the conflicts between the parties became more intense. Second, the USC which forced Barre out of

office was divided into two among rival warlords: who were Ali Mahdi Mohamed, who announced himself as the interim president of Somalia, and General General Muhammad Farah Aideed who was the former major military commander of the USC. Soon, war broke out in Mogadishu between the two factions. Both groups had claims over presidency and the total control of the Somalian territory (Walling, 2013, p. 66). General Aideed and Ali Mahdi could not reach an agreement on how to share power. In this way, Mogadishu was divided into two armed camps (Rees, 2005, p. 100). After flee of Barre, interim government was set up by Ali Mahdi Mohamed who became interim president as he wanted (Moller, 2009, p. 11).

Aided who was a former general in Barre's army saw himself as the savior of Somalia and the true sovereign of the Somalia land. On the other hand, Ali Mahdi Mohammad, the main rival of Aided was a Mogadishu businessman from the north and his forces dominated the northern quarters of the Mogadishu (Koestler-Grack, 2007, p. 46). Mahdi was the member of the Hawiye Abgal clan and United Somali Congress was headed by him (Howard L. M., 2008, p. 22). Fighting between the parties intensified in Mogadishu but in the aftermath it expanded beyond and drastically spread to the rest of Somalia. Many people were killed due to this struggle. The Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the League of Arab States issued a call to stop this existence (Sisk, 2011, p. 46). International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) identified the fighting between General Aideed and Mr Ali Mahdi and the violence in Somalia as "A human disaster of the worst magnitude" (Omar, 2002, p. 11).

Furthermore, with the defeat of Barre government, the Somali Salvation Democratic Front, the Somali National Movement, the United Somali Congress, and the Somali Patriotic Movement emerged as insurgent groups in Somalia. Non-violent actors in Somalia were also armed factions, sub-clan militias, armed gangs and private security forces (Christopher Paul, 2014, p. 156).

Between 1991 and 1992, it was impossible to talk about any authority in Somalia (Menkhaus, 2003, p. 4). There was a lack of supervision over the militia and the soldiers fought mainly to loot. The clan elders also lost control of the young gunmen. Both clans' customary law *(xeer)* and Islamic law were rendered largely irrelevant as they were

considered as constraints on lawless behavior. This eventually resulted in an epidemic of massacres, rape, and other brutalities. Armed conflict and plundering caused a massive famine in Somalia between 1991 and 1992. As the main feature of this period, plunder became the most important activity of the wartime economy. In 1992, the warlords were now fighting for the food-aid supplies and competing over the control of the parts trafficking the food shipments. In this respect, humanitarian aid became the main target for the factions, gangs, and looters. The international efforts to relieve the Somalis from their distress became impossible because of the continuous plundering. In this way, the humanitarian aid was incorporated into the civil war further as another source of conflict. (Menkhaus, 2003, p. 4). Nevertheless, although the NGOs had to encounter serious safety and security problems, they continued with their efforts to help Somalis. Food, shelter and medicine were provided for Somalis by NGOs but poor conditions of the roads, robbery and lack of water and electricity were major obstacles difficult to surmount (Philipp, 2005, p. 524).

Given that sustainable development is dependent on a sustainable environment, it could be deduced that the development will be hampered if the environment is tainted by war as it was in the case of Somalia. “Protection and management of the land and other resources such as water, whether through the authority of a central government or the traditional knowledge of tribal elders are necessary to ensure both civilian survival and the development of a sound economy” (Kengni, 2013, p. 45). This had also led to piracy in Somalia.

> “Lawlessness led to the unsustainable exploitation of resources such as wood, for charcoal, which in turn led to deforestation and erosion that has seriously damaged areas of the country, and unsustainable exploitation of Somalia's fisheries, often by fishermen or fleets from other countries.” (Kengni, 2013, p. 50).

Furthermore, Menkhaus argues that radical Islam was another security threat in Somalia throughout the 1990s. The Islamists too exploited Somalia and brought it to the brink of by seeking the control of the ports, towns, and the judiciaries. These activities fundamentally hampered the democratization and modernization in Somalia (Menkhaus, 2004, p. 55). Al-Itihaad al-Islamiya (AIAI) which is the main Islamic organization in Somalia emerged between the years 1982 and 1984 (United Nations, 2011). It was consisted of mainly

educated young men from the Middle East. In the 1990s, they believed that political Islam was the only solution to recover Somalia of nepotism and corruption caused by the Barre government but this presupposition was wrong in Somalia. From 1991 to 1996, Al-Ittihad sustained the control of the town of Luuq, Gedo which was a significant commercial town and stood against the peace operations. In progress there, the UN officials and military personnel could not enter to the town; only a limited number of foreign aid workers were allowed. The control of the Islamists of the town ended in 1996 when Ethiopian forces defeated them (Menkhaus, 2004, pp. 56-60).

3.2. THE UN INTERVENTION TO SOMALIA

The Somalia conflict was a case that challenged the UN an opportunity to redefine its role in terms of welfare management in a collapsed state. With the end of the Cold War, the UN undertook the role of a regulatory actor in conflicts. Somalia was a "golden opportunity for the UN to expand, develop and consolidate its repertoire of peace practice." (Malito, 2010, p. 124). There are two reasons why the Somalia intervention was different from the other interventions by the UN. First, the UNSC pointed the humanitarian crisis as a threat to international peace and security for the first time as it is rather than because of its impacts on other countries (Walling, 2013, p. 86). This attitude was different from the Resolution 688 which authorized the UN to protect Iraqi Kurds and Shi'a due to the cross-border effects of the Iraq's human rights abuses (Walling, 2013, p. 71). Secondly, the UNSC authorized a peacekeeping force for the first time under Chapter VII which allows use of force to establish a favorable environment for the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the people of Somalia. The decision of the UNSC authorizing the use of force in Somalia was different from other resolutions of the sort, because humanitarian considerations were the major concern rather than its possible outcomes spreading through the neighboring regions. A new practice for the UNSC was thus formed (Walling, 2013, pp. 86-87).

When the Somalia crisis made it to the agenda of the UNSC in January 1992, the members were convinced that they were equipped with the sufficient means and experience to deal with the conflict. The UNSC had responded to the conflict in three stages. First, the UNSC

took non-military enforcement measures between January–November 1992. Second, it resorted to forcible military measures between December 1992 and January 1994. Third, it ceased the enforcement measures and withdrew its forces between February 1994 and March 1995. First stage started with Resolution 733 which imposed an arms embargo on Somalia. Afterwards, by passing Resolution 751 in April 1992, the UNSC authorized the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) which included humanitarian functions. Second phase began in December 1992, with Resolution 794 whereby UN had authorized the U.S.-led United Task Force (UNITAF) that had the authority to use ‘‘all necessary means’’ to establish a secure environment for conducting effective humanitarian activities (Walling, 2013, p. 67). It collaborated with UNOSOM I in order to conduct their tasks successfully (Sisk, 2011, p. 48). UNITAF took over the functions that UNOSOM I had lacked. It included 28,000 U.S.-led troops from 20 countries such as France, Belgium, Saudi Arabia, Canada, and Pakistan. One of the main contributions of UNITAF was the formation of a civil-military operation center (CMOC) which provided a physical meeting place for civil-military cooperation. It created an effective connection between military and the international and NGOs in order to share information and coordinate actions with each other (James Dobbins, 2003, pp. 60-61). The reason why the UN transferred authority to UNITAF was that UNOSOM I failed to fulfill its duties. Nevertheless, afterwards in March 1993, the US operation was turned over to the UN. It established a mission under UNOSOM II which included forcible measures to ensure the disarmament of the Somali groups. UNOSOM II lasted from May 1993 to March 1995. Its functions were more expanded when compared to UNOSOM I. In the third phase, in February 1994, the UN decided that it had to revise the UNOSOM II mandate. In that sense, the UN dramatically reduced the robust military functions in progress and returned to the principles of traditional peacekeeping. In March 1995, the UN peacekeeping forces fully departed, leaving the country fragmented and without a functioning government (Walling, 2013, pp. 67-68). After the UN left Somalia, its involvement in country continued the UN Development Programme (UNDP), UN’s Children Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO), the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR) and the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) until 2006 when all

international organizations faced insurmountable security problems (Moller, 2009, p. 23). Other tan, the UN agencies, there were the Norwegian Red Cross and CARE International also active in Somalia since 1982 (Seth G. Jones, 2006, p. 86).

Table: Intervention to Somalia

Operation	Dates	UNSC Resolution
UNOSOM I	April1992- March 1993	UNSCR 751 24 Apr 1992
UNITAF	Dec 1992- May 1993	UNSCR 794 3 Dec 1992
UNOSOM II	May 1993- March 1995	UNSCR 814 26 Mar 1993

Source: http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/unosomi.htm

3.2.1. United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) I

When the conflict began to threaten the security of the whole region, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar notified the President of the UNSC that he drafted an initiative to bring peace to Somalia because the efforts that had been made by Organization of African Unity (OAU), the League of Arab States, and Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) failed to restore peace (Philipp, 2005, p. 525). Before the UN's humanitarian intervention, ICRC and a few NGOs had been present in Somalia. The UNICEF and the World Food Programme (WFP) arrived in the aftermath of the intervention (Sahnoun, 1998, p. 88). However, the rebel and terrorist groups which sought to seize the control of the ports and aid-distribution routes posed great difficulties to the actors of humanitarian assistance to Somalis.

> "Factions levied heavy taxes on cargoes, took direct cuts of 10 to 20 per cent of incoming aid, and charged exorbitantly for providing relief agencies with armed escorts to 'protect' food deliveries which they frequently also looted." (Mayall, 1996, p. 121).

The foreign NGOs and other humanitarian organization was failed to deliver humanitarian relief since security was most significant issue for them. Because of these reasons, the international community agreed that large-scale humanitarian intervention was not suitable for Somalia. Under these conditions, Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs,

Marrack Goulding, made a visit to Somalia and afterwards in early January 1992, a team of UN officials were sent to Somalia in order to encourage political settlement. Although they failed to launch a cease-fire, they established the UN as an actor to pursue reconciliation in Somalia. On 23 January 1992, the Somalia conflict entered the UNSC agenda. After the reports of the UN team in Somalia were submitted to the UNSC, Resolution 733was adopted on 23 January 1992 (Philipp, 2005, p. 526). The resolution emphasized that the continuation of the situation in Somalia constituted a threat to international peace and security (UNSCR, 1992). The resolution:

> "[d]ecides, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, that all States shall, for the purposes of establishing peace and stability in Somalia, immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia until the Council decides otherwise." (UNSCR, 1992).

Furthermore, the resolution made a call to all parties to stop fighting and agree to a truce (UNSCR, 1992). On 3 March 1992, both parties, Aideed and Mahdi signed the "Agreement on the implementation of a Ceasefire," which opened the door for the UN participation. This agreement provided the UN intervention to include the deployment of observers (Beekhuis, 2015, p. 22), because the Secretary-General wanted to comply with the principles of peacekeeping which included the consent of fighting parties. As promised, "no 'blue helmets' would be deployed unless all parties consented" (Bolton, 1994). Before the deployment of UNOSOM I, all requirements must have been met.

In March 1992, a truce between Ali Mahdi and Aideed enabled the resumption of humanitarian assistance (Mayall, 1996, p. 121). With this agreement, both parties accepted the deployment of 25 military observers and the UN would be responsible for the security of the humanitarian aid convoys (Philipp, 2005, p. 527). After the signing of the ceasefire, SC adopted Resolution 751 on 24 April 1992 and decided to establish UNOSOM I. 50 military observers were authorized to oversee the ceasefire and establish a secure environment for the humanitarian relief. In UNOSOM I which formed by the Pakistani troops (Latif, 2000, p. 47) the UN acted according to the limited peacekeeping mission (Mayall, 1996, p. 121). When UNOSOM I performed its functions such as securing the delivery of humanitarian aid, the mission applied use of force only in the case of self-defense. Self-defense included the defense of the mandate both in terms of personnel and

property (Philipp, 2005, p. 530). Although the UN was aware of the real reason behind the famine and starvation in Somalia, which was the political situation, it did not take the obvious necessity steps to end the prolonged fighting and the political impasse. UNOSOM I which authorized in the Mogadishu area where cease-fire was exclusively implemented, followed the standard the traditional peacekeeping procedures (Rees, 2005, p. 102).

In order to carry out the UNOSOM I's functions effectively, the Secretary-General appointed the Algerian diplomat, Mohammed Sahnoun as the special representative from April to November in 1992. Under the administration of Sahnoun, 50 military observers were authorized to monitor the ceasefire. The task of Sahnoun was to enhance the UN's credibility and to provide cooperation among the faction leaders, donor governments, and other relief organizations (Mayall, 1996, p. 121). Furthermore, Sahnoun's main aim was to ensure the delivery of humanitarian aid to Somalis in an effective way (Therrien, 2012, p. 41).

> "In August he reported that 1.5 million people or one-quarter of the Somali population were at risk – but the UN was not equipped to undertake the required level of armed protection to carry out this task." (Mayall, 1996, p. 122).

With this report, Secretary-General decided to send 500 UN infantry soldiers to provide a secure environment for the personnel, supplies and the deliveries of food (Mayall, 1996, p. 122). In the aftermath, the UNSC authorized 3,000 troops in addition to 500 soldiers to protect the food convoys. Nevertheless, the UNSC took decision without consulting Aideed or Mahmoud Sahnoun. Aideed was infuriated and turned his back against UN initiatives in Somalia. This was a move destructive to Sahnoun's negotiating strategy (Howard L. M., 2008, p. 26). In this respect, the deployment of the new troops resulted in failure because the cooperation with Aideed was essential to success (Rees, 2005, p. 103).

It became impossible for Sahnoun carried out his mandates fully.

> "He was responsible for every aspect of Somalia's recovery, from monitoring the cease-fire to broadening the peace, and from handling the emergency to persuading delinquent UN agencies to return to help rebuild. The envoy continually begged UN headquarters for support, but none ever came." (Peterson, 2000, p. 46).

Sahnoun emphasized in his book *Somalia: Missed Opportunities* that there were serious attacks directly against the UNOSOM troops. As the seaport and airport were also under attack, and vehicles which were needed to be distributed to Somalis, were stolen and plundered (Therrien, 2012, p. 41). In the early 1990s, the civil war in Somalia created new

business empires. Looting and plunder became the significant profitable business throughout Somalia lands. Mohamed Farah Jumaale, one of Aideed's top political advisers said that "Always there was looting. Nobody was able to stop it." (Peterson, 2000, p. 46).

> "Arms were—and still are—Somalia's most useful currency. Along with food, they can ensure living until tomorrow. Without a weapon, your food will be stolen; but well armed, you can always steal food. An AK-47 assault rifle then cost just $70; two full clips of bullets cost less than a plate of goat meat." (Peterson, 2000, p. 20).

Shultz and Dew elucidates the situation in Somalia as below:

> "By the time the UN military observers deployed to the country, for example, Somalia had long disintegrated to a level of violence and chaos that was hard to imagine. There was no government, no law, no economy; and no means of maintaining even a modicum of security. Death, disorder, and destruction went utterly unchecked. The only marketable products left in this once prize piece of Cold War real estate were the guns, of which there were plenty." (Dew, 2006, p. 57).

When number of people who died of hunger and disease increased dramatically despite the efforts of UN and NGOs organizations, on 28 August 1992 the UNOSOM adopted Resolution 775 which aimed to strengthen the operation (Philipp, 2005, p. 529).

The UN management at the Headquarters and some representatives of the UN agencies in the field created critical problems. First, although there were crucial contributions from the donor states to people of Somalia, the UN agents were unsuccessful to distribute them evenly and efficiently in the early 1980s. Second, Aideed and his allies destroyed the organized structure of the UN easier at once since the UN committed a grave error by centralizing everything in Mogadishu. Third, most agencies were reluctant to cooperate with Mohamed Sahnoun, the new special UN envoy. He had proposed the "monetisation of a reasonable percentage of food delivery to encourage cooperation of the local merchants who were prepared to use their influence to limit the activities of looters and militia leaders" (Rees, 2005, p. 103) but the UN agencies refused this suggestion. Fourthly, Sahnoun insisted that if 500 Pakistani peacekeepers had been authorized to Somalia before September, it would have resulted in favorable outcomes. The deployment of peacekeepers nevertheless carried out in October and the reason of this delay was simply to bureaucratic. Lastly, the UN failed to inquire in July 1992 the crash of the Russian plane which was leased with the UN directive to the World Food Programme (WFP). Through this plane, arms and military equipment are being delivered to Ali Mahdi. These flights were in

violation of the Resolution 733 which banned all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia (Rees, 2005, p. 103).

Morje emphasized it was Sahnoun's general attitude towards the Somalian conflict to consider all wills, needs and consent. He focused on negotiating with all parties at length (Howard L. M., 2008, p. 26). Sahnoun was not welcomed by his colleagues in New York because of his lack of 'respect' for bureaucratic the channels and protocol, and his over criticism of the UN (Murray, 2008, p. 92). In October 1992, Sahnoun was dismissed. Sahnoun, was replaced by Ismat Kettani the Iraqi Ambassador. He focused on more quick solutions that had been agreed in UN Headquarters, New York rather than those emerged in the field as necessity (Howard L. M., 2008, p. 26).

> "Sahnoun had developed "a special relationship with Aideed . . . the dismissal of Mr. Sahnoun . . . seems to be the turning point of the UNOSOM mission, and perhaps of the entire UN operation in Somalia." (Howard L. M., 2008, p. 26).

Boutros-Ghali criticized that Sahnoun destroyed the credibility of UN in Somalia. Mike McDonagh, Irish head of the agency Concern, on the other hand, stated that "Like millions of Somalis, Sahnoun has become a victim of UN bureaucracy." (Peterson, 2000, p. 48).

UNOSOM I was established to oversee the truce and safeguard relief supplies but it failed to establish humanitarian corridors for Somalis (James Dobbins, 2003, p. 55).

> "October I992, the country was in ruins. About 300,000 people had died during the preceding year, I-5 million were at risk because of famine, almost 4-5 of the total population of 6 million were threatened by severe malnutrition and related diseases, and 700,000 had sought refuge in neighbouring states. More than 6o per cent of Somalia's basic infrastructure had been destroyed, 8o per cent of all social services had ceased functioning, and the major cities in northern areas were reduced to rubble." (Thakur, 1994, p. 402).

UNOSOM I had been given a weak mandate and quite insufficient resources. Mission had a three month action plan for ensuring humanitarian aid to Somalis (Philipp, 2005, p. 89). Moller argues that the UN created a difficult situation in Somalia because "its treatment of the warlords as legitimate parties may have given them a status that they did not deserve" (2009, p. 12).

Peace operations can be carried out successfully when only the parties are willing to concede for peace and a general consent is reached and their consents are reached. In Somalia, firstly, there was a ceasefire between two main parties but there were many fractions in Somali and cooperation with these fractions were not established. In addition,

the ceasefire which was reached between the two parties prior to the deployment of UNOSOM lasted only for a very short time (Philipp, 2005, pp. 531-532).

The UN was accused of failing to take the necessary actions to support the people of Somalia, since the UN accepted to intervene in Somalia after one year of reluctance. When the UN reconsidered to intervene in Somalia, the Somalian conflict turned into a civil war of extreme violence (Malito, 2010, p. 127). Other organizations such as the ICRC were in fact more successful than the UN in delivering food and setting up kitchens to make food (Metz, 1993, p. xxxvi). Furthermore, the UN initially agreed that the people of Somalia should be included in the process of establishing a secure environment for the distribution of humanitarian relief. In August I992, Boutros-Ghali noted that a stronger and more effective peace operation required the involvement of all Somalia entities in all aspects of the ongoing negotiating process (Thakur, 1994, pp. 403-404).

3.2.2. US in Somalia

3.2.2.1. The Reasons for the US Intervention to Somalia

Different motivations and interests pushed the US to get involved in Somalia. The involvement of the US in the Somalia conflict consolidated the power of the US the post-Cold War era. The US wanted to prove that it was the only power remaining in the new world order. The main reason of the UN involvement in Somalia could be explained Bush's new perception of the US in world after the Gulf War in 1991 (Rees, 2005, p. 110). After the Iraqi war in March 1991, Bush claimed that a new world order was emerging. The Somalian case allowed the US to redefine its interventionist doctrine in the new world order and test this new strategy. In this sense, the main aim of the US foreign policy was to achieve its historic mission of 'protecting the weak against the strong' through intervention (Malito, 2010, p. 125). On 4 December 1992 President George H. W. Bush stated that:

> "The people of Somalia, especially the children of Somalia, need our help. We're able to ease their suffering. We must help them live. We must give them hope. America must act. To the people of Somalia, I promise this. We do not plan to dictate political outcomes. We respect your sovereignty and independence. Based on my conversations

> with other coalition leaders, I can state with confidence we come to your country for one reason only, to enable the starving to be fed." (The New York Times, 1992).

The CNN effect is an appropriate reference to understand why the US intervened in Somalia. Media coverage and public opinion had a massive impact on the US's opt for Somalian intervention. The American public expected that the cost of the Operation Restore Hope would be low and the duration of the operation in Somalia would be short. Surveys conducted between 1992 and 1993 demonstrated that the most majority of Americans did not expect that U.S. forces would remain in Somalia for more than one year. Most of the Americans considered that the US bogged down in Somalia and the number of people who believed that Somalia was a failure increased significantly. When the news broke that the American soldiers lost their lives, the optimism towards US intervention decreased. The failures of the US in Somalia created the 'Somalia Syndrome' which the US foreign policy-makers had to deal with (Klarevas, 2000, pp. 527-528). Finally, it would not be wrong to say that the media and public opinion had strong impact on both the intervention and withdrawal.

The US officers assessed the withdrawal of the American troops from Somalia as a move of 'giving Somalia back to the Somalis.' However, to many, Somalia had been left to the wrong Somalis, the warlords (Peterson, 2000, p. 67).

3.2.2.2. Unified Task Force (UNITAF)

On 25 November, the US Secretary of State, Lawrence Eagleburger, notified the Secretary-General, Boutros- Ghali that US was ready to 'take the lead' in an enforcement mission in Somalia. National Security Council took this decision because of the rising humanitarian concerns in Somalia. It was also considered how the US was seen by Somalis and the regional states as the only nation that had the ability to launch a humanitarian operation of such a large scale and to maintain neutrality between the warring parties. The Pentagon, too, was insisting on the necessity of an intervention by referring to its recently redefined and enhanced attributes within the interventionist doctrine of the US foreign policy. What is more, George Bush desired to do 'a last good thing' (Rees, 2005, p. 104). On 25 November 1992, five options were suggested by Boutros-Ghali to the UNSC. First

option was that UNOSOM I could maintain its efforts in compliance with its existing task and the functions which are based on the traditional peacekeeping principles. It was estimated that this suggestion would be inadequate to reconcile the conflict with regards to the extent of the chaos in Somalia. The second suggestion was in favor of the withdrawal of the mission completely. This offer was refused son the grounds that it would give the impression that the UN admitted its failure in Somalia. Such impression would have tarnished the image and the credibility of the organization. It would be something extremely unwanted especially with a new Secretary- General who was in his first year in office. The former UN commander in Sarajevo; Major General Lewis Mackenzie argued that the credibility of the UN in the emerging new world 'disorder' had to be established somewhere, and Somalia was a suitable country for the UN to manifest its credibility. However, it can be claimed that the Somalian intervention has not enhanced the organization's credibility. On the contrary, the UN failed to restore peace in Somalia and the situation in there had become even more complicated. The third option, therefore, was that the UNOSOM could apply forceful measures in Mogadishu. Strong and strict military measures would succeed in convincing the factions and secure the international relief efforts (Thakur, 1994, pp. 394-396). In the meantime, however, questions regarding degree of force which resorted and the tenure of its presence rose. The fourth option was an enforcement action to be authorized by the UNSC under Chapter VII. This enforcement could be under the UN's own command and control. Finally, the fifth option was that such an operation consisted of member-states' personnel, be authorized by the UNSC (Rees, 2005, p. 104).

Bush had informed Boutros- Ghali that he would be prepared to establish a mission in order to create the favorable conditions for the humanitarian-relief operations in Somalia. Boutros-Ghali accepted the US intervention and according to him, this was the only way to sort the Somalian disaster out but the UN officials were believing that the UN could overcome the Somalian chaos alone (Koestler-Grack, 2007, p. 48).

On 3 December 1992, the UNITAF was established by adopting Resolution 794 which authorized the Secretary-General, the US and other troop contributing countries to 'use all necessary means to establish a secure environment for humanitarian operations in Somalia'

under Chapter VII which was an authority lacked by UNOSOM I. Firstly, 28,000 troops were provided by the US and thereafter the number of troops was decided to reach 37,000 (Rees, 2005, p. 104). It consisted of approximately 24,000 American military personnel and 17,000 personnel from the allied countries. The code name for this operation was 'Operation Restore Hope' given by the Americans (Philipp, 2005, pp. 533-534). The operation in Somalia was the first operation carried out by the US under the UN command. UNITAF, consisting of military units from the 24 countries and mission gained control over nine important settlements (Müdüroğlu, 2007, p. 12). UNITAF worked in coordination with the UN forces to establish a secure environment and distribute food (Sisk, 2011, p. 48). UNITAF was the first operation in which use of force was applied in a context developed against the belief that UNOSOM was an insufficient response to the chaos in Somalia. "The uniqueness of the deteriorating and complex challenge of mass starvation amidst total anarchy required an immediate and exceptional response." (Thakur, 1994, p. 395).

On 9 December, the US first entered to Mogadishu and the French Foreign Legion and later Belgian, Canadian, Egyptian, Italian, Saudi Arabian and Turkish forces followed it. The Somali armed groups fled from Mogadishu and this caused the spread of the conflict over the rest of the region (Rees, 2005, pp. 104-105). On 9 December 1992, the US marines seized the airfield and the port in Mogadishu (Thakur, 1994, p. 395).

On 7 January 1993, the first stage of Operation Restore Hope was completed. The US had achieved its objective in providing food to Somalis in the southern part. Afterwards, the US forces tracked down the 'technicals' and the arms depots of the factions in order to carry out the operation effectively. In the next stage of the operation, US organized town meetings such as those in Mogadishu, Baidoa and Chisimayu. It encouraged Somalian people to create their own municipal institutions. In addition, the US military personnel also contributed to infrastructure ie. water supply restoration (Metz, 1993, p. xxxiv).

UNITAF aimed to secure the delivery of food and restore law and order and eventually its responsibilities were transferred to UNOSOM. The Secretary-General asserted that there were two conditions that UNITAF should meet prior to the transition in order to continue with peacekeeping operations. First, the Somali irregular forces and gangs should be

disarmed and their weapons should be brought under the international control. Second, UNITAF should carry out its missions throughout the entire Somalia. In other words, its authority should not be limited only to Mogadishu and its surroundings (Philipp, 2005, p. 535). Nevertheless, Bush objected those pre-conditions of the Secretary- General as such: "I want to emphasize that the mission of the coalition is limited and specific objectives can be met in the near term and as soon as they are, the coalition force will depart, transferring its function to the UN force." (Rees, 2005, pp. 104-105).

In Somalia, the peace-enforcement and peacekeeping forces operating at the same time caused to ineffectiveness operation. Between UNITAF and UNOSOM, there were operational and logistical problems. Disarmament became the major dispute between the Secretary-General and the Americans because both of them had different interpretations of the mandate which was laid out in para. 7 of the Resolution 794. The question was what constituted a 'secure environment' for humanitarian aid. "Did it only mean protecting the delivery of food supplies or the wider task of creating secure conditions under which the UN could operate?" (Murray, 2008, p. 94). The US administration considered that disarmament of various Somalian factions was beyond their mandate and it was too dangerous for their own forces. On the other hand, the UN believed that the US was the only power with the capacity to disarm factions in order to carry out the mandate (Murray, 2008, p. 94).

While UNOSOM I represented the peacekeeping, UNITAF was the peace-enforcement. Both missions operated under the combination of peacekeeping and peace-enforcement (Philipp, 2005, p. 536). UNITAF had the peace enforcement authority under the UN's Chapter VII but only to open food corridors and secure aid. On the other hand, in UNOSOM II, the mandate was broadened and the peace enforcement was resorted to include the disarmament of the factions (Peterson, 2000, p. 66).

Challenges that UNITAF encountered can be defined under the headings of security, humanitarian-relief, civil administration, democratization, reconstruction. Firstly, the fact that both civilians and factions were highly armed generated serious security problems for the forces and organizations active in Somalis. Security challenges constituted an impediment preventing protection of the airports, installations, and seaports, food

distribution points as well as the distribution of humanitarian aid (Seth G. Jones, 2006, p. 84). In the meantime, in Somalia,

> "One of five children died before the age of five, only one of every six children was enrolled in primary school, only one of every eight women was literate, and only one of every four families had access to clean drinking water." (Seth G. Jones, 2006, pp. 84-85).

Secondly, the collapse of the Barre government induced 2 million refugees, including a considerable number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) (James Dobbins, 2003, pp. 56-58).

> "By August 1992, Somali refugees were reliably estimated at 500,000 in Ethiopia, 300,000 in Kenya, 65,000 in Yemen, 15,000 in Djibouti, and about 100,000 in Europe." (Metz, 1993, p. xxx).

Drought and diseases connected to malnutrition distressed throughout the country and these challenges were exacerbating further other situations. Additionally, farms were destroyed and food harvests wasted. Thirdly, with the fall of the Barre government Somalia had been suffering from the absence of government and a ruling and a leader. Therefore, the restoration of the state institutions was a very daunting task and it was not possible for UNITAF to undertake such a task in the hard conditions of Somalia. The other challenge which UNITAF encountered in Somalia was democratization. It is quite difficult to talk about a tradition of democracy in Somalia. Authority was in the hands of the leaders of factions and warlords who had acquired power through force. The lack of central political government allowed that. The last challenge to be mentioned here was reconstruction. Civil war had a significant negative impact on the Somalian society. The country's infrastructure, herding and farming which were the sectors of income were destroyed (James Dobbins, 2003, pp. 56-58). Despite all these challenges, UNITAF forces contributed to improve the security in Somalia and accelerated the flow of food to Somalis who had been suffering from food shortages and other urgent relief supplies to Somalis. On the other hand, in Somalia, the political situation remained unsettled (Dew, 2006, p. 80). This situation was hampering the effectiveness of the ongoing efforts of the UN, US and other organization and agencies.

3.2.3. UN Intervention in Somalia: UNOSOM II

Because of the disagreements between the UN and the US Boutros-Ghali was reluctant to establish another mission after the UNITAF if a peaceful and secure environment was not provided. Therefore, he insisted that the US must first neutralize the weapons of the factions and weapons must be under the control of international. In other words, ensuring the security for delivery of food alone was not adequate and the disarmament of the gangs and irregular forces must be established. On the other hand, the Bush administration did not want to involve further in such a terrible conflict which could damage the US interests. The US took steps in the direction of the Boutros-Ghali's instructions but Boutros-Ghali nonetheless thought that the US was unsuccessful to establish a secure environment and the disarmament of factions was not completed. The conditions in Somalia were still volatile (Koestler-Grack, 2007, pp. 48-49).

The UN needed the support of the US both militarily and logistically. When UNOSOM II was launched, the US did not want to involve in Somalia anymore and withdrew its forces but when the UN prepared SC Resolution 814, the US was to change its attitude. Then, the US contributed more to the UN peacekeeping mission. "This smacked of President Bush's 'new world order' and American prestige was now invested in the operation." (Rees, 2005, p. 107). Finally, UNOSOM II was launched by SC with the adoption of Resolution 814 on 26 March 1993 and a large number of American troops remained in Somalia. UNOSOM II mission was authorized for the maintenance of humanitarian relief assistance, rehabilitation of Somalia's political institutions and economy, restoration of law, foundation of administrative institutions and etc (UNSCR, 1993). UNOSOM II had a personnel capacity of 28, 000 military and 2,800 civilian staff. UNOSOM II is the largest peacekeeping mission seen in the UN history (Thakur, 1994, p. 396).

UNOSOM II had three functions in Somalia: to disarm the clan factions, restore Somalia political institutions and establish a secure environment (Dew, 2006, p. 18). UNOSOM II, which was recommended by Secretary-General, acted under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. 'UNOSOM II was the first humanitarian operation in UN history to be given a mandate to use force, not merely in self-defence but in pursuit of its mission'. On the other

hand, when the use of force was not needed, the mission would follow the traditional peacekeeping principles. In other words, when the situation required the use of force to carry out their missions, contingents would act as 'peace enforcement units' (Rees, 2005, pp. 106-107). Nevertheless, although the peace enforcement task included UNOSOM II, it was not clear referred in Paragraph 44 of Boutros-Ghali's 'An Agenda for Peace.' In the agenda, it was stated as 'peace enforcement units' which was rather a mechanism. The peace enforcement units were established under the authority of the UNSC and headed by the Secretary-General (Rees, 2005, p. 107).

The fact that the peacekeeping forces had the authority to engage in an armed conflict with militias to end the confrontation in Somalia mobilized Aideed to undermine the UN mission (Koestler-Grack, 2007, p. 50).

Aideed's Somali National Alliance (SNA) used the broadcasts of Radio Mogadishu as a propaganda tool against the UN activities. Therefore, Radio Mogadishu promoted anti-UN sentiments and the UN was thus shown as the aggressor and colonial imperialist. The broadcasts had a significant role in the manipulating Somalis as majority of Somalian public opinion since the 70 percent of the Somali population was illiterate; radio was the main source of information (Rees, 2005, p. 108).

The clash between the peacekeeping forces and Aideed, was growing day by day. On 5 June 1993, a Pakistani force authorized by the UN arrived at Radio Mogadishu to carry out weapon inspection. Aideed manipulated this action by the UN forces as an evidence of the UN, partiality in the Somalian conflict and he claimed that this action aimed to destroy the station and declared the UN peacekeepers as the enemy. In this attack, 24 Pakistani soldiers were killed, three Americans injured. The UN did not anticipate such an outcome. This was the first event in which the UN peacekeepers were deliberately targeted. A furious SC announced that people who were responsible for this attack would be punished (Murray, 2008, p. 100). Consequently, it passed Resolution 837 on 6 June 1993 in which war was declared against Aideed and the UN forces were authorized to take 'all necessary measures' against those responsible for the attacks and casualties (Rees, 2005, p. 108). Resolution 837 condemned the attacks against the UN personnel and once again underlined again the necessity of disarming the Somali factions. The military capability of the UN forces was

enhanced to overcome the attacks of perpetrators and deployment of more troops was encouraged (Walling, 2013, p. 75).

In addition, after the loss of 24 Pakistani peacekeepers (James Dobbins, 2003, p. 63), Task Force Ranger, 400 Rangers, and Delta Force antiterrorist commandos were sent by the Clinton administration to train the UN forces since they did not have military experience or physical capacity to deal with these attacks (Dew, 2006, p. 18). It became clear that the UN mission had in fact been inadequate to combat these wars. Since the peacekeeping forces lacked a better mandate and the operational capability, they were unsuccessful in peace enforcement (Thakur, 1994, p. 393).

Once the UNSC adopted Resolution 837 on June 6, UNOSOM II launched a series of attacks against Aideed's forces. The mission destroyed their military equipment and captured Radio Mogadishu which was under Aideed's control (James Dobbins, 2003, p. 63).

The warring factions in the Somalia did not accept the authority of UNOSOM II and resisted against the UN forces by intensifying the attacks on the UN peacekeepers. The SNA used a variety of weapons such as rocket propelled grenades against them (Rees, 2005, p. 109). On 3 October 1993, two US helicopters were shot down. This led to the death of 18 Americans- an event which caused the withdrawal of the US troops from Somalia and the ultimate failure of the UNOSOM II mission. This dramatic incident adapted into a book and film 'Black Hawk Down' (James Dobbins, 2003, p. 60). It was also tragic that an American airman had been captured by the forces of Aideed, but he was released on 14 October 1993. This incident was a turning point in the UN and US missions in Somalia. The loss of the US soldiers destroyed image that the US troops were superior to Aideed's force. In this situation, the one of the most important mistake was that Major General William Garrison, the American commander of the Rangers underestimated the power and fighting capacity of Aideed (Huh, 2008, p. 65). In this incident, "1 Malaysian soldier was killed; 78 US, 9 Malaysian and 3 Pakistanis were wounded; 300–500 Somalis were killed in addition to 18 American deaths" (Rees, 2005, p. 109).

The pressures from the Congress and the anxious public opinion affected Clinton in the direction of withdrawing of the US soldiers from Somalia. Television programs and journal

articles promoted the idea: 'the public wanted out of Somalia'. Polls reflected the negativity and disgust of the public opinion towards the US's involvement in Somalia (Murray, 2008, p. 107). The CNN effect contributed to end the US involvement in Somalia when 18 American soldiers were killed in the Mogadishu. US Senators Bob Dole and Robert Carlyle Byrd asked the question 'why are we there' (Rees, 2005, p. 109). The failure of the US in Somalia led to the adoption of the principle at the Congress that the US troops would not be deployed in any troubled area unless there was direct American interest (Loubser, 2012, p. 77).

At the end of October 1993, US operations were no longer supported by Congress.

> "Congress rejected a request of the administration for a proposed $175 million contingency fund to cover immediate UN peacekeeping costs, and also informed the president that the U. S. share of peacekeeping costs should be cut down from 31.7 % to 25%." (Huh, 2008, p. 52).

In November in 1993, the UNSC passed Resolution 886 which emphasized that UNOSOM II provided significant improvement in most of the areas in Somalia. One point underscored by Resolution was the crucial Somalis would play in the political reconciliation (UNSCR, 1993).

On 4 February 1994, the UNSC adopted Resolution 897 which reorganized the principles of UNOSOM II mandate and shifted its task from peace enforcement to a non-forceful peacekeeping operation. The resolution required the gradual reduction of the force using of the mission (UNSCR, 1994). Afterwards, on 4 November 1994, the UNSC passed Resolution 954 which set the date for the termination of UNOSOM II as 31 March 1995 (UNSCR, 1994). In August 1996 Warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed was killed and the conflict among the clans continued. After the death of Aideed, his son, Hussein succeeded him (BBC News, 2018).

Crocker emphasizes that the significant success of UNITAF was based on its ability to launch with UNOSOM II which undertook a wide nation-building task. Furthermore he states that UNITAF had success in many ways (Crocker, 1995).

> "Establishing safety for relief workers while keeping the warlords somewhat placated and off balance; maintaining and demonstrating military primacy without making a permanent adversary or national hero of any local actor; pushing the military factions toward a locally led political process while opening up that process to civilian elites

> and eschewing precise formulas; removing heavy weapons from areas of conflict while fostering the restoration of police and government functions." (Crocker, 1995).

On the other hand, in March 1993, transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II affected the operation in Somalia negatively because change in leadership, doctrine, strategy, procedures and bureaucratic systems damaged the success and credibility of the UN's military presence in Somalia (Crocker, 1995). This transition increased the difficulties which the UN derived from the complex command arrangements. The command structure of UNOSOM II was confusing. The international forces were commanded by the Turkish UNOSOM II Commander Tevfik Bir had an American Deputy Commander (Montgomery). Additionally, the U.S. combat troops reported separately to Montgomery and were not under the UN command (James Dobbins, 2003, p. 62).

Because of the loss of the American soldiers and the ongoing withdrawal from Somalia, Clinton administration refused to respond to the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. In April 1994, a policy directive was issued by President Clinton. The directive implied that the American intervention in the future humanitarian crises would be brief and would not opt for multilateralism. (Herbst, 1996). It can be argued that the Clinton administration followed a divergent approach towards unlike the Bush administration. Clinton concentrated on the domestic affairs (Bolton, 1994).

The peace conferences in Addis Ababa in 1993 and Kenya in 1994 that facilitated by the UN could not spark a process of national reconciliation and the rebirth of state. The missions were criticized for fuelling the war economy, spreading the conflict beyond Mogadishu and consolidating warlord power structures (Mwangi, 2015, p. 35).

CHAPTER FOUR

4. REFORM EFFORTS FOR THE UN PEACEKEEPING AND ASSESMENT OF THE SOMALIA INTERVENTION

This chapter firstly analyzes the reform efforts of the UN for more effective and successful peacekeeping operations after the end of Cold War. In this context, the documents -An Agenda for Peace issued in 1992 and Supplement to an Agenda for Peace published in 1995- will be scrutinized. In this period, how Somalia intervention was shaped by these efforts in association with the transformation of the UN peacekeeping will be analyzed. The chapter also seeks to pin down the lessons learned by the international society from the failure of the Somalia intervention. Lastly, the chapter focuses on Brahimi Report which has a significant role in the evolution of the peacekeeping.

4.1. THE REFORM EFFORTS BETWEEN 1992 AND 1995

4.1.1. An Agenda for Peace

The concept of security has changed with the expansion of the UN's roles for maintaining international peace and security in the 1990s. Boutros-Ghali defines the modified concept with the following statement:

> "The concept of security, which has traditionally been defined in strictly military terms, has evolved to encompass the economic, social, and environmental problems that threaten national and international security. We have seen how problems emanating from poverty, social unrest and humanitarian tragedies in just one state if left unchecked reach a magnitude that disrupts the stability of an entire region." (Ghali, 2001, pp. 290-291).

On the other hand, the report, - An Agenda for Peace- defines the concept of peace as the absence of war between states. It refers to human security that is related to positive peace[9] rather than national security of states (Peou, 2002, pp. 52-53).

Following the end of the Cold War, the UN found itself in a new world system where intrastate wars or civil wars dominated (Howard L. M., 2008, p. 13). While the UN faced the changing nature of the conflicts with the end of Cold War, violence among the warring parties of the conflict was at a high level. Moreover, warring parties did not have a willingness to end violence and confrontation and they did not respect cease-fire agreements. In such an environment, it became clear that more effective UN policies and new means were required to tackle with the intrastate conflicts (Latif, 2000, p. 43). Therefore, UN launched initiatives to deal with these conflicts because it did not have the means to confront such conflicts. It was apparent that the UN needed to modify traditional peacekeeping (Howard L. M., 2008, p. 13). Initial reform attempts had been made by a former Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali who published a report entitled as 'An Agenda for Peace' in 1992. It was prepared at the invitation of the UNSC summit in January 1992. It was issued when the reputation of the UN was particularly high due to the initial euphemism of the post-Cold War era (Mayall, 1996, p. 2). Accordingly, the Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali prepared the report within four months (Keskin, 2002, p. 274). The main aim of the report, *An Agenda for Peace*, was to adopt the UN's mechanism to the new circumstances (Latif, 2000, p. 46). The report consists of a set of recommendations regarding the ways in which UN could deal with new conflicts, which formed threats to international peace and security (Ahmad, 2012, p. 313). These recommendations were designated to enhance operational and doctrinal dimensions of UN peacekeeping (Durand, 2012).

As earlier mentioned, Boutros-Ghali emphasized the changing nature of the conflicts. He realized that traditional procedures and principles would not be sufficient to deal with new

[9] Positive peace was first used by prominent figure of peace studies, Johan Glatung. He pointed to differences between two aspect of peace, negative peace and positive peace. While negative peace 'is the absence of violence, absence of war'; positive peace 'is the integration of human society.' Negative peace refers to absence of violence, pessimistic, currative, peace not always by peaceful means. On the other hand, positive peace refers to structural integration, optimistic, preventive, peace by peaceful means. For further information see (Grewal, 2003).

conflicts (Krieg, 2013, p. 15). With the end of Cold War, the UN peacekeeping forces were deployed "departures in peacekeeping" (Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 1992, para.50). He suggested that peacekeeping forces should be equipped with coercive or military means and if necessary, they can resort peace-enforcement as a means of last resort. In this way, peace-enforcement emerged as a new instrument to meet the requirements of new conflicts by Boutros-Ghali (Krieg, 2013, p. 15).

The report redefined the roles of the UN in the post-Cold War era. The report was significant in terms of showing the evolution of the UN doctrine. It combines the instruments of war and peace such as peace-enforcement and negotiation that were once considered separate concepts and that had evolved separately (Sambanis, 2007, p. 498). Boutros-Ghali's conception entails the use of force in intrastate conflicts, which is often incompatible with the principle of traditional peacekeeping (Howard L. M., 2008, p. 13).

In this report, Boutros-Ghali also defines concepts such as peacekeeping, peace-building, and peace-enforcement which are beyond traditional peacekeeping principles. He stresses that these four inter- connected tasks should be used to deal with new conflicts.

- ✓ *Preventive Diplomacy* aims to resolve conflicts before they turn into violence. In other words, its purpose is to ease tension between fighting parties before violence breaks out (Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 1992). As mentioned in the report, preventive diplomacy involves measures to build confidence, fact-finding, early warning, preventive deployment, and demilitarized zones. First, mutual confidence decreases the level of conflict between states. "Systematic exchange of military missions, formation of regional or sub regional risk reduction centers, arrangements for free flow of information, including the monitoring of regional arms agreements are examples." In this sense, the role of regional organizations is very significant to establish confidence. Cooperation between the UN and regional organizations strengthens and legitimizes the mission of the UN in the troubled areas. Second, preventive actions must be based on precise knowledge of facts. The UN must have significant information about economic and social trends, and political developments in the world that may

constitute threats to international peace and security. Third, early warning systems are of great importance in order to detect threats, crisis, disasters and etc. The collected information should be synthesized with political indicators to analyze actions and define threats. Four, preventive deployment can serve to reduce suffering and to limit or manage violence. It can save many lives in the conflicted areas and create a safe environment where negotiations can be made. Five, demilitarized zones were to be created after an agreement is reached. The involvement of the UN peacekeeping forces in demilitarized zones should be seen as the part of the preventive deployment (Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 1992, paras. 23-33).

- ✓ *Peacemaking:* The main purpose of peacemaking is to "to bring hostile parties to agreement" through peaceful means that are laid down in Chapter VI such as mediation, negotiation, reconciliation. In this stage, diplomatic skills are of great significant.
- ✓ *Peacekeeping:* It is established to deploy a "United Nations presence the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned." (Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 1992, para. 20). Nonetheless, with the end of Cold War, the tasks of peacekeeping missions broadened. In this sense, the UN peacekeeping missions faced the problems regarding logistics, equipment, personnel, and finance (Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 1992, para. 50).
- ✓ *Post-conflict reconstruction or peace-building:* This is to foster economic and social cooperation. The aim is to strengthen the institutions in order to instill a sense of confidence and well-being between people. Ghali emphasized that development and democracy are main elements of the peace-building process. The emphasis on democracy is based on the argument that democratic countries almost never fight with each other. Thus, it is assumed that democratization promotes peace in societies. Peace is a sine qua non for development (Latif, 2000, pp. 40-41). Peace-building involves “the transformation of deficient national structures and capabilities and for the strengthening of new democratic institutions” (Wennmann, 2012, p. 14).

> "Preventive diplomacy was to avoid a crisis; post-conflict peace-building was to prevent a recurrence." (UN Reportier Studies, 1992, p. 826).

According to Ghali, each step is closely related to each other and if the first step is met, it reinforces other steps (Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 1992). Ghali distinguished them conceptually. According to Ghali's definition, peacekeeping is referred to traditional peacekeeping but, he mooted the concept of peace enforcement which aimed to restore and maintain a truce strongly. With the emergence of this concept, peacekeeping's mandates and practices in the 1990s have changed (Russett, 1997, p. 494). Johan Galtung who is the founder of Peace Studies was the first to make an analytical distinction between peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace-building. In 1992, Ghali described these categories to analyze the differences between operations carried out in different stages of conflict life cycle (Langholtz, 2014, p. 20).

The Boutros-Ghali's report paved the way to the multidimensional peacekeeping (Harston, 2002, p. 1). It provided theoretical framework for peacekeeping together with peacemaking and preventive diplomacy skills (Latif, 2000, p. 45). The report defines peacekeeping as:

> "the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Peacekeeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace." (Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 1992, para. 20)

Boutros-Ghali pointed out that peacemaking and peace-building processes need greater emphasis in order to ensure longer-term success in conflicted areas. Furthermore, he argues that the requirement of consent, which is one of the principles of traditional peacekeeping, can be relaxed in order to organize peacekeeping operations in troubled areas where the fighting parties had not accepted UN intervention. In this sense, peacekeeping operations could be carried out without the consent of warring parties (Rees, 2005, pp. 6-7). In the report, Boutros-Ghali defines these missions as 'the creation of a new environment to forestall the recurrence of conflict' (Rees, 2005, p. 162).

The report emphasizes the need for military support of the new missions. This idea paved the way for the enforcement element within peacekeeping operations. Peace-enforcement operations involved peacekeeping activities but it did not require the consent of all parties

concerned (Latif, 2000, p. 42). Peace-enforcement missions were authorized under the Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Such missions are composed of heavily armed national forces and aimed to ensure compliance with a truce between warring parties. Peace-enforcement missions that were mentioned in the Boutros-Ghali's report referred to third-generation operations (Sambanis, 2007, pp. 497-503). Although Boutros-Ghali distinguished the concepts of peacekeeping and peace-enforcement, he acknowledged that peacekeeping forces could confront challenges of defending themselves and their mandates in the intrastate conflicts. In this respect, he suggested that peacekeeping forces could perform enforcement activities (Hikaru, 2006, p. 48). In addition, Boutros-Ghali underscored that regional organizations and arrangements could be used to assist the UN's actions. He stated that when regional organizations were used in operations to deal with conflicts, this would not mean that the UNSC is not "primary" organ that copes with international peace and security (Boulden, 2003, p. 15).

Ghali proposed a 'rapid deployment force' on a permanent basis under the command of the Secretary-General to enhance the UN operations (Peou, 2002, p. 54). The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) was created in 1992, with its Office of Planning and Support, Field Missions Procurement Section, permanent Situation Room and Lessons Learned Unit was the main initiative to substitute earlier ad hoc regulations (Oliver Ramsbotham, 2011, pp. 158-159).

It should be noted that Boutros-Ghali focused on democracy promotion throughout his time in office. Democratic peace thesis or theory[10] was agreed within the UN system. Ghali stressed that there was a clear link between democracy and peace. More precisely, democratic practices influence achievement of peace. These ideas were also argued in *An Agenda for Democratization* (Rushton, 2008, p. 103).

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[10] According to this theory, in international relations, democratic states do not fight each other and the probability of occurrence conflict or war between democratic states is lower than non-democratic states. For further information see (International Relations). The economic version of this aproach is Golden Arches Theory of Conflict Prevention which was mooted by economist Thomas Friedman. This teory stresses that if two countries have McDonalds franchises, they have not gone to war. Friedman points out that if the economies of the countries integrates sufficiently, countries follow the policy which is more economically beneficial for themselves because both countries acknowledge that when they go to war, their costs will be high.

> "There is an obvious connection between democratic practices - such as the rule of law and transparency in decision-making - and the achievement of true peace and security in any new and stable political order. These elements of good governance need to be promoted at all levels of international and national political communities." (Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, 1992, para. 59)

In the academic literature, it has been accepted that Boutros-Ghali's *An Agenda for Peace* has affected the practice of peacekeeping. However, one should also take into account the historical context of the arguments regarding peacekeeping. That is to say, debates about peacekeeping in the historical process have formed the basis for the report. This context involved two critical changes occurred in the UN Secretariat at the time. First, Secretary-General has gained a significant impetus in discussions regarding the use of peacekeeping. During this process, Boutros-Ghali consolidated his position like as a political leader. Second, his ideas were supported by the UNSC and General Assembly. Thus, during 1992, member states accepted that peacekeeping is the main instrument to tackle with the global threats (Kertcher, 2012, p. 635).

4.1.2. Supplement to An Agenda for Peace

It can be said that the *Supplement* issued in 1995 showed the deficiencies of the peacekeeping operations and earlier report, An Agenda for Peace of 1992 since the UN forces failed to deal with some situations. In this report, Ghali elucidated the general view of the 1990s in terms of social, economic and political challenges, which come from the nature of conflicts, i.e. intra-state conflicts. This period could be identified with the collapse of state institutions, law and order. In such environment, peacekeeping forces required more complex mandates as different from the tasks of Cold War period that limited monitoring ceasefires and control buffer zones with the consent of fighting parties (United Nations, 1995, paras. 13-15). In this respect, Bouros-Ghali stated that:

> "This has led, in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Somalia, to a new kind of United Nations operation. Even though the use of force is authorized under Chapter VII of the Charter, the United Nations remains neutral and impartial between the warring parties, without a mandate to stop the aggressor (if one can be identified) or impose a cessation of hostilities. Nor is this peace-keeping as practised hitherto, because the hostilities

> continue and there is often no agreement between the warring parties on which a peace-keeping mandate can be based." (United Nations, 1995, para. 19)

The *Supplement* underscored that consent of the warring parties is required. Furthermore, it endeavored to restore murky boundary between mandates for peacekeeping and peace-enforcement and he emphasized that unity of command should be required (Russett, 1997, p. 494). It supported the principles of traditional peacekeeping, consent of parties, impartiality, and non-use of force except in self-defense. While the *Supplement* implied a return to traditional peacekeeping principles for the success of peace operations, it acknowledged the wide range of potential tasks of peacekeeping forces. The failures in the 1990s urged the UN to reconsider peace operations (Weinlich, 2014, p. 138). The Supplement took a stand against the idea of "peace enforcement." It discussed that "peacekeeping and the use of force (other than in self-defense) should be seen as alternative techniques and not just as adjacent points on a continuum, permitting easy transition from one to another." (Ian Johnstone, 2005, p. 60). But aftermath, "peace enforcement" would reappear in the agenda of the UN.

Given UN's inability to prevent the massacre of 7,000-8,000 Bosnian men, Ghali stated in the Srebrenica Report in November 1999 that "many of the errors the United Nations made could be traced to a misguided effort to keep the peace and apply the rules of peacekeeping when there was no peace to keep." This report recognized the inefficacy and the limits of traditional peacekeeping principles and proposed the use of force to resist human rights violations (Hikaru, 2006, pp. 50-53). Ghali reemphasized the instruments of the UN to resolve conflicts. Preventive diplomacy and peacemaking, peace-keeping that are some of the instruments were based on the consent of parties. Other instruments were sanctions and peace enforcement that did not need the consent of parties involved in the conflict (United Nations, 1995, para. 23). The report stressed that the cooperation between the UN and regional organizations. Cooperation between them can be identified with five terms: consultation, diplomatic support, operational support, co-deployment, joint operation (United Nations, 1995, para. 86).

In this report, Boutros-Ghali is less optimistic about the capacity for operations than he did in the An Agenda for Peace, in 1992 due to the failure of Somalia. On the other hand, Agenda for Peace is of great importance in terms of reflecting the turbulence and

transformations in the early 1990s. This period marked by state failure and collapse, genocide, humanitarian disasters. *An Agenda for Peace* was issued in the immediate aftermath of intra-state conflict and famine in Somalia, the beginning of civil war and genocide in former Yugoslavia and the UN involvement in transitions of Namibia, El Salvador, Cambodia, and Mozambique. The UN's response to the new conflicts and their realities was shaped over time based on the Agenda. "With considerable effect, the 1992 Agenda's perspective and terms have shaped the discourse, strategic approach, and practice of the UN in the ensuing twenty years." (Wennmann, 2012, pp. 8-9)Both 'Agenda for Peace' and the 'Supplement to an Agenda for Peace' have affected the mandate and instruments of peacekeeping operations (Weinlich, 2014, p. 28).

4.2. ASSESSMENT OF THE SOMALIA INTERVENTION

This section will analyze how peacekeeping missions were shaped throughout Somalia intervention by An Agenda for Peace in 1992 and its Supplement in1995.

In 1992, Somalia intervention was one of the UN's large multifunctional peacekeeping operations (Kertcher, 2012, p. 636). The first practical test of the Ghali's report was Somalia (Ahmad, 2012, p. 314). Therefore, Somalia intervention became the testing ground for new concepts such as peacekeeping beyond traditional peacekeeping principles and peacemaking (Murphy, 2003, p. 76). In other words, Somalia intervention brought new ground for the UN missions by giving authority to enforce under Chapter VII (United Nations, 1995, para. 19).

In Chapter three, I focused on the historical background of Somalia civil war and international interventions to Somalia in detail. As long as the UN forces continue to intervene in intra-state conflicts or internecine conflicts, 'Zero casualty warfare' is not possible (White, 2001, p. 135). This situation explains increasing unwillingness of permanent members and developed states to contribute directly to peacekeeping forces (White, 2001, pp. 135-136). For instance, when the US soldiers were killed in civil war of Somalia, they began to question why they were there.

Ghali stressed that the absence of central government in Somalia formed the legal basis of intervention to there. According to him, humanitarian considerations forced the UN to intervene in Somalia. On the other hand, he emphasized that when there is an existing government in any state and there are human rights violations, it will be difficult to intervene without the consent of government (Ghali, 2001, p. 292), but they did not face such difficulty in Somalia. Besides, Ghali stressed the importance of human security. He explained an expanded understanding of sovereignty. He stressed that the rights of individuals are as important as the sovereignty of states and he took a stand against the notion of exclusive and absolute sovereignty of nations.

> "Respect for its fundamental sovereignty and integrity are crucial to any common international progress. The time of absolute and exclusive sovereignty, however, has passed; its theory was never matched by reality. It is the task of leaders of States today to understand this and to find a balance between the needs of good internal governance and the requirements of an ever more interdependent world." (Boutros-Ghali, 1992, para. 17)

This was "the first time draws the connection between state sovereignty over domestic affairs and the state responsibility to care for well-being of its citizens." (Krieg, 2013, p. 15).

Somalia intervention had been influenced by report of An Agenda for Peace. When the UN intervened in Somalia with UNOSOM II, it aimed disarming the factions. An attempt to modify the principles of peacekeeping caused confusion as to mandates and the method of intervention. It could lead to greater disastrous operations (Rees, 2005, p. 173). In this process, the UN lost the principle of impartiality because it applied use of force in selective way against Aided's Somali National Alliance who was considered the responsible of deaths of 24 peacekeepers (Murphy, 2003, p. 76). "UNOSOM II has been described as the first peacekeeping operation in UN history to be given the mandate to use force not only in self-defence but to pursue its mission." (Murphy, 2003, p. 88). The policy that the UN forces followed in UNOSOM II caused disagreements between Italian contingent commander and the UN forces. Italians did not lean towards the UN's policy that allows the use of force. They did not launch any military step without the admission of their government. "In this way cultural differences between contributing states, or the personality of a particular commander, can be important variables in determining the mode of operation

of various missions" (Murphy, 2003, pp. 76-91)It can be said that Somalia consisted of a mixture of peacekeeping and enforcement.

In 1993 and 1994, third generation operations faced many challenges and they were perceived as imperial interventions. In January 1995, Ghali published the supplement to "Agenda for peace" report. Somalia and Bosnia disasters brought about to a radical rethinking about when and where the UN should intervene. President Bill Clinton warned the GA that it should learn when to say "no." (Sambanis, 2007, pp. 505-506).

It can be said that Ghali took a restrictive stance against the use of force by peacekeeping forces in his *Supplement* as opposed his earlier ideas as presented in the report of An Agenda for Peace in1992. On the other hand, it was questioned how to ensure the safety of peacekeeping personnel in ongoing civil wars and how to defend their mandates and missions. These challenges were seen in Somalia and Bosnia. Somalia intervention showed that traditional peacekeeping principles would not be adequate to deal with new challenges and tasks derived from new complex conflicts (Hikaru, 2006, p. 50).

Ghali clarified the confusion of command and control between officials and mandates. This challenge faced in Somalia. Boutros-Ghali handled authority on three levels to overcome challenges coming from confusion of command and control.

a) Political direction is determined by the UNSC
b) The Secretary-General is in charge of executive direction and command
c) Field is under the command of the chief of mission such as special representative or force commander that is granted temporally by the Secretary-General (United Nations, 1995, p. 38)

Ghali stressed that these levels should be followed to overcome confusion of mandates.

An Agenda for Peace stressed that the coordination of the UN activities in the field should be improved. The establishment of 'Interim Offices' was one of the initiatives to improve coordination (Fetherston, 1994, p. 25).

After the failures of the UN in Somalia, it realized that a merge of peacekeeping and peace enforcement actions at the same time is not the answer to the conflict without the consent of warring parties and cooperation with them. Ghali underscored in the *Supplement* that peacekeeping and enforcement are distinct from each other (Latif, 2000, pp. 43-44).

> "The logic of peace-keeping flows from political and military premises that are quite distinct from those of enforcement; and the dynamics of the latter are incompatible with the political process that peace-keeping is intended to facilitate. To blur the distinction between the two can undermine the viability of the peace-keeping operation and endanger its personnel." (United Nations, 1995, para. 35)

The literature on the operations carried out in the former Yugoslavia and Somalia argued that these missions undertook ineffective tools to confront the conflicts. Some argued that the expansion of the idea to use of force beyond self-defense and leaving traditional peacekeeping principles had caused the mission to fail. Ghali supported this idea that stated in *Supplement to an Agenda for Peace* that issued in 3 January 1995.

> "The United Nations can be proud of the speed with which peace-keeping has evolved in response to the new political environment resulting from the end of the cold war, but the last few years have confirmed that respect for certain basic principles of peace-keeping are essential to its success. Three particularly important principles are the consent of the parties, impartiality and the non-use of force except in self-defence. Analysis of recent successes and failures shows that in all the successes those principles were respected and in most of the less successful operations one or other of them was not." (United Nations, 1995, para. 33)

Based on others' views, when peacekeeping forces applied to the use of force beyond self-defense, it was not wrong. They advocated that if such missions were efficiently funded, staffed and equipped, they could be successful in fulfilling their missions through the use of force beyond self-defense. According to them, force can be used for protection of civilians. Later, this approach became widely accepted (Sloan, 2014, p. 689). This view would be seen in the concept of Responsibility to Protect that allows the use of force in peacekeeping operations to protect civilian people (Sloan, 2014, p. 695).

After the disappointments in the 1990s, Kofi Annan in 1996 accepted that the UN peacekeeping encountered problems that did not fall into a clear peacekeeping system, and can called as called grey-area missions. According to him, first, strong intelligence system is required to meet these challenges, "so that we can understand the crisis in which we are about to intervene, and are able to anticipate how it is likely to develop". Second, the UN missions would need appropriate capabilities and resources to carry out their objectives when using military force. If the UN was unsuccessful to do so, as was in the case of Somalia UN's credibility would be destroyed and the willingness of states who contributed to the peacekeeping missions militarily would decrease. In July 1997, Kofi Annan stated in Renewing the United Nations: Programme for Reform, that the UN was lack of the

institutional capacity to carry out military enforcement missions under Chapter VII of Charter. Therefore, the UN must rely upon coalitions that are willing to conduct such operations (Rees, 2005, p. 165).

4.3. LESSONS LEARNED FROM SOMALIA INTERVENTION

The Somalia intervention provides an example to analyze deficiencies of the UN. According Gen. Manfred Eisele, Assistant Secretary General for Planning and Support Department of Peacekeeping Operations, the lessons learned from the Somalia intervention concerns issues of mandate and means, coordination, reconciliation and institution-building, humanitarian imperatives, command and control, logistics and administration, accountability, public information, and intelligence (Eisele, 1995, pp. 23-24).

- ✓ First lesson is that the UN mission's tasks and functions should be clear. When UNOSOM was evaluated, its mandate was not clear and mandates changed during the process of operations. In this sense, mandate was open to numerous speculations. Disagreements between troop-contributing countries and the Secretariat, contingents and NGOs, senior UNOSOM officials and the humanitarian community, UNOSOM and UN agencies affected the mission's success negatively. Another point that should be emphasized here is that: while UNITAF under the direction of the UNSC had been given wide power, more resources but a restricted mandate, UNOSOM II was given less authority but a much wider mandate. This was rather ironic (Eisele, 1995, pp. 23-24). "A clear mandate shapes not only the mission (the what) that we perform but the way we carry it out (the how)." (Allard, 2002, p. 20).
- ✓ Second lesson suggests that in operations, Chapter VII and Chapter VI should not be resorted to simultaneously and transition from Chapter VII to Chapter VI in other words the transition from peace-enforcement to peacekeeping should have been clear. It is considered that it was mistake that Chapter VII and Chapter VI were concurrently carried out with the transition from UNITAF and UNOSOM (Eisele, 1995, pp. 23-24). When UNOSOM II and other forces were authorized to

use of force, which is a task called ‘robust peacekeeping’, it caused to unintended consequences. For example, it induced the accident, so-called `Black Hawk Down (Huh, 2008, p. 60).

- ✓ Peacekeeping missions should not be authorized in a conflict area, if there is no political will among the warring parties towards a compromise. In this sense, the consent of parties involved is very crucial to cope with the conflicts (Eisele, 1995, p. 24). Lise Morje underlines that one of the main elements causing the failures was the lack of consent (Howard L. M., 2008, p. 21). More effective operation requires that the UN should cooperate with all significant clan or sectarian leaders in the areas of crisis (Thakur, 1994, p. 405). In Somalia, the UN and the US leaders of mission isolated Aideed from the political context and they did not see Aideed as an actor to partake in resolution. Therefore, the UN continued to carry out its mission in Somalia without the consent and in its proper sense of Aideed. Thus, the mission cannot be perceived as a peacekeeping operation. The UN and U.S leaders transformed the peacekeeping operation into a `cops-and-robbers operations' and finally `war-fighting'. The missions of the UN and US became a part of the conflict by fighting against Aideed (Huh, 2008, pp. 66-80). This was a big mistake on behalf of the UN and US. In this way, their perceptions and practices towards Aideed prevented to carry out an effective and successful operation in Somalia.
- ✓ If there is a failed state with no central government, small local and regional projects may be more successful compared to a large-scale foreign intervention (Seth G. Jones, 2006, p. 115).
- ✓ Mandates should correspond to the means that are available. Sufficient resources should be provided in peacekeeping operations’ (Eisele, 1995, p. 24). UNOSOM I was incapable to sort the problems out which it encountered because of its small size and the restricted means allocated to the mandate (Rees, 2005, p. 112).
- ✓ Multidimensional peacekeeping should be included an integrated planning because multidimensional peacekeeping operations are comprised of military, humanitarian, rehabilitation and many more dimensions. It requires coordination between the departments and an integrated approach of planning (Eisele, 1995, p. 25). The

coordination between the UN and other international organizations is very significant to carry out a successful operation. In Somalia, there were problems in coordination between the UN missions and NGOs and humanitarian relief organizations. It was difficult to integrate those parties in cooperation. The military and humanitarian relief agencies had difficulties to understand each other's organizational functions, structures, purposes, and procedures. In this respect, the NGOs did not want to lose their neutrality and objectivity over the mission. The Somalian conflict explicitly demonstrated that concern of the NGOs. For example, the the ICRC and other NGOs did not involve directly protection of the people under the threat of from fighting parties (Seth G. Jones, 2006, p. 101).

- ✓ "Operation in the field should be based on a fully developed, integrated structure headed by the Special Representative of the UN Secretary- General (SRSG)." The Secretary General necessitates his own discretionary funds to be accessible in the peace-building efforts which provide the means to outreach the civilians in the areas of conflict (Eisele, 1995, p. 25). In Somalia, missions focused on the military tactics alone. They did not consider the political and social life in Somalia (Huh, 2008, p. 64).
- ✓ Communication with the Secretary General should be pursued clearly and decently. The Department of Peacekeeping Operations is the main channel to ensure the communication between the United Nations Headquarters and the field of operation. Other departments contacting with the field are the Department of Political Affairs, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs and the Department of Administration and Management, Field Administration and Logistics Division, and The Situation Centre which are incorporated into DPKO (Eisele, 1995, p. 26).
- ✓ It is important that well-trained personnel must be deployed. Mission Planning Service is established to enhance the UN's ability for rapid deployment. In addition, a Training Unit established in DPKO in June 1993 has enhanced peacekeeping training through seminars, publications, special training and other activities (Eisele, 1995, p. 26).

- ✓ It is very crucial that the UN forces should be deployed timely to carry out a successful operation. In Somalia, the UN acted too late when the banditry and insecurity was already at their high levels. The delay in action made it difficult to determine an efficient strategy to include civilian groups. (Samatar, 1995, p. 35).
- ✓ The commanding protocols must be coherent and the channel of command through which directives are received should be open at all times. Crocker states that Somalia intervention showed that unity and clarity of the command is essential for the success of the operations. Difficulties about the command arose in UNOSOM II between the UN command and national forces. In this period, Italians and French were murky about the UN command. Furthermore, the US continued to claim the direct control and command over its own troops (Eisele, 1995, p. 28). Some contingents followed their countries' orders rather than those of the UN (Huh, 2008, p. 103). Brahimi report addressed the importance of integrated chain of command. It stated that troop countries should "refrain from instructing their contingent commanders on operational matters." (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2000, para. 267). Sahnoun notes in his book that there were command and control issues between Mogadishu and New York (United States Institute of Peace, 1995, p. 7).
- ✓ The peacekeeping forces should overcome the logistics problems in order to carry out an operation in the most effective way. Field Administrative and Logistics Division are incorporated into DPKO to improve the logistic of the peacekeeping operations (Eisele, 1995, p. 26).
- ✓ "There is a need for early budgetary allocations and proper management of funds" (Eisele, 1995, p. 29). Less than 10 percent of $2 billion investment was allocated to the Somalia intervention to assist the Somalis in the areas of nation-building and restoration of the social and economic institutions. The rest of the investment was spent on the military operation (Moore, 1998, p. 96). This situation was criticized by Jan Eliasson, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs (Thakur, 1994, p. 401).

- ✓ A public information strategy should be constructed. This strategy should have two dimensions: internal programme within the area of operation and external programme for the international society in order to take military and financial support from donor states. In this sense, a radio station for every peacekeeping mission has been made mandatory as a part of this information programme (Eisele, 1995, p. 30).
- ✓ Disarmament and demobilization must be guided clearly and carry out voluntarily by all parties involved. Before the establishment of peacekeeping mission, disarmament and demobilization based on the agreements of all must be pursued. The UN mission could thus, better cope with conflicts (Eisele, 1995, p. 30). In Somalian case, peace-enforcement mission was authorized without seeking a common ground among all the factions in the conflict. Consequently, the consent of the parties and the neutrality of the mission were ignored by the mission (Huh, 2008, p. 69). The loss of neutrality is closely related to the use of force since the use of force in the conflicted areas removes military neutrality and the international intervention in civil wars destroys any claims to political neutrality (Thakur, 1994, p. 394). Due to these problems, the mission in Somalia resulted in a huge failure.
- ✓ One of the significant aspects of the successful peacekeeping mission is the diplomatic community's ability to provide to information the offices in the area of mission. There had been a pool of information used by the SRSG and the diplomatic community (Eisele, 1995, p. 31). What is more, Crocker states that before states fail and collapse, the UN or other involving states should resort to diplomacy through preventive, coercive, or mediatory measures. Once the factions seize guns, the conflict becomes more complex and insoluble and more costly to intervene (Crocker, 1995).
- ✓ Humanitarian dimension of peacekeeping operation is necessary for successful peacekeeping mission. UNOSOM I and UNITAF were successful in the safeguard of the humanitarian assistance to Somalis and saved as many as 350,000 to 500,000 lives. On the other hand, UNOSOM II which exclusively had a military dimension failed to achieve peace (Huh, 2008, p. 53). Even if the traditional peacekeeping

lacks may the muscular force of well-trained militia, its risks are low (Thakur, 1994, p. 410).

- ✓ Secure environment is a prerequisite for providing humanitarian assistance (Seth G. Jones, 2006, p. 115). In Somalia, the lack of security hampered the international efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to a large extent (Seth G. Jones, 2006, p. 84).

4.4. BRAHIMI REPORT

The Brahimi Report that was published in 2000 has been accepted as the most important and influential document on peacekeeping. Secretary-General Kofi Annan stated that "the expeditious implementation of panel's recommendations….. is essential to make the United Nations truly credible as a force for peace." (Lamont, 2001, p. 39). It was submitted to the UNSG by the Panel. It was about a comprehensive review of the peacekeeping concept (Uesugi, 2004, p. 96). Kofi Annan gathered nine experts under the chair of Lakhdar Brahimi who was the former Algerian Foreign Minister, to evaluate the deficiencies of the existing peacekeeping strategies. The group proposed many recommendations to the UNSC in November 2000 and it was endorsed by the Special Committee on Peacekeeping in December (Rees, 2005, pp. 166-167). The report was an initiative to strengthen the UN peacekeeping both doctrinally and operationally (Ocran, 2002).

The Brahimi Report stemmed from the main concern that the peacekeeping operations carried out in the conflicted areas in the 1990s, such as Somalia and Bosnia, were unsuccessful and these operations were seen missed opportunities. After such disappointments by the UN in these areas, the UN also failed in Rwanda and Sierra Leone. The failures of the UN peacekeeping in conflicted areas raised questions whether the UN realized the shortcomings of its own capacity (Rees, 2005, pp. 10-11). The deficiencies of the UN peacekeeping and reform initiatives can be analyzed on three levels: policy, managerial, and operational (Thakur R. , 2001, p. 12).

The executive summary of the Brahimi report opens with stating the *ethos* of the UN which is "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" but the UN fails to meet the challenges that are derived from the nature of the conflicts (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2000, p. 1). It goes as follows:

> "There are many tasks which United Nations peacekeeping forces should not be asked to undertake and many places they should not go. But when the United Nations does send its forces to uphold the peace, they must be prepared to confront the lingering forces of war and violence, with the ability and determination to defeat them." (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2000, p. 1)

The Panel noted that the traditional peacekeeping principles; consent of the parties involved in conflict, impartiality and the use of force only in self-defense were the bedrock principles of the UN peacekeeping. On the other hand, the capacity of the UN military units must be sufficient securing themselves, other mission components and the mission's mandate (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2000, pp. 48-49). When *An Agenda for Peace* distinguished peacekeeping and peace-enforcement and the *Supplement* discussed that they were not on a *continuum*, the Brahimi report argued that it was very difficult to differentiate peacekeeping and peace-enforcement due to the complex nature of peace operations (Ian Johnstone, 2005, p. 61). The panel concludes that although peacekeeping missions were increasingly pursued in the conflict zones, obtaining the consent of the warring parties is still difficult. Thus, the Panel agreed that the peacekeeping forces should be more prepared to "confront the lingering forces of war and violence" and to pose "the ability and determination to defeat them." (Bildt, 2011, p. 6).

The Brahimi report emphasizes that peacekeeping missions should have clear, credible and achievable mandates. Recommendations that they propose as follows:

- ✓ Firstly, before the UNSC accepts to implement truce or the UN-led peacekeeping offers a deal, the must be sure that the agreement meets certain conditions. For instance, there should be conformity with the international human rights standards and practicability of the objectives.
- ✓ Secondly, it is contended that draft resolutions authorizing missions with substantial armed forces should be adopted when the Secretary-General has duly affirmed that the Member States have fully committed to the deployment of armed forces and other facilitative elements for instance peace-building elements.

- ✓ Thirdly, when the UNSC establishes missions in dangerous conflict zones, its resolutions should match the requirements of peacekeeping missions. There should be a clear chain and unity of command.
- ✓ Fourthly, the Secretariat is responsible to offer proper advice to the UNSC of the latter's duty in the mission mandates as opposed to simply advising them in accordance with their own predispositions. Additionally, the Secretariat has to ensure that principle of transparency is duly observed, particularly towards those countries that have agreed to deploy their personnel in the pertinent operations ie by giving them access to the security briefings of the UNSC.

To briefly sum up, the report described how peacekeeping missions are ideally formed. This consisted of three sequential stages. First, a political ground for peace in the conflict zones must be created. Second, the UNSC must prepare a suitable mandate and third, the suitable resources must be determined and mobilized in conformity with tasks of mission (Cunliffe, 2009, pp. 324-325).

The Brahimi report states that intra-state conflicts are 'transnational' in character. They involves cross-border effects such as refugee and arms flows (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2000, p. 18). The Panel notes that the UN forces have three principal activities: conflict prevention and peacemaking; peacekeeping; and peace-building which also are mooted in the report of Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace*. The Panel emphasizes that the UN peace operations also enhance respect for human rights, strengthen rule of law, establish democratic institutions (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2000, pp. 10-13). The report demonstrates that the UN no longer focuses on negative peace, but it also engages positive peace activities. Such was a move from traditional peacekeeping to multidimensional peacekeeping and peace-building (White, 2001, p. 131). The Brahimi report stresses that peacekeepers and peace-builders complete each other in conflict zones as they are fulfilling their mandates to deal with conflicts and they are 'inseparable partners in complex operations'. For instance, when peacekeeping forces fail to create a secure environment in conflicted area, peace-builders cannot be able to support the political, social

and economic transformations to restore this area (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2000, p. 28)

The report emphasizes that the UN should establish a more effective system for long-term conflict prevention. Therefore, a more enhanced structure for conflict prevention must be drawn. The root causes of conflicts such as poverty should be analyzed.

> "In many cases of internal conflict, "poverty is coupled with sharp ethnic or religious cleavages", in which minority rights "are insufficiently respected [and] the institutions of government are insufficiently inclusive". Long-term preventive strategies in such instances must therefore work "to promote human rights, to protect minority rights and to institute political arrangements in which all groups are represented. …" (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2000, p. 29)

Shortage of staff, funds, and equipment ware here pointed as the main reasons of the UN's failures (Durand, 2012).

The Report recommends some structural adjustments in the DPKO such as the establishment of the Military and Civilian Police Division, Field Administration and Logistics Division (FALD) and the Lessons Learned Unit (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2000, p. 218). Furthermore, it proposes that Integrated Mission Task Forces (IMTF), which is consisted of seconded UN personnel, should be established to organize and further support peace operations. This entity would support local people and provide expertise for the operations. It would also offer information to the Assistant Secretary-General for Operations of DPKO, Assistant Secretary-General of DPA, special political missions and etc (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2000, pp. 198-245). Following the Brahimi report's publication in 2000, IMTFs were established for the UN missions.

Other recommendations of the Brahimi Report (Rees, 2005, p. 167) are as below:

- ✓ Improving the effectiveness of peace and security means
- ✓ Enhancing rapid and effective deployment capacities;
- ✓ Funding of HQ support to peacekeeping operations;
- ✓ Restructuring of DKPO;
- ✓ Strengthening areas of the UN system.

The operations that have been conducted in the period after the Brahimi report have been identified by the increasing involvement of the UN third parties and regional organizations. In addition, missions have followed impartial and robust peacekeeping procedures as

moving away from neutrality.[11] The report suggests a more muscular version of peacekeeping as moving beyond traditional peacekeeping principles (White, 2001, p. 130). Lastly, it contends that the first priority of the UN is not immediate relief. Rather, peace-building activities such as reconstruction, development and sustainable peace have been underlined as the fundamental concerns of the organization (Durand, 2012).

On 22 June 2010, in the tenth anniversary of the Brahimi Report, the UNSG Ban Ki-moon stated:

> "Thanks to the reforms proposed by the panel, United Nations peacekeeping has been able to grow, incorporate the lessons learned from those experiences, and continue to serve as a cost-effective and flexible tool — a flagship United Nations activity, a mission of hope for people caught in armed conflict." (United Nations, 2010).

The UN is now better positioned to meet the requirements of peacekeeping operations thanks to the specific and concrete recommendations of the Brahimi Report.

From 2000 to 2010, the UN peacekeeping has expanded dramatically and in 2010, it commanded approximately 110,000 personnel made up of troops and police in eighteen missions. Three operations were commanded by the NATO and also the EU and the AU launched minor operations. There were three significant reasons for this expansion: consensus of the UNSC to perform ambitious and robust operations, rising willingness to contribute organizations as financially, and lastly troop contributors from South Asia. Furthermore, since 1999, the UN forces have been authorized in non-consensual environments where consent is limited or lacking and state apparatus and institutions are weak or lacking. Yet, terrorism, extremist activities, international criminal networks, refugee problems have made the mandate planning and implementation difficult. In this context, adhering to traditional peacekeeping principles has become increasingly challenging. At the same time, the UN peacekeeping operations are likely to take place in an environment where peace accord which is the necessary prerequisite for the deployment is not ensured. Such was the case in Somalia. The UN forces continue to be deployed in

[11] Robust peacekeeping refers that peacekeeping forces may apply to the use of force when they are authorized by the SC and received the consent of host nation or major parties. This term addressed in Brahimi report. For further information see (United Nations Peacekeeping).

more complex environments because of the changing nature of the conflicts (Jones, 2009, pp. 78-79).

After the sequel during the 1990s, the developed countries lost their optimism towards the UN. It is the developing countries which took upon the UN peacekeeping. At the end of 2003, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria, India, Ghana, Nepal, Jordan, Uruguay, Kenya and South Africa constituted all ten top force-contributing countries to the peacekeeping forces (Director, 2005, p. 25).

4.4. EVALUATING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UN PEACE OPERATIONS

While many authors agree that peacekeeping forces have positive effects on keeping peace and securing sustainable development, many others disagree. It could be difficult to measure the success of peacekeeping without specific and standardized indicators to be used homogeneously in researches (Tull, 2012, p. 120). The concept of 'success' becomes insufficient to analyze complex missions. It would be wrong to say for any operation that it was either completely unsuccessful or successful. In other words, it is more important to answer this question first: Which criteria or measures should be provided in to regard a peace operation successful? It is difficult to find common standards order be applied every operation to analyze its effectiveness. Defining success is difficult. Firstly, studies about peacekeeping operations are mostly based on outcome-oriented case researches which make it difficult to compare peacekeeping missions case by case. Secondly, peacekeeping operations are different from each other in terms of their resources, missions, and environmental factors. Every conflict has its own challenges and handicaps. Every conflict varies from the kind of local actors, to the number of warring parties. In this sense, 'situational difficulty' is very important in analyzing effectiveness of peacekeeping operations and there is disagreement among scholars about whether and how situational difficulty should be integrated into evaluation of peacekeeping effectiveness. Therefore, the question of where the peace forces are deployed is first needed to be answered to assess the level of difficulty of cases (Tull, 2012, p. 120).

Fortna contends that when there is a conflict in any place, an international intervention may bring a longer duration of peace. This is an option better than one in which states are left alone on their own. But a small number of studies on peacekeeping in both interstate and civilian conflicts show that peacekeepers are at least effective in civil conflicts, as they are in interstate areas. In addition, Fortna highlights that peacekeeping has significant effect on maintaining peace after intra-state wars despite its deficiencies and limitations (Howard V. P., 2008, p. 290). Nevertheless, studies have also shown that peacekeepers are less likely to be successful when they interfere with an ongoing conflict (Davis, 2010, p. 52). The effect of the peacekeeping in conflicted areas is not the same everywhere. This effect differs according to the mission's functions and aims, or activities. Some peacekeeping forces may have limited objectives such as only monitoring the conflicts; others may have multidimensional objectives including providing humanitarian assistance and building institutions. When peacekeeping forces cooperate with belligerents, multifaceted peacekeeping operations are more effective than operations with minimal functions. But Fortna argues that traditional peacekeeping forces are more effective at reducing the risk of the conflict to recur. (Howard V. P., 2008, pp. 289-290).

In 1988, the UN peacekeeping forces were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Peacekeeping is the finest invention of the UN due to its unprecedented successes (Findlay, 1996, p. 1). The UNSG Javier Pérez de Cuéllar stated that:

> “The essence of peacekeeping is the use of soldiers as a catalyst for peace rather than as the instruments of war. It is in fact the exact opposite of the military action against aggression foreseen in Chapter VII of the charter." "The technique of peacekeeping, which has already proved itself in fifteen operations all over the world, can help us to cross the line from a world of international conflict and violence to a world in which respect for international law and authority overcomes belligerence and ensures justice (United Nations Peacekeeping Forces).”

CONCLUSION

The UN peacekeeping forces are very significant instruments of the UN to deal with conflicts which break out in various parts of the world. Since peacekeeping is lack of a formal Charter framework, its components are open to transformation more easily. Thus, peacekeeping has undergone significant changes and evolved according to period conditions. During the Cold War period, the main aims of the UN peacekeeping were to monitor or supervise the ceasefires and buffer zones between warring parties. The UN intervened in conflicts between states or interstate conflicts. Peacekeepers generally took part in the conflicts after the conflict between fighting parties ended. Those operations worked on the principles of traditional peacekeeping: the consent of warring parties, non-use of force except in self-defense, and impartiality. These principles were the main components of the peacekeeping operations during the Cold War era.

After the Cold War, the UN peacekeeping operations and its presence in conflicted areas increased because bipolar system ended and deadlock in the UNSC to take any decision was removed. In this period, a greater sense of unity within the UNSC provided to engage in the conflicts. Furthermore, the components of the UN peacekeeping were transformed according to the requirements of intrastate conflicts and the nature of conflict became more complicated. The post-Cold War period was identified by new and more complex conflicts. Thus, the international community had to come up with more effective ways to deal with those conflicts. In this period, the UN began to involve directly in situations of ongoing violent conflict. The challenges which came from the nature of these conflicts made tit difficult for the UN to confront them.

Conflicts that broke out in Somalia, Bosnia, former Yugoslavia, and Rwanda are of great importance in terms of demonstrating the changing nature of conflicts. After the Cold War, the report, *An Agenda for Peace* by Ghali issued in 1992 affected the assessment of the ways how the UN deals with those conflicts. The report formed a platform to debate significant and relevant issues about international peace and security. *An Agenda for Peace* symbolized or manifested the post-Cold War spirit. Ghali examined the changing context in terms of political, ideological and economic spectrums. The report manifested when there

was a high optimism towards the UN and there was a huge belief the UN had capacity and resources to deal with conflicts. Ghali puts forward four concepts to confront the new conflicts. These concepts are preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peace-building. This means that the UN peacekeeping involves in a wide variety of complex procedures. "This aim of the Agenda was to change the emphasis and advance the concept of peacekeeping beyond its traditional role of freezing a conflict." (Pring). In that sense, multidimensional peacekeeping or more robust and complex forms of the peacekeeping have been emerged. In the post-Cold War era, the UN had a tendency to increase use of force in operations comparison to earlier operations which carried out during the Cold War period.

Somalia intervention was one of the significant multidimensional peacekeeping operations of the UN in the post-Cold War era. It exhibits the transformation of the UN peacekeeping well. Somalia intervention demonstrated the more assertive and muscular approach of the period and it proved the significance of the Secretary-General in the resolving the conflicts since it was the Secretary-General recommendations and vision which reflected in the reports designing the UN peacekeeping forces and capacity to deal with conflicts. Peace-building and peace enforcement activities which were drafted by Ghali were applied by the UN peacekeeping forces in Somalia.

Somalia was one of the intrastate conflicts that the UN had to deal with after the Cold War. Somalia conflict particularly arose from the rivalry among the clans. Although, they shared same language, religion and traditions, they had different clans, which constituted the major reason of the conflicts. The ruling of the Barre from 1969 to 1990 caused the violence to be intensified. In this period, the dictatorship of Barre dragged Somalia in a political and economic deadlock. In this period, the Somalia conflict therefore arouse out from rivalries between clans, legacies of the Barre government, poverty, lawlessness, corruption, and famine. Following the downfall of the Barre government, Somalia plunged into a protracted civil war and becoming a failed state and experiencing the worst of chaos, terrorism and humanitarian crisis.

When the civil war captured entire country in 1992, the UN decided to intervene in Somalia due to two reasons. First, humanitarian concerns constituted the main reason for Somalia intervention. Second, the UN perceived the Somalia conflict as a threat to international peace and security. The Somalia operation was different from other operations which were conducted earlier since it operated in a state where there was no central government and no order. In this period, it was a unique operation because mission deployed in Somalia under Chapter VII explicitly. In this period, in Bosnia, it was referred this chapter partly (Duffey, 1998, pp. 11-12).

The UN authorized UNOSOM I to provide humanitarian assistance to Somalis and bring peace to Somalian lands by passing Resolution 751 in April 1992. While establishing UNOSOM I, it met the traditional peacekeeping principles. Troops were lightly armed and they could apply use of force in the case of self-defense. This mission however failed to carry out the mandates because of the unpredicted complexity of the conflict. When the UNSG realized that the model of non-forceful peacekeeping or traditional peacekeeping would not effectively deal with the complex conflicts such as Somalia, he compelled the UNSC to authorize the mission that had the capability to use military force. This mission would be UNITAF. UNITAF was authorized with Resolution 794. Its mandates and objectives were more enhanced than UNOSOM I. It had the authority to use ‘‘all necessary means’’ to implement its mandates in the conflict zones. ‘‘all necessary means’’ is standard terminology of the UNSC for use of military force. This mission was more assertive in terms of having strong military capacity. However, it was proven ineffective to confront Somali warlords. Therefore, UNOSOM II was authorized with the adoption of Resolution 814 on 26 March 1993. Its aims were to establish a secure environment for humanitarian assistance to Somalis under Chapter VII of the UN Charter which allows the use of force. UNOSOM II took on multidimensional tasks, worked on establishing the rule of law and order, assisting humanitarian needs, promoting political settlement and reconciliation, disarming fighting parties, rebuilding institutions, providing economic relief and rehabilitation and resolving refugees’ problems. In other words, the UN peacekeeping has involved civilian activities since 1990s.

UNOSOM II also focused on the nation-building of Somalia. In that sense, this mission is very significant that would allow analyzing the transformation of the UN peacekeeping in the post-Cold War era. In Somalia, the peacekeeping mission had been deployed with traditional principles with authorizing UNOSOM I, but, afterward, is converted into peace enforcement action with authorizing UNOSOM II. When the UN peacekeeping fought against Aideed, it ignored the ability and capacity of the clan and it failed to restore peace and order in Somalia. Eventually it departed from Somalia in 1995.

After the disaster of the UN peacekeeping in Somalia, Ghali published *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace* in 1995. Failures in Somalia had an impact on this report. While this report accepted the wide range of tasks of the UN peacekeeping in the post-Cold War period, it noted that peacekeeping forces should be adhere to traditional peacekeeping principles. This meant that there is a return to its traditional peacekeeping role in this time. But, interventions which carried out after the Cold War like Somalia or Bosnia intervention have induced to form grey area between traditional UN peacekeeping and classical human intervention.

In Somalia, the peace-enforcement activities did not meet the realities of the country, its people, and their issues. When the UN resorted the use of force against oppositions, its image was destroyed. Peacekeepers were seen as being neo-colonialists by the Somalis. The UN peacekeeping learned many lessons from Somalia intervention on mandates, logistics, command and control and etc. The one of the most important lessons learned from Somalia intervention was the unified command. In Somalia, the UN could focus on the roots of the causes of the conflict instead of following military tactics and strategies. The most of the budget was allocated to military strategies rather than assisting restoration of the institutions and peace-building activities in Somalia. The challenges which the UN encountered in the post-Cold War era were addressed in Brahimi Report in detail.

This thesis seeks that after the Cold War, the boundary between peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention has begun to blur. It can be said that during the Cold war period, there was a clear distinction between the traditional peacekeeping involving non-forceful instruments and humanitarian intervention including the use of military force but with the erupting the conflicts in Somalia and Bosnia in the early 1990s, this distinction began to

disappear and ‘grey area’ has formed. The new peacekeeping operations have been more militarily and politically active. It has become difficult to adhere and follow traditional peacekeeping principles. Firstly, obtaining the consent of main parties has been problematic for the UN. Secondly, the UN peacekeeping forces began to lose its impartiality in resolving conflicts and mostly, its involvement in the crisis has caused it to be perceived as a party to the conflict. Lastly, it should be noted that there has been an erosion in the principle of minimum force. Regehr states there is “the developing conventional wisdom that peacekeeping is evolving towards a much greater reliance on the use of force.” (Slim, 1995).

This thesis also focuses on Brahimi Report which published in 2000 since after the disappointments of the UN peacekeeping forces in the 1990s; Brahimi Report has constituted one of the very significant documents on peacekeeping. It made realistic and concrete recommendations for future effective peacekeeping operations and assessed all aspects of the peacekeeping. The report accepted that the UN was unsuccessful in operations that performed in the 1990s but it emphasized that the UN peacekeeping will be better today. The report set recommendations on policy, managerial, and operational of the UN peacekeeping. After the Brahimi Report, peacekeeping operations have increased.

When the evolution of peacekeeping is examined, it is observed that there has been a transition from the state security approach to the human security approach. After the Cold War, Ghali emphasized the significance of the human security and the concept of sovereignty has changed.

The aim of the thesis is to examine the transition of the traditional peacekeeping to multidimensional peacekeeping which involves peace-enforcement and peace-building tasks. Reports by Ghali in 1992 and 1995 and Brahimi Report are reform efforts of the UN to adapt itself to the changing conditions. Thus, these efforts are very significant to analyze transformation of the UN peacekeeping.

Finally, since peacekeeping forces are made up of troops of the contributing countries, 'political will' of them is crucial to success of the operations. Brahimi report also stressed the significance of 'political will' of the member states. As long as contributions of the

member states continue to peacekeeping forces, peacekeeping remains very significant instrument of the UN to maintain international peace and security.

The UNSC Decisions to Somalia

Resolution 733	23 January 1992	Imposed on an arms amgargo
Resolution 746	17 March 1992	Supporting the SG's proposal to send a technical team to Somalia.
Resolution 751	24 April 1992	Authorised UNOSOM I and a Sanctions Committee.
Resolution 775	28 August 1992	Strenghtened the UNOSOM's mandate to establish a secure environment for delivery of humanitarian assitances to Somalis.
Resolution 794	3 December 1992	Authorised the use of military force in Somalia through UNITAF
Resolution 814	26 March 1993	Authorised UNOSOM II under Chapter VII.
Resolution 837	6 June 1993	Authorized UNOSOM II to take 'all necessary measures' against responsible for the attacks on mission
Resolution 885	16 November 1993	Established the Commission of Inquiry to investigate the armed attacks on UN forces
Resolution 897	4 February 1994	Revised UNOSOM II 's mandate and return to traditonal peacekeeping principles
Resolution 954	4 November 1994	Withdrawal of the UNOSOM II

Source: Security Council Report

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Tarih: 05/07/2018

Tez Başlığı : Soğuk Savaş Sonrası Dönemde Birleşmiş Milletler Barışı Koruma Gücünün Dönüşümü: Somali Örneği ve Ötesi

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Tarih: 27/06/2018

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