A Comparative Assessment of UNMIL-Liberia and UNOSOM II-Somalia Peacekeeping Operations

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Abstract

Liberia and Somalia are two countries on the African continent that are distant but share the same fate. While Liberia is a multi-ethnic African country that was not colonized, Somalia is notable for having a relatively homogeneous demographic composition. Both countries suffered devastating losses from civil wars in the 1990s. Liberia recovered from the civil war in the early 21st century, but Somalia has not been as successful as post-civil war Liberia. The United Nations intervened in both countries in order to reduce the negative effects of the civil war, to put an end to the humanitarian tragedy and to cease the civil wars. This article aims to assess the UN interventions in both countries (UNMIL in Liberia and UNOSOM II) in reference to Pushkina's criteria of success. The article also addresses the historical developments leading up to civil wars and outlines the UN activities in these two countries.

Keywords: Peacekeeping operations, Liberia, Somalia, The UN Intervention, Civil war

Introduction

Liberia and Somalia are two African countries that experienced civil war, like many other African countries. Though there were different dynamics of civil wars, both countries have seen great damages from these civil wars caused by problems predominantly based on ethnicity. Although Somalia had a homogeneous demographic structure, it was unable to achieve national unity after independence and had to deal with the civil war, the effects of which still continue today (DW, 2020). On the other hand, Liberia had taken its place on the historical scene as an independent country earlier than the other African states (BBC, 2018) and it is one of the two countries in Africa that was not colonized by any European states. Liberia, like Somalia, suffered civil war during the 1990s and early 2000s. As a result of the conflicts evolving into a major humanitarian drama, the UN, whose most important mission is to ensure peace and security in the world, intervened in the civil wars in the two countries, which led to great social, economic and political havoc. After conducting its first peacekeeping operation in the Middle East in 1948, the UN has made significant contribution to world peace and security. Of the present UN peacekeeping operations, one is in Europe, five are in Asia and Middle East, and seven are in Africa (United Nations [UN], 2019).

The success of peacekeeping operations has been a matter of debate since the beginning. For the evaluation of operations, many scholars have put forward a wide range of criteria and have tried to evaluate the UN peacekeeping operations according to these criteria. Bures (2007:414-415) groups the criteria for success in the literature under three headings: the fulfillment of the purpose of the mission as stated in the mandate (Brown 1993; Durch 1995; Ratner 1995; Bratt 19), the impact of the operation on the local population (Durch 1995; Ratner 1995), the contribution of peacekeeping to larger values rather than to self-serving gains (Pushkina, 2006). Establishing peace does not mean the stopping the conflict. The number of lives that have been saved from likely death and the improvement of political, economic, and social justice by defending human rights, establishing the rule of law, and fostering economic and social cooperation must be evaluated as well (Pushkina, 2006:134). In this regard, Pushkina (2006) provides a broader perspective and helps analyze the complex structure of peacekeeping operations. This paper therefore aims to assess the peacekeeping operations in Liberia and Somalia within the context of Pushkina's four success criteria: (1): limiting violent conflict in the host state, (2) reduction of human suffering, (3) preventing the spread of conflict beyond the object state's border, and (4) promoting conflict resolution. Before an analysis of the UN operations within the frame of these criteria, a brief history and background of the civil war in both countries will be presented as well.

A Brief History of Liberia

Liberia, which means "the land of the free" and had received this name in 19th century, would be acquainted with the Europeans when Portuguese sailors explored this territory in the 15th century. Up to the earlier of the 19th century, the British and the Dutch also set foot in Liberia and made contact with the natives (U.S. Department of State, 2012). As a result of anti-slavery laws that were enacted in the United States of America in the early 1800s, a place was sought to resettle former slaves who had gained freedom in the United States. The territory of present-day Liberia was found suitable. Following a treaty signed in 1821 between local chiefs and the agents of the American Colonization Society, the first settlers arrived in Liberian territory in 1822 (Petterson et al, 2020).

Liberia took part in the world history neither under the US protectorate nor as an independent state. Liberia was ruled as a colony by a private company by representatives appointed neither by the US government nor by local authorities. Therefore these settlements, which were later established as the Commonwealth of Liberia, had an unusual position in the world. Liberia declared independence in 1847, and the first president of the Republic of Liberia was Joseph Jenkins Roberts who was born and raised in the United States. Freed slaves called Americo-Liberian began to form an oligarchic structure and restricted the rights of the indigenous people to vote and basic social rights.

Though there was no law preventing the formation of another party, the most prominent element of the following period was the adoption of a one-party administration under the True Whig Party (TWP), founded in 1869. The TWP remained in power from 1871 to 1980 (Mower, 1947:267; Dunn, 2001:280,333).

Though Americo-Liberians only consisted of 2.5 percent of Liberian community at that time, since the first years of its establishment, the government of Liberia had continued under the administration of the True Whig Party in the hands of Americo-Liberian elites. In addition to political division, separation emerged in services such as health care or education, and the distinction between indigenous people and Americo-Liberians increased. This division raised tensions among ethnic groups in the following years (Lawrence, 2008:693).

Background of the Civil War in Liberia

On April 12, 1980, Samuel Kanyon Doe, who was Krahn and was a master sergeant in the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), seized power in a military intervention and put an end to the 109-year administration of TWP, as well as the 133-year oligarchy of Americo-Liberians in Liberia (U.S. Department of State, 2012). Henceforth, Samuel Doe began to govern Liberia as both head of state and president of the People's Redemption Council (PRC). Initially, the military coup was welcome by the Liberians. However, the economic deterioration that began in the country in the following years increased the unrest against Doe. Doe's ethnic discrimination in favor of his own tribe further exacerbated the tension. In the new order, the country began to witness the struggle between the Krahn and other tribes. The coup attempt against Doe in 1985 became the starting point of events that would lead to civil war in the country. As the attempt was carried out by Thomas Qwiwonkpa of Gio ethnic group, the Krahn-dominated Liberian army resorted to harsh measures against the Gio and Mano ethnic groups (Bøås, 2005:75).

On December 24, 1989, Charles Taylor, leader of a rebellion movement called the Nationalist Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), actively launched the Liberian Civil War from Cote d'Ivoire. The rebels initially consisted of about 100 light-armed men, but their number rose to 10,000 three months later with the participation of indigenous peoples. Samuel Doe fought against the rebels with his forces. Since it was known that Taylor received support from the Gio and Mano ethnic groups, the pro-Doe forces attacked the villages of these ethnic groups to capture Taylor. In turn, Taylor's NPFL attacked the Doe's supporters among the Krahn and Mandingo ethnic groups. The revenge attacks continued until 2003 (Bøås, 2005: 75). On September 9, 1990, President Doe was captured, tortured and killed by rebel forces led by Prince Yormie Johnson, who was once a member of the NPFL and later established the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (Ellis,1995:169)

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) intervened to end the civil war. The ECOWAS observer force, the Economic Community of Military Observer Group (ECOMOG), was deployed to Liberia in August 1990 (Ellis, 1995:169; UN, 1997). This mandate had one purpose: to prevent Taylor from taking over presidency. As a result of this intervention by ECOWAS, Taylor and Johnson were prevented from taking over Monrovia (Bøås, 2005:77). In 1993, with the mediation of ECOWAS, the Cotonou Peace Agreement was signed between the parties as a result of peace negotiations in Benin. Following this agreement, the UN started a peacekeeping operation called the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) to oversee the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement and to support the ECOMOG troops. With UNOMIL, the United Nations participated for the first time in a peacekeeping operation initiated by another organization. The planned elections in 1994 were postponed due to the disagreement of the parties and the civil war continued until 1997. In July 1997, the UN successfully supervised the elections held in the country, and UNOMIL successfully completed its main mission. Since then, UNOMIL has been replaced by the United Nations Peacebuilding Office in Liberia (UNOL) (UN, 1997). The civil war in Liberia, from 1989 to 1996, led to the death of two hundred thousand people, and about one

million people became refugees in neighboring countries (U.S. Department of State, 2012). In the general election in July 1997, Taylor's National Patriotic Party won the majority of votes and he became Liberia's new president (Petterson et al, 2020).

Due to the presence of ECOWAS troops in the country, President Taylor was able to establish a peaceful environment in the country, even if it was weak. At the end of the 1999, when ECOWAS left the country, the rebels called the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) began to attack in northern Liberia. In company with the UN sanctions due to Taylor's role in triggering the Sierra Leone civil war, the Liberian economy was further worsened by the conflicts that continued until 2001. In 2003, the Special Court for Sierra Leone filed a lawsuit against Taylor, claiming the involvement and responsibility of Liberian President in the events in Sierra Leone (Petterson et al, 2020). In the meantime, the clashes spread and intensified in early 2003 with the emergence of a new armed group called the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL). In May 2003, virtually sixty percent of the country was seized by the rebel forces. As a result of international pressure, negotiations were held between the Liberian government and rebel groups to end the civil war. Though a ceasefire agreement was signed in June 2003, a short time later, attacks by rebel groups began again. As a consequence of these attacks, ECOWAS decided to redeploy forces to Liberia. With their arrival, President Taylor left the country, and the US and other countries came to reinforce the ECOWAS troops. President Taylor resigned on August 11 and was exiled to Nigeria. As the head of the interim government, Vice President Moses Blah replaced him. A few days later, the Liberian government, LURD and MODEL signed an agreement called the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), witnessed by ECOWAS, the African Union and the UN special representative Paul Klein in Accra (UN, 2003).

The UN Intervention in Liberia

On September 19, 2003, the Security Council established the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) by Resolution 1509 (2003) with 15,000 military personnel. The mandate of UNMIL included sensitive issues such as the protection of the UN personnel facilities and civilians, assistance to refugees and displaced people, observing the ceasefire, helping all armed parties to lay down their weapons, conducting disarmament demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants program, security in key government agencies and vital infrastructure areas. UNMIL was commissioned in October 2005 to help the transitional government develop strategies to strengthen its institutions with free and fair elections (UN, 2003).

In accordance with the Resolution 1509, ECOWAS handed over its responsibilities to UNMIL from 1 October. More than 3,500 ECOWAS troops from Togo, Ghana, Mali, Benin, Nigeria, the Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, and Senegal started to work under the UN umbrella after the establishment of UNMIL. The UN divided the country into four sectors and deployed its troops in these sectors (UN, 2003).

The deployment of the UNMIL units with elements sent from other countries was completed in February 2004. UNMIL reached a force of 14,000 in the country, including 11,000 soldiers, 1100 police advisers and other officials from different countries. The military and police units deployed in almost all of the country assumed important tasks. In particular, the military contingents deployed in the border regions formed air and land patrols on the borders of Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone. In the meantime, violent incidents were taking place in Côte d'Ivoire, and there was a large influx of refugees from this country (UN, 2018).

Apart from border security, the UNMIL forces undertook the task of ensuring public order with the Liberian national police elements. For instance, the tension that began between Muslims and Christians in the capital Monrovia in late 2004 grew in a short time. Muslims and Christians mutually began to harm their places of worship. Some shops were looted during these events. The Nigerian troops patrolling the region prevented some of the rebels from attempting to burn three mosques in Monrovia. Ghanaian and Irish troops also assisted

Nigerian troops ("Liberia: Religious reports", 2004).

The UNMIL troops contributed to the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) in the context of vocational training as well. The goal of the UN was to ensure that the AFL was able to function on their own when the UNMIL troops left the country. For instance, the UNMIL and local military personnel worked together to build the Bailey bridge in the Sinje district of Grand Cape Mount County (UN, 2018).

UNMIL made great efforts to eradicate the impact of the long-term civil war on the society. In order to keep the society informed, UNMIL radio started to broadcast 24 hours a day, and various posters, fliers and newspapers were published. In addition, UNICEF's "back to school" campaign and measles vaccination were important projects for the rebuilding of society (Cooley, 2004).

The UNMIL's other important contribution to the country was in the field of education given to the Liberian National Police. As of July 2007, 3500 new graduates started the police force as part of the rebuilding of the police force. The training of these policemen was provided by the UNMIL police troops. Within the scope of the Quick Impact Projects, many police stations were rebuilt. In addition, 103 Liberian female police officers were trained by the female police force of India. The aim was to improve the reputation of Liberian national police, which left a bad impression on the public eye during the civil war in the country (Center on International Cooperation, 2008:63).

Before being terminated on March 30, 2018, UNMIL made significant contribution to the end of the civil war in Liberia. It fulfilled its mandate by playing an important role in restoring peace and ensuring economic stability. From 1989 to 2003, 250.000 people were killed, nearly half the country's population were displaced, and two out of every three women were subjected to sexual abuse. Thanks to the serving of over 126.000 military, 16.000 police and 23.000 civilian personnel under the umbrella of UNMIL, the country's police, military units and civilians were trained as a support to the reconstruction of the country. UNMIL disarmed over 100,000 ex-combatants and collected over 21,000 weapons and 5,000,000 ammunitions from them. UNMIL helped 26,000 Ivorian refugees and thousands of displaced Liberians to return home. UNMIL also contributed to the country's democracy, assisting to hold presidential and legislative elections in 2005, 2011 and 2017. As a result of the first two elections, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf became the first female president elected in Africa. In addition, throughout the security environment provided during UNMIL's mission, the Liberian economy recovered more than 90% of GDP losses during the conflict (UN, 2018).

A Brief History of Somalia

Located in the Horn of Africa, Somalia controls the route connecting the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean via the Suez Canal-the Red Sea-Gulf of Aden (Lewis, 2020). Somalia's population is relatively homogeneous, with 85 percent of Somalis and the rest 15 percent of non-Somalis, including 300,000 Arabs (The CIA World Factbook, 2019). Though Somalia has a homogenous demographic structure, it has a clan-based social identity. Clan identity is a social phenomenon that occupies a significant place in all kinds of political and social structures of Somalis. The clans that make up the vast majority of the main population, which are the Hawiya, Isaaq, Darood and Dir, claim to be descendants of the Prophet Muhammad (The Home Office, 2019:13).

The history of Somali people, dating back to the 2000 BCE, turned into a field of struggle with the European powers' advent towards the end of the 19th century (Philippe, 2005:519). During the colonial period, the regions inhabited by Somali people were divided into five main regions by Ethiopia, France, England and Italy without considering the ethnic population. These regions are the Ogaden and Haud regions located in Ethiopia, French Somaliland (Djibouti), Italian Somalia, British Somaliland and the northern region of Kenya (Lewis, 1967:105).

Up to the years of the WWII, the struggles of the colonialist states for the sharing of territory of Somalia remained. The conflict between Italy and Britain, which were involved in the WWII in different alliances, also moved to Somalia. In 1940,

Italy waged war on the British and ejected the British troops from the British Somaliland. In addition, Italy invaded the Ogaden region and also expanded the territory of Italian Somalia. The British response to these Italian gains was not delayed, and a year later, as a result of the British attacks, the Ogaden region was recaptured from the Italians and incorporated into Ethiopia, and most of the territory of the Italian Somalia was taken under control. At the UN General Assembly in 1949, while discussing the future of Italian colonies, the plan to establish Italian guardianship in Somalia was proposed. In late 1949, the United Nations decided to transfer Italian Somalia to Italian administration for ten years. It was also decided that this administration should be under the trusteeship of the UN (Lewis, 1988: 117-139).

On July 1, 1960, the Republic of Somalia was formed by the merger of British Somaliland and Italian Somalia, excluding French Somaliland (Djibouti) and Ogaden territory. Mogadishu became the capital of this newly formed country, and Aden Abdullah Osman Daar assumed office as the country's first elected president (Lewis, 1988: 166-169). With the new constitution adopted via a referendum held in the country in 1961, Somalia blossomed into a state governed by a parliamentary system until the Siad Barre regime suspended the constitution in 1969 (Constitutionnet, 2018).

At the end of 1969, the Somalia Armed Forces staged a coup d'état and General Siad Barre, head of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, took office as the head of state of Somalia. The Supreme Revolutionary Council put an end to party-based constitutional democracy and renamed the country as the Somali Democratic Republic. Siad Barre soon put forward an ideology called "Scientific Socialism", which he claimed to be in line with Islamic rules based on Marxism as the ideology of the state. In June 1976, the Supreme Revolutionary Council became the Somali Socialist Revolution Party, with Siad Barre being the secretary general of the party (Lewis, 1988:205-210).

The Ogaden War with Ethiopia in 1977-78 took place as a major event in the process leading up to the civil war that broke out in 1991. The Siad Barre regime occupied part of the Ogaden region at the beginning of the war with the aim of re-annexing the region. Somali forces suffered a major defeat as Ethiopian military forces stabilized the situation and eventually prevailed in the war (Nkaissery, 1997: 13-20). Military assistance from the USSR and Cuba contributed greatly to the Ethiopian victory. In fact, though the USSR initially helped both sides, it sided with Ethiopia in the later times of the war. The Siad Barre regime, in response to the fact that the USSR left itself alone in this war, moved closer to the West and the USA (Jackson, 2010:29).

The struggle against the Barre regime emerged in 1978 after Somalia's defeat against Ethiopia. In Somalia and neighboring countries, especially in Ethiopia, clan-based movements began an armed struggle against the Biarre government. The state pursued violent policies to suppress these movements and punished the clan to which the opposition group belonged. This policy increased the criticisms against the state and augmented the support for the movements (Lewis, 2020).

The struggle against the Siad Barre regime yielded a result, and after Siad Barre fled the country in 1991, Somalia fell into a turmoil identified by clan upheaval (Ingiriis, 2020). Following the downfall of Barre, a civil war broke out between the factions supporting Interim President Ali Mahdi Mohamed and those supporting General Mohamed Farah Aidid. The civil war caused about 1 million refugees to live in neighboring countries, and about 5 million people were threatened with hunger and disease (UN, 2003).

The reasons for the crisis in Somalia include underdevelopment, clannism, corrupt and repressive state, end of the Cold War, as well as missed diplomatic opportunities (Menkhaus, 2003:1-3). Somali society is formed by a clan structure, each of which is divided into a clan, sub-clan and a sub-sub-clan. A social life in which almost everyone in the country is a member of one of these clans still continues today. This social organization, which can also be called Somali clannism, is a structure capable of being politically manipulated, though it provides some benefits to

the order of social life. The Siad Barre regime benefited from this feature of the structure and ruled the country by practicing the principle of divide and rule. Following the Siad Barre period, the clans started the power struggle and formed the most important reason of the civil war. The Barre regime was seen in the public eye as a corrupt and repressive state. In the 1980s, when foreign aid accounted for fifty percent of the GNP, the country's revenues were not spent on the public services, and the political elite exploited this income for their own benefit. In addition, public persecutions were carried out with hegemonial power based on clan identity. Increasing public anger against the regime led to the collapse of the Barre regime, and the effect of this destruction continued. On the other hand, with the repressive and corrupt state in the pre-war period, Somalia, a country where virtually three-quarters of the population tried to earn a living as pastoralists or farmers, was one of the poorest countries in the world with GNP per capita of $ 170. With the end of the Cold War, the interest of the great powers in Somalia decreased. In connection with this, the decrease in the amount of aid to Somalia also laid the groundwork for the collapse of the Somali state. Somalia was approaching an inevitable end with the crises it had suffered in the period before civil war. In this period, the world had not been able to prevent the collapse of the country by not making sufficient diplomatic efforts to address the crisis in Somalia. Instead, "Somalia was left to its fate" (Menkhaus, 2003:1-3).

The UN Intervention in Somalia

After the deterioration of the situation in Somalia, the United Nations intervened by taking the decision of an arms embargo against the Somali state in January 1992. The UN decided to launch peacekeeping operations after this decision. In April 1992, the Secretary Council established the peacekeeping operation called UNOSOM I in Somalia. The main purpose of the United Nations in the early days of peacekeeping was to ensure that emergency assistance to civil society is delivered as quickly as possible. In November 1992, the United States offered to ensure the safety of aid convoys in the context of UNOSOM I. The UN Security Council welcomed the US offer and authorized the use of 'all necessary means' to build a secure environment for humanitarian aid. After the UN acceptance, an operational unit called the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) was formed under the US leadership with contributions from 24 countries. At the same time, UNOSOM I retained its task in the country (UN, 2003).

While UNITAF and UNOSOM I continued their duties at the same time, there were some operational and logistical problems between two units. The United Nations decided on a plan to gather the peacekeeping operation under single roof. On March 26, 1993, with Resolution 814 adopted in the United Nations Security Council, the UNITAF and the UNOSOM I operations were reunited under UNOSOM II (Philipp, 2005:537).

The Security Council launched UNOSOM II which consisted of 28,000 military and 2,800 civilian staff with the adoption of Resolution 814. UNOSOM II was the largest operation the UN had ever organized (Thakur, 1994:396). The deployment of UNOSOM II was concentrated in the south of the country and around Mogadishu (United Nations Geospatial Information Section, 1993). Turkish Lieutenant-General Çevik Bir became the first force commander of UNOSOM II until January 1994 (Güngör, 2017:13). The task of UNOSOM II was to take the necessary measures, including coercive ones, for the safe delivery of humanitarian aid to the needy in Somalia (UN, 2003). The three core functions of UNOSOM II in Somalia were as follows: disarming the conflicting clans, rebuilding Somalia's political institutions and ensuring security in the country (O'Neill et al, 2005:106-109).

As UNOSOM II continued, in March 1993, a conference was convened in Addis Ababa with the efforts of the UN. As a result of this conference, on March 27, 1993, a ceasefire agreement was signed to halt the crisis in the country and secure delivery of humanitarian aid. The ceasefire agreement also envisioned the disarmament of the warring factions and the formation of a provisional government, which was scheduled to expire within two years (UN, 2003).

This agreement did not result in reducing the tension in the country. It was revealed that General Aidid would not cooperate with the UN with the articles reached in the agreement. On June 5, 1993, a Pakistani troop of the UN arrived at Radio Mogadishu to supervise the disarmament implementation. While the Pakistani troop was carrying out its mission, General Aidid manipulated this action and his forces attacked Pakistani forces. In this attack, 24 Pakistani soldiers were killed, with 10 soldiers missing and 54 soldiers wounded (UN, 1994). Following the incident, the UN Security Council convened and condemned this inhuman attack against the UNOSOM II by Resolution 837 of 6 June 1993. This condemnation was supported by many clans in Somalia. After the adoption of Resolution 837 by UN on June 6, UNOSOM II launched a series of operations against Aidid's forces. The UNOSOM II's mission was to capture their military equipments and neutralize Radio Mogadishu which was under Aidid's control (UN, 2003).

On October 3, 1993, an immediate operation was planned after US Special Forces, which were not under the UN command and control, received intelligence of the location of two of General Aidid's key generals. A joint operation of the US Special Forces along with air assault operation units began towards the downtown of Mogadishu. Airborne troops and the US troops marching through the streets of Mogadishu with armored vehicles faced strong resistance. During this operation, two US helicopters were shot down by pro-Aidid militias and one American helicopter pilot was captured, 18 US soldiers were killed and 75 wounded. Abuse of the bodies of the killed soldiers was watched by television broadcasts from all over the world. This sensational incident brought the end of UNOSOM II. The USA announced on May 31, 1994 that the US forces would withdraw from Somalia. The announcement of the withdrawal of the US caused the other foreign forces in the UN military force in Somalia to decide to withdraw. In September 1994, the UN declared that the Somalia Operation would be completed as soon as possible. With the Resolution 953, it became certain that the military forces would withdraw by March 1995

(Marion, 2013:5; UN, 2003).

The UN continued to seek reconciliation between the parties. For this purpose, in early 1994, Mahdi and Aidid came together in Nairobi as a result of the meetings held by the UN special representative. This meeting was an important development since it was the first meeting between the two in the last two years. As a result of intensive negotiations, a declaration was declared under the name of the Nairobi Declaration. The parties agreed on ending the conflicts and reaching a national consensus and ceasefire. However, it did not bring a positive result, and the conflicts continued (Philipp, 2005:540).

Conclusion

The UN involved in Liberia with the mission UNOMIL once the conflicts that began in late 1989 evolved into a civil war. The UN aimed to cease the civil war and to oversee the implementation of the Cotonou Peace Agreement signed between the conflicting parties in 1993. Having carried out this mandate together with ECOWAS, the UN successfully observed the presidential elections held in 1997 and ended its mandate. The unrest in the country increased when Charles Taylor won the presidential elections in 1997, and as a result, the country was dragged into civil war again in 1999. In 2003, ECOWAS intervened and then the UN established the UNMIL peacekeeping operation in Liberia. After Taylor left the country in 2003, the Accra Comprehensive Agreement was signed between the conflicting parties under the leadership of ECOWAS and the UN. The latter was involved in Liberia to monitor the agreement, to report on human rights violations, to help refugees and displaced people, and to allow ex-combatants to lay down their arms. During this mandate, the UN made efforts to ensure and establish peace, to protect civilians, as well as to prevent the civil war from resuming.

In the post-Cold War period, the UN launched the UNOSOM I operation in Somalia in order to prevent the human tragedy resulting from the civil war in that country. The most important task of the UN in this operation was to provide humanitarian aid to the Somalian people who were starving. The UNOSOM I peacekeeping operation evolved into

the UNOSOM II in the following years. During the UNOSOM I, UNITAF was launched under the leadership of the United States to ensure the safe distribution of humanitarian aid. Beginning in March 1993, UNOSOM II went beyond providing humanitarian aid. The UN intervened in Somalia's internal affairs and conducted military operations against pro-Aidid forces. In other words, the UN lost its neutrality and became a party to the conflict. UNOSOM II evolved from peacekeeping into a peace enforcement mission. During the latter mission, the UN faced serious resistance from Aidid-led militia and decided to withdraw from the country in 1995 as a result of large-scale attacks against the UN military units.

As for limiting violent conflict in the host state, it can be said that the UN reduced the unrest in Liberia by ensuring that the parties would not clash after reaching an agreement in Accra, and elections would be held in a fair, impartial and free manner. The UNMIL elements intervened together with the Liberian local law enforcement agencies in cases of violence, which tended to increase from time to time. UNMIL made an effort not to increase the violence. The fact that UNMIL reacted immediately to the violence that took place between the Muslims and the Christians in 2004 can be given as an example. At the end of 2017, UNMIL successfully completed the DDR program, which enabled approximately 100,000 ex-combatants to lay down 21,000 weapons. As a result, UNMIL prevented the country from being dragged into a civil war. In Somalia, on the other hand, the UN also brought together the conflicting parties in Nairobi and Addis Ababa to help them reach a compromise and end the civil war. As a result of this effort, an atmosphere of peace was achieved in a very short time, nonetheless it was not sustained. Due to the increasing attacks against the United Nations forces, military operations against General Aidid militia were organized together with the UNOSOM II contingents. Despite its evolution into a peace enforcement operation, UNOSOM II failed. The sensational actions of Aidid-led militia against the UNOSOM II troops frustrated all efforts of the United Nations. In addition, UNOSOM II aimed to ensure that fighters could lay down weapons under

the DDR program. However, UNOSOM II did not make significant progress and failed to achieve its objectives related to the DDR program. Therefore, there was no reduction in the conflicts. Considering the first criterion, UNMIL was successful, while UNOSOM II failed.

Regarding the reduction of human suffering, violence against women and children even in the recent days of UNMIL was not prevented in Liberia. 596 incidents of gender-based violence, of which 391 were sexual abuse and rape, were reported from June 2017 to February 2018. It is noteworthy that 67.3 percent of the victims of these incidents were children (UN, 2018). Given these figures, it can be said that UNMIL could not prevent these crimes from being committed. On the other hand, UNMIL helped thousands of displaced people and refugees return to their homes. In Somalia, UNOSOM I provided humanitarian aid to the Somalian people for the purpose of reducing human suffering. UNOSOM II however failed to provide sufficient security for this purpose. It could not ensure the safety for the agents of humanitarian aid. In addition to not fulfilling the reduction of human suffering, there were deaths or injuries from Somali people in the operation organized by the UNOSOM II units. Regarding the second criterion, UNMIL was partially successful, while UNOSOM II failed again.

As for preventing the spread of conflict beyond the object state's borders, the UNMIL troops were deployed in Liberia's border from the beginning of the operation. The aim was to prevent immigration and the spread of violence to neighboring countries. On the other hand, during UNOSOM II, the UN troops were mostly deployed to Mogadishu. As UNOSOM II directed its efforts to Aidid-led militia, it did not take measures for migration to neighboring countries. Hundreds of thousands of people became refugees in other countries. Although these migration events did not create a climate of conflict in neighboring countries, UNOSOM II can be said to have failed. By preventing migration flows, UNMIL can be assessed to be successful in this criterion.

As for promoting conflict resolution, it is possible to say that UNMIL prevented the outbreak of civil war in Liberia. As a result of the solution of problems between the conflicting parties, political stability has been achieved in Liberia. UNMIL assisted the presidential and legislative elections in 2005, 2011 and 2017. As a result of the first two elections, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf became the first female president elected in Africa, and footballer George Weah was elected in 2017. In addition, the Liberian economy recovered more than 90% of GDP losses during the conflict. In Somalia, on the other hand, UNOSOM II could not find a solution to problems between the conflicting parties. Even though the UN tried to bring the parties together to reach an agreement, these efforts did not produce any result. The parties continued to fight even after the UNOSOM II troops withdrew. Today, Somalia continues to be a failed state. Regarding the last criterion, UNMIL was successful, while UNOSOM II failed.

Considering the four criteria, it is possible to argue that UNMIL was generally more successful than UNOSOM II. The support of the Liberian state to the United Nations is thought to have contributed to the success of UNMIL. On the other hand, UNOSOM II is assessed to have failed. The lack of state authority in Somalia at the beginning of the UNOSOM II operation and the fact that the UNOSOM II operation turned from a peacekeeping to peace enforcement contributed to the failure of the mission.
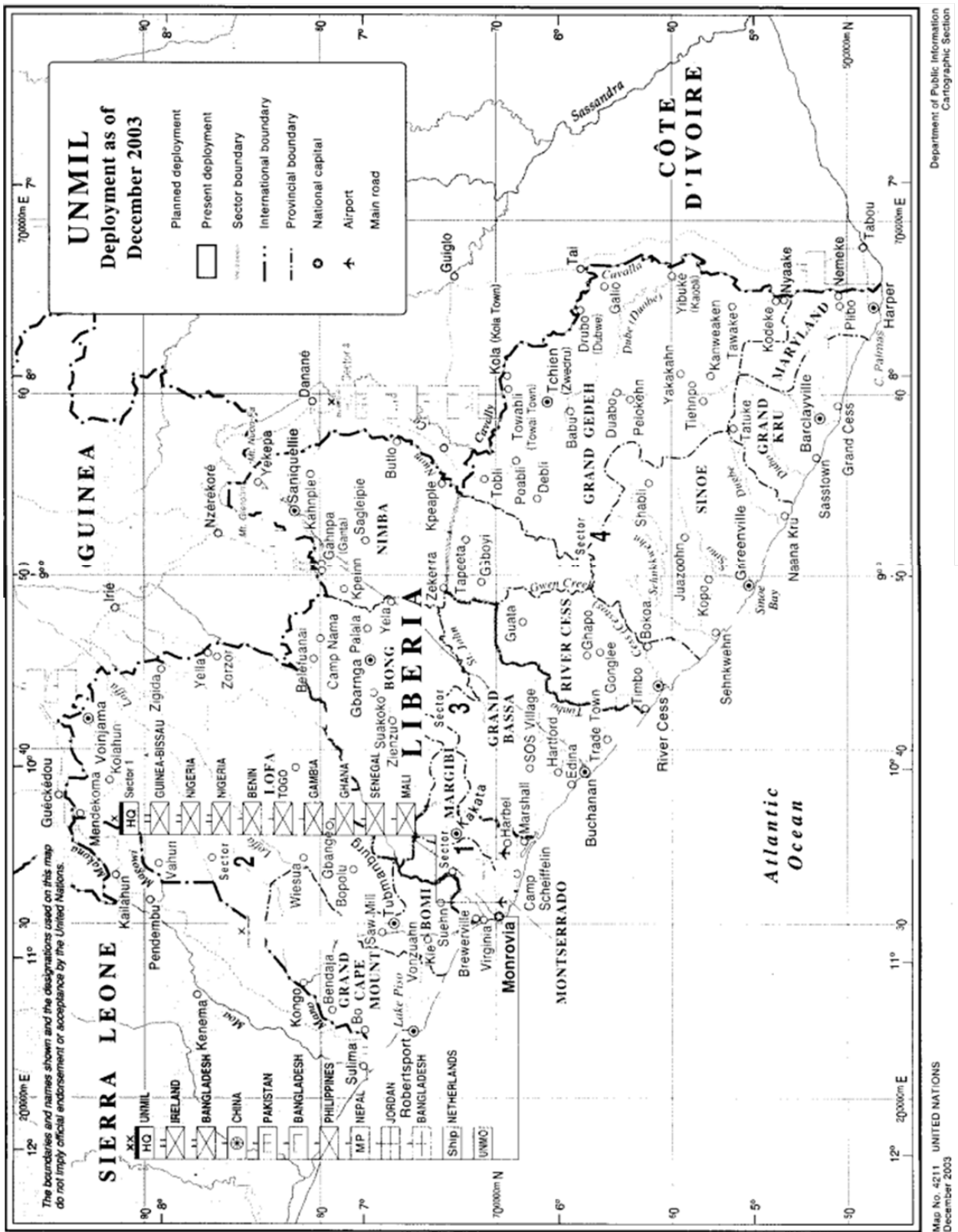
The Map of the Deployment of UNMIL in Liberia as of 2003 (UN, 2003)
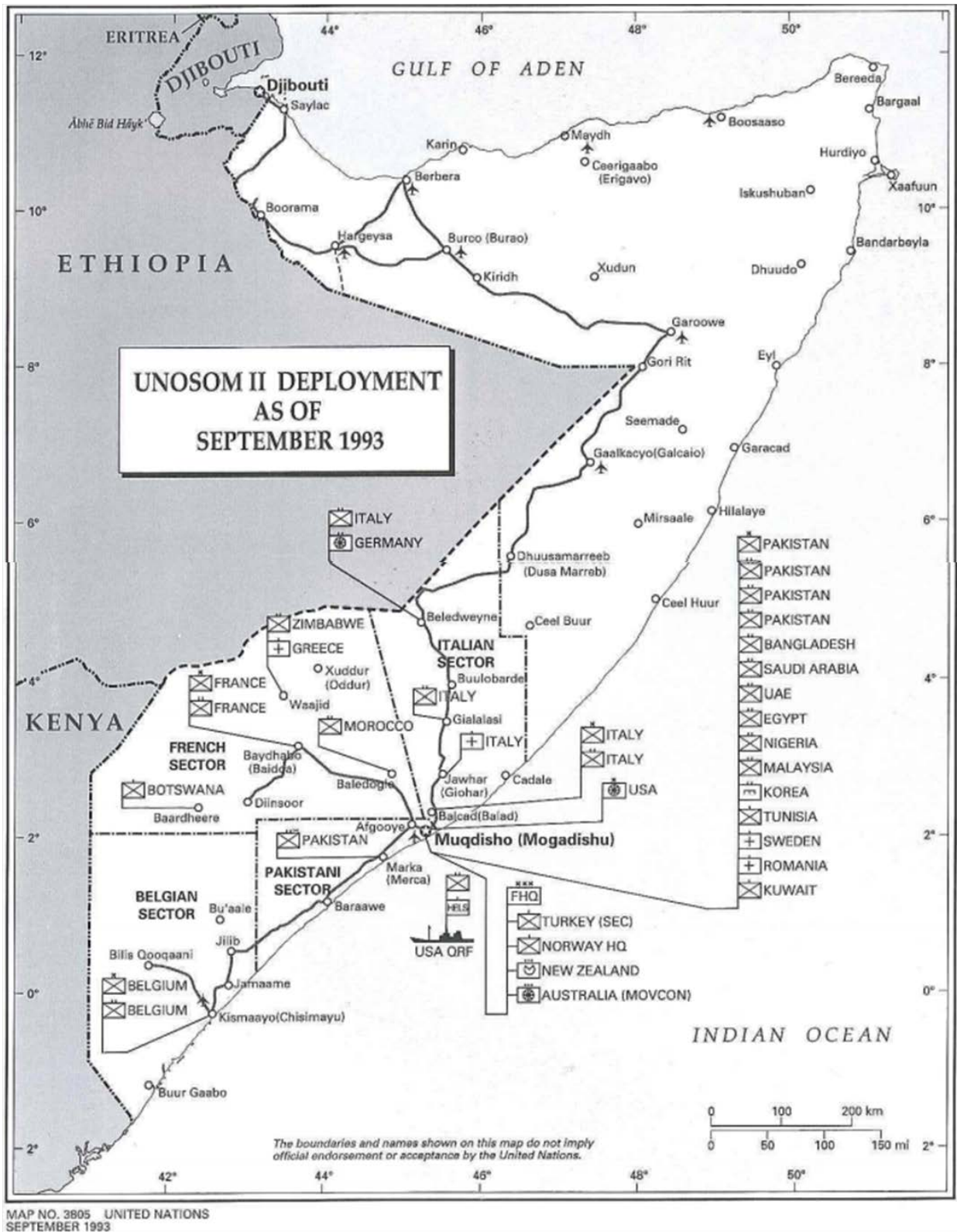
The Map of the Deployment of UNOSOM II in Somali as of 1993 (UNGIS, 1993)

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