Chapter-4

GERMAN PARTICIPATION IN SOMALIA AND CAMBODIA PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

Nature of UN Intervention in Cambodia

The aim of the United Nation’s peace plan in Cambodia was to bring to an end twenty-two years of military conflict. This conflict had started with the Vietnam War in 1970. During 1975-78 Cambodia faced internal turmoil wrought by the Khmer Rouge. They tried to return it to pre-history by abolishing cities, money and economic civilisation itself. This process was thought to have killed at least 1 million Cambodians, as much as 15 per cent of the population. Vietnamese forces again invaded Cambodia in 1979 and drove the Khmer Rouge out and occupied it till 1989. It largely withdrew after 11 years of occupation. The Khmer Rouge again started the attack and scored some impressive advances against the troops of Vietnamese – backed communist regime of Hun Sen. Giving Cambodians a chance to lead their own lives - required turning away not just from the Khmer Rouge but from Hun Sen as well. He himself was an ex-Khmer Rouge. He could not have been trusted to run a free election on his own. This is why the western goal was to break the power of the Khmer Rouge by means of an interim government, a peacekeeping force and an internationally supervised election.¹

The UN peace plan proposed to restore human rights in Cambodia. Khmer Rouge atrocities had made them a mockery for nearly two decades. It also aimed to establish a democracy through the organization and supervision of free and open general elections.

With the support of the world's major powers, and of all the four warring Cambodian factions, the peace plan's goals seemed difficult but achievable.

**United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC)**

The United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC) remained active during November 1991-March 1992 with its headquarter in Phnom Penh. It was established to assist the four Cambodian parties to maintain their ceasefire during the period to the establishment and deployment of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, and to initiate mine-awareness training of civilian populations. Later, the mandate was enlarged to include a major training programme for Cambodian in mine detection and mine-clearance and the mine clearing of repatriation routes, reception centres and resettlement areas. UNAMIC was absorbed by UNTAC in March 1992.²

**United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)**

UNTAC functioned from March 1992 to September 1993 and was also headquartered in Phnom Penh. It had a strength of approximately 22,000 military and civilian personnel. This operation called for 15,900 military personnel, 3600 civilian police and 1,020 civil administration personnel from more than 30 countries. The combined expenditure of UNAMIC and UNTAC was $1,620,963,300.³

It was established to ensure the implementation of the Agreements on the Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, signed in Paris on 23

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October 1991. Under the Agreement, the Supreme National Council of Cambodia (SNC) was "the unique legitimate body and source of authority in which, throughout the transitional period, the sovereignty, independence and unity of Cambodia are established". SNC, which was made up of the four Cambodian factions, delegated to the United Nations "all powers necessary" to ensure the implementation of the Agreements.4

The mandate given to UNTAC included aspects relating to human rights, the organisation and conduct of free and fair general elections, military arrangements, civil administration, the maintenance of law and order, the repatriation and resettlement of the Cambodian refugees and displaced persons and the rehabilitation of essential Cambodian infrastructure during the transitional period. Upon becoming operational on 15 March 1992, UNTAC absorbed UNAMIC, which had been established immediately after the signing of the Agreements in October 1991. UNTAC's mandate ended in September 1993 with the promulgation of the constitution for the Kingdom of Cambodia and the formation of the new Government.5

The peacekeeping operation in Cambodia from 1991-93 was the UN's most complex peacekeeping operation since its inception. UNTAC's mandate went far beyond that of traditional peacekeeping. It included comprehensive efforts towards institution-building and social reconstruction as parts of a peace-building package. This package was designed to secure a lasting end to armed conflict and a genuine transition to democracy. To this end, UNTAC was endowed with significant, electoral, civil administration, police, and human rights, repatriation, rehabilitation and reconstruction functions.6 Thus

4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
it was implementation of a comprehensive settlement, which had already been agreed by the parties.

GERMAN PARTICIPATION

Germany was part of the "core group" (the five permanent members of the UN Security Council plus Australia, Japan, Indonesia, Thailand, Canada and India) which maintained a commitment to future of Cambodians within the international community, and were also useful in focusing and maintaining pressure and persuasion on the various Cambodian factions to comply with the terms of the Paris Agreement. It helped in the successful implementation of the agreement.

Bundeswehr soldiers for the first time participated actively (and not logistically) in a UN peacekeeping mission during the UNTAC mission in Cambodia in May 1992. The German government was successful in securing the opposition's approval for this mission. The Social Democratic Party (SPD), which had earlier criticized the attempts by the administration to undermine existing restrictions by piecemeal steps, reluctantly accepted the despatch of a German military hospital unit to Cambodia.

Germany sent military sanitation and medical officers to the huge UN deployment in Cambodia. From November 1991 to March 1992, a group of German medical officers and NCOs first took part in the United Nations advance mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC) as "Experts on Mission". Their job was to provide medical care for the UNAMIC personnel, operate a dispensary in the Cambodian capital of Pnom Penh and prepare to

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7 Ibid., p. 26.
provide medical care for the personnel employed in the subsequent UNTAC Mission (UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia).

On 8 April 1992, the Federal Government, acting in compliance with a request from the UN Secretary General, decided to support this follow-on mission by deploying Bundeswehr medical orderlies and civilian personnel to run a 60-bed hospital.

Work began on the German field hospital in Phnom Penh on 22 May 1992. It involved transporting more than 350 tons of material from Germany to Cambodia. The hospitals composing of two wards, one isolation ward, one emergency ward and seven specialist surgeries, opened on 8 June. The intention was to use any free capacities to also provide medical care for Cambodians. This turned out to be the focal point of the German military medical personnel’s humanitarian missions.

The 448 members of all three German contingents treated some 110000 outpatients and around 3,500 inpatients. The hospital closed as planned on 30 October 1993, as the UNTAC mission came to an end. The last group of German military medical personnel returned to Germany on 12 November 1993.9 Germany circumvented the Basic Law by flying the medics to Cambodia on a commercial aircraft.

**Lessons for the German Military**

The German participation in Cambodia made obvious its unpreparedness for "out of area" operations. Its troops lacked the necessary equipment for such tropical missions. The green fatigue uniforms of the soldiers were much too thick and impermeable to air.

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There were also no lightweight fabric shoes or airy khaki uniforms.\textsuperscript{10} In a situation like this the despatch of a medical contingent was apparently "a convenient solution" to Chancellor Kohl, who was caught between his desire to play a greater world role after unification, at the same time not violating the constitutional ban on troops deployment outside North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) territory. It was presented as a proof that Germany was not shying away from its responsibilities in the post-Cold War world.

The first German casualty while participating in UN peacekeeping activities was the death of the 26-year-old German soldier, Alexander Arndt on 14 October 1993. This again gave rise to a new, heated debate on the role of the German military and its role in UN missions. Defence Minister Volker Ruehe urged that the tragedy must not lead the Federal Republic to shirk its responsibility towards the international community.

The SPD called for a total withdrawal of all German personnel from Somalia, but not from Cambodia. A senior SPD leader, Karsten Voigt, suggested that the Government should frankly tell the Germans and the soldiers that even humanitarian blue helmet missions could lead to death. Germany's influential daily, Sueddeutsche Zeitung, editorially opined that the death of a German soldier could hardly be the occasion for questioning the participation in blue helmet missions. But the Federal Government should be careful in examining the goals, risks and chances of success of any mission.

GERMAN PARTICIPATION IN THE UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN SOMALIA

Nature of Crisis in Somalia

The UN mission in Somalia consisted of operations to protect the delivery of humanitarian relief supplies in conditions of continuing warfare. The United Somali Congress (USC) seized Mogadishu in January 1991 during fierce battles that ejected the long-standing dictator, Siad Barre, from his palace. Fighting broke out again in November 1991, when the USC, mainly drawn from the Hawiye clan, split into sub-clans. Different warlords controlled the city’s north and south. The so-called neutral clans controlled the airport and the port. With six main clans and uncounted sub-clans, the possibilities for fighting were limitless.\(^\text{11}\)

The divisiveness harked back to nomadic traditions of fighting over waterholes and grazing rights. In good times clansmen had little reason to fight. But in bad times fighting used to erupt. Siad Barre played one clan against another for twenty-one years, modernizing these traditions. The former Soviet Union and the United States took turns arming Barre. The guns left by the great powers misguided munificence made possible Somalia’s national suicide.\(^\text{12}\)

After the ejection of Barre, anarchy became the order of the day. The looting that began with his ejection continued, although little was left to steal except the grain shipment, pushed into the country by Western charities. Economic collapse had brought widespread malnutrition. Foreign powers clung to the legal fiction that something called

\(^{11}\)“Armed Relief”, The Economist, 9 May 1992, p. 68.
\(^{12}\)Ibid., p. 68.
Somalia still existed. This irked the people of the country's north, who had declared an independent republic of Somaliland with borders corresponding to those of British Somaliland. The Northerners had begun the rebellion against Barre after his forces had bombed and shelled their cities, taken prisoners, and planted the land mines. They wanted nothing to do with clansmen who ruled from Mogadishu, although they said they wished the Southerners well.\textsuperscript{13}

\textit{Role of UN Peacekeeping Operations in Somalia}

The UN peacekeeping operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) was to help restore order and distribute humanitarian aid in the war-ravaged country. It represented the most dangerous and extensive operation UN had ever undertaken in Africa.

Initially, UN Resolution 733 (23 January 1992) urged all Somali parties to agree to a ceasefire, which would make humanitarian assistance efforts possible. The humanitarian aid was resumed after a ceasefire was reached between the two principal warlords on March 1992. But the continuous fighting and looting by various other factions within Somalia greatly disrupted the humanitarian aid deliveries. This resulted into UN resolution 751 on 24 April 1992 establishing UNOSOM (United Nations in Somalia). For UNOSOM, too – with its 50 observers to monitor the ceasefire – the underlying political and security problems turned out to be as intractable as ever.

The Security Council invoked Chapter VII of the Charter (Resolution 794 of 3 December 1992) to authorise the establishment of a Unified Task Force (UNITAF) under US control and command (Operation Restore Hope). US also decided in favour of large-scale intervention in support of UN efforts. For the first time an unambiguously internal

\textsuperscript{13} "Nasty, Brutish, Split", \textit{The Economist}, 7 September 1991, p. 46.
and humanitarian crisis was designated as a threat to international peace and security and peace-enforcement measures were justified on its basis. This 'peace enforcement character' was more pronounced in UNOSOM II which followed UNOSOM I and UNITAF in May 1993 (Resolution 814).

**Unified Task Force**

When the UN Secretary General recognised that peacekeeping was not going to work in Somalia, he recommended to the Security Council that more forceful methods be employed. The Council then authorised various states, led by the US, to field what was called the Unified Task Force. This was supposed to establish a secure environment for humanitarian operations and then hand over to a UN peacekeeping force. Subsequently, it became clear that the unified Task Force would not succeed in establishing a secure environment of the kind envisaged by the Security Council. Hence it set up a new UN force with the mandate and armament necessary to enforce secure condition for humanitarian operations.

**UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II)**

The leaders of 15 warring factions in Somalia signed an accord in Addis Ababa to disarm within 90 days. They agreed to establish a Transitional National Council of 74 representatives to run the country for about two years until national elections can be held. Prospects for peace in Somalia improved with the signing of this peace accord by the warring factions and United Nations Security Council approval for the largest UN
peacekeeping operations till date. UN troops were given the authority to use force to accomplish their mission.¹⁴

The agreement was to be supervised by the almost 30000 strong UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II). For the first time the Security Council had invoked Chapter 7 of the UN Charter, empowering the peacekeepers to use whatever force was needed to disarm the armed factions of Somali warlords.

The Security Council approved 1 May as the date for the UN to assume control from the USA of the multi-national relief force. But the transfer of responsibility by that date looked difficult, as the UN’s military commander, Turkish Lt. Gen Cevik Bir, remained short of adequate staff and UN lacked pledges for troops from member states to meet the authorised strength level.¹⁵

GERMAN PARTICIPATION

After German unification Chancellor Helmut Kohl wanted the Bundeswehr to take part in a broad array of internationally backed peace missions including a combat role where needed. But confusion prevailed in Germany regarding the constitutional position. It was believed that for Germany to participate in out-of-area operations an amendment would be required in the 1949 constitution for which the government needed support of the opposition. Though the opposition was not against the amendment there were differences over the nature of the change.

Kohl offered to send 1,500 German troops to Somalia to participate in the second phase of the international relief effort when US forces turned the burden over to multi-

¹⁵Ibid, p. 10.
national UN forces. During a visit to Bonn in January 1993 UN Secretary General Boutros-Boutros-Ghali urged Germans to shake off their restrictions and take part in the full range of UN military missions including “peacekeeping, peacemaking, peace enforcement and peace building operations.” Defence Minister Volker Ruhe remarked during a parliamentary debate that Germany must take on the same responsibility as its neighbours in a new and altered international system. But the Social Democrats wanted German soldiers limited to UN peacekeeping operations.¹⁶

United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali reminded Germany to fulfil Chancellor Helmut Kohl’s offer to send 1500 troops to join the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II). He wrote a letter appealing for German involvement in the new phase of the operation that was to begin on 1 May, when the UN was expected to assume command from the United States of the multi-national force protecting relief efforts in Somalia.¹⁷ The appeal came less than one week after an emergency meeting the German Constitutional Court ruled on 8 February 1993, that the government’s decision to allow German aircrew to continue serving on NATO AWACS surveillance aircraft policing the UN imposed no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina was legal. The ruling encouraged the Kohl administration to go ahead with another lingering out-of-area issue.

Germany’s Cabinet unanimously approved Chancellor Helmut Kohl’s decision to send 1,640 German troops to join the UN peacekeeping operations in Somalia. The German participation in UN Somalia mission was facilitated by a vote in the Bundestag in spring 1993. On 20 April 1993 the government decided to send German troops to conduct humanitarian operations in Somalia. Internal disagreement over the nature of this

mission had delayed its implementation since December 1992. The FDP gave up its resistance when UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali assured Germany that the contingent would only be deployed in secure areas of Somalia.18

The government also insisted that German forces be stationed in a pacified area and not be used in a combat role. Security Council Resolution 814 of 26 March 1993 was divided into two parts. Part A of the resolution mentions humanitarian tasks such as protection of the distribution of relief supplies, repatriation of refugees and support of economic reconstruction, while part B allows enforcement actions under Chapter VI of the UN Charter. It allowed the German government to interpret the participation of a Bundeswehr battalion in UNOSOM II as being part of a "purely humanitarian mission" "even though UNOSOM II as a whole rather falls into the category of peace enforcement operation."

The Federal government was driven by two motives. First, it wanted to present German public with a fait accompli. Its aim was to continue with the 'incremental policy' of the government regarding the peacekeeping operations. Second, Germany wanted to back its campaign for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Thus, it sought to demonstrate its political willingness and military capability to participate in any kind of international activity authorised by the Security Council.19

Opposition Social Democrats said such a deployment would violate the German constitution, which they said forbade deployment of German forces outside the NATO area. Hans-Ulrich Klose, Parliamentary Chairman of the Social Democrats, said sending

German soldiers to Somalia was "appropriate and correct" but the Federal Constitutional Court should decide whether it was legal.

Chancellor Kohl promised that his government would not send soldiers to Yugoslavia. He said that international partners of Germany have understood its position. But they expected Germany to participate in Somalia. The government stressed that German troops would only be involved in rebuilding Somalia's shattered infrastructure.²⁰

Assumption of Command by UN

The United Nations assumed command from the USA of the multi-national force protecting the humanitarian relief effort in Somalia. Operation 'Restore Hope' began on 9 December 1992. It was the first UN sanctioned peace-enforcement mission. Lt. Gen. Cevik Bir of Turkey after assuming the command of the protection operation from US Marine Corp Gen Robert Johnston remarked that they were ready to enforce peace as necessary.

On the date of formal handover (1 May), the UN Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II) was more than 6,000 short of its authorised strength of 28,000. The Security Council was finding increasing difficulties coping with expanding peacekeeping commitments as most contributing states had reduced their armed forces.

More than 25,800 US service personnel were deployed in Somalia in January. Of the 5006 US troops remaining 3625 were in logistics and other support roles while 1381 personnel, primarily from the 10th Mountain Division formed a quick reaction force, which could be moved by helicopter to reinforce other UN forces. The US Central

Command at Mcdill Air Force Base, Florida remained in command of the quick reaction force.\textsuperscript{21}

**GERMAN CONTRIBUTION**

Germany participated in the United Nation's humanitarian operation in Somalia from August 1992 onwards. It made a contribution towards mitigating the famine in a country torn apart by the civil war.

To transport the relief supplies, the German Air Force established an airlift base in Mombasa/Kenya in August 1992, first deploying two Transall transport aircraft, later three. From this base relief supplies were flown to the Somalian cities of Mogadishu, Bardera and Hoddur. From later October 1992, food for the starving people in inaccessible parts of the country was also air dropped. The airlift operations were ended on 21 March 1993. All in all, nearly 6000 tons of supplies were transported from Kenya to Somalia in 655 flights.

*German Contribution in UNOSOM II*

The German forces participating in UNOSOM II included two engineer companies, logistics companies, signals, medical and maintenance companies. Two infantry companies provided protection.\textsuperscript{22} For the first time, a special Bundeswehr battalion lightly armed for self-protection was sent to help in the reconstruction work.

From May 1993 onwards, Germany deployed a supply and transport battalion group in support of the United Nations operations to rebuild Somalia (UNOSOM II –

\textsuperscript{22}“German Troops Step Outside NATO Area”, *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 29 May 1993, p. 13.
United Nations Operation in Somalia). In first week of May German Army Maj. Gen George Bernhardt visited Somalia to discuss the deployment there of 1640 German troops with General Cevic Bir, commander of the UN’s Somalian operation. Maj. Gen George Bernhardt, commander of the contingent, and staff officers were the first to arrive followed by a 100-strong advance party. It was the first deployment of armed German troops outside the NATO area. The German composite force in Somalia established operational readiness at its camp in Belet Uen in Central Somalia in August 1993 at its planned overall strength of 1700 military personnel. To provide national support, an airlift control and support element and a logistic base manned by a total of seventy soldiers were set up in Djibouti. The Bundeswehr had eleven personnel and a nine-man liaison team at the UNSOM II headquarters in Mogadishu.

In Belet Uen, the German force provided logistic support for around 500 Italian soldiers and furnished direct humanitarian aid. The logistic support for the Italian contingent included distribution of water, POL and general supplies, treatment of water, storage of food, water and POL (with supplies adequate for up to thirty days) and provision of engineer services to help maintain supply routes, field aerodromes and supply points. As far as this aspect of its mission is concerned, the German Composite Force had by the end of 1993, produced some 14 million litres of water, clocked up around 580,000 kilometers in road transport operations and transshipped just under 6000 tons of material.

By the end of 1993, the force had furnished direct humanitarian aid by rebuilding schools and establishing affiliations with eight schools, providing support for the re-opening of Belet Uen Hospital, repairing roads, closing gaps in embankments so as to ensure irrigation, repairing bridges along major roads, drilling wells up to 200 meters deep, repairing building used by the municipal authorities of Belet Uen, distributing water to the Somalis.

Germany helped to establish a field hospital and supplied police equipment. By the end of 1993, around 5700 Somalis had been provided out-patient treatment at the force’s general hospital, while more than 7000 had received inpatient care. The medical support given to the civilian population at Balet Uen Hospital included some 7500 cases of in-patient treatment and around 350 operations.

German soldiers shot dead a Somali intruder at the UN support base at Belet Huen. It was reportedly the first killing by German military personnel in an overseas operation since the Second World War.

Commenting on the German mission Lothar Ruehl wrote in Die Welt:

In Somalia the peace mission was between the logistical support of other UN troops in their security tasks and the self-imposed humanitarian aid for the population around the German camp, likewise with risk but without casualties. But they did have a permanent telephone circuit to the home country and, as one recalls, they were under armed protection by Italian women soldiers in open Jeeps during road transport operations (the unforgotten embarrassment of all German embarrassment in the alliance and in the Bundeswehr). The American gong finally kept the German contingent from further harm and from hordes of visitors from the Bundestag in Khaki.

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25 Ibid., p.69.
The German force also provided the civilian population sweeping support in establishing local administrative authorities. The district administration for the Hiran Region, for example, was sworn in on 28 October 1993 at the German force’s camp.

**Killing of UN Peacekeepers and Debate in Germany**

Twenty-two Pakistani UN peacekeepers were killed and about 50 wounded in Mogadisu, Somalia, in an ambush on 4 June 1993 during factional fighting. Three US soldiers were also wounded. Five Pakistani soldiers were held by troops loyal to Somali Gen Mohamed Farrah Aidid but were later released. The UN Security Council unanimously condemned the attacks in an emergency session and said that UN commanders could take “all necessary measures” to arrest those responsible.  

In retaliation for the killing of 23 Pakistani peacekeepers four USAF AC-130 gunships struck targets in Mogadishu. Weapon dumps and a radio station controlled by Gen Mohamed Farah Aidid were attacked. The UN accused Aidid of planning the 5 June ambushes of Pakistani troops who were going to inspect one of his weapons caches. Another 60 peacekeepers were wounded in the two ambushes. Hundreds of relief workers were withdrawn, forcing the closure of relief centres.  

Arrest warrant was issued against Gen Mohamed Farah Aidid. The relentless hunt for the general killed at least 500 Somalis. Peacekeepers became so frustrated that they started seeing civilians as legitimate targets. No doubt General Aideed’s men were using...  

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women and children as human shields but many Somalis did it voluntarily as they hated the UN, especially the Americans.\textsuperscript{30}

The UN’s policy in Somalia divided even the participating countries. Italians refused to get heavy-handed and moved out of Mogadishu at their own request, leaving the Nigerians and the Pakistanis to take over their positions. The Italian dissent showed that there was no sense of collective responsibility among the UN’s own forces.\textsuperscript{31}

Germany’s main opposition party, the SPD immediately asked the German Constitutional Court to halt deployment of German troops with the UN operation in the Somalia (UNOSOM II) following the deaths of 23 Pakistani peacekeepers and retaliatory strikes by UN forces. The Social Democrats were concerned that German troops could be drawn into armed conflict and wanted a constitutional amendment to clarify the conditions under which German troops will participate in such operations. The Social Democrats opposed Chancellor Helmut Kohl’s decision to send 1640 troops to Somalia.\textsuperscript{32}

In response to the SPD’s complaint, the Constitutional Court of Karlsruhe ruled that deployment of German troops with the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) could continue. It was strictly a humanitarian mission, hence was permissible under the Basic Law. But the court also said that Parliament must vote on the Somali humanitarian mission and future German military operations overseas. Approval looked certain as Chancellor Helmut Kohl’s government was having a majority in parliament. The government pledged that German troops would not be involved in a combat role. The

\textsuperscript{30} "Manhunt", \textit{The Economist}, 18 September 1993, p.42.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{32} “Germans Call for Withdrawal”, \textit{Jane’s Defence Weekly}, 26 June 1993, p. 4.
Constitutional Court's decision was expected to help Germany obtain a permanent seat in the UN Security Council.33

The SPD voted against the measure and called for a resolution of the constitutional uncertainty of use of Bundeswehr forces outside the NATO area. Scharping argued that in Somalia the Bundeswehr was not stationed in a pacified area. He observed the operation had nothing to do with the actual blue helmet idea, as there was every likelihood that troops may become a party to war.

UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali asked for a further 3000 troops for the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) and affirmed the strategy of disarming factions such as those loyal to Mohammed Farah Aidid. The extra troops were required for disarmament, restoration of security and handling refugees. He rejected the criticism that the UN was deviating from its role by attacking Aidid's strongholds. Boutros-Ghali was of the view that for complete stability in Somalia criminal elements needed to be apprehended and brought to justice as demanded by the Security Council.34

Extension of Mandate of UNOSOM

The UN Security Council extended the mandate of the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) for six months. The original UNOSOM mandate was to expire on 18 November; the new resolution extended the mandate to 31 May 1994. The Security Council also warned the factions in Somalia that they must co-operate to build a functional government. Earlier it had passed a resolution lifting the arrest warrant issued

for Gen Mohamed Farrah Aidid when his fighters were blamed for the deaths of the 24 Pakistani peacekeepers.

American public opinion turned strongly against the Somali operation after television showed it the gory aftermath of a confrontation on October 3rd, when an attempt by American rangers to seize General Aideed's top men resulted in the death of at least 15 American soldiers and the capture of a helicopter pilot. Around 200 Somalis were also killed. The American public's mood was to get the boys home as soon as its pilot was released, and then rewrite the rules so that Americans do not again take part in UN peacekeeping unless they can run the show themselves.35

The USA, which provided 20 per cent of the 26000 strong peacekeeping force, insisted that its troops would remain under national command. It decided to withdraw its forces from UNOSOM II by 31 March along with other Western countries.36 The Germans had realised that the US withdrawal would necessitate a German withdrawal. But Chancellor Kohl was firm that the Germans should not be the "first ones to pull out" of Somalia. Kinkel also acknowledged that the UN had "taken on too much in Somalia".

In December 1993, the German Composite Force was adapted to the changes in the conditions under which it was employed. The entire contingent of 1600 men was to provide logistical support for an Indian brigade of 4,700 men in their advance for the pacification of Northern Somalia, but could use weapons only in self-defence. But the Indian brigade was ordered to another region in Somalia. The personnel strength of the force was therefore reduced by some 400 when the contingents were changed.

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35 "The Retreat", The Economist, 16 October 1993, p. 43.
On 20 December 1993, the Federal Government decided to end the Bundeswehr’s participation in the UNSOM II mission by 31 March 1994. This step was taken in agreement with the United Nations, the other European countries with forces involved in the mission and the USA. Germany decided to withdraw 400 of its 1700 troops serving with the UN Operation in Somalia in the next three weeks and was to soon decide on the date for withdrawal of the rest of the contingent. The first group of 102 German blue helmets left Somalia on 13 February 1994 without any incident. German officials were worried about the escalation of violence after withdrawal of the US contingent, which was a major part of UN contingent. Defence Minister Volker Ruehe wanted to bring the troops home by April to coincide with the US withdrawal. Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel favoured German withdrawal in consultation with the UN. The last of 1700 German troops who served with the UN Operation in Somalia left Belet Uen on 28 February 1994. The deployment, which began on 4 May 1993, cost an estimated $185 million.

After the failure of the UN/US combination, the withdrawal was coordinated in a timely manner with that of American troops. Without the resolve of the German Minister of Defense, Volker Ruehe, German troops might have gotten caught up in a dangerous situation at that time; in the uncovered retreat of the rear guard. Overall the expensive operation was an acceptable training success and a habituation to the new international conditions as well as an additional lesson for German politics.

Change in UN Command

Malaysian Lt Gen Aboo Samah Aboo Bakar succeeded Turkish Lt Gen Cervik Bir on 21 January 1994 to command the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) at a crucial juncture for the mission, when USA was due to complete withdrawal of its 8000 strong contingent by 31 March and there were growing attacks by Muslim fundamentalists.

The outgoing military commander Lt Gen Cevik Bir observed that the United Nations failed to set clear goals for the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II). In an open letter to UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali Gen Bir said that a lasting peace in Somalia was only possible when the Somali factions and clans were disarmed, but UN was not successful in doing that.

He praised the UN and relief agencies for ending Somalia’s famine, providing medical aid and rebuilding roads and schools. Gen Bir felt that the participating nations must subordinate all their troops to the UN force commander and must remain despite casualties. He emphasised that the international body and contributing nations must be committed enough to accept the violence and loss of life associated with war, and then stay the course. Pointing out the reason for partial success of UN mission General Bir said that UN simply did not have enough forces or resources to disarm the country. That’s why Operation ‘Hope’ couldn’t fulfil its entire goal.40

Western Withdrawal and Problems Faced by UN Operation

The future of the UN mission became uncertain following the withdrawal of US and other Western peacekeeping forces. Under increasing pressure about the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping in Somalia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and unable to find additional troops UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali recommended to the Security Council that UNOSOM II be reduced to 16000 troops. He was unable to replace departing US and other Western peacekeeping forces. It increased fears about the safety of aid agencies, which were attacked by fundamentalists.

In a report to the Security Council, Boutros-Ghali said that renewed clan fighting and growing banditry forced relief workers to suspend their activities in some areas. He warned that without the continued stabilizing presence of an adequate UN force; there would be an early resumption of civil strife and an unravelling of all that has been achieved at the cost of so much sacrifice- human and material. He decided to have a force of 16000 without coercive powers, which was to protect ports and airports, deliver relief shipments and keep supply routes open, train Somali police and set up a judicial system and repatriate refugees.41

Violence escalated after the withdrawal of US and other Western peacekeepers. Peacekeepers were being killed including doctors of field hospitals. In the absence of any progress in negotiations between the warring clans, the UN Security Council approved reduction in the strength of peacekeeping forces. UNOSOM II was to be reduced from 18700 to 17200 by the end of September 1994, and to 15000 by the end of October.42

42 "Doctors Die as Violence Seeps Back into Somalia", Jane's Defence Weekly, 10 September 1994, p. 15.
The USA decided to supply armoured fighting vehicles and attack helicopters for the reduced United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), which was to continue after withdrawal of US and other Western forces. As Western forces withdrew UN forces and relief workers started coming under increasing attacks; an Italian officer was killed and a junior rank wounded when a convoy was attacked near Balad. Repeated attacks forced some charities to withdraw from Somalia. Under the Security Council’s revised mandate the UN forces concentrated on guarding major ports, airports and supply routes, and guarding the distribution of humanitarian aid areas where local leaders were cooperative. They stopped trying to disarm warring factions.43

UN Withdrawal from Somalia

When UN finally decided to withdraw completely from Somalia Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali appealed to member states to make naval and air assets available to support the withdrawal of the 7300 strong UN peacekeeping force from Somalia. Rival clans were fighting for control of areas near Mogadishu airport as US and Italian marines came ashore to protect the final stages of the withdrawal of UN peacekeepers from Somalia. A seven-nation, predominantly US, force protected the evacuation of the remaining peacekeepers.

The United Nations criticised the lack of international support for peacekeeping missions in Africa. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali informed the Security Council that UN peacekeeping missions in Africa continue to suffer from the slow deployment of troops and equipment. These difficulties were noticed even during the mission in Somalia (UNOSOM). It highlighted strategically less importance of Africa in

Western worldview. Addressing a debate on peacekeeping Ambassador Ngoni Francis Sengwe of Zimbabwe accused UN of lacking in patience when the organisation was handling peacekeeping missions in Africa. Africa witnessed a large number of aborted or abandoned peacekeeping missions.  

America and its Western partners were not willing to put their soldiers in risk in an area, which was of secondary importance to them. In the second phase of the Somalia operation US considerably reduced its participation. Most of its soldiers were engaged in support and logistic activities. They left Somalia in a hurry without completing the mission’s purpose once they suffered few casualties.

Problems faced by UN in their African mission forced them to consider other options. UN has started increasingly joining hands with the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in peacekeeping efforts in Africa. Germany also endorses this line and wants OAU to take greater responsibility in African crises. It wants to limit its role to financial and logistic support to these organisations. The German government supports initiatives on the continent, which allow the OAU’s and other regional organizations such as ECOMOG, an organization of several western African states or SADC, the Southern African Development Community, to develop an even more effective range of conflict prevention and peacekeeping instruments to maintain peace on the continent. Germany provides both financial and material support for various initiatives of the OAU and sub-regional organizations to promote conflict prevention and crisis settlement.

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44 "Support for UN Missions was Painfully Slow", Jane's Defence Weekly, 17 January 1996, p. 15.
Part Success of Somalia Mission

The Somali mission lasted about 20 months and was preceded by an American unilateral operation. The US-led intervention initiated by President Bush to feed Somalis in December 1992, the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), was a success. But the operation began to flounder when the second UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) took over in May 1993 and its objectives were expanded to include the rebuilding of basic state institutions – “nation building”. Thus the mission ended famine but failed to achieve a political settlement or effective cease-fire. The Security Council voted unanimously in November to end the peacekeeping operation by the end of the month. It also decreed for a deliberate and orderly withdrawal. But the UN’s was not an honourable retreat.

The results achieved by the UN mission in Somalia were mixed. This was not, as is often alleged, because of inadequate rules of engagement. It was mainly because of the absence of recognised political authorities with which the UN could reliably conclude agreements for the deployment and activities of peacekeepers. It was also because of the unrecognised pretenders to power who controlled different parts of Somalia were not willing or in some cases, able to provide the cooperation needed for the UN to succeed.

The UNOSOM II mission faced problems as these objectives could have been accomplished only by a highly trained force. This arduous mission brought many critical UN administrative weaknesses to the surface, and the UN forces were unable to recover from the precipitous American withdrawal.

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50 Clarke and Herbst, n. 47, p. 85.
The UN mission in Somalia faced strategic confusion followed by a collapse of political will when the confusion led to combat casualties. A “peace enforcement” operation of this nature was difficult with an undisciplined and chaotic UN force, which lacked unified command and control in the field at both the civilian and military levels.\textsuperscript{51} The real casualty in UN mission in Somalia was the idea that UN can make peace by making war.

**Impact on German Peacekeeping**

The partly successful Somalian mission had the potential to damage the ‘incremental policy’ of the German government. But it was not so as the government benefited from a number of unfortunate domestic coincidences, which dominated the whole political debate during this time. The public interest largely remained focused on domestic issues as AIDS infected blood plasma, riot-like demonstration in Bonn in view of the last reading of bill for changing the asylum law (26 May) and racist attacks against the Turks.\textsuperscript{52}

Though the mixed results of the Somalian mission raised serious questions about UN peace-enforcement operations, it did not have any significant impact on the debate in Germany. At this stage the Constitutional Court was the focus of the debate and it finally ruled in July 1994 that participation in operations outside the NATO area under a UN mandate were not a violation of the Basic Law and could be approved by a simple majority of the Bundestag.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{52} Arthur Hoffmann, *Germany and the Role of the Bundeswehr: A New Consensus?*, University of Birmingham, IGS Discussion Papers Series Number 98/9, p.11.
Success of the Somalian Mission from a German Point of View

Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel considered the Somalian mission as a big success. He felt that the Bundeswehr did a great job in the Belet Uene region, particularly in supplying the population and providing other humanitarian aid, unfortunately several things went wrong in the entire UN mission in and around Mogadishu. In addition, the 4900 Indian troops for which Germans were to provide logistic support did not turn up. But in spite of this, German mission went ahead without problems and was useful. 54

German Defence Minister Volker Ruehe praised Bundeswehr soldiers but criticized UN in Somali mission. He praised the Bundeswehr for the skill it showed in the Somali mission. He stressed the "masterly military achievements" of all those involved in supporting the UN Blue Helmet forces. 55 He said that public supported such missions. Ruehe, however admitted to shortcomings in the Somali mission, for which he primarily blamed the UN. He referred to the interaction between Mogadishu and New York, which was less than ideal, as well as the lack of a viable political concept for Somalia. 56 While assessing the German role in Somalia Bundeswehr Chief of Staff General Klaus Naumann, remarked, "Experiences in Somalia have shown how important it was to adjust to the people's mentality."

Cost of Somalian Mission for Germany

According to Defence Minister Volker Ruehe, the probable cost of the German mission to the Somalia was DM 310.3 million. Of this amount, the return of the

Bundeswehr unit cost about DM 15 million. Personnel, training, material operations and transport cost DM 295.3 million. A refund of DM 70 million was expected from the UN, thus reducing the cost of the whole mission from May 1993 to March 1994 to about DM 240 million. Ruehe described the resources spent in Somalia as "investment in humanity and in the future of the Bundeswehr". The Bundeswehr's mission to Somalia saved tens of thousands of people from dying of starvation and from disease. The Bundeswehr also gained unique experience. 57

ASSESSING THE GERMAN ROLE IN CAMBODIA AND SOMALIA

The UN peacekeeping operations in Cambodia and Somalia had a wider objective and to achieve them UN missions were given robust mandates. But unfortunately UN did not have the required machinery and the trained forces needed to achieve them. These UN missions were a motley crowd in which major powers kept their forces under their national command. They were lacking in commitment and withdrew their forces when the chances of casualty became real.

German participation in UN's most complex operation in Cambodia was limited to providing humanitarian assistance and logistics. UNTAC's mandate went far beyond that of traditional peacekeeping. Germany a "reluctant power" could not have been expected to play any major role in a situation of this kind. The German participation brought to the fore their unpreparedness for tropical missions.

The mission in Cambodia toughened the Germans psychologically. German participation in a field hospital and the death of a German soldier on the road showed that even humanitarian assistance was not without risk. It was a small step ahead in the direction of German peacekeeping and made them accept casualties in their stride. It also brought to the notice of Government that it should carefully examine the goals, risks and chances of success of any mission before participating in it.

The Germans participated in a more fluid situation in Somalia. UNOSOM was UN's most extensive and dangerous operation in Africa so far. Socially politically and geographically, it was a totally new terrain for the Germans. Moreover, Somalia had no recognised central political authority to deal with. Most of the Somalians were not aware of the Western concept of democracy.

Germany again contented itself by providing humanitarian help and logistics. Though for the first time a special Bundeswehr battalion which was lightly armed for self-protection, was to help in reconstruction work. This mission in Somalia came at a stage when any combat mission for Bundeswehr was an anathema. Still it provided a good experience to them and gave international exposure in a hostile territory. It also boosted Germany's international prestige. Apparently the mission was influenced to a large measure by the German desire to get a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. But the collapse of the mission and unceremonial withdrawal of US peacekeepers put the Germans in a dilemma. The failure of the mission will make Germany more careful while participating in Africa, which has considerably declined in the West's economic and political priorities.