THE UN MISSION IN POST-WAR LIBERIA
SECURITY SECTOR REFORM AND TRANSITION:
CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

BY
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(10600924)

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THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF
THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEGON
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DECLARATION

I, Abilio K. Mulbah, author of this dissertation, do hereby declare that this is an original research conducted by me, under the supervision of Dr. Amanda Coffie, during my period of study at the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) for the award of Master of Arts (MA) degree in International Affairs and Diplomacy and that no part of this research has been submitted anywhere else for any other purpose. Additionally, all works that have been quoted from, or referred to, have been duly acknowledged.

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(STUDENT)

DATE:  ...........................................

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DR. AMANDA COFFIE
(SUPERVISOR)

DATE:  .............................................
DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my dear parents, Mr. & Mrs. David M. Mulbah Sr., My Mother, Ms. Theresa M. Kamara, my families, and to you, Miss. Serena Y. Teah. Thanks for your support and continuous prayers throughout my educational journey. You give me reasons to persevere. God bless you!
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<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFELL</td>
<td>Association of Female Lawyers</td>
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<td>AFL</td>
<td>Armed Forces of Liberia</td>
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<td>AFRSL</td>
<td>Armed Forces of the Republic of Sierra Leone</td>
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<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<td>BCPR</td>
<td>Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery</td>
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<td>CFSNS</td>
<td>Comprehensive Food Security and Nutrition Survey</td>
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<td>CPA</td>
<td>Comprehensive Peace Agreement</td>
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<td>DRRR</td>
<td>Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation, and Reintegration</td>
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<td>DEA</td>
<td>Drug Enforcement Agency</td>
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<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
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<td>DPKO</td>
<td>Department of Peacekeeping Operations</td>
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<td>ECOMIL</td>
<td>Economic Community Mission in Liberia</td>
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<td>ECOMOG</td>
<td>Economic Community Monitoring Group</td>
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<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
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<td>ERU</td>
<td>Emergency Response Unit</td>
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<td>EVD</td>
<td>Ebola Virus Disease</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>HDR</td>
<td>Human Development Report</td>
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<td>HIPC</td>
<td>Heavily Indebted Poor Countries</td>
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<td>IGNU</td>
<td>Interim Government of National Unity</td>
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<td>INPFL</td>
<td>Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia</td>
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<td>IPC</td>
<td>Infection Prevention and Control</td>
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<td>IRC</td>
<td>International Rescue Committee</td>
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<td>LCC</td>
<td>Liberia Council of Churches</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<tr>
<td>LFF</td>
<td>Liberia Frontier Force</td>
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<td>LIS</td>
<td>Liberia Immigration Service</td>
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<td>LURD</td>
<td>Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy</td>
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<td>MARWOPET</td>
<td>Mano River Women Peace Network</td>
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<td>MCL</td>
<td>Muslims Council of Liberia</td>
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<td>MOD</td>
<td>Ministry of Defense</td>
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<td>MODEL</td>
<td>Movement for Democracy in Liberia</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>NPFL</td>
<td>National Patriotic Front of Liberia</td>
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<td>NSA</td>
<td>National Security Agency</td>
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<td>NSSRL</td>
<td>National Security Strategy of the Republic of Liberia</td>
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<td>NTGL</td>
<td>National Transitional Government of Liberia</td>
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<td>PAE</td>
<td>Pacific Architects and Engineer</td>
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<td>PRC</td>
<td>People’s Redemption Council</td>
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<td>Poverty Reduction Strategy</td>
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<td>Police Support Unit</td>
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<td>Stockholm International Peace Research</td>
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<td>SSR</td>
<td>Security Sector Reform</td>
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<td>TOC</td>
<td>Transnational Organized Crime</td>
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<td>TRC</td>
<td>Truth and Reconciliation Commission</td>
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<td>TWP</td>
<td>True Whig Party</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
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<td>United Nations Mission in Liberia</td>
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<td>UNMISIL</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone</td>
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<td>UNOMIL</td>
<td>United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia</td>
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<td>UNPOL</td>
<td>United Nations Police</td>
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<td>United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security</td>
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<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<td>United States Government</td>
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<td>Women in Peacebuilding Network</td>
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<td>World Health Organization</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION............................................................................................................................. i
DEDICATION.............................................................................................................................. ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ........................................................................................................ iii
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS ..................................................................................... v
TABLE OF CONTENTS .......................................................................................................... viii
ABSTRACT................................................................................................................................ x

CHAPTER ONE ......................................................................................................................... 1
INTRODUCTION......................................................................................................................... 1
1.1 Background of the study ........................................................................................................ 1
1.2 Problem Statement ................................................................................................................ 3
1.3 Research Questions ............................................................................................................... 4
1.4 Research Objectives ............................................................................................................. 4
1.5 Scope of the Study ................................................................................................................. 5
1.6 Rationale of the Study .......................................................................................................... 5
1.7 Hypothesis ............................................................................................................................ 6
1.8 Conceptual Framework ........................................................................................................ 6
1.9 Literature Review ................................................................................................................ 10
1.10 Sources of Data .................................................................................................................. 14
1.11 Research Methodology ...................................................................................................... 15
1.12 Arrangement of Chapters ................................................................................................... 15

CHAPTER TWO ...................................................................................................................... 16
AN OVERVIEW OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN LIBERIA (2003-2016) .................. 16
2.0 Introduction ......................................................................................................................... 16
2.1 Overview of Peace and Security in Liberia ....................................................................... 16
2.2 An Overview of the United Nations Peacekeeping Mission ......................................... 18
2.3 The United Nations SSR in Africa ..................................................................................... 20
2.4 National Security Sectors Reform of Liberia ..................................................................... 22
2.4.1 The Armed Forces of Liberia ....................................................................................... 25
2.4.2 The Liberia National Police ....................................................................................... 28
2.4.3 The Liberian Immigration Service ............................................................................. 31
2.5 Other para military security apparatus .............................................................................. 31
The research analyzes the Security Sector Reform in post-war Liberia under the auspices of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and the United States Government, from 2003 until the transition of security responsibilities to the government of Liberia in 2016. The objectives of the research basically examines the capability of the security sector as it relates to the continuation and provision of national security post-UNMIL and most significantly, after a reformed security sector. Furthermore, it delves into the challenges and prospects of the security sector, including other peacebuilding initiatives intended towards sustainable peace and security. The methodology of the research traced the origin of the civil crisis in Liberia and the collection of data relating to UNMIL’s intervention and its peacekeeping operational mandates, which included the reformation and restructuring of all major security apparatuses of Liberia with significant aid from the United States Government. The research findings suggested that after a complete reformation and restructuring of Liberia’s security sector, there are unarguable operational and administrative challenges still affecting major security apparatuses of the nation. Therefore, the effective functioning and provision of national security contains delicate challenges which are yet to be address irrespective of the tremendous progress been made in the reformation of the sector by UNMIL and the United States Government. The findings also realized that the government’s post-UNMIL security transition plan in providing sustainable peace and security seem hopeful but the present fragility of peace and security in post-war Liberia may remain if the multifold challenges of the sector which includes, inadequate logistical support, low budgetary allotments, insufficient capacity building, unethical behaviors, corruptions, weak supervisions, etc., are not discreetly tackle.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The aftermath of the Liberian civil crisis destroyed over Two Hundred Fifty Thousand (250,000.00) lives and displaced a Hundred Thousand (100,000.00) with large civilian casualties, and resulted to an unstable and total breakdown of law and order within the country. Factors which were largely responsible for the brutal civil crisis were unresolved ethnic and political tensions, the abuse of power by predatory elites, a corrupt system, and economic disparities. The First Liberian Civil War which began in 1989, came to an end in 1996 and thereafter, a United Nations monitored elections were held in 1997 which the leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (N.P.F.L) Charles Taylor, was democratically elected as President.

During his presidency, violence continued and spread into neighboring Sierra Leone and Guinea, resulting to the formation of two (2) rebel groups, the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) headed by Sekou Conneh, and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) backed by the government of Ivory Coast. LURD launched an attacked on April 21, 1999 alleging that the Charles Taylor administration was abusive of ethnicity, human rights, and his failure to address the basic economic and social challenges affecting the citizens of the country. A counter attack was also launched by Charles Taylor’s N.P.F.L forces and this resulted to the Second Liberian Civil War, which saw LURD taking

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2 Ibid
3 African Center for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD); *Post-Conflict Development in Liberia: Governance, Security, capacity building and developmental approach*; (2011) AJCR/2011/2
4 Vinck, Patrick; Pha, Phuong; *Talking Peace*; Human Rights Center, University of California, Berkeley (2011) pg. 12
control of the Northern part of Liberia and rapidly moving on to the capital, Monrovia. Due to the rise in civilian casualties, the Standing Mediation Committee of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) established a Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) which was deployed in Liberia, to resolve and possibly bring an end to the internal conflict that had called for international and regional intervention. On September 19 2003, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1509 (2003) introducing the Secretary General’s report of September 11, 2003 and its recommendations; thus establishing the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) which took over the responsibilities of the peacekeeping operations from ECOMOG in order to intensify the maintenance of peace in Liberia.

By order of the United Nations Security Council, the West African peacekeeping mission in Liberia, (ECOMIL) was now transformed into UNMIL on October 1, 2003 with its mandate covering specific areas of supporting the implementation process of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (C.P.A) signed by parties to the Liberia armed conflict (Government of Liberia, LURD and MODEL) on June 17, 2003, providing support to the restructuring of the security sectors, assisting in human rights, and supporting the implementation act of the peace process. After the Cotonou Peace Agreement was broken in 1993 by ECOWAS, the

5 Kieh Jr, George Klay; The Roots of the Second Liberian Civil War; International Journal on World Peace; (Professors World Peace Academy, 2009) Vol. 26 No.1; Pg.1
7 Ibid
Security Council of the United Nations established an observer mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) with the task of supporting ECOMOG in implementing the Cotonou agreement. UNMIL took over the peacekeeping duties from ECOMIL with an approximately 3,600 military personnel and a three-phase deployment of 15,000 international peacekeepers from The Gambia, Benin, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal and Togo. They landed on the shores of Liberia for the establishment of a multinational force after the C.P.A was signed in Accra, Ghana and this was an approach to resolving and bringing the brutal civil war to an end on August 18, 2003. The Mandate of Resolution 1509 (2003) included the support for humanitarian activities with assisting the Security Sector Reform with the inclusion of restructuring and reforming the Liberia National Police, the Armed Forces and other paramilitary security apparatuses, as one of its multidimensional strategies in maintaining peace security.

1.2 Problem Statement

The repercussions of the civil crisis left a total breakdown of law and order within the country, including the security sector. Regional and International Organizations under numerous international relations provisions were established to aid in the reformation of the security sector of Liberia. It is unarguable that the broken-down security sector of Liberia which can be attributed to the civil crisis, established a fearsome environment for citizens most especially in a post-conflict nation where the perpetrators of violence and the insecure nature of peace and security within the society are ocular. The police and military can no longer be considered as security entities responsible for the protection of its citizens but as entities to be feared. The security sector is confronted with solemn challenges in the

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10 Bekoe, Dorina; Security Sector Reform in Liberia: Domestic Considerations and the way forward; (2007) United States Institute of Peace;
effective discharge of its security responsibilities in post-conflict Liberia ranging from insufficient logistical support, low budgetary allotments, mi\net security force, to unethical behavior of security personnel, lack of proper capacity building of structure and functions of the sector etc., thus creating an unsafe society where the fear of the unknown is experienced. The effectiveness of the security sector to effectively combat both domestic and regional security threats remains a cardinal challenge.\textsuperscript{11} Inabilities of the major security apparatuses to effectively combat crimes and provide national security especially in rural communities, are some of the problems affecting the nature of peace and stability within the country. Limited resources, insufficient nationwide deployment, weak command structure, etc., are all challenges faced by the security sector which has created an unstable society in post-war Liberia.

1.3 Research Questions
To address the primary objectives of the research, the researcher seeks answers for the following questions:

- What is the present nature of peace and security in Liberia?
- How effective is the security sector of Liberia in tackling uprising domestic and regional security threats?
- What are the prospects for the continuation of peace and security in Liberia post-UNMIL?

1.4 Research Objectives
The objectives of the study are, to:

- Analyze the present nature of security and peace in Liberia.

\textsuperscript{11}International Crisis Group; Liberia: \textit{Uneven Progress in Security Sector Reform}; 2009; report No.148-13;
• Evaluate the effectiveness of Liberia’s security sector in tackling uprising domestic and regional security threats.

• Identify the prospects for the continuation of peace and security in Liberia.

1.5 Scope of the Study
The scope of the research shall cover the periods 2003 to 2016. From 2003 to 2004 will discuss the arrival of the UN peacekeeping mission in Liberia and the commencement of the restructuring and reformation aspect of the security sector by UNMIL with assistance from the United States Government, while 2016 looks at the transition of security responsibilities from UNMIL to the Government of Liberia and the prospects of peace and security post-UNMIL. This research would also delve into an extended detail of the Security Sector Reform by looking at the various subsets of the security sector which analyzes the impact of enhancing security, and also provide an analysis based upon the findings.

1.6 Rationale of the Study
The rational of this study is to critically analyzes and establish whether or not Liberia’s primary security apparatuses are capable of continuing the peace and security post-UNMIL. Since the beginning of the draw-down exercise of the UN peacekeepers, national pride is mixed with fears as to whether the security apparatuses of the nation are capable of maintaining the peace and security in Liberia. Additionally, it is hoped that this research would be relevant to researchers, policy makers, or the entire nation. It is also hoped that the research would add to existing literature and uncovers relevant enquiries for further discussions.

12 Sieh, Rodney; Liberia Security Vacuum after UNMIL departure, (Frontpage Africa, 2016)
1.7 Hypothesis

With the research objectives and literature review stated, the research hypothesized that the present status of peace and security in Liberia remains fragile in spite of the reformed security sector.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

This research shall apply the People-Centered component of Human Security in relations to the study. The UNTFHS defines People-Center security as a consideration of a broader range of conditions which threatens the livelihood, survival, and dignity of people.\textsuperscript{13} Human security was firstly used in the UNDP 1994 report as the safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, repression and protection from sudden and helpful disruption in the pattern of daily life.\textsuperscript{14} There has been consensus across Africa that security shall be more people-centered priority; meaning that the first and foremost priority of security shall be about the safety of the people and this was a reflection of the 1991 OAU Kampala Document- towards a Conference on


\textsuperscript{14}The United Nations Development Program \textit{Report}; (New York Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1994)

\textsuperscript{15}Hussien, Karim et al); \textit{Security and Human Security: An Overview of Concepts and Initiatives} ;( SAH/D 547, 2004); Pg. 14
Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa.\textsuperscript{15} From a United Nations peacekeeping mission perspective, People-centered security guarantees the fear of freedom and want and the United Nations system is mandated to address the security and the development of human rights. The September 2000 UN Millennium Assembly confirmed the need for a fundamental reform of UN Peacekeeping operations which shaped the need for a new “People-Centered” approach to conflict situations.\textsuperscript{16} This approach also tackles the framework which includes the human right component of peacekeeping mission and possible peacebuilding initiatives in post-conflict nations. In the Brahimi Panel, peacebuilding is defined as including, but not limited to: rebuilding the civil society; strengthening the rule of law, through police restructuring and judicial reform; improving the human rights situation by monitoring, educating and investigating abuses.\textsuperscript{17} The UNTFHS in a generalize view of people-centered security concept, describes and operationalizes people-centered security threats as conditions that threatens the survival, livelihood, and dignity of people, which includes other threats of survival such as Economic, Food, Health, Environmental, Personal, and Political securities.\textsuperscript{18}

Human security operationalized people-centered approach which entails the consideration of individuals and communities in establishing their need/vulnerabilities, in a collective effort, identifying the insecurities of people and addressing them with the availability of resources

\textsuperscript{16} Chandler, David; The People-Centered Approach to Peace Operations: The New UN Agenda’ International Peacekeeping; (2007) Pg. 2

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid 11

\textsuperscript{18} The United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security; \textit{Human Security in Theory and Practice}; (Human Security Unit, United Nations, 2014); p.6

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid
which includes relevant mechanisms. The UN Security Sector Reform strategies in post-conflict nations such as Liberia are also committed to people-centered security which implies that there are sensitivities to specific needs of vulnerable societies which includes gender in nature and its impact on women as well as men. In relations to improving the safety, security, and the living conditions of the people, it remains relevant that the public participates in the SSR and the peacebuilding process of conflict-affected states. The inclusion of civil societies can enable the reform to become a factor for a wider transformation. The United Nations peacekeeping operation was not mandated to provide all of the features of human security in its peacekeeping operational activities in the post-conflict recovery process of Liberia but based upon its humanitarian principles, the mission effectively engaged in peacebuilding initiatives throughout its peacekeeping mission. The concept of human security in the UN analysis provided for peaceful individual’s security environment and the national security emphasis on the state.

Human security and peacebuilding in its broadest term, as argued by Kenneth Bush (Bush 1996:76), refers to those initiatives which foster and support sustainable structures and processes for peaceful coexistence and decrease the likelihood of the outbreak, reoccurrence, or continuation of violent conflict. In Boutros Ghali’s An Agenda for peace, the concept was introduced as key to a successful preventive diplomacy, peacebuilding as the medium-to long-term process of rebuilding conflict-affected nations through the identification and

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20 European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO); People-Centered Security Sector Reform; Center for Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), 2008

21 Bush, Kenneth; Humanitarianism: Towards a democratic agenda for peacebuilding; (Canadian Journal of Developmental Studies, 1996); Vol. 17, 1996; Issue 4
support of structures to consolidate peace so as to avoid a relapse of conflict.\textsuperscript{22} With the situation in post-conflict Liberia, peacebuilding dives extensively into the rebuilding process of the political, human security, socio-economic and humanitarian relief through various initiatives, and long-term developmental efforts such as the SSR, good governance, and the promotion of the rule of law.

UNMIL’s peacekeeping mission contributed immensely in the provision of security in collaborative efforts with the government of Liberia because of the civil crisis. The UN peacekeeping analysis on human rights/human security stressed that, “The peacekeeping operations should be conducted with full respect for human rights and should also further the advancement of human rights through the implementations of their mandates\textsuperscript{23} This also implies that the prioritization of human security and the basic needs of citizens, which should be provided by the government, are relevant and inclusive of human right promotion and the provision of the rule of law rather than just the priority of providing security for the state after the departure of the peacekeeping mission.

The UNTFHS reveals that governments, international and regional organizations, civil societies and community-based organizations, are the main actors responsible for advancing People-centered security. Human security in its broad conceptualization, considers the individuals and the harmful actions directed against them, their properties and the visible consequences which includes banditry, looting and intercommunal strife, among others.\textsuperscript{24}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22}Ghali, Boutros-Boutros; \textit{An Agenda for Peace, Prevention Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping}. ;(1992) pg. 21
\item \textsuperscript{23}The United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security; \textit{Human Security in Theory and Practice}; (Human Security Unit, United Nations, 2014)
\item \textsuperscript{24}Ibid
\end{itemize}
The commitment to people-centered security in post conflict recovery of Liberia covers the individual security which applies to the specific security needs and vulnerabilities of specific segments of the society including the recognition of the gendered nature of security. The security sectors of Liberia lacks effectiveness due to widespread of physical insecurity and the rise in gendered based-violence and armed robbery within the nation. In regards to people-centered security, some level of progress may be achieved by the security sectors in curbing the threats of physical integrity in that, the LNP for example, despite the numerous challenges; it carries out visible provision of security without instituting fear within the communities.

1.9 Literature Review

The literature on the impact of UNMIL’s peacekeeping operations after the Second Liberian Civil War, recounts the origin and structure of the UN mission as well as its operational activities, impacts and challenges, including the relevance of Security Sector Reform in post-conflict African states. Adedeji Ebo highlighted that the process of peace including security, has been the pattern of the UN operations since the end of the Cold War and most importantly, the significance of Security Sector Reform comes along with operational efficiency as well as democratic governance. The UN peacekeeping force, as mandated under chapter VII of the C.P.A signed in Accra, established a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and requested the peacekeeping force to support the transitional government in the implementation of the peace process.

25 Bendix, Daniel; Stanley, Ruth; *Security Sector Reform in Africa: The Promise and the Practice of a new Donor Approach*; African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), 2008) Vol. 3 pg. 25

26 Ibid.pg 26

27 Ebo, Adedeji; *The Challenges and opportunities of Security Sector Reform in Post-Conflict Liberia*; Geneva, Center for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF, 2005) P.1
The UN mission integrated a provision of national security including the DDRR program, monitored the elections of 2005, provided assistance for the return of Internally Displaced Persons, and shifted its mandate to supporting the government of Liberia after the 2005 elections. Moreover, the SSR process in Liberia has also emphasized the transformation of the judicial and correctional services, which has resulted to numerous judicial malpractices thus creating lapses in the justice system. Moten Boas and Karianne Stig highlighted that the present security status in Liberia is impressive owing to the internal SSR which began in 2004 under the auspices of the UN mission and assisted by the United States Government and the peacebuilding process, seem to be moving rapidly but the main causes of the civil war are yet to be addressed therefore, the peace and security in Liberia remains fragile in spite of the presence of the international peacekeepers. They also highlighted that the significance of the restoration of an effective and efficient public service, sustainable sheared growth, and reduction of poverty, placed the country on the social and economic growth, as well as its developmental path. The post-conflict recovery of Liberia, which primarily surrounds the enhancement of the security sectors before and after the departure of the UN mission, tends to be the priority of the government but the exclusion of other delicate social and economic challenges, including adequate capacity building empowerment, leaves a more fragile peace and security.

Theresa Ammann, highlighted the effects of the deadly Ebola virus and the threat it posed to human security in Liberia. Furthermore, it uncovers the significance of addressing

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29 Boas, Morten; Stig, Karianne; *Security Sector Reform in Liberia: An uneven partnership without local ownership*; Journal of Intervention and peacebuilding, 2010; Vol.4 Issue 3; pgs. 285-303

30 Ammann, Theresa; *Ebola in Liberia, A threat to Human Security and Peace*; (Cultural Anthropology, 2014)
challenges that comes along with Security Sector Reform and other possible threats that affects the prospects of peace and security. The challenges of the SSR described by Mark Milan, points out relevant priorities that have not been address or did not form part of the transition plan which included economic recovery, the reduction of poverty and an effective constitutional reform. The inclusion of every aspect of peacebuilding in the post-conflict recovery plan of Liberia is significant in relations to adequate provision of peace and security. The governance perspective on improving the capacity of the security sectors in delivering adequate peace and security to the population in an effective, operationally, and efficient manner is necessary but the incapacity of sectors remains a challenge. Moreover, ineffective democracy and an undemocratic governance of the sector, has been the main factor of the civil crisis which has created an atmosphere for the oppression of the population, thus affecting particularly the poor and vulnerable.

The present status of peace and security in Liberia through the efforts of UNMIL and the U.S government may seem promising but the continuation in a post-UNMIL era remains a challenge and the gaps that need to be fill by the government which may create an effective and efficient security sectors in post-conflict Liberia. Alan Bryden and Boubacar N’Diaye highlighted that there is a need for the establishment of West African security sector governance which will enable a more effective security at the borders, thus creating an active regional security protection of the nation. This will require professional training for the

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31 Malan, Mark; Security Sector Reform in Liberia: Mixed Results From Humble Beginnings; (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2008)

32 Ebo, Adedeji; The Challenges and opportunities of Security Sector Reform in Post-Conflict Liberia; Geneva, Center for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF, 2005) P.1

33 Bryden, Alan; N’Diaye, Boubacar; Challenges of Security Sector Governance in West Africa; Geneva, Center for Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF, 2005) P.178
security sectors, in order to ensure the effectiveness and efficiency for the provision of peace and security but adequately empowerment of the sectors remains a huge challenge.\textsuperscript{34} Moreover, it is not just about restructuring or reforming the security sector that is more significant in post-conflict Liberia but the increment of the capacity and education that are needed to transform the entire security sector’s administrative and operational functions for the sustainability of peace within the country.\textsuperscript{35} The UN support for peace and security even after the transition and UNMIL’s final departure, clearly highlights that “The United Nations system will support the Government of Liberia in establishing the necessary conditions for a free and fair electoral process and smooth democratic transition following the presidential elections in October 2017.\textsuperscript{36} The guarantee that the presence of UNMIL will curb issues of electoral violence and other security threats are yet to be known because the capacity of the security apparatuses especially LNP, remains a challenge. In the post-conflict recovery process of Liberia, the civil society organizations plays a pivotal role in promoting issues of reconciliation, good governance, human rights, accountability, economic empowerment, educational initiatives etc.

With the level of transformation of the security sectors by UNMIL and the US government, it is undeniable that the security sector faces numerous challenges. The Stockholm International Research Institute in partnership with Search for Common Ground highlighted in its key findings that the strength of the police, for example, is low and limited budget allocation, limited in capacity to respond to threats of violence, weak in command structure and

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid

\textsuperscript{35} Popovic, Nicola, United Nations INSTRAW; (2005); \textit{Woman, Peace and Security in Liberia: Supporting the Implementation of Resolution 1325 in Liberia} (United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), 2009) Pg. 10,

\textsuperscript{36} United Nations Security Council; \textit{Secretary-General letter of April 47; /S2017/282}; p.8
supervision, nationwide police visibility is also low, and pervasive unethical behavior among police officer (Corruption, petit bribe etc.), are the main challenges that hinders the operations of the LNP and the security sectors at large. Since the security transition of UNMIL to the Government of Liberia was finalized in June 2016, as per the UN Resolution 2190 (2014), there are series of gaps within the security sectors that are yet to be fill in relations to providing security and maintaining the peace. Firstly, the preparedness of the security sectors, especially the Liberia National Police, to adequately provide security for the country’s upcoming transitional elections in October 2017, in case of election violence and other possible threat, remains a huge gap in relations to the fragility of the security sectors. In identifying the gaps within the security sectors, The Stockholm International Peace Institute (SIPRI) noted that the lack of budgetary allocation, the insufficiency of the security apparatuses, the lack of coordination between the judiciary and Liberia National Police, and the exclusion of civil societies towards contributing to the peace and security of Liberia.

1.10 Sources of Data

To attain the aims of the study, the research utilized primary and secondary data sources. The primary data was gathered based upon unstructured interviews with five relevant officials of UNMIL, LNP, and the LIS as well as written and oral reports. The researcher also gathered secondary data of relevant literature from books, journal articles, internet sources, publications, and databases. Based upon the objectives of the research, the data were

37 SIPRI, Search for Common Grounds; Security Sector Reform in Liberia: A case of the Liberian National Police and its Capacity to Respond to Internal Threat in the Wake of UNMIL Drawdown; Freetown: SFCG, 2011

38 Podder, Sukanya; Post-UNMIL adaption and security in Liberia: 2016

39 Search for Common Ground in Partnership with SIPRI; Security Sector Reform in Liberia: SIPRI, 2012; pg.8
analyzed to highlight and established the basis of the research through a broader narration of what was reveal by the sources of data.

1.11 Research Methodology

The research is specifically based on the qualitative method of data collection which was collected from both primary and secondary sources using scholarly articles, newspapers, and reports/documents. The analysis of UNMIL’s security impact on the security sectors reform and post-conflict recovery process of Liberia was also inclusive of the secondary data collection.

1.12 Arrangement of Chapters

The dissertation is presented in four (4) chapters. Chapter One constitutes the introduction and provides a background to the study as well as the problem statement. Chapter Two discusses an overview of peace and security in Liberia (2003-2016). Chapter Three examines the nature of peace and security in Liberia including significant peacebuilding components of Liberia’s post-conflict recovery process. Chapter Four provides a summary of findings, conclusions and possible recommendations.
CHAPTER TWO
AN OVERVIEW OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN LIBERIA (2003-2016)

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of peace and security in Liberia from the arrival of the UN Peacekeeping mission in 2003 to UNMIL’s security transition in 2016. It further discusses the significance of the Security Sector Reform in Liberia and its restructuring exercise which began in 2004, including the security transition and the prospects for the continuation of peace and security post-UNMIL.

2.1 Overview of Peace and Security in Liberia

Since the arrival of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) in 2003 due to the civil crisis and the mandate of the C.P.A, the surety of sustainable national security remains doubtful due to the numerous challenges of the security sector. UNMIL, established in 2003 by the United Nations Resolution 1509 (2003), has contributed tremendously to the peace process of Liberia by primarily supporting and assuming responsibility of the Disarmament Demobilization, Rehabilitation, and Reintegration (DDRR) exercise.40 Furthermore, the mandate of the CPA, requested that parties to the armed conflict (Government of Liberia, LURD and MODEL), be dissolved and the entire security sector is restructure and reform by UNMIL with assistance from the US government. The US government was requested to play the lead role in the reformation of the AFL, while the UNMIL oversees the restructuring of the LNP including other para-military security sectors.41

40 United Nations Secretary Council; First Progress Report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL; 2003; S/2003/1175

41 Sukanya, Podder; Post-UNMIL Adaptation and security in Liberia; 2016
After a successful restructuring exercise of the primary security apparatuses of Liberia through the efforts of UNMIL and the U.S government’s contractor DynCorp International, peace and security seem stable but holistically fragile. Reforming the security sector remains critical to the post-conflict recovery process of Liberia but the fragility of peace and security, due to weak governance structure, insufficient operational logistics, low budgetary allotment, etc., within the security sector, are critical challenges affecting adequate provision of security. Peace and security may be generally assure in Liberia since the arrival of UNMIL and the restructuring of the security sector but the rising domestic and regional security threats demonstrates the possibility of destabilization as a result of social tensions arising from limited capacity of the security sector.

Challenges of the security sector, including insufficient funding in the provision of peace and security, has hampered the performance of some of the primary security apparatuses especially the Liberia National Police.42 The security transition in June 2016 as per the U.N Resolution 2239 (2015), calling for the government of Liberia to assumed full security responsibility from UNMIL, opened up the government security transition plan post-UNMIL but places minimum priorities on all aspects of peacebuilding. The sub-regional terrorist threats poses another challenge of peace and security in Liberia and the fact that smaller countries with lesser security size and the lack of sufficient logistics and resources, faces huge challenge in combating such threat. With UNMIL minimum supervision of the security affairs, it is yet be established how the security sector, basically the LNP, intends to tackle

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42 United Nations Security Council; *Thirty-First Progress Report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL: S/2016/169. Pg.4*
issues of election violence which could escalate into violence if the proper mechanisms are not put in place to curb such challenge.43

2.2 An Overview of the United Nations Peacekeeping Mission

The UN traditionally defines peacekeeping mission as “the involvement of military personnel but without enforcement powers, undertaken to help in the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security in conflict areas.44 The UN peacekeeping mission began in 1948, and was designed as a consultation strategy in carrying out its peacekeeping mission to armed conflict states.

As conflict worsens or reaches a point of intervention and resolution, the United Nations plays a pivotal role by getting involved in series of consultations design to approach the best strategies by the International Community and these includes relevant UN actors; the Liberian government and parties to the armed conflict; Member States, including those that would possibly contribute peacekeeping forces, to the peacekeeping operations; regional and other intergovernmental organizations; and other relevant partners.45 The UN, as a strategy to design and provide adequate management of the increment of the population of the peacekeeping operations, established the DPKO in 1992 with the function of supporting fact-finding operations, and dealing with logistical challenges of the recruitment of personnel,

43 Togba, Emmanuel; Transitional Opportunities and suspicion as UNMIL Draw Down Liberia Security Sector; FrontPage Africa, 2016

44 Findly, Trevor; The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations; (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; Oxford University Press, 2002) Pg. 3

45 The United Nations Peacekeeping; www.un.org

46 Usden, Rebecca; Juergenliemk, Hubertus; History of the UN Peacekeeping; (Global Governance Institute); pg. 2
military forces, and the deployment of necessary equipment to the theatre, upon the adoption of a mandate.\textsuperscript{46} The United Nations modern multidimensional peacekeeping mission does not only cover the establishment of peace and security, it also furthers the facilitation of the DDRR processes of ex-combatants, the political process, the protection of citizens, promote and protect human rights. Peacekeeping have had a rapid evolution in past decades which is now incorporated as a complex model of elements ranging from military and civilians, working together in the interest of peacebuilding after civil wars. Muna Ndulo, discussing the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, Security and Reconstruction highlighted that The Agenda for Peace by Boutrous-Boutrous Ghali, outlined five types of missions (a) Preventive diplomacy; (b) Peace making; (c) Peacekeeping; (d) Peace enforcement; (e) Peacebuilding.\textsuperscript{47}

The United Nations applied peacekeeping missions due to the outbreaks of armed conflict and their intervention also covers peacekeeping in conflict affected states such as Liberia, South Africa, Haiti, and East Timor.\textsuperscript{48}

In a post-conflict situational analysis of Liberia, the extended peacekeeping operations of UNMIL has benefited both the security sectors and the nation at large but since the beginning of the second civil war in 1999, the heavy civilian casualties, and the disastrous humanitarian atrocities attracted the United Nations and ECOWAS to intervene and find peaceful settlements by means of the CPA signed by parties to the armed conflict thus allowing the

\textsuperscript{47} Ndulo, Muna; \textit{United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Security Reconstruction}; (Cornell Law Faculty Publications, 2011); Pg. 13

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid
Standing Mediation Committee of ECOWAS to establish the Military Observer Group, ECOMOG. On September 19 2003. UNMIL took charge of peacekeeping from the Economic Community Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL) on October 1 2003, with the mandate of covering specific areas of supporting the implementation of the CPA, providing support to the restructuring of the security sectors of Liberia, assisting in humanitarian and human rights, and supporting the implementation of the peace process.\textsuperscript{49} The origin of the reformation and restructuring processes of the security sectors of Liberia firstly needed to disband all irregular forces, thus allowing UNMIL to take over the restructuring of the Liberian National Police and other para-military security apparatuses, while the U.S government handles the restructuring process of the AFL.

2.3 The United Nations SSR in Africa

SSR was introduced as a concept over a decade ago and the methodology was to provide an innovative security governance reform approach. The concept also uncovers the principles of accountability, transparency, and a wide understanding of state security and individual security.\textsuperscript{50} The 2008 United Nation Secretary-General’s report clearly outlines the UN support in enhancing and re-establishing security.\textsuperscript{51} In West Africa, ECOWAS has been one of the key drivers in Liberia’s implementation of the SSR activities such as the DDRR

\textsuperscript{49} United Nations Secretary Council; \textit{First Progress Report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL}; S/2003/1175


\textsuperscript{50} Detzner, Sarah; \textit{Modern post-conflict security sector reform in Africa: Patterns of success and failure}; (World Peace Foundation, 2017); Vol. 26 Pg. 116-142

program, Monrovia arms-free zone, governance reform, and monitoring the elections of 2005 and 2011. ECOWAS seem to be a permanent supporter of Security Sector Reform especially in post-conflict states where peacebuilding efforts are ongoing. In Africa, the last colonial/racist regimes and a number of autocracies were faltering and government budgets were shrinking, forcing militaries to adjust to the needs and values of democratic governments as well as finding a way to reintegrate ex-combatants. The Security Council Resolution 2151 (2014) defines the U.N SSR policy as a process to ensure effective enhancement and accountable security for the State and its people without discrimination and with full respect for human rights and the Rule of Law. Furthermore, the United Nations has acknowledged the fact that the SSR role in consolidating peace and security, is to prevent nations from relapsing to conflict once again and laying down a foundation for sustainable peace. The emphasis on the need for transformation rather than reformation of security in Africa has been suggested by many African scholars and practitioners. The support of the SSR in Africa tends to gravitate naturally towards the areas of least resistance mostly conflict-affected and fragile areas where state capacity is limited.

The 2008 Secretary-General report on SSR clearly highlights the immediate priorities recommended for the development of a holistic and coherent United Nations approach to SSR, in support of national actors: strengthening field capacities for SSR, building partnership to provide effective support; expertise and adequate resources to national security sector reform processes; and establishing a UN inter-agency security sector reform support unit to deliver those priorities. The evolution of the UN security approach, (The UN


54 Abegunde, Ola: Need for Security Sector Reform; (International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, 2013) Vol 3 No.9 pg 228
Millennium Declaration, General Assembly resolution 55/2), covers the principle that lies within the vision which states that men and women shall have the right to live their lives and raise their children in dignity, free from hunger and fear of violence, oppression or injustice.\textsuperscript{55} The relevance of the UN Security Sector Reform demonstrates the idea which goes beyond just militarism but an inclusion of a large scope of International and national actors.

The United Nations, through the Department of Peacekeeping Operation (DPKO) has been actively assisting in security sector reform from an individual component perspective by providing police services. The significance of SSR in African conflict-affected nations is generally the idea of reforming the security sectors of such nation after a successful end of hostilities and to democratically enhance the control of the state, provide adequate security for the poor, tackle the reduction of violence, and create the resources for adequate social and economic change but the application of these virtues of SSR in conflict-affected nations, for example, Liberia, is rare because the focus of the government is directly on the reformation of the security sectors especially after a transition of security responsibilities from the UN mission, for the first time since the end of the civil crisis in 2003.

\subsection*{2.4 National Security Sector Reform of Liberia}

SSR firstly emerged as a key concept among security experts and democracy advocates in the late 1990s and it is mainly aimed at provisioning both the state and human securities within a sovereign and divined geographical entity within governments.\textsuperscript{56} A new dispensation of peace emerged once more in Liberia after the Security Council of the United Nations had

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\textsuperscript{55} Kieh, George K Jr; \textit{The Roots of the Second Liberian Civil War}; International Journal on War Peace; (Professors World Academy, 2009); Vol XXXVI No. 1 Pg 7

\textsuperscript{56} National Transitional Government of Liberia; \textit{Results Focus Transitional Framework}, (2005) pg 34
\end{flushleft}
passed a resolution in support of a ceasefire, allowing all irregular forces to the armed conflict, to be disband thereby restructuring the entire security sectors. The United Nations peacekeeping force settled in the country and eventually, a National Transitional Government was established by the mandate of the CPA, signed in Accra Ghana, by parties to the armed conflict, until national elections were held in October 2005.\footnote{Bendix, Daniel; Stanely Ruth; \textit{Security Sector Reform in Africa: The Promise and the Practice of a New Donor Approach}; (African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), 2008) Volume 3; Pg. 23} The establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping mission within the territorial boundaries of Liberia was also a mandate under the CPA. Because of this fact, the United Nations Mission in Liberia was fully established and firstly began to implement one of its primary strategies, the DDRR (Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration, Rehabilitation) program, which was purposely designed to enable ex-combatants, especially child soldiers, women fighters and none-Liberian combatants, to turn over their weapons to the peacekeepers for destruction and in return, were given some compensation or vocational education opportunities as a means of empowering and reintegrating themselves into civilian life. By October 31 2004, a total of 101,495 ex combatants were already disarmed and demobilized, fulfilling one of the requirements of the CPA on Liberia.\footnote{Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) Internal Office Division; \textit{UNMIL’s Support to the Security Sector Reform Program} (2002) Audit report; pg. 2} In view of the CPA’s mandate, a new reform of the security sectors of Liberia was now enacted. The U.S. government was requested to take the lead in the reformation and restructuring processes of the AFL but outsourced its commitment to two private military companies, DynCorp International and the Pacific Architects and Engineers (PAE) in 2005, with the task of recruiting, training and restructuring the AFL.\footnote{Bendix, Daniel; Stanley, Ruth; \textit{Security Sector Reform in Africa: The Promise and the Practice of a new Donor Approach}; African Center for the Constructive Resolution of Dispute (ACCORD, 2008); vol.3 pg.23}
UNMIL was responsible to reform and restructure the LNP and other para-military security apparatuses including the Liberia Immigration Services (LIS), the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) etc. The Liberian government, through the M.O.D now established requirements for applicants during the recruitment process and this required that applicants must be physically fit, literacy level, good health, and most significantly, must be void of human rights abuses or crimes against humanities during, before, or after the civil crisis. The activities of the SSR in Liberia was straightly implemented by joint components of the United Nations Mission, the United Nations Police (UNPOL), Military, Legal and the Judicial Systems and Support Divisions, Corrections Advisory Unit, Human Rights and Protection Section and the Office of Gender Advisor. In this light, there was a need to adequately address rising security threats after the end of hostilities in Liberia. Citizens doubted the capacity of the entities responsible to provide security after the civil crisis, therefore the need to reform and restructure the national security sectors were very relevant and the CPA saw the need to highlight it as one of its significant mandates. The CPA and the Security Council’s Resolution 1509 (2003), requested UNMIL to assist the N.T.G.L in restructuring, monitoring, and reforming the Liberian National Police, (LNP) the Liberia Immigration Service (LIS) and other para military security sectors such as the DEA, NSA, NBI, NFS, and the M.C.P.

A 2007 United States Institute of Peace Brief clearly discussed the framework of the security sector reform especially the reformation of the new army, stating that the guiding principle for Liberia’s SSR is the commensuration of the Armed Forces of Liberia, with a perceived set

60 Bekoe, Dorina; Parajon, Christina; Security Sector Reform in Liberia: Domestic Considerations and the Way Forward; (United States Institute of Peace brief; 2007)

61 Search for Common Ground, SIPRI; Security Sector Reform in Liberia; (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, (SIPRI), 2011) pg. 12
of threats which shall be financially and operationally sustainable. More besides, the size, structure, and function of the new AFL should be framed by financial, regional, and historical concerns.\textsuperscript{62} The initial size of the AFL which DynCorp International intended to restructure, was a 12,000 light army but critic’s emphasis was that, a larger sized armed forces might create a huge security threat if they are not receiving their entitlements and benefits on time or living in sub-standard housing facilities in the military barracks.

More besides, many Liberia scholars and critics criticized the Security Sector Reform that the restructuring exercise of the AFL, an African army, was more of an American and Euro-centric model meaning that the AFL could have been trained or restructured by a professional African military nation to reflect the African style of militarism rather than the western model of restructuring from the U.S. Depending on the United Nations and other international donors, and creating self-help forms of security in a context of low public trust on the national security and the justice sector, was another issue that was raised by critics.

\textbf{2.4.1 The Armed Forces of Liberia}

Tracing the history of the AFL, it was first called the Liberia Frontier Force (LFF) in 1908 and comprises 500 men whose primary responsibility was to patrol the boarders in the hinterland (against British and French territorial expansion) and prevent disorder. The LFF began the AFL in 1962 but due to the civil crisis, the AFL was torn apart.\textsuperscript{63} An analysis of the US State Department, the Britain’s Department for International Development (DFID) and the Ministry of Defense (MOD) invested significant resources in the reformation of the AFL

\textsuperscript{62} Bakoe, Dorina; Paragon, Christina; \textit{Security Sector Reform in Liberia: Domestic Consideration and a way forward}; (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace brief; 2007)

\textsuperscript{63}www.mod.gov.lr/the-forces/brief-history
and the Armed Forces of the Republic of Sierra Leone (AFRSL) but according to this analysis, the security sector reform was conducted to showcase power distribution on the grounds between both Sierra Leone and Liberia. Sierra Leone’s transition regime better reflected the distribution of power between forces on the ground than that of Liberia.\textsuperscript{64} Due to the 14 years of the brutal civil crisis, ECOWAS saw the need to step in and bring the hostilities to an end which saw hundreds of thousands of lives being destroyed and infrastructure damaged. The act of the CPA which give rise to the reforming and restructuring a new military reform, began the origin of the new AFL after the second and final civil war. The parties agreed that the restructuring of the AFL under a new command and that the U.S government plays the lead role in the reformation and restructuring exercises. To ensure that this was possible, the financial support was sheared between the US government, the government of Liberia, and UNMIL.\textsuperscript{65} The United States government contractor DynCrop International, was contracted for a period of three years at US$ 200 million dollars to train the new Armed Forces and as part of the US government’s contribution, the sum of US$ 210 million dollars was pledge to help with dissolving, recruiting, and training the new Army.\textsuperscript{66}

DynCorp International was charged with the responsibilities of providing basic facilities and training for the AFL, while the Pacific Architects and Engineers (PAE) another private company, was responsible to build military bases for the reforming and structuring of the AFL and its component units, and for providing specialized and advanced training.\textsuperscript{67} This

\textsuperscript{64} Onoma, Ato K; \textit{Transition regimes and security sector reforms in Sierra Leone and Liberia}; (American Academy of Political & Social Science, 2014) ; pg 1

\textsuperscript{65} Bakoe, Dorina; Paragon, Christina; \textit{Security Sector Reform in Liberia: Domestic Consideration and a way forward}; (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace brief; 2007)

\textsuperscript{66} Refugees International; \textit{Refugees International: 2007: Annual Report.}

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid
reformation was structured in such manner that the new AFL would showcase professionalism and modern principles of their various disciplines. The need to transform the security sectors of Liberia is equally a regional necessity. Few West African nations have had a long instability and violence crisis. The West African nation of Sierra Leone, Liberia’s next door neighbor, went through similar security sector reform due to its civil instability. The British government was responsible to transform and reform the entire security sector. Ghana, too, is still ongoing its reform though it has enjoyed years of peace and stability as compare to its West African neighbors. 68 One of the main challenges of the recruitment exercise of the new AFL by the Ministry of Defense was to recruit candidates void of human rights violations, and who were former child soldiers, former women fighters, committed crimes against humanities, and other atrocities during the civil war. This was a challenge for citizens being responsible to point out individuals, especially ex combatants within various communities who had applied to be vetted. Citizens were afraid of the repercussions from candidates who were denied entry into the new AFL because they had been pointed out by community dwellers, especially ex-combatants. The achievements of the AFL to date in its restructuring and reformation process, has been gradually impressive but insufficient attention paid to the challenges of the sector, can evaporate tension and possibly hinder the peace and security.

The AFL which comprises 2,236 strong men with 4 percent of them being women is now charged with the responsibility of protecting the nation against threats of external insurgency.69 The US government through DynCorp International concluded its training of

68 Search for Common Ground, SIPRI; Security Sector Reform in Liberia; (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, (SIPRI), 2011) pg. 12

the new AFL in August of 2016, with the consideration of forming a highly professional and credible army and till present, the US still supports the AFL but the lack of sufficient funding, leaves the operational framework very ineffective and the numerous challenges continuous to hinder the capacity of the AFL to adequately carry out its operations in many parts of the country.\textsuperscript{70}

2.4.2 The Liberia National Police

The Liberia National Police was established by an Act of Legislature on June 6 1975 and it is the country’s internal security and criminal investigation entity, responsible to for the maintenance of public order and safety, protection of people and property, identification and recovery of stolen property(s), prevent, detect, fight crimes, identify and arrest criminals, and to enforce the law and testify in court.\textsuperscript{71} The UN has been actively involved in the reformation of international security by revamping and restructuring their national police for nations transitioning to democracies, over the last two decades. (Zanotti 2004) stated, “Starting in the 1990s, the United nations has increasingly been mandated to bring about international security by intervening in failing states through complex operations which includes institutional reform projects” (p.1).\textsuperscript{72}

The UN Security Council Resolution 1509 (2003), stipulates that UNMIL, along with its UNPOL (United Nations Police) counterpart, shall be responsible to restructure the Liberian National Police thereby assisting the N.T.G.L in monitoring and restructuring the police force

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid

\textsuperscript{71} www.moj.gov.lr/lnp

\textsuperscript{72} Weh-Dorliae, Yarsou Laezee; \textit{The United Nations Training of the Liberian National Police: Effectiveness, Results, and Future}; (Walden University, 2015) p.1
of Liberia and to assist in the training of the civilian police in cooperation with ECOWAS, international organizations, and interested states.\textsuperscript{73} UNMIL began with the vetting process of applicants of the Liberian National Police by running investigations regarding their character and previous human rights records. UNMIL’s recruitment and restructuring exercises targeted an initial police size of 8,000 trained police officers in various capacities and disciplines but due to the Ebola outbreak in 2014, the recruitment was halted. Since the completion of the restructuring and reformation of the LNP, UNMIL had trained a total of 5,100 police officers.\textsuperscript{74} As the process of the Liberian National Police began, the US government donated an amount of $500,000 for training purposes and this included the payment of adequate salaries for serving police officers and the official granting of employment status for new recruits, tensions surrounding the downsizing of existing police personnel through attrition, dismissal, and demobilization, among others. The United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 2190 (2014) requesting the Government of Liberia to take full responsibility of the security responsibilities from by June 30, 2016.\textsuperscript{75}

With the level of training and professional standards that has been passed unto the LNP by UNMIL, the police force have now increase the number of university graduates during recruitment, trained and deployed first, formulated strategic policies, formulated the first Police Act which was passed by the National Legislature; decentralizing major police units, the Emergency Response Unit (E.R.U), Police Support Unit (P.S.U) Women And Children Protection Section (WACPS) etc.\textsuperscript{76} By August of 2007, a total of 3,522 police officers had

\textsuperscript{73} United Nations Security Council; \textit{First Progress Report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL}; (S/2003/1175)

\textsuperscript{74} \url{www.moj.gov.lr/lnp}

\textsuperscript{75} National Transitional Government of Liberia; \textit{Results Focused Transitional Framework}; (2005) pg 43

\textsuperscript{76} Sieh, Rodney; \textit{Liberia Security Vacuum after UNMIL departure}; (Frontpage Africa; \url{www.africandefense.com}, (2016)}
already graduated from the National Police Academy and were deployed throughout the country with less police officers in the rural areas. The restructuring of the LNP was successful though there was a halt to the process due to the Ebola outbreak and the lack of logistics ranging from vehicles, shortages of essential police equipment, etc.\textsuperscript{77} As the country’s first transnational election draws closer, the question of the preparedness and adequate empowerment of the security sectors remains uncertain. Due to the numerous challenges faced by the security apparatuses, especially the Liberia National Police in terms of curbing any form of election violence and other internal and external security threats, it remains a necessity that proper mechanism are structured to tackle these challenges as the country continues the maintenance of peace and stability through the efforts of UNMIL. Other challenges faced by the security sectors in terms of the restructuring exercise such as budgetary increment, corruption within the sectors, limited capacity to respond to threats, weak command structure and supervision among others, leaves behind uncertainties in the discharge of the duties and responsibilities of the security sectors during and after the departure of UNMIL.

During the civil crisis in Liberia, the major security sectors (AFL and the LNP) preyed upon the citizens with impunity and because of this, the citizens had lost confidence and trust for the security apparatuses but whether they have regained their confidence and trust based on the level of transformation received by the security apparatuses remains unpredictable. In spite of the general opinion of current competence, management and command structure of the LNP remains weak. Police reform is ongoing but this is not done concurrently with other

\textsuperscript{77} Malan, Mark; Security Sector Reform in Liberia: Mixed Results From Humble Beginnings; (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2008)
governance reform initiatives such as the decentralization or devolution to give more authority to regional offices.  

2.4.3 The Liberian Immigration Service

The Liberia Immigration Services, formally the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization was established in 1955 by the legislation which charged the agency with the enforcement of the Alien and Nationality laws of Liberia and it is also governed by the constitution of Liberia, the ECOWAS protocol on free movements of persons, goods and services within the sub-region, international conventions and laws, among others. The mandate of the LIS is strongly supported by the United Nations Police (UNPOL) under UNMIL. With the size of the LIS at 2,081 immigration officers, including officers deployed at about 48 border crossing points in 2014, the LIS intends to increase its size to about 3000 thereby developing a strategic development plan. One of the main factors of Liberia’s fragile security situation is the porous borders between countries within the sub-region and the success of adequately boarder protection depends on trained and resourceful immigration service personnel (LIS), working collectively with UNMIL and other security apparatus in providing an effective control and protection of the boarders of Liberia. The LIS expands its core operations of enforcing all laws and regulations regarding immigration, citizenship, naturalization and related matters.

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79 www.unmission.org/un-police

80 Ibid

81 AllAfrica; *DEA Seeks U.S. $6 Million to Wage Drug War*; (Accessed 2012)
2.5 Other para military security apparatus

2.5.1 Drug Enforcement Agency

The Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) firstly began in 1993 as the National Drug Committee of the I.G.N.U under Dr. Amos C. Sawyer’s administration. After a period of 5 years, the committee was now converted into the Drug Enforcement Agency under former President Charles Taylor’s administration. The DEA is responsible to tackle all drug related activities in and around the country, arresting traffickers and dealers, and the destruction of illegal drugs. UNMIL has contributed immensely to revamping the agency’s fight against illegal drugs in the country. In the efforts of improving the security sectors of Liberia, the UN mission has undertaken quick impacts projects and donated wide range of modern technological equipment to the agency as it relates to the operations of the DEA.

2.5.2 The National Security Agency (NSA)

The National Security Agency of the Liberia is an independent governmental agency with the responsibility of providing the President and the nation with security intelligence. Its responsibility covers all means of adequate protection for the Government and the country against subversion, espionage, sedition, adverse propaganda and sabotage. UNMIL’s support for the NSA operations and the review of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Liberia (NSSRL) has been achieved and awaits the newly democratically elected government in 2018 to implement some significant policies and identified national security priorities of the NSA.

82 www.nsa.gov.lr/
2.5.3 The National Bureau of Investigation (NBI)

The National Bureau of Investigation was re-established by an Act of Legislature in 1988 and is charged with responsibilities of investigating major crimes of homicides, illegal entry in the country, rape, kidnapping, arson, burglary, embezzlement, counterfeiting, and theft of governmental properties.\textsuperscript{83} The NBI also cooperate with the Liberia National police in providing peace and security by reporting records of known criminals for apprehension and also repot criminal statistics within the country.

2.5.4 Special Security Service (SSS)

The Special Security Service involves directly with the provision of the Executive branch of government, providing security for the President, families members, and other officials, and the grounds of the Executive Mansion\textsuperscript{84}. Established in February 1966, it also involves specifically with the protection of relevant presidential documents, emails and verified all vehicles used by the presidential convoy. The SSS also served as a liaison between the presidential office and other para-military security agencies regarding presidential issues and vetting of applicants for employment at the Executive Mansion.\textsuperscript{85}

\textsuperscript{83} Milan, Mark; Security Sector Reform in Liberia: Mixed Results from Humble Beginnings; (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2008); Pg. 11

\textsuperscript{84} Ibid

\textsuperscript{85} Governance Reform Commission; Assessment Report; 2006 Pg. 6

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid
2.5.5 National Fire Service (NFS)

Established by an Act of Legislature in 1949, the National Fire Service primary responsibility is handling all fire outbreaks within the country, necessary prevention and control.\(^86\) It also involves the inspection of all public and private buildings in order to determine the possibility of fire outbreak. The NFS also corporate with the LNP establishing fire control unit, prepare statistical report of the causes of fire outbreak and prevention strategies.

2.5.6 Monrovia City Police (MCP)

Article 1, Section III of the Legislative Act, established the Monrovia City Police in 1976, with the core responsibilities of enforcing municipal or city ordinances, parking and the supervision of parking places, assist the Liberia Revenue Authority in collecting real estate task within the capital, supervises and control infrastructural and city management.\(^87\) It also regulate petit trade and markets areas, service precepts at the courts, safeguard properties of citizens within the administrative areas of the capital.

2.6 UNMIL’s Extended Peacekeeping Operations

The essence of peacekeeping operations surrounds conflict prevention, management, and resolutions, which allows peacekeepers to be more enablers than enforcers. Peacekeeping missions are more successful if they are allowed by the parties to armed conflict, to intervene and stabilize the situations.\(^88\) Every United Nations peacekeeping operations comes with

\(^88\) Findly, Trevor; *The Use of Force in Peacekeeping Operations*; (Oxford University Press, 2002); Pg.4.


\(^90\) Ndulo, Muna; *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Security Reconstruction*; (Cornell Faculty Publishers, 2011); p.188
limitations and prospects and this is so because as the U.N peacekeeping mission increases, the production of these operations remain a huge challenge.\textsuperscript{89} The United Nations peacekeeping missions brings about the uniqueness of a highly specialized mechanism developed to assist nations that are faced with or have had disastrous conflict related issues and striving for perpetual peace.

The first UN peacekeeping mission was established in 1948, after the Security Council authorized the deployment of the UN military observers to the Middle East to monitor the Armistice Agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbors.\textsuperscript{90} In a narrow-down situation of UNMIL extended operations in Liberia, the mandate has continuously been adjusted to reflect the situation in Liberia from a security perspective. In April of 2015, resolution 2215 (2015), highlighted the Security Council’s mandate in the following priorities: the protection of citizens, humanitarian assistant support, justice reform and security entities, promotion and protection of human rights as well as the protection of UN personnel.\textsuperscript{91} Even with this mandate, UNMIL saw the need to move beyond this and participated or contributed to every aspect of humanitarian and civil assistance in every aspect of the recovery process of Liberia. Firstly, the UN mission played a pivotal role in helping to curb the deadly EVD (Ebola Virus Disease) and assisted the health sector as an organized body. Sufficient awareness was created for Liberian citizens as well as officials of UNMIL in preventing the spread of the disease. Initially, regarding the operations of the UN Mission in 2003, UNMIL was not mandated to bring to an end the spread of the EVD but as a multidimensional peacekeeping

\textsuperscript{91} Ndulo, Muna; \textit{United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Security Reconstruction}; (Cornell Faculty Publishers, 2011); p.188

mission, it provided for the protection of citizens and has contributed, since the outbreak in 2014, numerous logistical and humanitarian support, medical trainings, in coordination with the WHO and UNICEF.\textsuperscript{92}

The mission has also provided other military support to the National Police as it relates to maintaining peace and stability during the outbreak. With these positive contributions, there have been criticisms that the UN Security Council did not make the best use of its potential resource already in Liberia. Moreover, there could have been much more done in contributing to the emergency response within the terms of its peacekeeping mandate.\textsuperscript{93} Indeed UNMIL provided an umbrella security over Liberia and touch every aspect of restoring stability thereby undertaking the DDRR program, where former XC (Ex Combatants) were disarmed, took charged and monitor the elections of 2005 and 2011, assisted in the return of IDPs and refugees and assisted transitional government of Liberia, and will continue to assist in monitoring the 2017 presidential and legislative elections as per Resolution 2308 (2016).\textsuperscript{94}

It is a visible fact that there may have been tremendous progress made by UNMIL not just towards the provision of peace and security but to ensure that its operations cover wide range of other relevant developmental and peacebuilding initiatives. The UN mission has made tremendous humanitarian efforts through its implementations of numerous quick-impact projects in improving sanitation, the rehabilitation of schools, repairing of roads so as to

\textsuperscript{93} Synder, Michael; \textit{What Role for UN Peacekeepers in Tackling Ebola}; (IPI Global Observatory, 2014)

\textsuperscript{94} Davies, Sara E; \textit{Public health emergencies: a new peacekeeping mission? Insights from UNMIL’s role in the Ebola outbreak}; (Griffith University, 2015) Issue 3 pgs 419-435

\textsuperscript{95} www.fletcher.turfts.edu/African-Peace/Liberia

\textsuperscript{96} Republic of Liberia; \textit{Government of Liberia Plan for UNMIL transition}; (March 2015 to June 2016) (2005) pg. 1
contribute to the infrastructural needs within the country, though these initiatives were not inclusive within UNMIL’s operational mandate.95

2.8 Government of Liberia Security Transition Plan Post-UNMIL

The Government of Liberia, under the United Nations Resolution 2190 (2014), calls for the acceptance of full responsibility of security operations from UNMIL by 30 June 2016 and this turns out to be the gateway of the security transition plan after the departure of the UN mission. The transition plan under the supervision of UNMIL dives more into the significance of other national priorities that are essential within the scope of promoting peace and stability in Liberia.96 The methodology for the implementation of such post-UNMIL transition plan by the Government of Liberia entails strategies that connect National Security Sector Reform, wide range of consultative initiatives with the efforts of all other security apparatus/agencies with expertise in security and justice sector issues. This strategy also highlights the significance of the Rule of Law, human rights as well as human centered security issues.97 With the final mandate, Resolution 2333 (2016), extending UNMIL’s peacekeeping operations to 30th March 2018, the methodology of the security transition plan highlights a review of the existing strategies and recommendations from previous government initiated reviews and national consultative discussions, including the 2003 Criminal Justice Conference and Management Accountability Review; a broader consultative process involving the various security and justice sectors issues; consultations with other

97 Ibid
98 Ibid
branches of government stakeholders; retreats convened in early 2015 by the security agencies at which institutional priorities were identified.98

The application of the transition plan is directly focused on the provision of national security after the departure of UNMIL and does not include the provision of the basic social needs of citizens which, if not properly address, could jeopardize the entire peace and security of the nation. It is unarguable that the prioritization of national security in the absence of UNMIL is significant but because of the effects of the deadly civil crisis which have destroyed all sectors of the society, it brings in the question of the capability of the security sectors in the adequate provision of security. The United Nations Security Council also affirmed that the Government of Liberia is primarily responsible to ensure lasting peace and stability and the promotion and protection of citizens within the country and also building the capacity of the security sectors (LNP, LIS, and AFL etc).99 Since the transition of security responsibilities to the Government of Liberia in 2016, the UN Mission is still actively involved in supporting the Liberia’s Government in strengthening the security sector’s capacities. Cecelia Hull argues that the United Nations Mission in Liberia cannot do all as it relates to maintaining the peace and stability it has provided but the conglomeration of both the government, Civil Society Organizations and the citizens effort in building a new nation (Hull, 2008).100 This implies that those collective efforts of all the sectors, including the civil societies, must be inclusive of the government transition plan in the provision of peace and security after the absence of UNMIL. Delicate issues such as providing the basic social needs of citizens, (better health care, employment, education, agriculture, infrastructural development, human

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98 Hull, Cecelia; *Integrated Mission: A Liberia Case Study*; (Division of Defense Analysis, Swedish Defense Research Agency (FOI), 2008)
rights, better justice system, security, etc) can also from a part of the transition plan. The government plan for the security responsibilities from UNMIL is enshrined within the National Security Strategy of the Republic (NSSRL) and the Agenda for Transformation. The government’s effort in adequately continuation of the peace and security after the departure of UNMIL comes alone with a budgetary plan that with address the numerous challenges of continuing the peace and security of Liberia.

The Government of Liberia security transition plan post-UNMIL has been in cooperation with relevant stakeholders, and a budgetary preparation estimated at US$ 104 Million dollars towards the security transition plan but the effectiveness of managing or adequately utilizing this amount for the improvement of the security sectors of Liberia remains unknown.\textsuperscript{101} The history of poor governance culminated in nearly 15 years of brutal civil crisis and destroyed lives, infrastructure, brought the nation’s economy to a complete standstill. Therefore mismanagement of such fund in the interest of building the capacity and empowering the security sectors, could be a total setback for the enhancement of peace and security. The need for the government to include the provision of the providing the basic social and economic needs of citizens, is a necessary step in the provision of peace and security.

\textbf{2.9 Challenges of Transition Plan post-UNMIL}

As the United Nations peacekeeping mission drawdowns rapidly ongoing, as per the Security Council’s mandate Resolution 2333 (2016) which a call for the final departure of UNMIL as of March 2018, Liberia is now face with the responsibility of handling its own security\textsuperscript{102}. The transition plan of the government to adequately take over the security affairs of the

\textsuperscript{101} All Africa; Liberia: \textit{Owing up to Security Post-UNMIL}; FrontpageAfrica, 2016

nation comes with numerous challenges. The security sectors are still undergoing reformation and restructuring, issues of adequate logistical support to combat rising security threats within the sub-region and the nation, remains a huge challenge.

The Liberian National Police received a total of US$ 17 million dollars out of the US$ 29.2 million dollars budget it proposed to the National Legislature for the 2016/2017 budget year, to tackle the challenges of security issues in the country including issues of logistics, and other regional threats but whether the amount is sufficient to cover the entire police operations including its numerous challenges, remain unsure and more beside, the country’s first transnational elections in October 2017, the religious proposal (Christian and Muslim debate), provision of the basic social needs of citizens, a vibrant health sector, etc are all challenges the government is faced with. Despite the recognition of inadequate security budget and logistical resources by the government and the operational weakness of the security sectors, which poses a threat to developmental agenda of the security sectors, it is uncertain whether the government is adequately empowered to tackle these challenges in boosting the capacity of the security sectors for the provision of peace and stability. Even within the security sectors, challenges such as low professional standards, insufficient coordination, endemic corruption, and unaccountability, poses huge threat to the credibility of the security sector. As UNMIL drawdown is ongoing, the Armed forces of Liberia and its 2000 strong force is only a token to adequately protect the territorial boarders of the country in spite of its reformation and restructuring process. Citizens still doubt the AFL’s capability in relations to the “citizens-security” relationship in providing security for them. In 2014, doing the outbreak of the Ebola, an army scuffle occurred in the slum community of West Point in Monrovia, where a teenage boy was shot in the leg by an AFL personnel who was

103 Williams, Wade C; (2016) Liberia’s Security;
assigned to quarantine Ebola suspects. The teenage boy, Shaki Kamara later died as a result of his wound, and the incidence raised fear about the trustworthiness of the national army in providing protection for its citizens though the Armed Forces regretted the situation.\textsuperscript{104} The capability of the AFL, LNP, LIS and other para-military security apparatuses, remain uncertain as it relates to combatting regional security threats of terrorism, for example, Boko Haram terrorist activities.

Terrorism is one of the growing threats within the region and the ability or inability of Liberia’s security apparatus to tackle it, remains a challenge. The United State government and UNMIL has contributed immensely to restructuring Liberia’s security sectors but the government must strategize and properly plan the transition in order to provide sustainable security and maintain the peace after the departure of UNMIL including the provision of the basic social needs of citizens in the post-conflict recovery of Liberia. Liberia has experienced peace and stability since the arrival of UNMIL in 2003 and in spite of the stability, peace remains fragile because many of the security threats are now of an internal nature most especially the recurrent tendency of major incidents which could escalate into large-scale violence confrontations beyond the response capability of the national police. The fear of personal security due to the high incidence of violent crimes and inadequate provision of justice remains a factor that poses fear especially with rising internal security threats against the peace and security of the citizens.\textsuperscript{105} Liberia also stand to face issues of domestic and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{104} Podder, Sukanya; \textit{Post-UNMIL Adaptation and Security in Liberia}; (Security Programme of Oxford Research Group,  2016)
  \item \textsuperscript{105} Liberia Public Expenditure Review Note; \textit{Meeting the Challenges of UNMIL Security Transition} ;( Report No. 71009-LR, 2013) Pg. 3
  \item \textsuperscript{106}Ibid
  \item \textsuperscript{107}Bryden, Alan et al; \textit{The Challenges of Security Sector Governance in West Africa}; (LIT Verlag 2008) Pg. 181
\end{itemize}
external challenges regarding its transition plans which includes domestic issues of ethnic conflict, youth unemployment, and other social issues, that has the propensity to undermine the process of post-conflict recovery and also lead to violence that may threaten the peace and security of the nation. On the external scene, the refugee’s situations, regional terrorist threats (Boko Haram), etc could lead to instability once more if the security sector is incapable to tackle these threats.106

All of these challenges remain very significant in perusing the prospects of lasting peace and stability but the realization remains unsure as the security sector of Liberia lacks the relevant support in executing its primary duties and responsibilities. The lack of the inclusion of every major stakeholder, such as the civil society organizations and other relevant peace and conflict-resolution organizations in relations to promoting peace and stability, will remain a major lapse in the provision of peace and security. One of the factors of the successfulness of the SSR is that, it is not focused on huge military spending (as significant as it may be) it should also be about ensuring capability of the security which ultimately leads to poverty alleviation, peace and sustainable development.107 All the security apparatuses charged with the responsibility of administering justice, providing civilian management and oversight; should be included in the transformation and reformation processes of post-conflict Liberia. By this, the appropriate reforms can be identified and carried out and unless there is a corresponding change in the attitude and mindset of the individuals and institutions that will provide civilian control and management of the sector reform, it is likelihood that the Security Sector reform will remain ineffective.
CHAPTER THREE
THE POST-CONFLICT SECURITY REFORM OF LIBERIA; CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the security reform of Liberia as well as the challenges and prospects beginning with the nature of peace and security. It also briefly discusses other national impediments to peace and security.

3.1 The Nature of Peace and Security in Liberia

The contributions of the UN mission in terms of its security implications on the transformation of the security sector of Liberia may be applauded by citizens but critical challenges affecting the national security of citizens in post-conflict Liberia can be foreseen as future threats that are capable of hindering the peace and stability in Liberia. Therefore, prioritizing the elimination of these threats requires a more refine and transformed security sector but the strength of the capacity of Liberia’s security sectors in tackling these threats remains a challenge especially post-UNMIL era.

The country may be progressing as far as its peace building and security sector reform are concern but the prioritization of a post-UNMIL security transition plan remains significant and provision of citizen’s basic social needs including a vibrant economy which alleviates poverty and hunger, requisite budget allocation for the security which empowers the functions and operations of the security sectors, remains cardinal. The delicacy of these issues can be clearly visualize within the society but it is yet to be known how the government intends to tackle them in the midst of its security transition plan which it attach
more priority. The exclusion of these issues from government’s transition plan has the propensity of escalating into serious internal conflict, which could lead to a bigger threat and a possible relapse of conflict. The 31st Progress Report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL clearly states that the nature of peace and security after the final departure of the UN mission is basically focus on the conduct of the country’s first transnational elections to be held in October of 2017 alongside the complex social and economic situations facing the citizens.108 The United Nations recognizes Liberia’s delicate economic and social challenges that are yet to be address by the government but the focus and prioritization of UNMIL’s security transition plan, which is important, but leaves an unresolved and unpredictable future of stability in Liberia post-UNMIL.

The present security situation in Liberia might appear stable but there are still critical issues of national concerns due to the continuing potential for destabilization which arises from increasing social tensions in relations to tackling the challenges faced by the security sectors and other major national economic crises.109 From the perspective of the security sector, the Liberian National Police with its responsibility to prevent, fight crime, and maintain public order and safety, calls for a sizable and community-oriented police force that must earn the trust of the citizens. With the size at 5,106 officers110 who are still undergoing reformation

108 United Nations Security Council; *Thirty-First progress report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL;* (S/2016/169)

109 McCandless Erin; Karbo, Tony; *Peace, Conflict, and Development in Africa: A* (University of Peace, Switzerland, 2011) Pg. 14

110 United Nations Secretary Council; *Thirty-Second progress report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL;* (2016) Pg. 11
especially in basic policing skills, investigations, human rights, police procedures, and are face with numerous logistical challenges in adequately handling the security affairs of the nation and the reliability of LNP is still been unsure within the perspective of most citizens in the nation. According to RAND report, Oversight of the Liberian National Police, it suggests that the effectiveness of a well-trained, well led, well-funded Police force must be given top priority by the government in order for the performance of the LNP to be active and effective but its capability to adequately handle security affairs due to the numerous challenges it faces in the scope of its operations in the country, remains questionable. The CPA clearly states that the responsibility of the AFL is to protect and defend the territorial borders and respond to external threats, but the structural reform by the US government questions the credibility of a trained armed forces of Liberia.

The RAND report argues that the occurrences of none-state external and internal threats are more likely than threats from neighboring states. More besides, the RAND report also implies that the size of the AFL is less important than the superior quality and capability to effectively tackle foreseeable threats. This questions the capability and effectiveness of the AFL in providing security against regional terrorist threats. Peace and security in Liberia, remains fragile as other delicate security issues such as the cordial relationship between civilian and military personnel are still questionable. Nevertheless, the AFL continues to showcase its credibility of handling the security affairs of Liberia and the sub-region by contributing troops during the crisis in Mali for the first time since the 1960s, regardless of

111Milan, Mark; Security Sector Reform in Liberia: Mixed Results from Humble Beginnings; (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2008); Pg. 11
the challenges they faced regarding sufficient logistics, salary issues, among others. The Liberia Immigration Services (LIS) also with UNMIL’s support, have had massive training on immigration and border security management, with a total of 800 officers, including 213 female officers, focused on human trafficking, border control management, documentation identification, and fraud detection, immigration law, border patrol and surveillance and operational planning.\textsuperscript{112} The 2007 United Nations final draft on Sustaining Peace and Securing Development highlighted that, success in sustaining peace depends on national stakeholders building a common vision of society, and peacebuilding is a sheared responsibility of all Liberians with assistance from international partners.\textsuperscript{113} The present status of peace and security in Liberia is laudable in that, there’s a much more improved sub-regional relationship with peace and stability in Ivory Coast, Guinea, and Sierra Leone, it’s a possibility that the regional peace will remain as such. Nevertheless, it is uncertain whether the internal security threats do not give rise to regional instability after the departure of UNMIL.

The security sector challenges are compounded with insufficient capacities in the providing peace and security and in the promotion of justice. Though significant progress is being made in strengthening the rule of law since the end of hostilities in 2003, acquiring adequate access to justice and its administration, prioritizing quality justice and accountability, remains a huge challenge. The nature of peace and security in Liberia has remained impressive since the arrival of UNMIL and with the UN mission remaining in Liberia until 2018, sustainability of peace and security can be depended upon the consideration of numerous factors. The

\textsuperscript{112} United Nations Security Council; \textit{Thirty-First progress report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL}; S/2016/169

\textsuperscript{113} United Nations Security Council; \textit{Thirty-First progress report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL}; S/2016/169
inclusion of every sector in promoting peace and security must be considered. There may have been significant progress that is unarguable but much more is needed to be done in providing adequate security for citizens during and after the departure of UNMIL.

The Security Council, in its Thirty-First Progress Report to the Secretary-General on UNMIL highlighted that the security situation in Liberia is generally stable but much more is needed to be done in the context of maintaining peace and security. Moreover, the collective efforts of every sector within the society tend to expand the promotion of peace and stability which must be visualized in adequately provision of maintaining the peace and stability. Series of violent incidents demonstrates the continuing potential for the destabilization of peace and security arising from growing social tensions relating to an increase in layoffs and concessions, land disputes, limited access to livelihood opportunities and porous borders.\footnote{Bryden, Alan; Boubacar, N’Diaye; Olonisakin, Funmi; \textit{Challenges of Security Sector Governance in West Africa}; (LIT Verlag, 2008) Pg. 12} This implies that even though the present nature of peace and security is sure, there’s a need to consider possible threats of instability and finding the means to tackle them. Liberia becomes more fragile if there’s a lack of basic social needs, poverty, unemployment, inaccessibility to better health care, deplorable economy etc., which are the priority of citizens in post-conflict Liberia.

\subsection*{3.2 Challenges of Liberia’s Security Sector}

The process of Liberia’s Security Sector Reform was directly driven by the U.S. government through its contractor, DynCorp International (from 2004-2007) and PAE (in 2007), overshadowing the restructuring and reformation of the AFL and assisted by the United...
Nations Mission in Liberia in training and restructuring the Liberia National Police and other
para-military security apparatuses. The 14 years of civil crisis in Liberia brought a total
breakdown of the entire security sector, which the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2003,
saw the need to have a total reformation and transformation of the entire sector. As per the
Pae’s report of (2005), the security apparatuses of Liberia were assumed to be culpable in the
instance that, Liberians saw them as the corrupt, undertrained, ethically imbalanced and
politically divided forces that were running the country with the motive to loot the nation’s
resources. (Paes, 2005). Since the end of hostilities in 2003 and eventually, the reformation
and restructuring of Liberia’s security sector, peace and stability now sits in the nation but
remains fragile because of the numerous challenges faced by the security apparatuses in
carrying out their security operations. The United Nations Secretary-General’s report
recognizes financial sustainability as one of the major challenges to the development of
Liberia’s security sector. As noted in the Special Report of April 16 2012, it recommended an
increment in budgetary support for Liberian security apparatuses, particularly the LNP and
the LIS.115

Challenges affecting Liberia’s security apparatuses lie deep with government’s responsibility
to enhance and build the capacity of these apparatuses. Jeremy R. Steffen in his 2015 thesis
titled THE ROLE OF THE U.S. MILITARY IN THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF THE
ARMED FORCES OF LIBERIA highlighted that some of the internal challenges which the
AFL faces ranges from the lack of functional national revenue system, the lack of national
infrastructural, the lack of public and educational systems, tribal/ethnic divisions, and

115 United Nations Security Council; The Twenty-Fourth progress report of the Secretary-General on UNMIL;
(2012 pg.6

116 Steffen, Jeremy R; The Role of the U.S. Military in the Professionalization of the Armed Forces of Liberia;
(Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 2015)Pg.6

48
nepotism combined with various levels of corruption throughout the military.116 The most common challenges found in all the security apparatuses in Liberia centers around insufficient logistical support, issues of increment in budgets, citizens respect for security apparatus in implementing the laws of the state, among others. The Center for Security Governance stated that the Liberia National Police, with over a decade of reformation, still faces numerous challenges as it relates to its effectiveness. Issues of corruption, perceptions of insecurity, lack of resources and overlapping institutions.117 The national security apparatuses, AFL, LNP, LIS and other UNMIL- trained para military security apparatuses are still faced with the challenges of combating dangerous crimes perpetrators, mob violence by citizens, police officers involvement in aiding criminals etc. ACCORD 2013 brief noted that, poor infrastructural limits accessibility and poses challenges with regards to resident’s ability to have access to justice and security services and also poor management of resources brings about the inability of security agencies to perform their functions.118

These challenges faced by the national security apparatuses do not deter them from the primary objective of providing security for the nation but the lack of capacities affecting their operations creates uncertainties about the adequate provision of peace and security after the departure of UNMIL. Most of the challenges of the Liberian National Police, for example, are the lack of capacity to thoroughly investigate and follow up cases of violence nature and the aftermath of the hostilities have tarnished the image of the institution. Besides the lack of

117 Zanker, Franziska; A Decade of Police Reform in Liberia: Perceptions, Challenges and Ways Ahead; The Center for Security Governance SSR 2.0 Brief, 2015

118 Maina, Grace; Sherif Abu; African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD); Enhancing Security and Justice in Liberia; (ACCORD, 2013)
capacities and resources challenges faced by the security apparatuses, other internal ethical and administrative challenges still hinders the effectiveness of the police force. A 2005-2011 report conducted by the Innovations for Successful Societies reported that many of police officers who had taken sides and used violence against political opponents and civilians during the civil crisis are still members of the Police force today. More besides, after the civil crisis, many officers was either relieve of the duty due to their over service or physical capability (age range), or compel to resign, reapply and be retrain.\textsuperscript{119} By this, the LNP had to deal with its internal ethical structure regarding the behavior and conduct of police officers, while addressing the operational challenges. Presently, there are still ethical challenges that are faced by the LNP even with the reformation and restructuring process they have undergone. A 2013 Human Rights Watch report emphasized that massive corruption within the police compromises the rule of Law and the rights of citizens. Harassment and extortions by police, results in threats to life, liberty and the security of the individual.\textsuperscript{120} The surety of the security sector in providing adequate peace and security amidst these challenges remains a national concern for citizens.

Like the LNP, the AFL too faces internal and external challenges in the provision of peace and security within the nation. Firstly, the relatively modest size as compared to its West African neighbors, poses a huge challenge in tackling regional threats of terrorism and other

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{119} Innovations for Successful Societies; \textit{Building an Inclusive, Responsive National Police Service: Gender-Sensitive Reform in Liberia 2005-2011}; (© 2012,Princeton University) Pg. 4
\item \textsuperscript{120} Brender, Valarie; \textit{No Money, No Justice: Police Corruption and Abuse in Liberia}; (Human Rights Watch report, 2013) Pg. 4
\end{itemize}
transnational crimes activities though there is a presence of stability within the sub-region as compared to decades ago. The proper maintenance and capacity building in the absence of UNMIL, also points to the army’s capability or incapability of maintaining the peace and security though there are some level of optimism. The Inter Press Service reported in 2009 that the newly trained Armed Forces of Liberia staged a one-day strike regarding unfulfilled benefits that were promised them such as, free education, personal accommodation and their families residing with them within the military barracks.\textsuperscript{121} This created, to some extent, huge fear within the nation because this was a newly trained armed force who could seek redress through whatever means if there was not a remedy to the situation. Presently, there have been some tremendous progress towards the improvement of security sector’s capacity but the prospects of a post-UNMIL provision of peace and stability remains unknown amidst these challenges.

\section*{3.3 Peacebuilding and Human Security}

Human Security in its conceptual history is traced to the early 1990s, with the UNDP 1994 report providing a clear definition of the term as “freedom from fear and freedom from want and making the move from a state-centric to a human-centric paradigm” and Safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression as well as the protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life- whether in homes, jobs or in communities.” (UNDP 1994:23).\textsuperscript{122}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{121} Murry, Rebecca; \textit{Liberia: New Army Faces Greatest Challenge}; Inter Press Service (IPS, 2009)
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Significant progress have been made by the Government and the United Nations in restoring peace and stability once more to Liberia after years of brutal civil conflict and with the AFL, LNP and other security apparatuses now restructured and still undergoing transformation under the watchful eyes of UNMIL, peace and stability can be found everywhere but the possibility of rolling into internal or domestic conflict due to the economic hardship and insecurities cannot not be ignore if government must achieved its post-UNMIL security transition plans. Peacebuilding in the post-conflict recovery of Liberia includes the provision of peace and security, governance and the rule of law, economic recovery, rebuilding of infrastructure and providing basic social services for citizens\textsuperscript{123} The evolution of Peacebuilding, which can be attributed to the 1992 United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Ghali, defined peacebuilding as the action to identify and support structures which will lead to strengthen and solidify peace in order to prevent a relapse into conflict\textsuperscript{124} Peace and security in Liberia has presently been achieved but the challenges of maintaining the peace remains significant.

There are gaps of unclear vision for the security sector especially the newly trained LNP and AFL but with the prioritization of the security transition plan, the peacebuilding aspects remains the most relevant priority. The transformation of the justice system which promotes human rights and the rule; revamping of the economic sector which eliminates poverty and

\textsuperscript{123} Murry, Rebecca; \textit{Liberia: New Army Faces Greatest Challenge}; Inter Press Service (IPS, 2009)

\textsuperscript{124} Ghali, Boutros-Boutros; \textit{An Agenda for Peace, Prevention Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping}, Vol 11, Issue 3 (1992)

\textsuperscript{125} Gienanth, Tobias Von; Jaye, Thomas; \textit{Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in Liberia}; Center for International Peace Operations (ZIF) 2007; p.6

\textsuperscript{126} Ismail, Olawale; \textit{The Dynamics of Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Peace building in West Africa}; Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2008; p.13
create employment opportunities; inclusion of civil society organizations; and capacity building and empowerment of the national security sector; are the basis of the peacebuilding initiatives which can prevent the relapse of conflict and reduce issues of internal crimes in Liberia.125

3.3.1 Economic Impediment

As per the 1994 Global Human Development (HDR) report, Economic insecurity which is listed as one of the features of human security, entails a broaden understanding in relations to the threats of human Security in which economic insecurity remains relevant and discusses issues of unemployment and persistent poverty.126 For a post-conflict West African nation, Liberia, now on the path of national recovery, economic transformation is cardinal in providing citizens with better livelihood which could possibly reduce crimes and other domestic security threats. A report by Pulitzer Center highlighted that since the signing of the CPA in 2003, Liberia has received over $650 million from the U.S. government for humanitarian, and developmental purposes, but the country still faces delicate economic crisis but with 85% of the population unemployed, there’s no access to citizens healthcare, sanitation, water, electricity and food.127

It remains unarguable that without peace and security, there cannot be new investments, economic transformation or employment opportunities for citizens therefore, the provision of

127 Paczynska, Agnieszka; Liberia Rising! Foreign Direct Investment, Persistent inequalities and political tensions; peacebuilding DOI: 10.1080/21647259 (2016) Pg. 1

128 Ibid Ackerman, Ruthie; Liberia: The greatest Demobilization Need is Sustainable Jobs; (Pulitzer Center, 2008)
peace and security is relevant when it is inclusive of the basic economic and social priorities of citizens in the recovery process of Liberia. The need for the creation of employment and economic opportunities for ex-combatants and returning refugees in the post-conflict recovery is significant in that, it discourages the ideas of violence and disenchantments which could grow into conflict rapidly.\textsuperscript{128} The present status of peace and stability serves as a gateway for the prioritization of peace, stability, investment, and growth considering that it is the primary priority of revitalizing the economy.

### 3.3.2 Limited Security Capacity

While the slow pace progress of the security sector seem ocular, the operational structure in the improvement and provision of the requisite capacity is lacking. The primary security apparatuses struggle to operational its security provision in the decentralization of its activities due to limited logistical capacity. The scarcity of security personnel and depots in rural communities are basically due to the low numerical strength in the deployment of troops in these communities. Therefore, the rapid increase of crimes and other domestic issues continue to exist. The Liberia National Police, for example, faces delicate challenge in clamping down on armed robberies within the country as it is not logistical equipped with sufficient logistics, including weapons. When issues of armed robberies became a rampant threat to the citizens, former police commanders who had been involved in the past civil crisis, were brought in to advise the police inn curbing the issue.\textsuperscript{129}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{129} Search for Common Grounds; Security Sector Reform in Liberia: A CASE OF THE LNP AND ITS CAPACITY TO RESPOND TO INTERNAL THREAT; Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI); 2011; pg. 14
\end{quote}
3.3.3 Inadequate Funding of the Security Sector

It is unarguable that the security sector of Liberia faces inadequate funding for its national and international operations. While the US government has made it clear that the government of Liberia funds its national security apparatuses, this remain a huge challenge for the government to fully fund the primary security sector responsible for national security. In the 2010/2011 national budget, the Liberia National Police, for example, was given 9.2 million US dollars which was meant to cover entire police force including administration and operations.\textsuperscript{130}

3.3.4 Domestic Security Threats

The climax of the civil crisis and restoration of stability once more, give birth to a total transformation of major peacebuilding initiatives including the security sector. The primary security apparatuses have naturally become the main sources of insecurities owing to the brutal civil crisis. Domestic threats such as armed robberies, land disputes, sexual and gender-based violence, ethnic tensions, religious tensions, ritualistic killings, drug trafficking, human trafficking etc., are threats that has the propensity of escalating to national disaster but the capability of the security sector to thoroughly combat these domestic threats raises fear for citizens.

3.3.5 The Security Sector

A broader understanding of security is clearly defined in the UNDP 1994 Human Development Report as “freedom from fear and want”.\textsuperscript{131} Since the signing of the CPA in 2003 due to years of civil unrest, the security sectors of Liberia has been undergoing massive transformation that have been heavily depended upon from International donors. A closer

\textsuperscript{130} Ibid

\textsuperscript{131} Ibid
look at Liberia’s West African neighbor, Sierra Leone, who also experienced brutal civil crisis, UNMISIL assisted in the implementation of the Lome Peace Accord in 1999, and the possible Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration plan. The United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNMISIL) 17,000 troops completed its mandate in 2005 and was succeeded by UNISOL which was established by the Security Council to help consolidate the fragile peace.\textsuperscript{132}

The CPA requested that the US government take the lead role in Liberia’s security sector reform, and the reform process was sheared between the United Nations, the Liberian government and the U.S. government, which saw the AFL being restructured by the U.S., and the Liberia National Police and other para-militaries, be in charge of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). The transformation of the security sectors of Liberia through the efforts of the international community seems promising though the challenges still remain. UNMIL has contributed immensely to the peace and stability most especially in the restructuring of the LNP and other security apparatuses of Liberia but questions of professionalism and capacity building still lies on the heads of the government of Liberia. The efforts of the security sectors to adequately handle security matters of the nation are applaudable especially after the Security Council Resolution 2190 (2014), calling for the government of Liberia to take full security responsibilities as of 30 June 2016\textsuperscript{133} but the implementation of adequate exhibition by the security sector still exist. Key findings on the LNP, for instance highlighted the low man power of the force at a little over 5,000 trained police officers, from the initial target of 8,000 by UNMIL.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{131} United Nations Development Program (UNDP); \textit{Human Development Report}; (UNDP, 1994)}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{132} Bendix, Daniel; Ruth Stanley, Ruth; \textit{Security Sector Reform in Africa: The Promise and the Practice of a New Donor Approach}; African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) (2008) Pg. 21}
The main factor responsible for this was the outbreak of the deadly Ebola Virus Disease which could not permit the recruitment process to continue. Notwithstanding, other issues of visibility of the LNP nationwide, limited capacity to respond to threats of violence, limited budget allocation, weak command structure and supervision, engagement of civil society organization, unethical behavior among LNP officers and inadequate engagement between the police and the judiciary, are all factors responsible for the fragility of the security sectors of Liberia. A proper provision of the security in post-conflict is a crucial challenge, one that government must adequately address. The various functions of the security apparatuses are ineffective due to the numerous challenges they faced therefore, performance of their duties are not visualized. Proper decentralization and the provision of sufficient logistics for the security sectors, in combating crimes and other security threats in rural areas are still a challenge. As the nation moves toward its first transitional elections late 2017, and the rapid drawdown of UNMIL, fear of insecurity still lives in the minds of citizens who continue to enjoy over a decade of peace and stability since the arrival of the peacekeepers. Much is needed to curb the rising internal mob violence acts committed by youths especially motorcyclists within the country. Currently, Liberia bilateral relationship with its Mano River Union neighbors is peaceful; therefore it is unlikely that it will face a major conventional military threat in the future. For example, Operation Restore Hope I and II in 2012/2013 saw the deployment of the AFL and the LNP along the border with Cote d’Ivoire to stop insurgents from using Liberia’s territory to carry out attacks across the border and to ensure the tensions in that country did not spill over to Liberia.

133 Republic of Liberia; Government of Liberia Plan for UNMIL Transition; (2015) PG.1

134 Search for Common ground; SIPRI; Security Sector Reform in Liberia: A Case of the LNP and its capacity to respond to internal threat in the wake of UNMIL drawdown; African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes; (Stockholm, 2011) Pg. 6

135 Ibid
With these positive signs of the preparedness of the security sector, a lot more needs to be done especially with issues of regional terrorism and transnational organized crimes. The government needs to adequately provide the capacity where the security sector, especially the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) and the Liberia Immigration Services (LIS), can tackle these threats as West African region is now being used for the transshipment point of illicit drugs from Asia, Latin America and other parts of the world. The departure of UNMIL still remain a huge concern for citizens and the government must speed up the preparedness of the security sector as they have assumed full responsibility of the provision of security from UNMIL.

3.3.6 Improving the Rule of Law

The United Nations Secretary General’s report concerning the Rule of Law states that the Rule of Law stands as a concept which lies at the heart of the organization’s mission and it refers to a principle of governance in which all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the State itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards.\textsuperscript{136} In a post-conflict nation such as Liberia, the existence of peace and stability is basically about the provision of justice which can only be attained if the government focuses its attention on creating an independent judicial system based on professionalism and an effective and efficient security sectors. A 2014 Norwegian Institute of International Affairs report highlighted that the lack of proper justice in Liberia can be attributed to the gaps in the justice system ranging from insufficient prosecutors, public defenders, judges and overloaded court dockets that contribute to the very slow progression of court cases through the formal justice system.

\textsuperscript{136} The United Nations Security Council; \textit{The rule of law and transitional justice in conflict and post-conflict societies}; (United Nations, 2004); Pg. 4
Moreover, investigators and prosecutors face resources constrains in following up on cases, conducting and providing fair judgments doing investigations, and mounting effective prosecutions especially in the rural areas. Prioritization of good governance and the rule of law, which have been the central pillar of the current administration, have not yet achieved results in its implementation plan as there continue to exist judicial malpractices, domestic and physical violence against women, human rights abuses, etc. In post-conflict Liberia, the restoration or the development of human rights must concentrate on the transformation of the justice sector thereby providing proper justice for poor citizens especially those in rural areas. Liberia continues to receive funding in the rule of law sector from donors estimated around $12 to $13 million dollars annually. The United States Government contributes approximately half of this amount and various UN agencies and the Peace Fund contributes most of the remainder. With these assistances, Liberia continues to strive in the provision of the rule of law and some factors responsible for such, centers around the weak enforcement of the criminal, civil and administrative laws, lack of administrative management, inability of the justice sector officials, the lack of transparent and effective justices, high cost of acquiring justice especially for poor people, etc. With the post-conflict recovery ongoing, the need for government to strategize and take on more law reform programs in the interest of creating a vibrant justice system in both urban and rural communities, and the creating equal justice regardless of economic or political status, tends to be the actual provision of the rule of law. It is undeniable that the aftermath of the civil crisis destroyed the justice sector of Liberia but

137 Caprini, Marina; Extending State Authority in Liberia: The Gbarnya Justice and Security Hub (NUPI Report) Report No.5; Pg. 17(2014)
138 Henderson, Keith; Jacosa, Charles; Gibson, Charles; Evaluation of the Rule of Law Programs in Liberia; United States Agency for International Development (USAID); April, 2009; Pg. 2
for the nation to properly implement justice in post-war Liberia, the sector must be transformed with the inclusion of professionalism and capacity.

As stated in the Secretary-General’s Third Progress Report on UNMIL, it noted that, in order to ensure a general approach in supporting the reform of Liberia’s security sector, a Rule of Law implementation committee has been established to coordinate the reform of the police, the judiciary and correctional institutions. Any and every post-conflict reconstruction strategy must be included in establishing a solid democratic system with focus on the rule of law. Therefore, transformation of the justice sector, in the post-conflict recovery of Liberia remains significant. In rural areas, some justice practitioners have minimum knowledge and no formal training on court proceedings therefore judicial malpractices, such as corruptions, unfair trials etc., are inevitable in relation to providing proper justice for citizens. These are all indicators of a deplorable justice sector in providing equal justice, peace, and security which are slowly been strengthen by the government, regarding adequate provision of the rule of law.

3.4 Prospects of Peace and Security

Peacebuilding and development in post-conflict nations requires all relevant mechanisms that will transform the nation from conflict to the achievement of sustainable peace and stability. Since the end of the civil crisis and the signing of the CPA in 2003 in Accra Ghana, which also introduced the mandate of the CPA’s that calls for the disbandment of all irregular parties to the armed conflict and the introduction of a new Security Sector Reform of Liberia’s security sector, there has been tremendous progress both in the SSR, Peacebuilding

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and developmental agenda of Liberia. The UN Resolution (1509) 2003 which give birth to the establishment of (UNMIL), contributed massively in the restructuring and reformation of one of Liberia’s security sector, The Liberia National Police (LNP) and other para-military security apparatuses through the mandate of the CPA, and the United States government taking the responsibility of reforming and restructuring of the AFL.

The attainment of lasting peace and stability comes with many challenges especially in the case of Liberia, where the result of the civil crisis left behind a total setback of the economic and security sectors of the society. Leymah Gbowee highlighted the sacrifices young mothers who had been trapped domestic abuses, saw the courage to transform their bitterness into a more positive action by working together, regardless of their religious affiliations, to create an unstoppable force in bringing peace and stability to Liberia.140 The reformation exercises of Liberia’s security sectors were successful with the Liberia National Police being trained in various capacities by UNMIL, and an estimated size of 5,000 strong force. The AFL, restructured by the U.S. government contractor, DynCorp International, has also been transformed to more professional Armed Forces, whose responsibility is to protect the territorial boundaries of Liberia against invasion from other regional intruders, but has also participated in regional peacekeeping mission. Other para-militaries security apparatuses have also been trained and reformed by UNMIL, with the hope effectively contributing towards maintaining peace and security in the future in spite of the numerous challenges ahead that lies ahead. The 2017 Secretary-General’s report to the Security Council, stated that, phase 1 of the structural plan of UNMIL will continue to support the government of Liberia in establishing a necessary conditions for a free and fair electoral process and a

140 Gbowee, Laymah; Lynn, Carol; (2013); Mighty be her powers: how sisterhood, prayer, and sex changed a nation at war; A Memoir. New York: Beast; © 2011. Print. Pg. 4
smooth democratic transition following the presidential elections in October 2017. With the efforts of the UN to ensure peace and stability in Liberia, the prospects of security is achievable if it contains an inclusive contribution of other sectors in promoting and providing adequate peace.

Since the security transition from UNMIL to the government of Liberia in 2016, as per the UN resolution 2190 (2014) mandate, there are still some gaps left by UNMIL to be fill by the incoming government. Issues of transparency, accountability, efficiency and the provision of human rights are key factors that still remain a challenge for the prospect of peace and security in Liberia. Citizen’s fear of the trustworthiness of the security apparatuses to adequately provide security after the departure of UNMIL still exists. The Liberian National Police and other security apparatuses are still battling issues of logistics and resources to combat crimes and other internal disturbances and a low police force of 5,000 men are insufficient to provide adequate security of a 4.3 million population.

In an Interview with the Deputy Commissioner for Press and Public Affairs of the Liberia National Police, Mr. Sam K. Collins, he lauded the efforts of UNMIL in the restructuring exercise of the LNP but confesses that there are still huge challenges that the entity is still battling with in terms of providing adequate peace and security in post-conflict Liberia. He further stressed that issues of regional threats such as terrorism, drug trafficking, human trafficking, etc are issues that has the propensity to hinder the future of peace and stability, if not address with urgency especially now that Liberia is on the path of its post-conflict recovery process. He added that the present status of stability in Liberia will continue even

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141 United Nations Security Council; *Secretary-General April 4 letter to the Security Council*; S/2017/282; Pg. 8
after the departure of UNMIL and despite the numerous challenges the sector faces, the LNP remains committed in the maintaining peace and security but urges the government to create the relevant capacity in promoting the effectiveness of the sector. In an interview with Mr. Paytric B. Toe, Deputy County Commander (RiverGee County), Liberia Immigration Services, he highlight similar challenges facing the sector including logistics and the increment of salaries, which he claimed, hinders the operations of the sector in providing security, especially at the boarders of the country.

Liberia’s post-war recovery efforts are gradually gaining success since the UN Security Council’s Resolution 2190 (2014), which the security responsibilities were turned to the government of Liberia by UNMIL. The successful conduct of the presidential elections in 2005 and 2011, the restructuring and reformation of the justice and security sectors through the efforts of UNMIL and the U.S. government, the gradual economic transformation, among others, gives hope to the future of peace and security in post-conflict Liberia though there are challenges that needs to be addressed.

The prospects of peace and security in Liberia post-UNMIL depends largely on the government with emphasis on the political stakeholders. The country’s first transnational election since the signing of the CPA in 2003 is a huge challenge for the future of peace and security. Political tribal issues, ethnicity, religion (Muslims and Christians’ clashes), political marginalization, and the lack of political inclusion are all elements that are capable of instituting conflict and hinder the peace and security.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s mandate, which is contained in Article IV, Section 4 of the TRC Act, highlighted the need to foster peace and reconciliation by
identifying the root causes of the conflict and make recommendations to the government of Liberia for prosecution, reparation, amnesty, reconciliation, and institutional reforms where appropriate to promote the rule of law and combat impunity. In an interview with the Political Affairs Officer of UNMIL, Dr. Chris Agoha, on the prospects of peace and security in Liberia post-UNMIL, he stressed that the role of the incoming government after the 2017 elections, is very significant in the future of peace and security in that, the security institutions particularly the military, must conform to the ethics of their profession by protecting the nation’s territorial boundaries from external aggression. He further added that the responsibility of the military is to primarily defend the nation against external threats and must not be involve in political or civilian issues, regarding the 2014 Ebola outbreak shooting in West Point.

The prospects of peace and security in Liberia depends largely on the incoming government’s prioritization of basic social services for citizens including an effective and well-funded security sectors, in order to address the rising security threats internally and regionally. The creation of investments opportunities which tackles issues of unemployment, the promotion of good governance, accountability, transparency, equal distribution of resources, promotion of the rule of law, economic revitalization, infrastructural development, poverty reduction strategy, and the transformation of the health sector, are all factors that give rise to a sustaining peace in Liberia. The government’s post-UNMIL security plan is a laudable but peace and stability with the existence of poverty, unemployment, broken health care systems, deplorable economy, lack of credible justice, human rights abuses, etc, are all capable of creating internal conflicts which can possibly lead to deadly civil crisis once more and jeopardize the present status of peace and stability in Liberia.
3.5 The Role of Civil Societies

In every post-conflict peacebuilding and developmental recovery strategies, civil society involvement is considered as a critical sector. It is a key component for establishing external interventions and missions in the aftermath of conflict. It has been applied by both international organizations and international NGOs based on the expectation that it carries which contributes to both democratization processes and conflict transformation. In West African post-conflict states, civil societies have demonstrated their efforts by helping to promote reconciliation and advances in the participation of women and their involvement in the sustainability of peace and stability. In Liberia, the antecedent to organized civil society in Liberia can be traced to a lone crusader for press freedom and other civil liberties—Albert Porte.

The role of the civil society organizations, which are mostly characterize by community based organization, NGOs, labor unions, student unions, youth organizations, social movements, women groups, traditional groups, faith based organizations, and the media, are mainly associated with advocacy in the interest of promoting human rights, peace and security other societal changes. The role of civil societies in the recovery process of Liberia needs to be visualized as it has been even during the civil crisis. Organizations assisted their leaders in making full representation during the Accra peace negotiations. The efforts by civil societies in the promotion of conflict resolution and equal rights and justice must

143 Truth and Reconciliation Commission; Final Report; Volume II; Consolidated Final Report; Pg.2

144 Fisher, Martina; Civil Society in Conflict Transformation: Ambivalence, Potentials and Challenges; Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management; (2016) Pg. 13

145 Toure, Augustine; The Role of Civil Society in National Reconciliation and Peacebuilding in Liberia; International Peace Academy; (2012) Pg. 9
continue as Liberia takes on a new path of rapid post-conflict recovery. The incoming government must promote the visions of civil societies in the interest of promoting lasting peace and security that is now reigning in the nation. Civil society’s contribution in promoting peace must be collective efforts in mediating peacebuilding and developmental agenda between the government and citizens in the interest making the relevant changes in the society.

3.5.1 Women’s groups

Resolution 1325 (2000) which was unanimously adopted, was the first Security Council resolution which focused on the negative experiences that women and girls face in conflict in conflict and calls for the need to include them into all levels of the peace process and it also highlights the positive role that women can play in conflict prevention, peace negotiations, peacebuilding and post-conflict recovery. Women’s contribution in the recovery process of Liberia is very essential and a clear scenario took place during the Second Civil War in Liberia, where the tireless efforts of women groups, despite their religious affiliations, united themselves and advocated for peace, which assisted in bringing a closure to the war. From 1991 to 2003, the Women in Peacebuilding Network (WEPNET) advocated for peace and stability by staging public marches in the interest of peace. Since the onset of the brutal civil crises, women organization/groups has been one of the most powerful and influential voices and through this, issues of conflict resolution, the protection and welfare of child rights, national policies, peacebuilding and reconciliation have been achieved.

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146 McKeown, Mary; Mulbah, Edward; *Civil Society in Liberia: Towards a Strategic Framework for Support*; Search for Common Ground, (2007) Pg. 15
With regards to the prospects of peace and security in Liberia post-UNMIL, the role of women’s organization must never be downplayed. The tremendous efforts by some prominent women organization, in promoting issues of peace such as Association of Female Lawyers (AFELL), whose work basically captures legal interest women with issues of rape and domestic violence. Mano River Women’s Peace Network (MARWOPNET) whose work focuses on issues affecting Mano River Union countries; Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET), whose work focuses on conflict resolution and the advocacy of women’s rights, has been recognized and successful and the inclusiveness of these women organizations in the post-conflict recovery agenda of Liberia must be highly prioritize because they contributed significantly to the sustainability of peace and stability during the history of Liberia’s brutal civil conflict. Their participation in the recovery process of Liberia must always be recognized if the prospects of peace and security is sure. “The role of women in peacebuilding and conflict resolution is as old as their experience in violence.”

3.5.2 Youths

With the efforts of inclusiveness in post-conflict recovery process of Liberia, the youth’s involvement remains inevitable. With 65% of the country’s population, the youth can either be an agent of change in the peacebuilding and developmental recovery of Liberia, or pose a serious threat. BCPR, 2005 report stated that the United Nations High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, refers to youth as a potential threat to security; that a “surging youth population” combined with unemployment, urbanization and other factors can

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147 Popovic, Nicola; *Women, peace and Security in Liberia: Supporting the Implementation of Resolution 1325 in Liberia*; (United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, INSTRAW 2009, Pg 5

148 Ouellet, Julie Xuan; *Women and Religion in Liberia’s Peace and Reconciliation*; (Critical Intersection in Education/ Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Ontario (OISE/UT) Winter, 2013) 2291-0697; Vol.1 No.1(2013); Pg. 1
lead to violence or a relapse into conflict. In Liberia, majority of the youth whose involvement in the civil crisis remain unforgotten, poses threats to the present status of peace and stability if they continue to be marginalized within the society. Even with the DDRR exercise of ex-combatants, some still carry the nature of violence and have turned to crimes and other violent act within the society because they lack the relevant education and unemployment. The years of hostilities in Liberia have had some terrible stigma on the youth population in Liberia ranging from child soldiers, rapists, drug lords etc and because of this, they have become marginalized within the society.

In the interest of maintaining the peace and stability in Liberia, creation of employment opportunities, educational empowerment and other relevant opportunities for youth is crucial. The need for the provision of educational reform for youths, who have come from conflict-affected backgrounds or who participated in the civil crisis (ex-combatants), must be given the opportunity by the government to actively contribute to the progress of peace and stability in Liberia. If the incoming government must achieve poverty reduction, the prioritization of employment and educational opportunities must be given close attention. Once the youth is adequately empowered, issues of violence and other internal security threats will be on the decrease and the hopes of the sustainability of peace and security in post-conflict Liberia can be achieved.

**3.5.3 Religious Communities**

It can be considered as one of the oldest, consistent and influential voices with the social society groups in Liberia and has been in the advocacy for peace, reconciliation and social
justice, regardless of its faiths or beliefs.\textsuperscript{149} Since the beginning of the civil crisis, the religious communities, comprising Christians and Muslims faiths, continue to advocate in the interest of peace and stability and their agenda are highly regarded based on the religious nature of the Liberian society. The post-conflict recovery drive of Liberia must be inclusive of the religious communities such as the Liberia Council of Churches (LCC) Muslims Council of Liberia, Religious of Liberia (MCL) and other upcoming religious organizations, which aim is to promote the interest of peace. If the sustainability of peace and security must be achieve with the inclusion of the religious communities, one must put aside their religious hegemony within the society as this has the propensity of creating religious clash, which can be very disastrous. A clear example was the 2004 Christians and Muslims clash, which resulted to death and injuries.

Though religion was not one of the reasons for the civil conflict in Liberia, the role of the religious communities has been significant especially during the Second Liberian Civil crisis, where two religions united themselves for the first time in the history of Liberia, for the purpose of advocating in the interest of peace and stability. Julie Ouellet stated that religious contribution on women’s movement was not centered on prayers or personal healing; it was basically about the courage that give the women’s organization the credibility and authority in a male-dominated society.\textsuperscript{150} The role of the religious communities in any post-conflict

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{149} Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery; \textit{Youth and Violent Conflict; Society and Development in Crisis}; (2005) Pg.1
\item \textsuperscript{150} Ouellet, Julie Xuan; \textit{Women and Religion in Liberia’s Peace and Reconciliation}; (Critical Intersection in Education/ Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Ontario (OISE/UT) Winter, (2013) 2291-0697; Vol.1 No.1(2013);  Pg.
\end{itemize}
recovery plan cannot be excluded especially in the transformation and peacebuilding processes of Liberia’s post-conflict recovery.

Although the government of Liberia has made significant progress in fostering the maintenance of peace and security by restructuring its internal security sectors through the efforts of UNMIL and the U.S government, the prospects of peace and security remain tenuous. The gaps in the provision of adequate peacebuilding initiatives have not yet been prioritized thus leaving the nation in a more fragile state. The achievements and challenges of the Liberia’s security a sector implies there’s much more needed to be done in the peacebuilding, resource management and capacity building of the security sectors. Restoring good governance and revamping the economy, the provision of human security (people-centered), building the capacity of the security sectors and providing basic health and social services, are virtues that alleviates conflicts within the society and must be prioritized by the government in the security transition plan of Liberia.
CHAPTER FOUR
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a brief summary of the findings of this research, draw conclusions, and suggest possible recommendations in relations to the security sector’s maintenance of national security post-UNMIL.

4.1 Summary of Findings

Since the end of the civil crisis in Liberia through the efforts of ECOWAS, the United Nations and other international partners; and after the signing of the CPA, Liberia’s security sector seem to be heading on a gradual improvement pace. The aftermath of the civil crisis which affected the fabrics of the security sector, needed necessary and rapid reformation. The intervention of ECOWAS through the United Nations Resolution 1509 (2003), was a moment of transformation for Liberia as it paved the way for the establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping mission which contributed not only to providing peace and stability but also the security sector reform especially after a brutal civil crisis.

The literature in chapters two and three of the study reveals an overview of peace and security in Liberia and the reformation and restructuring processes of the security sector which has been successful in the maintenance of peace security even after the transition of security responsibilities to the government of Liberia from UNMIL. With the successful restructuring of the AFL by the U.S government contractor DynCorp International, the LNP and other para military security apparatuses by UNMIL, a new reformed and professional security sector have been established though there are delicate challenges that lies ahead.
The research also reveals that the efforts of UNMIL in the restructuring exercise of the LNP and other para military security apparatuses, has been laudable because there have been no form of internal or external conflict since the UN Mission arrived and was given the authority to restructure the LNP by the mandate of the CPA, thus providing a smooth transition of security responsibilities. Liberians remain optimistic about the future of security in the absence of UNMIL and though there are still fear of the trustworthiness of the security apparatuses, there has been some tremendous progress in the provision of peace and security. The participation of the AFL in international the peacekeeping mission, for the first time since the 1960s, gives hopes for the future of peace and security. The country first transnational election in 2017 which is one of the most challenging aspects of security in Liberia, even though the present status of peace and stability is guaranteed. Complacency cannot be exhibited by the security sector even with massive preparations by the Liberia National Police to curb elections violence, in the instance of eventualities.

The findings of the research moreover, uncovers the post-conflict security sector reform similarities between the two West African conflict-affected nations, (Liberia and Sierra Leone) and brings the researcher to accomplish his research objectives of critically analyzing the nature of peace and security post-UNMIL and the question of preparedness of the security sector in handling the security affairs of the state. With tremendous efforts by the UN Mission being made in providing and maintaining peace and security since 2003, factors which poses threats to peace in Liberia, are discussed in the first and second chapters of this research. The attainment of permanent peace and security in the post-conflict recovery drive of Liberia may be achievable if the most significant administrative and operational activities of the security sector, including the economy, peacebuilding and conflict resolution, security sector empowerment, and capacity building programs are given the relevant priority.
4.2 Conclusion

A proper branding of a post-conflict nation must significantly include a vibrant and effective security sector. Liberia may seem to be moving in this direction as its security sector has been through a total reformation but with the multifold challenges still facing its holistic operations, the question of its capability in the continuation of peace and security remains paramount. Since the security transition from UNMIL to the government of Liberia in 2016 as per the UN Resolution 2239 (2015), the government focus has been drawn specifically on the security transition plan post-UNMIL and promises to set aside millions of dollars to be use for enhancing the state security which may seem laudable, but the reality or implementation remains a doubt.

The impacts of the UN mission and the US government are only temporary as the government will be fully responsible to take charge of its security sector’s funding in order to operationalize an efficient and effective security sector. It is a fact the citizens are the custodians of peace and with the current nature of peace and security, there are hopes that the government will empower the security sector in adequately providing security post-UNMIL. Prioritizing national security sector reform is relevant in a post-conflict state especially after years of civil conflict and the rising regional threats of terrorism within the sub-region but with the transformation of the security sectors and the cordial bilateral relationships, the prospects of security may be realized.

4.3 Recommendations

After the end of hostilities in Liberia and the successful reformation of the security sector through the efforts of UNMIL and the U.S. government; the transition of security responsibilities from UNMIL to the government of Liberia, the security sector may be
gradually on the path of improving in its domestic security provision. In view of these facts and after an analysis of the findings of the research, the researcher recommends that:

- The security sector, with adequate support from the national government and other international partners, must increase the size of the primary security apparatuses by crafting attractive recruitment policies that will enable interested citizens to become a part of the national security network. Requisite incentives must be provided for security personnel in order to adequately cater to their livelihood. In that manner, it opens a vibrant and effective security sector’s operations with less act of corruption and other ethical vices found within the security sector today.

- An effective and efficient security sector must begin with transformed administrative governance gearing towards the enhancement and maintenance of peace and security. In this regard, the administrative arm of the major security apparatuses must strategize concrete security sector policies including capacity building, effective and efficient operational framework, competent and experienced administrators who falls within the younger generation, and educational programs. By this, the operations of the primary security apparatuses in terms of providing national security, will be regarded nationally and international.

- The future of adequate peace and security in a post-conflict nation such as Liberia can be achievable if the government prioritizes the revitalization of the economy in tackling the basic needs of citizens. The effects of poverty and other economic hardship leads to crimes and other internal threats. The need to create employment opportunities or more vocational institutions for the less fortunate people are key.
When this is achieved, citizens are positively engage in transforming their minds for a better future which reduces the operations of the security sector/apparatuses in combating crimes and other national violence.

- There’s a need to improve the decentralization structure of the security sector. The rural security network cannot be given less priority in terms of enhancing rural security operations. The need to significantly increase the size of the primary security apparatuses and provide them the necessary incentives especially for those assigned in rural communities, are relevant. From logistical support, salary increment, and leadership command structure, to improved facilities and better deployment structure of the rural security network, are all issues that promotes the operations of the security sector especially in rural communities. The Government must make sufficient commitment to the security sector if these challenges must be achieved.

- The media reform of the security sector, which will enable a responsive media network, cannot be ignored. Relevant authorities must support media training initiatives undertaken by international partners so as to effectively promote the sector’s operational network in terms of communicating swiftly to crimes in both urban and rural areas. The security sector tends to be more reliable when issues of crimes are rapidly communicated through the national media so as to alert the public on rising national security threats within the nation.

- The provision of lasting peace and security in Liberia must accompanied rapid capacity building and budgetary increment for the security sector. There’s a need to address issues of low budgetary allotments for the operations of the security sector,
which can hinder the operations of the sector, if not properly tackle. Low salaries of security personnel creates unethical behavior within the system of the sector. Moreover, the security sector must be properly structured and must place serious emphasis on unethical behavior of security personnel within the security sector.

- The need to improve the relationship between the judicial arm and security sector is important. In the post-conflict recovery process of Liberia, a security apparatus do not decide domestic crime cases when it apprehends suspects. The judicial courts decides whether or not a person is guilty of a crime. Therefore, the interdependency of both arms must be transparent in executing justice. The judicial system cannot compromise a criminal situation when the application of justice should be significant. By this, the security network and the justice system can be perceive as unreliable or not being trustworthy and this has the propensity of escalating conflicts because people might no longer trust the security sector or the justice system and would take laws into their hands.

- Civil society plays pivotal role in the support and enhancement of peace and security. There’s a need to create an inclusive environment for civil society organizations in buttressing the efforts of the operations of the security sector. Civil society policies and developmental strategies in the promotion of peace and security cannot be omitted but be incorporated within the framework of the security sector’s operations. The unwillingness of the government to establish a partnership with the civil society, it may become impossible to have a trusted and reliable security sector of Liberia.

- Legislative policies that strengthens the provision of the rule of law, which will be drastically applied to prosecuting corrupt administrative and operational officials of...
the security sector, needs to be highlighted. The misapplication of funds allocated for administrative or operational purposes, and other corruption-related activities must be not compromised regardless of the individual. The Anti-Corruption Commission and the Ministry of Justice must coordinate with the security sectors in addressing issues of corruption and other vices within the security sector network.
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