

CHAPTER 5

SECURITY AND MILITARY REFORM

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Introduction

All indications point to the fact that the military structures of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) have crumbled after disarmament. Many rank-and-file soldiers have split from the RUF Party (RUF-P) leadership over issues of broken promises, unpaid allowances, and allegations of corruption among senior commanders. There are, however, concerns that some former soldiers have not disbanded or returned home, but remain concentrated in former RUF strongholds. There have also been reports that the RUF chain of command still exists in salient areas like Makeni and Magburaka.

Other RUF fighters opted out of the peace process and chose to join RUF commander Sam Bockarie in fighting Charles Taylor's war against the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) dissident group (see below). Nevertheless, the lack of weapons and the increasing fragmentation of the RUF, including numerous reports of ex-RUF shifting allegiance to the two main political parties in Sierra Leone – the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) and the All People's Congress (APC) – give cause for some confidence that the RUF poses little threat to stability and peace in the near future.¹

Obviously the prospects of keeping the RUF-P in the mainstream of the democratic process is uncertain, following its poor showing in the May 2002 elections. Alimamy Pallo Bangura, the party's secretary-general and presidential candidate, resigned from the RUF-P on 13 August 2002, and the party has closed some of its main offices in the districts – ostensibly due to financial difficulties. This presents a possible long-term security concern for the country as it ultimately impedes upon processes related to democratic pluralism and political expression. On the other hand, the Civil Defence Force (CDF) command structures have remained intact in some areas where they have usurped the enforcement of law and order in the absence of an effective SLP presence.²

The experience of the past decade indicates that only half of the international attempts to stabilise post-conflict situations have been successful.³ It is now

widely accepted that security, which encompasses the provision of collective and individual security to the citizenry and to those who assist them, is the foundation upon which progress in all other areas of peace-building rests. In its most urgent sense, security involves securing the lives of civilians from immediate and large-scale violence, and restoring the state's ability to maintain territorial integrity. Territory must be secured through a combination of border, movement, and point-of-entry controls. To be effective, these efforts must also be pursued in the context of regional security initiatives aimed at gaining co-operation and preventing unhelpful interference from regional actors.⁴

In the absence of the host nation's inability to provide its own security, an external security provider – whether the UN, other nations, or a mixed partnership – should be deployed to execute immediate security tasks, while reconstructing and strengthening the self-sufficiency of indigenous institutions.⁵ This goal has been pursued with a considerable degree of success by the British military in Sierra Leone in collaboration with UNAMSIL, despite the significant and ongoing regional security challenges, as outlined below.

Security challenges

According to the UN Secretary-General, the conflict in Liberia constitutes the most serious threat to peace and stability in Sierra Leone. When under pressure from opposing forces, both Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) and LURD elements have tended to retreat to the border areas of Guinea and Sierra Leone. Moreover, dozens of these AFL and LURD soldiers have deserted their units and handed themselves over to the Sierra Leone authorities.⁶

The threat of Liberia's conflict spilling over into Sierra Leone in the future is real. The armies of Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone have remained largely confined to their national territories, although a number of former RUF fighters have opted out of the disarmament process and are now fighting with President Charles Taylor's forces in Liberia. The involvement of CDF fighters in the war is another cause for concern. Numerous reports indicate that some CDF forces have moved into Liberia to join one side or the other in the ongoing conflict. The impetus for this move is money, and the related lack of employment and earning opportunities in Sierra Leone.

The flow of ex-combatants back and forth across the Sierra Leone-Liberian border, often with weapons acquired in Liberia, seriously threatens the stability of the border region. There are numerous reports of Liberian government

forces, among others, conducting raids in Sierra Leone to obtain basic foodstuffs and other goods. The flow of refugees from Liberia into Sierra Leone has also been a strain on the country's already meagre resources.⁷ Following the May 2002 national elections there was a wave of cross-border incursions into Sierra Leone by Liberian forces, allegedly to forage for food. According to Liberian defence officials, these troops were not under national command, but were 'lost soldiers who were trapped'. However, the straying soldiers have not been averse to occasionally opening sporadic gunfire before they embark on looting of property and abduction of civilians.⁸

The government of Sierra Leone has also expressed concern about the possible existence of armed Liberians among refugees in the south and east of the country. Contacts have been initiated with Liberian and regional leaders to discuss the possible spill-over and possible methods to deal with these groups. In an attempt to diffuse the situation, the UNAMSIL force commander met the Liberian defence minister at Bo Waterside in western Liberia on 28 May 2002. In addition the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) has met with the leaders of Ghana, Mali, Nigeria and Senegal, as well as with officials of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).⁹ However, according to the International Crisis Group (ICG), President Charles Taylor of Liberia is using the current Mano River Union peace process to buy time in his battle with the rebel forces of LURD, and to demand sanctions against Guinea.¹⁰

In order to mitigate the potential destabilisation of Sierra Leone as a result of the situation in Liberia, the United Nations Panel of Experts was established to probe the supply of weapons that fuels the Liberian conflict, monitor the Liberian government's compliance with the sanctions and arms embargo imposed by the UN Security Council on Liberia in May 2001, and track attempts to deliver arms illegally to the country. However, the tracking of illegitimate arms shipments is extremely difficult as it involves travelling across the globe, interviewing reluctant suspects, and trying to uncover a paper trail that usually includes fraudulent end user certificates. These all-important documents purport to show the final destination of the consignment, thereby allowing arms manufacturers to release their merchandise. The trafficker can thus take delivery of a consignment and divert the weapons to their true destination.

With such deliveries coming into Liberia as recently as August 2002, the panel has recommended that the arms embargo against the Liberian government should be maintained and extended to all armed groups, including the LURD rebels in the Mano River Union sub-region (comprising Guinea, Liberia and

Sierra Leone). The experts also concluded that mercenaries were active in the Mano River area after receiving accounts from mercenaries who had offered their services in the sub-region. These mercenaries came from countries including Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea, The Gambia, Ghana and Burkina Faso.

Following the military rebellion that began on 19 September 2002 in Côte d'Ivoire, the danger of regional contagion has increased significantly. If there is a breakdown of talks, there is little doubt that civil war or continued instability in Côte d'Ivoire would seriously damage all attempts at peace-building in the Mano River basin, particularly in Sierra Leone.

Regional analysts have warned of a high risk that the current crisis may degenerate into a north-south ethnic and religious conflict. ECOWAS has indicated that it will play a role in maintaining peace and security by sending approximately 2,000 troops to contain the rebels in their current positions while negotiations proceed in Lomé. If peace talks succeed, ECOWAS forces will proceed to disarm the rebels. If negotiated peace fails, it is difficult to see a growing role for ECOWAS in matters related to peace and security.

The cross-border incursions of Guinean rebels from Liberia into Guinea have perpetuated a cycle of conflict in which countries host each other's rebels. While this phenomenon is not new, if not checked, it could potentially spread throughout the entire region. Demobilised former fighters in Sierra Leone who have not been reintegrated may be encouraged by any gains made by Ivorian rebels and nurture hopes of a return to the bush. If there is a resurgence of violence, the regional humanitarian crisis is likely to worsen, leading to a significant increase in the number of refugees and internally displaced persons. Relief and humanitarian organisations are unlikely to be able to cope with any increase in the number of people who will require assistance.¹¹

RSLAF: Meeting the security challenge?

On 17 January 2002 the final tripartite meeting was held between UNAMSIL, the RUF and the Government of Sierra Leone, resulting, on the following day, in an official declaration of the end of the conflict. On 21 January 2002, the new Ministry of Defence (MoD) was opened in a building just opposite State House, and the Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces was established (hitherto the SLA). D-day for the army's deployment throughout the country was 22 January 2002, a feat which was indeed achieved with the deployment of three brigades of the RSLAF in the interior as follows:

- 3 brigade, consisting of a headquarters at Kenema and three battalions deployed to the south eastern border with Liberia;
- 5 brigade, covering Kono, Tonlolili, and Moyamba, and keeping an eye on security around Koidu and the diamond areas; and
- 4 brigade, headquartered at Makeni and covering Koinadugu and the northern districts.

A further three battalions are deployed in the west – one at Freetown, one at Lungi, and one in the Masaka/Port Loko area.¹² The management of Sierra Leone's security is in the hands of the National Security Council (NSC), which has an active working group, four provincial security committees (ProSecs), and district security committees (DiSecs) in each district. The Mano River Union has a parallel type of security arrangement, and envisages a number of Joint Security and Confidence Building Units (JSCBUs). In practice, however, regional security co-ordination occurs through a merger at the DiSec level in the districts bordering Guinea and Liberia.

The role of the RSLAF is clearly prescribed in the constitution of Sierra Leone. In order of importance, it should:

- safeguard the territorial integrity of the country;
- create and maintain a safe environment for the people; and
- assist with development of the country.¹³

Its primary function is being fulfilled through the adoption of a deterrence posture, while deployed battalions carry out active platoon-strength patrols. The secondary role – maintaining a safe environment for the Sierra Leone people – is a bit more contentious, with somewhat of a grey area existing between the roles of the SLP's Operational Support Division and the RSLAF. On the developmental side, the UK Department for International Development (DFID) has funded a number of civil-military co-operation projects aimed at RSLAF assistance in the building or rebuilding of schools, bridges and roads. In short, the RSLAF is currently fulfilling its constitutional role.¹⁴

There are two principal security threats of concern to the armed forces: insecurity on the Liberian border area and the internal security of the diamond mining areas. The potential threat to security regarding the latter issue remains

rather serious. Diamond mining can still best be described as 'anarchic'. Apart from the more traditional turf battles between local miners and RUF insurgents, immigrants from Guinea, Mali and several other countries in the region are now joining the rush. A power struggle has emerged between licensed miners and youth groups in the major mining areas of Tongo Field and Koidu. UNAMSIL MiObs have also observed resurgence in the recruitment of young men around Bo and Kenema, but the purpose of this recruitment is not yet clear. It could be that fighters are being recruited for Liberia, or equally possible, as labour for the diamond fields.¹⁵

The RSLAF is reluctant to get involved in policing the diamond fields, as one incident of smuggling or perceived partiality would be disastrous to the professional image the army is trying hard to create. Hence the continued presence of the UNAMSIL force, providing broader security and a general sense of stability, remains essential for the time being. Government responsibility for the security of the alluvial mining areas remains out of the question until it musters the will and desire to fence off these areas, and controls them in a manner similar to that used in the coastal alluvial diamond fields of Namibia and South Africa.

The National Security Committee is aware that the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) has split along several lines, with many soldiers, now irregulars, regarding Sierra Leone as an easy source of supply and looting the villages along the border. The RSLAF has responded to the situation by deploying troops along the border with Liberia in order to forestall future incursions. As of August 2002, some 70 soldiers from the AFL have been disarmed by the RSLAF after crossing into Sierra Leone, and were waiting for encampment in Port Loko District.¹⁶ However, the entire border region cannot be effectively sealed off because of the very strong social and economic ties of peoples on both sides of the border. Moreover, the border is extremely difficult to police as, in addition to two official crossings, 27 unofficial ones exist.

As a result of the challenges encountered by the government of Sierra Leone regarding the control of cross-border trips and incursions, the United Nations mission continues to maintain a significant troop presence in five sectors on Sierra Leone's eastern border, including Koidu and Kenema, and has conducted regular aerial patrols with Mi24 attack helicopters.¹⁷ While the issue of UNAMSIL support for the government is now far less ambiguous than in the pre-election phases of the mission, this support cannot be uncritical. For example, MiObs are monitoring incidents of possible government corruption at the basic level in the field. Reports from the Mano River Bridge area indicate that

large quantities of food and non-food donor aid, intended by donors for the needy population of Sierra Leone, are being transported in taxis across the border to Liberia, despite the presence of RSLAF, SLP and border officials.¹⁸

The inability of the RSLAF to seal the border and to intern illegal AFL border crossers has led to continued accusations by LURD that Sierra Leone is supporting Taylor's forces. This conviction is so strong that, in August 2002, LURD abducted 28 Sierra Leone citizens from Kailahun in reprisal. However, the relative freedom with which LURD fighters cross the border has led also to accusations by the AFL that the RSLAF is supporting LURD. Guinea, in turn, remains suspicious of Sierra Leone because it is not interning the AFL fighters who enter its territory, and is itself still occupying the northern part of the Kailahun salient.¹⁹

A solution aimed at alleviating the continued border insecurity and dangerous accusations may lie in Sierra Leone actively declaring its neutrality in terms of the 1907 Hague Convention, which deals with respecting 'The Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers and Persons in Case of War on Land'. The articles of Hague Convention V (signed on 18 October 1907, entered into force on 26 January 1910) that would be especially pertinent to the situation in Sierra Leone read as follows:

- **Article 1.** The territory of neutral Powers is inviolable.
- **Article 2.** Belligerents are forbidden to move troops or convoys of either munitions of war or supplies across the territory of a neutral Power.
- **Article 4.** Corps of combatants cannot be formed nor recruiting agencies opened on the territory of a neutral Power to assist the belligerents.
- **Article 5.** A neutral Power must not allow any of the acts referred to in Articles 2 to 4 to occur on its territory. It is not called upon to punish acts in violation of its neutrality unless the said acts have been committed on its own territory.
- **Article 6.** The responsibility of a neutral Power is not engaged by the fact of persons crossing the frontier separately to offer their services to one of the belligerents.
- **Article 10.** The fact of a neutral Power resisting, even by force, attempts to violate its neutrality cannot be regarded as a hostile act.

- **Article 11.** A neutral Power which receives on its territory troops belonging to the belligerent armies shall intern them, as far as possible, at a distance from the theatre of war.
- **Article 12.** In the absence of a special convention to the contrary, the neutral Power shall supply the interned with the food, clothing, and relief required by humanity. At the conclusion of peace the expenses caused by the internment shall be made good.

A clear declaration to the governments of Liberia and Guinea, in accordance with the provisions of Article 22 of Hague Convention V, would be a good starting point, although the government of Sierra Leone would still need to develop the means to comply with its responsibilities as a neutral power.²⁰ At present, there is still a question mark over the competence of the RSLAF to enforce the provisions of the convention, and the limited financial resources of the government remain a perennial problem.

Transformation of the Sierra Leone Armed Forces

The United Kingdom has supported the enhancement of short- and longer-term security in Sierra Leone through a programme aimed at training, equipping and advising government forces. This programme has involved the integration of UK military advisors into Sierra Leone forces; close co-ordination with UNAMSIL and the SLP; and the enhancement of the combat effectiveness of the forces through ongoing advice and training.

Since 1999 the UK has undertaken a series of induction and training programs under what is now called the International Military Advisory and Training Team (IMATT). Short-term training teams initially handled nine Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF) intakes, presenting a 12-week training package for each intake. This training was designed as a 'first aid' package to address a very specific and immediate short-term security vacuum.

It was expected that basic training would be provided to about 12,500 soldiers (including air and maritime wings) with more specialised training to a smaller number in logistics, communications, command and control, and other techniques. Some officer training has been provided in Ghana and the UK.²¹

The British training team peaked at a strength of about 600 in September 2001, including the short-term training team members. It was expected that

after completion of the short-term training scheme, and the expansion of the proportion of the country under the control of the government of Sierra Leone, the numbers would drop to an interim level of 300 to 400. A long-term core of 100 to 150 trainers was envisaged after the presidential and parliamentary elections.²² However, the general public still derives a great deal of reassurance from the British military presence, and remains attentive for any signals of a British military withdrawal from Sierra Leone. During July 2002, the IMATT training company, comprising about 120 soldiers, left the country, along with the British force protection company of approximately 100. The effects of this move on public confidence and on force cohesion and effectiveness are being carefully monitored.

Brigadier Patrick Houston and about 80 per cent of the British soldiers remaining in Sierra Leone are occupying executive and advisory posts within the RSLAF, with nine of the posts located within the Ministry of Defence (MoD) itself. Approximately six IMATT advisors, from the rank captain to lieutenant colonel, are deployed with each RSLAF brigade to assist with training, planning, personnel and operations.

The IMATT programme entails much more than military training: it deals directly with virtually every aspect of security sector reform. It involves a complete reconstruction of the MoD and the military apparatus. This means building a culture of loyalty, service and respect for human rights within the armed forces, but it also means a complete departmental overhaul to ensure appropriate civilian oversight and probity. Senior Sierra Leone MoD officials and officers have been removed for participating in corrupt practices. And policies – hitherto non-existent – on procurement, career paths, pay and benefits, the removal of ‘ghost soldiers’ from the payroll, and things as basic as the payment of salaries, have had to be put in place. It is generally agreed that this process of restructuring and reform will be a three to five year undertaking.²³

At the basic level, IMATT has assisted RSLAF instructors at the Armed Forces Training Centre (AFTC) in Benguema with the training of intakes under the Military Reintegration Programme (MRP). This programme was designed to integrate former RUF and CDF combatants who have been through the disarmament and demobilisation process, into the new RSLAF. While the numbers are fairly modest; the MRP is significant in two respects: firstly, it lends credence to the notion of the RSLAF as an army of reconciliation; secondly, it provides a very meaningful form of vocational training for those demobilised personnel who genuinely wish to pursue a military career and continue the life of a soldier.²⁴

The Armed Forces Training Centre (AFTC), created just outside Freetown at Benguema in mid-2001, is at present home to all RSLAF training. There used to be a training facility at Daru, which may be resuscitated in the years to come. The Infantry Training Centre is based a short distance from Benguema, at Hastings, and comprises a tactics wing and a support weapons wing. The latter presents training in mortars, medium machine guns, air defence, and range management. Range management is very important, as safety was badly neglected during the war years. It is especially necessary to sensitise the local people in the vicinity of the firing range at Hastings as to the dangers of blinds and unexploded ordnance, as well as to the need to obey warnings in order to avoid death or injury during live firing exercises. The locals are easily traumatised by the sound of weapons, especially when the range is used for automatic and heavier calibre weapons.²⁵

The AFTC has an Infantry Training Advance Team (ITAT), consisting of eight members who oversee course development. The aim is to transfer ownership of all courses to RSLAF directorate staff and instructors. The commissioning course and the support weapons courses (mortars and machine guns) are already run by the RSLAF, with ITAT oversight. International humanitarian law (IHL) has already been introduced as a core curriculum topic, as well as training in the RSLAF code of conduct, and civil-military relations. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has provided invaluable support in the teaching of IHL, but the AFRC should have its own trainers capable of presenting the subject by the end of 2002.²⁶

As far as future development of training is concerned, the emphasis will be on leadership training and the fine-tuning of leadership courses during the remainder of 2002. 2003 will be a year of consolidation, with no new courses being introduced. From 2004 onwards, however, the intention is to develop collective training within the RSLAF. Hitherto all training has been at the individual level, as collective training at the platoon, company and battalion level requires trained and experienced leaders at all levels of command.²⁷ The RSLAF, with IMATT assistance, is now also busy setting up new training areas and firing ranges throughout the country, all with proper safety templates to avoid civilian casualties.

However, the RSLAF has been left with virtually no infrastructure outside of the greater Freetown/Hastings area. The military barracks at Makeni and other provincial centres have been completely destroyed, and the troops deployed in these areas are living in makeshift shelters constructed of mud and plastic sheeting. Therefore, at a time when there are many competing demands on

government spending, there remains an urgent need to invest in new infrastructure projects.²⁸

The last basic MRP intake graduated from the AFTC on 17 May 2002. A commissioning parade for platoon leaders on 17 August 2002 brought the MRP to a close, with a total of 2,600 soldiers trained under the programme – all of whom have been deployed to units in the field. The soldiers are mixed up in their various units and sub-units; there are no elements of the RSLAF that are exclusively ‘ex-SLA’, ‘ex-RUF’ or ‘ex-CDF’. There have been no complaints or reports of incidents or even friction between former RUF and former CDF fighters, and the MRP can but be considered a remarkable success so far.²⁹

In addition to the Military Reintegration Package, the basic retraining of the former SLA soldiers has been completed. There has been a very promising improvement in the self-confidence of the RSLAF, whose members in the past suffered from a serious lack of confidence in their own professional military capabilities. The gradual transfer of responsibility for training, along with increasing operational responsibilities, has done much to boost the confidence and morale of the force. There has been a discernible increase in the confidence of the soldiers over the past seven months, as evidenced in their performance during field training exercises conducted under IMATT oversight. Feedback on training is given by the IMATT officers who are deployed with the brigades and with the battalions in the field. Exams have also been introduced into the commissioning course, establishing objective standards for graduation and advancement.³⁰

The RSLAF is also keenly aware of the importance of fostering positive public perceptions of the military, and much emphasis is now being placed on correct dress and appearance, proper driving habits, and general military discipline. In terms of civil-military co-operation projects, much effort has been put into the reconstruction and repairing of bridges – albeit with the main aim of enabling the countrywide deployment and mobility of the RSLAF itself.³¹

The RSLAF is presently 14,500 strong, including its maritime and aviation wings. The latter consists of one Mi24 helicopter gun ship that is conducting its first test flights after a ten-month down time for repairs; as well as two Mi8 transport helicopters supplied and operated by a private company under a contract with RSLAF. The maritime wing has one medium-sized, Chinese-built vessel, which is operational and is actively involved in maritime patrolling as a coast guard function.³²

To ensure renewal of the force, the RSLAF has a remit to enlist and train 300 soldiers and 100 officers per year. The first new civilian recruits are expected to enter the AFTC during December 2002. Recruitment policy and selection criteria are currently being developed by the MoD, but it is envisaged that some sort of 'pre-course' will be conducted in order to further screen applicants for a military career. Officer cadets will be identified during this phase, and then separated from the rest of the aspirant soldiers for the remainder of their training. Recruitment efforts will probably be directed towards all the major towns.³³

The focus will remain on the ongoing professional development of the RSLAF under IMATT. The overarching aim is to move beyond basic military skills training and to establish a professional military ethos within the force. This is realistically viewed as a long-term process. According to Colonel John Watson, it will take about ten years to establish the appropriate structures and mechanisms to support a professional force, and a similar length of time thereafter for a new military ethos to become firmly embedded in the organisational culture of the RSLAF.³⁴ However, the operational proficiency, if not the combat effectiveness, of the new force is already being tested rather severely.

Conclusion

The RSLAF has grown from a demoralised outfit that needed UN escorts to deploy, to an army of some 14,500. This is an army that may be considered too large relative to the population and economy of Sierra Leone, but no one is talking of downsizing the armed forces in the current political and security climate.³⁵ The UK has, as outlined above, provided invaluable support to this remarkable example of defence transformation, and IMATT is under no illusion that military reform is anywhere near complete.

The training of the army has, admittedly, been very hurried, with RSLAF essentially comprising 'recycled' soldiers from different military and political backgrounds, and who are yet to be tested in the field. While the planning for new recruit intakes is thus an encouraging move, the rate of 300 soldiers and 100 officers per year means that force renewal is a long-term project. Moreover, present members of RSLAF have no real barracks or permanent accommodation outside Freetown. In some areas, deployed RSLAF have built mud structures that are hardly able to survive the rains. If the RSLAF is to deploy on a permanent basis outside of the Freetown area, attention also needs to be paid to housing for the families and dependants of the soldiers.³⁶

Members of the force presently deployed to the border areas lack effective logistic support, which has opened the door to all sorts of unprofessional practices and activities, such as the erection of 'toll-roads' to extort money from travellers.³⁷ Some recent armed robberies have also been linked to RSLAF personnel using legal arms for heists.³⁸ The current IMATT emphasis – on the ongoing professional development of the RSLAF – is thus essential to the credibility of the armed forces of a nation so deeply traumatised by some of the most unprofessional military conduct in recent history. It is also key to the RSLAF passing the ultimate and perhaps inevitable test of military credibility – success in protecting the people of Sierra Leone from future armed aggression.

The most likely security and development scenario, as outlined by the UN, is one in which there is a large measure of stability across Sierra Leone, but where the SLP and RSLAF remain dependant on UNAMSIL to maintain border security and the diamond areas, and to respond to sporadic domestic disturbances. It sees the further extension of state authority, but with limited services provided, especially in the remote areas. There is likely to be continued dissatisfaction among elements of civil society, especially among the youth, over the modest progress towards delivering on the peace dividend promised by the SLPP during the election campaign. It is foreseen that resettlement will largely be completed but that land, housing and mining disputes in areas of return, together with the reluctance of some former combatants to return home, will impede the ongoing reintegration and reconciliation efforts. The situation in Liberia is likely to remain unstable and the lack of economic opportunities will continue to draw some ex-combatants to join the fighting factions in Liberia, as, no doubt, will the escalating civil conflict in Côte d'Ivoire, whilst refugees will continue to cross into Sierra Leone. International aid flows will continue but may not fully compensate for the decline in humanitarian aid, while the economy will probably grow at a moderate rate thanks to an increase in agricultural production.³⁹

Notes

- 1 J Prendergast, *Testimony On Domestic And Regional Prospects for Peace and Stability in Freetown*, International Crisis Group, Brussels, May 16, 2002.
- 2 See United Nations Security Council, *Fifteenth Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone*, S/2002/987, 5 September 2002, paragraph 8.
- 3 S Feil, Building Better Foundations: Security in Postconflict Reconstruction, *The Washington Quarterly*, Autumn 2002, p 99.

- 4 Ibid. p 99–100.
- 5 Ibid. p 98.
- 6 United Nations Security Council, op cit, paragraph 10.
- 7 J Prendergast, op cit.
- 8 BBC interview on Sierra Leone with General Tom Carew, 2 August 2002.
- 9 Sierra Leone: Troops beefed up on Liberian border, *Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN)*, Freetown, 26 June 2002.
- 10 International Crisis Group, *Liberia: The Key to Ending Regional Instability*, Freetown/Brussels, 24 April 2002. <<http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/showreport.cfm?reportid=627>>
- 11 West African Early Warning Network (WARN) Policy Brief: *Crisis in Côte d'Ivoire*, 31 October 2002. <www.wanep.org>
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Interview with Col Fred Hughton, Deputy Chief Military Observer, Freetown, 20 August 2002.
- 16 IRIN, 26 June 2002, op cit.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Interview with Deputy Chief Military Observer, 20 August 2002, op cit.
- 19 Interview with Colonel John Watson, IMATT, Freetown, 26 August 2002.
- 20 According to Article 22: "Non-Signatory Powers may adhere to the present Convention. The Power which desires to adhere notifies its intention in writing to the Netherlands Government, forwarding to it the act of adhesion, which shall be deposited in the archives of the said Government. This Government shall immediately forward to all the other Powers a duly certified copy of the notification as well as of the act of adhesion, mentioning the date on which it received the notification."
- 21 David Pratt, *Sierra Leone: Danger and Opportunity in a Regional Conflict*, Report to Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs, 27 July 2001, p. 13. <http://www.david-pratt.ca/sleone_e.htm>
- 22 *Sierra Leone News*, 29 August 2001.
- 23 David Pratt, op cit. p. 13.

- 24 Interview with Colonel Kes Boyah, Commandant, Armed Forces Training Centre, Benguema, 25 October 2001.
- 25 Briefing by Commanding Officer, Armed Forces Training Centre and IMATT representative, Benguema, 27 August 2002.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Interview with Colonel John Watson, op cit.
- 29 Briefing at Benguema, 27 August 2002, op cit.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Interview with IMATT, 26 August 2002, op cit.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Briefing at Benguema, 27 August 2002, op cit.
- 34 Interview with IMATT, 26 August 2002, op cit.
- 35 Interview with Mr Behrooz Sadry, Deputy Special Representative to the Secretary-General, Freetown, 21 August 2002.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Interview with Mr. Gebremedhin Hagoss, Chief of Policy and Planning Section, Freetown, 21 August 2002.
- 39 United Nations, Interagency Appeal for Relief and Recovery, Sierra Leone 2003, 19 November 2002, p. 4. <<http://www.reliefweb.int/appeals/2003/files/sle03.pdf>>