
Liberia Short Mission Brief

I. Activity Summary

Overview

Nearly 25 years of international peace missions in Liberia offer lessons of how multilateral cooperation, focused effort and resolute action can end conflict and keep peace in a troubled neighborhood. Indeed, since 2003 UNMIL has kept the peace. Yet, over this same period, and even going back to the earlier interventions, misaligned interests among the dominant actors and missed opportunities have plagued the missions. In particular, peace missions have done precious little to address, let alone solve, the central drivers of Liberia's conflict, strengthen local institutions or assist the process of rebuilding trust between the government and the Liberian people. This suggests there are limitations of peace missions as vehicles for state building and development, at least as the missions are currently structured. As the UN moves to shutter UNMIL this becomes particularly visible, along with the broader challenges of closing a mission amid pervasive instability.

Background

Liberia has suffered from successive, regionally interconnected wars that, at various times, directly included neighboring Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Côte d'Ivoire, while indirectly involving many other states such as Burkina Faso and Libya, in addition to a plethora of near-constantly morphing non-state armed groups. The conflict killed at least tens of thousands^[i]. One in four Liberians were displaced^[ii]. The economy contracted by 90%^[iii]. Life expectancy bottomed out at less than 50 years^[iv]. Illiteracy and unemployment skyrocketed. Even today, after 12 years of UNMIL-enforced peace, 84% of Liberians continue to live on less than \$1.25/day^[v]. These indicators can largely be tied to the conflicts and Liberia's decades of societal collapse. In 2014, despite all the post-conflict effort to rebuild Liberia, the Ebola crisis crumpled much of the government, revealing Liberia's deep institutional weaknesses and pervasive fragility.

The clearest trigger for the beginning of the turmoil came when Master Sergeant Samuel Doe violently swept into power through a bloody coup d'état in 1980. This coup ended 133 years of one-party rule by "Americo-Liberians," the term used to describe the minority elite who can trace their ancestry back to the freed American slaves that founded Liberia in 1847. Americo rule was largely characterized by dramatic social inequality, systematic subjugation of Liberia's indigenous populations and exploitation of the countryside to benefit the metropolitan elite in the capitol, Monrovia.

Doe, rather than attempting to bring unity among Liberians, set the divisive political tone for decades to come: During the coup he brutally killed then-President William Tolbert along with many of Tolbert's Cabinet Ministers, among others. Once gaining power, Doe proved an unskilled dictator and was neither able to manage Liberia's domestic politics nor win the support of international donors. His inability to govern combined with strong-arm tactics to deepen Liberia's societal fissures. After a failed 1985 coup attempt led by an erstwhile military ally, Thomas Quiwonkpa, Doe pursued even more hard-line tactics and embarked on a campaign of retribution against the entirety of Quiwonkpa's home county, Nimba. Doe purged Nimba's Gio and Mano ethnic groups from government positions and violently pursued them

across the Liberia. More than simply exacerbating existing fissures in Liberia, this created new ones across the country.

The 1990-1997 Civil War:

Intervention by the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and the UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL)

Civil war formally began on Christmas day 1989 when Charles Taylor invaded Liberia from Côte d'Ivoire, after training in Libya and with support from Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire. By June 1990, Taylor's small force swept into the capital, Monrovia. As the fighting intensified over control of Monrovia, and thus the state, ECOWAS established a multilateral military force, the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). In August 1990 ECOMOG deployed a force of about 2,600 troops from Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Gambia to Monrovia. The force was under Nigerian leadership with four main objectives: 1) impose a cease-fire, 2) stop the killing of civilians, 3) assist Liberians establish an interim government pending elections and 4) ensure the safe evacuation of foreign nationals.^[vi]

ECOWAS's decision was not unanimous and splits among the 16-member states of ECOWAS broke down based on national interests, which is a feature that continued to plague interventions in Liberia, as well as peace missions elsewhere. Indicative of this infighting, Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso, both of which had been supporting Taylor, objected to ECOWAS intervention on the grounds that it abrogated the Organization of African Unity's principle of non-interference.^[vii]

Another particular interest to highlight was Nigeria's interest in the safety of Nigerian nationals resident in Liberia, perhaps on the order of 70,000, and largely of the business class. No other regional state had this magnitude of citizens in Liberia and Nigeria faced domestic pressure to ensure their safety. This is a central reason that ECOMOG had the mandate to ensure safe evacuation of nationals, which is an uncommon feature of peace missions.

For its part, the UN Security Council did not formally back the ECOMOG engagement and there was not much Western interest in the situation. This owes largely to widespread American disapproval of Doe's administration and the massive geopolitical shifts taking place in 1989 and 1990 in which Liberia did not feature (e.g., the Gulf War, end of the Cold War, the emerging peace in southern Africa and remaining challenges with South Africa apartheid, among other events).

On 9 September 1990, Doe was captured by one of Taylor's deputies, the rebel leader Prince Johnson, who in keeping with the tone Doe set, tortured, mutilated and killed Doe in public. That Johnson captured Doe while the dictator was visiting an ECOMOG base caused many of Doe's supporters—and Liberians in general—to believe that the Nigerian ECOMOG leaders handed over Doe to Johnson in a backroom deal. This undermined ECOMOG's trust and impartiality and such perceptions continue to plague subsequent peace mission in Liberia.

After Doe's death, the Nigerian leadership determined that the best strategy to keep the peace would be to militarily defeat the greatest threats to peace in Liberia: Taylor's rebel forces. ECOMOG initiated an offensive against Taylor and effectively pushed him and his allied commanders out of Monrovia. This stabilized Monrovia and allowed ECOMOG to meet their mandate objectives: By pushing back the rebels they effectively enforced a ceasefire and as a result many killings stopped, an interim government could form and many foreign national were safely evacuated. However, by becoming a party to the conflict, ECOMOG lost any veneer of impartiality.^[viii]

The fighting did not cease—and multiple parties, particularly Taylor, still vied for power. Meanwhile, the anemic ECOWAS peace process limped through a number of hollow ceasefires and agreements that resulted in little concrete progress, but did serve to slowly increase international attention. In 1992 under resolution 788, the UN imposed an arms embargo on Liberia that aimed to curtail the fighting and also retroactively approved ECOWAS's military action under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, although ECOMOG itself was not mentioned as such.^[ix]

On 25 July 1993, ECOWAS brokered the Cotonou Accord, named for the Beninois capital that hosted the negotiations.^[x] This slim hope of a peace agreement spurred the UN Security Council to establish the UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) to cooperate with and support ECOMOG, in resolution 866 issued on September 22, 1993. This was the first time that a UN peacekeeping mission cooperated with an existing non-UN peacekeeping mission. UNOMIL deployed 368 military observers in early 1994 ostensibly to supervise the demobilization of combatants after they had turned in their weapons and to monitor the ceasefire.^[xi]

Yet, there was little by way of ceasefire or demobilization. Fighting continued as the various factions continued to search for weaknesses in their opponents, all hoping to gain or retain control of Monrovia. Given these realities on the ground, the UN Security Council extended UNOMIL's mandate in November 1995 while also reducing the number of personnel to 160 observers. This continued to 92 personnel in 1997 as fighting intensified.^[xii]

As violence flared, ECOWAS brokered another peace agreement, known as the Abuja Agreement, that was signed on 19 August 1995, which appeared for the first time to have the potential to be a real agreement because it concluded with signatures from all major fighting forces.^[xiii] Indeed, the multiple parties respected a ceasefire after this agreement was concluded. The Abuja Agreement established a framework for elections to be held in 1997 that would be monitored by ECOMOG and UNOMIL as the cessation of violence opened the way for political competition.

The 1997 elections were largely free of violence and tampering and were contested by multiple candidates. Charles Taylor won as Liberians—both those for and against him—famously chanted the slogan “he killed my ma, he killed my pa, I'll vote for him.” This is a reflection of the perception that only by electing Taylor would the bloodshed end. This perverse logic was underpinned by two factors. First, there was a widespread belief that Taylor, as the most powerful belligerent, was the only individual who had the capability to ensure peace. Along the same lines, it was assumed—based on Taylor's history—that he would not end his own fighting unless he attained the presidency.

The ceasefire held through Taylor's inauguration and he initiated a superficial process of reconciliation and unity. With this semblance of stability, the UN felt that its goals had been achieved; UNOMIL withdrew in 1997. By this same logic, ECOMOG's initial mandate, too, had been realized and it also began planning to depart, which the force did in November 1999. The United Nations did not fully abandon Liberia, but rather began to focus—prematurely—on peacebuilding, post-conflict reconstruction and development. Following the elections and departure of UNOMIL and ECOMOG, the UN established the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office in Liberia (UNOL) on 1 November 1997. UNOL was not a peace mission per se, but a small peace building office headed by a Special Representative of the Secretary-General. It was initially only staffed by 12 international and three local staff.^[xiv] Because this was not a peace mission, it was established by a letter of the Secretary-General, not a Security Council resolution.^[xv] Its mandate was tasked to focus on the promotion of reconciliation and the strengthening of democratic institutions, political support for efforts to mobilize international resources and assistance for national recovery and reconstruction; and coordination of United Nations efforts related to peacebuilding.^[xvi]

The 1999-2003 Civil War:

Intervention by the ECOWAS Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL) and the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)

Despite the 1997 election, peace had not been truly established and there had been no meaningful disarmament, demobilization, or reconciliation. Human rights abuses were not investigated and continued. The UNOL never had the leverage to force concessions from Taylor, who had no interest in allowing UNOL to succeed in pushing a more inclusive political agenda, which was the core of its mandate. In 1999, with the military forces of UNOMIL and ECOMOG gone, Taylor felt emboldened to act against his rivals while at the same time rebel leaders also saw an opportunity to attack. War broke out again in 1999. [\[xvii\]](#)

Meanwhile, war raged in neighboring Sierra Leone, which had been experiencing internal conflict since 1991. [\[xviii\]](#) The intertwined nature of the violence in Sierra Leone and Liberia was not well-documented (or understood) at the time, but became clearer in part due to the 2001 reporting of the United Nations Panel of Experts on Sierra Leone who, as investigators and monitors of the UNSC sanctions regime on Sierra Leone, detailed the connections between the two neighboring countries' conflicts. This made public what had been long-suspected: Taylor was the puppet master of a regional criminal enterprise that used diamond and timber exports to finance a brutal security apparatus linked to regional militias. The report of the UN Panel of Experts on Sierra Leone provided ammunition that led to the sanctions that were placed on Liberia in 2001: embargoes on arms, diamonds and timber. These sanctions gradually inhibited Taylor's ability to finance and equip his political-military machine.

Sanctions reinforced, and in some ways underpinned, the diplomatic efforts to reach a peace agreement and end the war in Liberia. In 2001 and 2002 efforts to start peace talks sputtered. In February 2002 Morocco attempted to facilitate a process among the Mano River Union countries [\[xix\]](#) (called the Rabat Dialogue), but this process was suspended and then scrapped when Taylor refused to attend follow-up meetings. An International Contact Group on Liberia was established on 17 September 2002 with ECOWAS and the EU co-chairing. Throughout much of this process, US leadership was weak, due in part to the overwhelming US focus on terrorism in the aftermath of September 11. These efforts did not produce results in and of themselves.

The war began its crescendo phase in 2003. As the sanctions increasingly pinched Taylor, rebel groups began to gain territory, violence spiraled out of control and fighting spread again to Monrovia. By May 2003, the two main rebel groups—the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Development (LURD) and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL)— controlled approximately two-thirds of the country and were approaching Monrovia. In an approach seemingly disconnected from this reality on the ground, on 23 April 2003, the UNSC revised UNOL's mandate to emphasize support to build Government of Liberia capacity for human rights, elections and peacebuilding.

Diplomatic efforts – led by ECOWAS—began to gain traction and were combined with planning for a robust peace mission. Negotiations began in Accra, Ghana in June 2003 among Taylor, LURD and MODEL after significant pressure from ECOWAS, the International Contact Group and with belated US focus. Recognizing that the talks were dominated by delaying and politicking, the United Nations began to plan for a major intervention and peacekeeping force, spearheaded by ECOWAS and then supported by the UN.

On 4 August 2003, the vanguard peacekeeping force—the ECOWAS Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL)— deployed a small unit of commandos. Soon ECOMIL numbers increased to 3,500 troops, led by Nigerians and complemented with troops from Guinea-Bissau, Gambia, Ghana, Mali, Senegal, Togo, and Benin. The arrival of green helmets again in Monrovia brought back memories of ECOMOG's previous heavy-handed intervention and helped change the tone of the conflict. Under intense domestic and international

political pressure, and facing a deteriorating situation on the ground, Charles Taylor resigned the Presidency and flew to Nigeria in exile on 11 August. This paved the way for, and signaled, the end of the war.

In a massively important symbolic move, on 15 August, approximately 200 United States Marines landed in Monrovia under Joint Task Force Liberia. These Marines on Liberian soil were symbolically backed up by the United States Navy ship Iwo Jima that was visibly stationed offshore. The arrival of the US Marines, which were not a fighting force per se, had significant symbolic effect on the Liberian combatants. The Marines did not stay long and never engaged Liberian combatants, but the impact of their deployment cannot be overstated. Liberia is as close to an American colony as there is in Africa. Liberians see the United States as its big brother or, sometimes even as a father figure. The American military is particularly respected, and feared, even though US soldiers have not engaged Liberian fighting factions. Nevertheless, Liberians saw the presence of American soldiers in the streets and helicopters flying overhead as a symbol that the war was at its end.

On 18 August 2003 the three groups signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Accra. Taylor accepted exile in Nigeria. The peace agreement outlined provisions for a 2-year interim government, guaranteed security for refugees and IDPs, provided for the establishment of a truth and reconciliation commission, and requested a United Nations peacekeeping force mandated under Chapter VII to support the transitional government and implementation of the peace agreement. On 1 October 2003, the 3,500 ECOMIL troops were re-hatted as the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL).

Initially, the UNMIL integrated mission provided a national security blanket over Liberia, undertook a DDRR program, oversaw the elections in 2005, assisted the return of IDPs and refugees and provided assistance to the transitional government. Once President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected, UNMIL's mandate shifted to supporting the government. At its peak it had 15,000 soldiers. Now there are approximately 4,000.

By the end of 2015 there is considerable pressure for UNMIL, in its 13th year, to drawdown and soon close. Little to no pressure for UNMIL departure is coming from the Government of Liberia itself. This is a tacit acknowledgment that the Liberian state remains weak, especially its security sector. Moreover, UNMIL's presence allowed the Government of Liberia to offload some aspects of the provision of security onto UNMIL. By doing so, the government prioritized the security sector lower than other aspects of its early agenda. This continues to cause tension in the relationship between the Government of Liberia and donors.

Peace Mission Figures: Troop levels and costs

Precise dollar figure amounts and troop numbers are scarce and unreliable at the best of times, and this is particularly true for the ECOMOG interventions, owing to ECOMOG's poor discipline and record keeping. The figures for UNMIL are better given that the mission is ongoing and has the greatest amount of documentation, yet even these figures are estimates. The costs publicly available provided after UN 5th Committee procedures are arcane and UN peace mission budgets are subject to adjustment so no figures is likely to represent what was truly spent. All the below figures and estimates and if nothing else suggest orders of magnitude.

ECOMOG: 1990-1999

The first troop deployments in 1990 were around 2600 and then increased to 6,000 by October 1990[xx]. The peak of ECOMOG troops reached 12,000. Nigeria provided the majority of the troops, likely close to 75%.[xxi] Nigeria has variously claimed that their ECOMOG financial costs were between \$3-4bn[xxii]. Approximately 500 Nigerian soldiers were killed.[xxiii]

UNOMIL: 1993-1997

UNOMIL was very slim and the troop levels reflected the narrow mandate. The troops never exceed 370^[xxiv]. The typical strength was often closer to 200. In November 1995 it was approximately 160 and reduced to around 90 by November 1996.^[xxv] UNOMIL cost figures in the literature are contradictory and credible scholars provide figures ranging from \$81million over the course of the entire mission^[xxvi] to \$96.63 million from 1995-1997 alone.^[xxvii] The official UNOMIL website states that the expenditure through drawdown was \$103.7 million (gross) and \$99.3 million (net).^[xxviii]

ECOMIL: 2003

The ECOMIL force constituted approximately 3,500 troops, largely led by Nigerians, with complements from Guinea-Bissau, Gambia, Ghana, Mali, Senegal, Togo and Benin. The estimated cost was between \$3.7257 million^[xxix] and \$4.1 million^[xxx] (given as an annualized figure. Since the mission only last a few months, it is unclear if this is the total mission cost or if this is what it cost for the year after being subsumed by UNMIL).

UNMIL: 2003-present

UNMIL subsumed the 3,500 ECOMIL soldiers and then began to gradually increase troop strength. By 2005, UNMIL hit its mandated peak troop level of just over 15,000 soldiers. This is a considerable number when understood in the context of Liberia as a very small country, about the size of Tennessee or the Czech Republic. The mission is now waning and, as of June 2015 has 5,934 uniformed personnel (4,400 troops, 125 military observers and 1,409 police (including a Formed Police Unit). UNMIL has lost a reported 190 personnel: 133 troops, 19 police, 1 military observer, 9 international civilians, 28 local civilians.^[xxxi]

UNMIL's budget began with \$548 million and increased to \$707 million in 2006. The most recent approved budget for UNMIL's mandate (July 2014-June 2015) was \$427,319,800. More specific figures are below

UNMIL Mission expenditures^[xxxii]

Date	Amount in US Dollars
August 2003-June 2004	\$548,278,700
July 2004-June 2005	\$741,084,800
July 2005-June 2006	\$707,368,000
July 2006-June 2007	\$676,254,900
July 2007-June 2008	\$649,521,900
July 2008-June 2009	\$593,521,600
July 2009-June 2010	\$558,875,500
July 2010-June 2011	\$514,538,100
July 2011-June 2012	\$525,612,600

July 2012-June 2013	\$496,453,000[xxxiii]
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UNMIL Troop Strength[xxxiv]

Date/Year	Military Component	Military	Civilian Police
		Observers	
31 October 2005	14,645	199	1,101
30 September 2006	14,570	200	1,076
31 October 2007	13,322	206	1,172
31 October 2008	11,436	210	1,074
31 October 2009	10,033	122	1,343
31 October 2010	7,931	134	1,304
31 October 2011	7,774	138	1,315
31 October 2012	7,538	122	1,302
31 December 2013[xxxv]	5,751	133	1,583
31 August 2014[xxxvi]	4,426	110	1,420

II. Key Issues, Dilemmas, and Lessons From Liberia

1. Made the Peace, Kept the Peace: But Only When the Use of Force Aligned with the Domestic Political Situation

The greatest and clearest contribution of UNMIL (with ECOMIL as the vanguard) was that it enforced peace and has kept the peace since 2003. Keeping the peace is no inconsiderable feat given the depth of Liberia's conflict and Liberia's multiple relapses to war. Even when wars in neighboring Côte d'Ivoire broke out in 2005 and 2011, war never spread to Liberia (although armed elements—mercenaries and militia—did cross back and forth). Multiple factors played into this, but central was the reassuring presence of UNMIL soldiers. Even ECOMOG, at various points, was able to enforce and keep the peace, in their case because of a willingness to engage in battles with armed elements and take casualties to further peace and their mandate objectives.

The differences between—and the relative success of ECOMIL/UNMIL versus ECOMOG/UNOMIL—is that the political contexts of the two missions were vastly different. Until Charles Taylor left Liberia and the 2003 Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed, there was no political settlement that had the true buy-in of the major factions and power brokers despite the previous series of often-hollow peace agreements. ECOMOG/UNOMIL was deployed in the middle of a hot war where the various factions were still jockeying for power. They could use force under their mandate and create zones of separation, but

they was little peace to keep. In contrast, ECOMIL/UNMIL deployed as the war ended. Taylor fled to Nigeria and the various factions signed the peace agreement, which contained provisions to provide sufficient spoils for all sides so that the incentives aligned for peace not continued war. This suggests that peace missions will only have limited success in maintaining peace while the underlying politics remain unsettled.

2. Successive Peace Missions Failed to Address Main Drivers of Instability

Despite having kept the peace since 2003 (and imposing temporary ceasefires at various points in the 1990s), the missions stumbled when their mandates extend beyond peace keeping to peace building or state building. There is undeniably positive change from the years of war to the present day. Yet, Liberia remains tremendously fragile. Liberia today is characterized by weak governance capacity across sectors, immature institutions and poor state-society relations despite nearly 13 years of UNMIL engagement. The Ebola crisis is a devastating example of how the Liberian state remains incapable of withstanding shocks to its fragile system. The Government of Liberia's response was anemic when it could have made a difference, then Government institutions crumpled under the pressure of a full-blown crisis. Without external assistance—from UNMIL, UNMEER and the United States—there is little to suggest that Liberia would have been able to get atop the situation.

A central part of UNMIL's post-conflict mandate was to strengthen government capacity so that Liberia can stand on its own with capable government institutions to respond to citizen needs. UNMIL has failed to do this. There are two primary reasons that have contributed to this, all of which have at least some applicability to other peace mission.

First, like all peace missions, UNMIL operates based on its UNSC mandate, which is renewed (and sometimes changed) yearly. With such a short time horizon, the system is designed with misaligned incentives. Program and project goals and objectives are structured around 1-year deliverables. Staff are evaluated and promoted based on meeting these goals and therefore have narrow focus on the realization of these 1-year deliverables. Not knowing what will come of the mission, many staff are looking for other jobs halfway through the year. More broadly, there is little incentive to wade into touchy issues that underpin Liberia's simmering societal troubles. And even when the most consequential issues are identified and programs are designed to deal with them, the time horizons are too short to affect them. There is a need for broader, longer-term mission planning.

Second, the issues of greatest consequence boil down to questions for Liberians, not outsiders. Among the many issues that caused conflict in Liberia and could lead to renewed conflict include questions around: the control of public resources, the imbalance in political power between the core and periphery, wealth disparity, land ownership, constitutional issues around citizenship, among many others. UNMIL created peace so that these issues could be discussed. While outsiders can't dictate answers, UNMIL (and all international actors) could have done more to incentivize action that would move toward settling these more consequential questions.

3. Transition and Drawdown

As UNMIL draws down with the stated intent to fully withdraw from the security sector in June 2016, the mission faces a problem: Government of Liberia capacity remains weak. Real concerns remain about the Government's ability to take full ownership over the key aspects of state, especially regarding the security sector. This makes draw down a political tight rope. The security blanket cannot remain forever, but no one wishes to withdraw prematurely. Moreover, main drivers of instability—poor governance and deeper economic and social issues—are appearing more and more salient. UNMIL never tackled these issues at the beginning or when the mission was at peak strength. Now, its leverage is waning, and because of mandate issues and larger UNSC political pressures to withdraw, UNMIL cannot begin to address them.

There is no appetite to take on additional tasks or issues. Overall, this has created a situation where UNMIL does not know how to leave. An exit strategy should have been considered earlier.

Potentially pointing to a way forward, is the relative success peace missions had at transitioning from green to blue helmets in Liberia. ECOMIL rather seamlessly “re-hatted” into an UNMIL peacekeeping force. (There was no analogy with ECOMOG and UNOMIL because the latter never had a mandate for peacekeeping like UNMIL). As UNMIL plans to leave, there is no reason that a small force—say, a current UNMIL Nigerian battalion—couldn’t re-hatted again, this time from blue to green. This does not solve the greater challenges of who will be left on the ship to assist and lead Liberia toward a reckoning with its central issues, but it would at least provide a mechanism for non-UN safety net.

4. Positive Moves Toward Mission Integration

Within UNMIL’s operational and planning structure, there was considerable effort to integrate the mission’s civilian and military components under a unified leadership. In a sense this can be seen as a response to the challenges that UNOMIL and UNOL faced in coordinating with the ECOMOG military components. Indeed, UNMIL instituted a unified chain of command and had early success at integration at the operational-level. There was decent communication among military, political and humanitarian actors. Integrating the planning process was more challenging. An Integrated Mission Planning Process didn’t appear till 2004^[xxxvii] and even then system-wide coherence was not always achieved. Integration was imperfect, but moved in the right direction. Eide writes that “in the case of Liberia and Sudan and to a lesser extent in the case of Côte d’Ivoire and Sierra Leone, design reflects the inclinations and predilections of senior mission management, with little if any substantive reference to best practices, concepts of integration or modern management practices.^[xxxviii] The UNMIL experience suggests that the more forethought to integration, the better.

However, a good example of mission coherence is the County Support Team (CST) mechanism that was rolled out to each of Liberia’s 15 counties. The CSTs main purpose was to supported the Government of Liberia’s effort to extend into the counties. It also served to connect UNMIL’s civilian and military components as well as international institutions, NGOs, donors and others.^[xxxix] Additionally, UNMIL was the first peacekeeping mission that had a joint information analysis cell.^[xl]

5. Multiple Regional Missions, Little Cooperation Among Them

Peace missions in Liberia overlapped temporally with major missions in two of Liberia’s three neighbors: Sierra Leone and Côte d’Ivoire. The conflicts in all three have regional links and regional drivers of conflict remain. In this context it makes sense to cooperate across missions just as it does in neighboring peace missions elsewhere around the world. Yet cooperation among UNOCI, UNAMSIL, and UNMIL was weak. However, it did increase over time, starting in 2005 when resolutions began making specific accommodations for cooperation, which in such a large bureaucracy is often a prerequisite of actual cooperation. The resolutions (detailed below) largely provided for types and amounts of technical military support, such as the transfer and use of helicopter and soldiers. This was particularly important to draw on at critical moments, such as the Ivorian post-electoral crisis in 2011. Additionally, ahead of the elections in Côte d’Ivoire and Liberia in 2011, the two missions had provisions in place for troop support.^[xli]

Had the missions been able to take further advantage of their proximity, there would have been greater operational capacity and coverage of the various missions, one would assume with less troops overall. Devising standard operating procedures and planning process for how to meaningfully operationalize mission coordination in neighboring countries is crucial from the start in contexts of neighboring peace missions.

6. Sanctions and Peace Missions: Parallel Tracks Toward Stability

Although not a part of the peacekeeping mission, the UNSC-imposed sanctions regime positively impacted UNMIL goals and assisted Liberia's war to peace transition by reinforcing peace mission goals and providing an additional oversight mechanism. The sanctions regime was able to cut to the heart of some of Liberia's deep challenges that UNMIL was unable to touch, such as control of natural resources and arms and the specifics of Liberia's security sector. The Panel of Experts, as independent investigators, could report on highly contentious political and security issues that would have been too sensitive for UNMIL. By the same token, the Panel of Experts can cultivate sources and access areas in ways that UNMIL cannot. Therefore, Panel reports widen the aperture to allow in greater amounts of information than would otherwise be possible through UNMIL alone. However, the Panel's reporting at times created tension because many among the Government of Liberia, among others, do not distinguish between the Panel and the Mission.

There were and continue to be issues regarding cooperation and information sharing between the UNSC, Panels and UNMIL. The peace mission and the sanctions regime—including Sanctions Committee, the Panel of Experts, DPKO and DPA—did not coordinate in depth or as much as they should. Yet, largely the systems moved in parallel toward the same goal.

7. Security Sector Reform

Security sector reform (SSR) has been patchy in Liberia, which is particularly problematic given the history of Liberia's predatory security institutions. The public still do not trust the security services. During the ECOMOG mission, there was no true SSR effort. Since 2003, in line with the peace agreement, UNMIL and bilateral partners (primarily the US) have moved forward with a more robust SSR agenda. The police and army have been vetted (the latter more thoroughly than the former) and significant training efforts have moved beyond "train and equip" efforts that are often exercises that simply result in the security forces being more effective killers. Yet the pace of progress is very slow. UNMIL reports consistently highlight lack of progress and investigations undertaken by the Panel of Experts have revealed pervasive weakness in Liberia's security institutions. The prioritization of the army over the police by the major donor has created significant imbalance in the security services and also did not respond to Liberia's most pressing security challenges, which are internal not external. Overall, this suggests there should be further analysis of how to prioritize security sector reform and what external actors are best positioned to assist in the areas that are needed the most.

8. Perceptions of Bias

The appearance of bias has plagued peace missions in Liberia since day one. ECOMOG became an actor in the conflict, actively combating various factors, principally Taylor's forces. From the very beginning there was no veneer of impartiality.^[xliii] ECOMOG's reputation was not enhanced by its poor discipline: Liberians popularly know ECOMOG as "Every Car or Moving Object Gone" because of pervasive looting.

UNMIL has a better reputation than ECOMOG (although Liberians generally feared and respected ECOMOG's willingness to use force). Nevertheless, UNMIL is widely perceived as having propped up the Government of Liberia, which given the contentious nature of politics in Liberia is not an inconsequential perception. UNMIL effectively administered Liberia during the 2003-2005 rule of the National Transitional Government of Liberia. This was a period where key positions of government were doled out to the various fighting factions based on the 2003 Accra peace agreement. These years were characterized by widespread looting of resources that was exaggerated in popular imagination. UNMIL was seen as propping up this government. After the election that ushered in President Sirleaf in 2005 and through the present, UNMIL continues to be seen as an adjunct security force for President Sirleaf. Yet, UNMIL is still widely perceived by Liberians to be the glue that is holding the fragile security situation together.

9. Relative Benefits and Limitations of Regional Actors

Despite ECOMOG's poor discipline, there was no doubt that they had unrivaled knowledge of the context, language and culture. They were willing to engage the combatants and take casualties. They were also physically closer so deployment was easier than from, say, Bangladesh. The downside of ECOMOG's position as a vanguard force was that they were relatively ill-equipped and had poor discipline. ECOMOG did not have enough equipment—weapons, maps, tents, cooking facilities, etc.—and they were not prepared for the type of warfare they encountered in Liberia (and Sierra Leone).^[xliii] Furthermore, logistical handicaps also plagued ECOMOG. UN missions have greater logistical capacities, but are much slower to mobilize.

10. Benefits of Great Power Attention

The “special relationship” between Liberia and the United States means that the US has the de facto lead and most other actors will follow suit, or at least not contradict American action regarding Liberia. The US does not always recognize how much sway it actually has in Liberia and did not always best utilize its leverage. Nevertheless, the US provides the central diplomatic and political constituency for Liberia while also providing the bulk of the financial support for the UNMIL. US diplomatic pressure was essential to push Taylor into exile. Furthermore, when ECOWAS did not have significant interests in an ECOMOG part two, the US applied significant pressure on ECOWAS and Nigeria. Indeed, ECOMIL was “deployed with military and financial support (US\$30 million) from the United States.”^[xliv]

Absent American attention, it is unlikely that Liberia, a small country that arguably does not have major geostrategic importance, would have benefited from the sustained peacekeeping efforts as it has. And when the United States was distracted by other pressing geopolitical concerns—the end of Cold War, war in Iraq, etc.—attention to Liberia slipped. The flip side of the US's attention is that, at times, there are tensions and coordination issues between UNMIL, various UN actors and the US as a bilateral player. The US Embassy and UNMIL do not always coordinate as smoothly as they could.

Annex 1

UNOMIL military personnel (observers) contributing countries

Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, China, Congo, Czech Republic, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau, Hungary, India, Jordan, Kenya, Malaysia, Nepal, Netherlands, Pakistan, Poland, Russian Federation, Slovak Republic, Sweden and Uruguay

UNMIL military personnel (troops and observers) contributing countries

Bangladesh, Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gambia, Ghana, Indonesia, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Namibia, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Paraguay, Poland, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Senegal, Serbia, Togo, Ukraine, United States, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Since UNMIL's inception, Nigeria, Pakistan and Bangladesh provided the largest number of troops. Ghana, China, Ethiopia, Namibia and Senegal made moderate troop contributions. Nepal, Jordan, Ukraine, Mongolia, Philippines, India, Ireland and Sweden played minor roles. Ireland and Sweden provided about 500 elite troops from 2003-2007 that constituted a Quick Reaction Force that played a critical role in rapid response operations.^[xliv]

Police personnel contributing countries

Argentina, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, China, Egypt, Fiji, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, India, Jordan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Namibia, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Poland, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Serbia, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United States, Uruguay, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

III. Liberia Literature Review**Analyses and Scholarly Works:**

Aboagye, Festus B., and Alhaji M. S. Bah. "Liberia at a Crossroads: A Preliminary Look at the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and the Protection of Civilians." ISS Paper 95. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2004.

A strong overview piece that outlines was written just after UNMIL was deployed. It therefore focuses more on the previous peace mission deployments, such as ECOMOG, UNOMIL and ECOMIL, and the lead-up to the UNMIL deployment. Structured around the protection of civilians aspect of the mission, there is a worthwhile description of the various mandates and, in particular, the comparison between ECOMOG and UNMIL. Additionally, there is insightful description of the politics surrounding ECOMOG's deployment (and the contestation by Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso – who were supporting factions in Liberia's war) and a contrast with the more balanced ECOMIL deployment.

Arthur, Peter. "Integration in West Africa: Lessons for the Future." *Africa Today* 57(2), 2010, pp 4-24.

Solid overview piece of ECOWAS's historic role in regional peacekeeping, drawing particularly on the peace missions in Liberia and Sierra Leone. The starting point is that the Westphalian system of sovereignty has boundaries and is increasingly being replaced by a new norm of "sovereignty as responsibility." The article is particularly useful to understand the trajectory of ECOWAS engagement and also includes colorful description of the challenges facing ECOMOG in Liberia. Arthur draws out a number of lessons from the ECOWAS interventions in the 1990s and how those were, in some instances, applied to further diplomatic engagement in Côte d'Ivoire in 2003 and Togo in 2005.

Bellamy, Alex J., and Paul D. Williams. *Understanding Peacekeeping*. 2nd Edition. Malden: Polity Press, 2011.

A foundational book that provides the theory, politics and practice of international peace operations, this is particularly useful for its framework of peace operations. The most useful part of the book is the specific reference to the ECOMOG mission in the Chapter on "Regionalization" which includes description of ECOMOG's origins, structure and challenges and relationship to ECOWAS and UNOMIL.

Bertoux, Philippe, Political Counsellor of France to the United Nations. Statement to the Security Council on Peacekeeping Operations (Inter-mission Cooperation). 12 December 2012. Available from <http://www.franceonu.org/12-December-2012-Security-Council>.

This is a useful for background on a P-5 member state position on peace operations and has specific insight into inter-mission cooperation. The statement includes discussion of the West African mission cooperation between the United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI) and United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) during the Ivorian post-electoral crisis in 2011.

Boulden, Jane, Ed. *Responding to Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations*. Palmgrave MacMillan, 2013, pp 203-230.

A very compelling compilation of works dedicated to the various angles of how the United Nations and regional organizations have responded to violent conflict in Africa. The theoretical and overview chapters are warrant attention for their framing devices and the chapter devoted to Liberia is highly relevant to understanding the ECOWAS and UN connections.

Cochran, Shawn. "Security Assistance, Surrogate Armies, and the Pursuit of US Interests in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Spring 2010: 111-152.

Written from a decidedly American military perspective, the article links between the use of force and security assistance to pursue American interest in Africa. The area where this piece is most valuable is that one Cochran's two cases is Nigeria and ECOWAS's involvement in Liberia. In this case, there is useful information on the regional involvement of those actors, details about the missions and potential lessons.

Coleman, Katharina. "Innovations in 'African Solutions to African Problems: The Evolving Practice of Regional Peacekeeping in Sub-Saharan Africa.'" *Journal of Modern African Studies* 4, 49 (2011): 517-545.

This piece describes the rise of regional peacekeeping efforts in Africa and associated lessons, but is most useful for the discussion of the linkages between regional peace missions and UN missions. The issue of re-hatting and coordination of mandate is discussed, in particular with the ECOMIL to UNMIL transition.

Eide, Espen Barth et al. *Report on Integrated Missions: Practical Perspectives and Recommendations*. Independent Study for the Expanded UN ECHA Core Group. 2005.

This is a near-exhaustive examination of integrated peace missions. Significant space is devoted to the history of mission integration and the evolution from poor integration to, at the very least, attempts at mission integration. The most insightful aspect of the book is perhaps the middle section on the efforts to bridge theory and practice to integration missions, which relies heavily on detailed information about the UN and regional peace mission structures. The conclusion is that mission integration is poorly defined and rarely achieved, perhaps for some understandable reasons, yet it is assumed to be the way of the future. The final recommendations are also useful to understand policy options for mission integration.

Hull, Cecilia. *Integrated Missions: A Liberia Case Study*. Swedish Defense Research Agency – FOI. Stockholm: FOI, 2008.

This article examines UNMIL as a case of mission integration, since it was in some sense the first mission to try to orient itself as a fully integrated mission. The piece outlines where gaps remained despite integration efforts, provides highlights of where integration seemingly succeeded and where lessons might be drawn.

Hutchful, Eboe. "The ECOMOG Experience with Peacekeeping in West Africa." Monograph No 36: Whither Peacekeeping in Africa? April 1999. Available from <https://www.issafrika.org/pubs/Monographs/No36/ECOMOG.html>

A contemporary look at the ECOMOG intervention—written just as ECOMOG departed Liberia—this piece does an excellent job of describing the mission's origins, mandate, deployment and departure. Detailed information carries the reader throughout and this is particularly useful to understand the context and the politics around the ECOWAS intervention, including the political maneuvering of some of the members who were involved in Liberia's conflict. Hutchful details how the politics led to a specific type of

intervention structure in ECOMOG and that had consequences for the manner in which the force carried out its mandate.

Landgren, Karin. Remarks at International Peace Institute. 7 July 2015. Available from <http://www.ipinst.org/2015/07/liberia-in-transition#7>.

In these recent remarks, the outgoing UNMIL SRSG provides a rather frank assessment of the state of affairs in Liberia as UNMIL draws down and prepares to depart. This is a particularly important perspective because as the SRSG who essentially had the mandate to shutter UNMIL, her perspective points to Liberia's significant remaining challenges. Reading between the lines, one can hear how UNMIL has not prepared the Government of Liberia to take ownership of its security sector.

New York University Center on International Cooperation, Global Peace Operations Review (accessed 13 September 2015); available from <http://www.peaceoperationsreview.org>.

This is a go-to resource for getting among the most reliable data available for global peace missions. The various yearly reports provide specifics numbers of troops, civilians, police and disaggregates the force contributions by country so that one can tell what country is contributing in what way at any given year.

Ross, Blair. "The U.S. Joint Task Force Experience in Liberia." *Military Review* May-June 2005: 60-67.

This is a detailed piece that describe two pieces of particular relevance. First, there is an excellent overview of ECOMIL and its position as the vanguard for UNMIL. Second, Blair, as a US Army Colonel, provides important information on the United States' deployment of Joint Task Force Liberia, the non-fighting force that had a significant psychological impact on the end of the war in 2003.

Security Council Report. December 2012 Monthly Forecast: Peacekeeping and Inter-Mission Cooperation. 30 November 2012. Available from http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/monthly-forecast/2012-12/peacekeeping_debate_on_inter-mission_cooperation.php.

A short but information document (as most are from Security Council Report) that describes the UN internal push toward inter-mission cooperation because of resource constraints. This is a common point of view since there are more demands /need for peacekeeping operations than the UN can easily supply or manage.

Shilue, James Shah and Patricia Fagen. "Liberia: Links Between Peacebuilding, Conflict Prevention and Durable Solutions to Displacement." Brookings Institute, September 5, 2014.

Shilue and Fagen discuss solutions to Liberia's massive post-war displacement, which is relevant in that it provides an overview of the situation in Liberia as well as providing some analysis of the conflict.

Tavares, Rodrigo. "The Participation of SADC and ECOWAS in Military Operations: The Weight of National Interests in Decision-Making." *African Studies Review*, Volume 54, Number 2 (September 2011): 145-76.

This piece describes the national interests at stake in the ECOWAS missions in Liberia. Tavares shows how various national interests caused some problems among ECOWAS states at the beginning of the ECOMOG mission and that Nigerian interests were crucial in ECOMOG's deployment and conduct. The most relevant piece is that there is discussion of the way in which the United States pushed ECOWAS to intervene with ECOMIL in 2003, at a time when there was little ECOWAS interest.

UN, AU, and ECOWAS Documents, Agreements

ECOWAS Communiqués regarding ECOMOG

Economic Community of West African States. Thirteenth Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government – Final Communiqué. 28-30 May 1990.

Notes authorization Standing Mediation Committee that launched ECOMOG 1989.

Economic Community of West African States. Fourteenth Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government – Final Communiqué. 4-6 July 1991.

Commends Standing Mediation Committee and ECOMOG.

Economic Community of West African States. Extraordinary Summit Of ECOWAS Heads Of State And Government On The Situation In Liberia Final Communiqué. Accra, July 31, 2003.
Expresses support for the 2003 peace process and calls for ECOMIL deployment.

UNMIL Resolutions / Reports (Disaggregated by substance of UN resolution)***Authorization and Mandate Adjustments*****Resolution 1497 (1 August 2003)**

Authorize multinational force with UN stabilize follow-on

Resolution 1509 (19 September 2003)

Transition from ECOMIL to UNMIL as of 1 October 2003; 15,000 military personnel (inc 250 mil observers, 160 staff officers, 1,115 UN police); Support Accra Ceasefire Agreement: monitor, DDRR; HR promo, monitor, protection; SSR: restructure police (democratic, training), military (ECOWAS cooperation); Government authority, elections for end of 2005.

Resolution 1638 (11 November 2005)

After the capture of Charles Taylor, authorizes his transfer to the Special Court of Sierra Leone

Resolution 1694 (13 July 2006)

Increase police, decrease military each by 125

Resolution 1938 (10 September 2010)

Electoral assistance for 2011 elections, elections a core benchmark for drawdown

Resolution 2008 (16 September 2011)

Electoral support, SG post election transition plan mission 2012

SG Report S/2011/72 (14 February 2011)

Updated benchmarks for drawdown: 1) implementation of a strategy and plan for security handover; 2) Institutionalization of the national security architecture re: national security strategy; 3) National security

institutions effectively maintain law and order; 4) Enhanced national capacity to secure and control the borders; 5) Increased effectiveness of State authority throughout Liberia; 6) Conduct of peaceful, credible and accepted national elections in 2011

Resolution 2190 (15 December 2014)

Post-Ebola mandate, notes Ebola froze cooperation with UNOCI, affirms importance for mission cooperation; affirms total security hand-off by 30 June 2016 in the following priority order: 1) Protection of Civilians; 2) Humanitarian access and UNMEER coordination as appropriate; 3) Justice and SSR; 4) Electoral support; 5) HR promotion and protection; 6) Protect UN personnel.

Resolution 2215 (2 April 2015)

Similar to 2190, priority order: 1) Protection of Civilians; 2) Humanitarian access and UNMEER coordination as appropriate; 3) Justice and SSR; Support government with develop/implement national strategy on (SSR); advise gov on SSR and the organization of the LNP and BIN; tech assistance, co-location and mentoring for LNP and BIN; 4) Human rights promotion, monitoring, protection; 5) Protect UN personnel.

Cooperation Among Regional Peacekeeping Missions

SG Report S/2005/135 (2 March 2005)

Proposes new intermission coop in light of security needs, DDR, cross-border arms, refugees, fighters. Outlines past and current cooperation: UNAMSIL/UNMIL/UNOCI info share on political/security; Force Commanders meet since Dec 2003 regularly; 3 DSRSG/Humanitarian Coordinators meet on refugees/displaced persons; UNAMSIL helped UNMIL Civilian Affairs (temporary deployment), Electoral Unit, and troop re-deployment itself

Resolution 1609 (24 June 2005)

UNOCI resolution with regional cooperation framework answers parts of SG report: joint air patrols for borders, cross-border land patrols, border crossing points coordination, cross-country operations for certain borders, integrated joint mission analysis cells in UNMIL UNAMSIL, DDR coordination. Troop contributing country permission redeploy across missions temporarily (troop caps remain on home mission)

Resolution 1626 (19 September 2005)

UNMIL deploy maximum 250 personnel to Sierra Leone for security to Special Court in November. Temporary troop cap up to 15,250 United Nations 15 November 2005-31 March 2006. When established, UNIOSIL logistical support to UNMIL personnel in Sierra Leone

Resolution 1657 (6 February 2006)

One infantry unit lent to UNOCI

Resolution 1951 (24 November 2010)

Lends up to three infantry companies and aviation unit (two military helicopters) to UNOCI for electoral run-off stability for one month

Resolution 1971 (3 March 2011)

Sierra Leone special court security troops brought back to UNMIL

SG Report S/2014/342 (15 May 2014)

Proposes regional quick reaction force in UNOCI also supports UNMIL: "Address incidents in Côte d'Ivoire and, at the same time, to rapidly respond in Liberia in the event of a serious deterioration in security. The force would operate in the context of the inter-mission cooperation framework set out in Security Council resolution 1609 (2005)."

Resolution 2062 (26 July 2012)

Three armed helicopters loaned to UNOCI for use on Liberia-Côte d'Ivoire border

Resolution 2162 (25 June 2014)

Authorizes quick reaction force with primary goal to implement UNOCI mandate but ability to deploy to Liberia to reinforce UNMIL's mandate. Establishes by May 2015 for initial authorization of one year. SG can deploy with troop contributing country and Liberian government consent, if serious security worsening. SG can deploy without SC authorization if for less than 90 days, though must inform SC immediately; SC authorization needed if for more than 90 days. All UNOCI and UNMIL military helicopters to be used in both countries for rapid response and mobility, while not affecting the area of responsibility of either mission

SG Report A/70/357–S/2015/682 (2 September 2015)

Report discusses implementing recommendations of high-level panel on peace operations, SG expresses intent to explore "rapid and time-bound transfer of assets and capabilities from existing missions to meet crises or start-up needs." Quick reaction force's potential noted.

Troop Drawdown**Resolution 1777 (20 September 2007)**

Reduction of 2,450 military Oct 07-Sep 08, 498 police Apr 08-Dec 10

Resolution 1836 (29 September 2008)

Further reduce 1,460 military Oct 08-Mar 09, 240 police increase

Resolution 1885 (15 September 2009)

Third drawdown, reduce 2,029 military, leaving strength at 8,202, Oct 09-May 10

Resolution 2066 (17 September 2012)

New phrased reduction August 2012-July 2015 in three steps, to 3,750 by July 2015

Increase Force Protection Units by 420, new maximum of 1,795

Resolution 2116 (18 September 2013)

SG analysis on UNMIL/UNCT, technical assessment mission after Oct 2014 senatorial elections

Resolution 2215 (2 April 2015)

Endorses SG report for third phase, new troop cap 3,590, police cap 1,515, both by Sep 2015

Sanctions Related Resolution and Reports

Resolution 1343 (7 March 2001)

Directly condemned the Liberian government's support for the Revolutionary United Front as a threat to international peace and security; arms embargo, diamond and travel bans

Resolution 1458 (28 January 2003)

Panel of Experts (POE) follow up mission on 1343 violations

Resolution 1478 (6 May 2003)

POE findings and noncompliance

Resolution 1521 (22 December 2003)

New sanctions committee established

Resolution 1532 (12 March 2004)

Taylor and family asset freeze

Resolution 1579 (21 December 2004)

Renew arms, travel, timber

Resolution 1689 (20 June 2006)

Timber sanctions lapse, diamonds continue

Resolution 1753 (27 April 2007)

Ends the sanctions on diamonds

Resolution 1903 (17 December 2009)

Ends government arms embargo, adds arms embargo on non-state actors, to be renewed annually

Resolution 2237 (2 September 2015)

Ends travel and financial sanctions from res 1521, 1532

Other UNMIL-Related Resolutions / Reports

- United Nations. Report of the Secretary-General. S/2003/875. 11 September 2003.
- United Nations. Report of the Secretary-General. S/2005/135. 2 March 2005.
- United Nations. Report of the Secretary-General. S/2011/72. 14 February 2011.
- United Nations. Report of the Secretary-General. S/2014/342. 15 May 2014.
- United Nations. Report of the Secretary-General. A/70/357–S/2015/682. 2 September 2015.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 788. S/RES/788. 19 November 1992.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1343. S/RES/1343. 7 March 2001.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1458. S/RES/1458. 28 January 2003.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1478. S/RES/1478. 6 May 2003.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1497. S/RES/1497. 1 August 2003.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1509. S/RES/1509. 19 September 2003.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1521. S/RES/1521. 22 December 2003.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1532. S/RES/1532. 12 March 2004.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1579. S/RES/1579. 21 December 2004.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1609. S/RES/1609. 24 June 2005.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1626. S/RES/1626. 19 September 2005.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1638. S/RES/1638. 11 November 2005.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1657. S/RES/1657. 6 February 2006.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1689. S/RES/1689. 20 June 2006.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1695. S/RES/1695. 13 July 2006.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1753. S/RES/1753. 27 April 2007.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1777. S/RES/1777. 20 September 2007.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1836. S/RES/1836. 29 September 2008.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1885. S/RES/1885. 15 September 2009.

- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1903. S/RES/1903. 17 December 2009.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1938. S/RES/1938. 10 September 2010.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1951. S/RES/1951. 24 November 2010.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 1971. S/RES/1971. 3 March 2011.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 2008. S/RES/2008. 16 September 2011.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 2062. S/RES/2062. 26 July 2012.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 2066. S/RES/2066. 17 September 2012.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 2116. S/RES/2116. 18 September 2013.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 2162. S/RES/2162. 25 June 2014.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 2190. S/RES/2190. 15 December 2014.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 2215. S/RES/2215. 2 April 2015.
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution 2237. S/RES/2237. 2 September 2015.

UNOMIL Resolutions[\[xlvi\]](#)

- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/788 (1992) of 19 November 1992
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/813 (1993) of 26 March 1993
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/856 (1993) of 10 August 1993
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/866 (1993) of 22 September 1993
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/PRST/1994/9 of 25 February 1994
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/911 (1994) of 21 April 1994
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/PRST/1994/25 of 23 May 1994
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/PRST/1994/33 of 13 July 1994
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/PRST/1994/53 of 13 September 1994
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/950 (1994) of 21 October 1994
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/972 (1995) of 13 January 1995

- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/985 (1995) of 13 April 1995
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/1001 (1995) of 30 June 1995
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/1014 (1995) of 15 September 1995
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/1020 (1995) of 10 November 1995
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/1041 (1996) of 29 January 1996
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/1059 (1996) of 31 May 1996
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/1071 (1996) of 30 August 1996
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/1083 (1996) of 27 November 1996
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/1100 (1997) of 27 March 1997
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/RES/1116 (1997) of 27 June 1997
- United Nations. Security Council Resolution S/PRST/1997/41 of 30 July 1997

UNOMIL-Related Reports of the Secretary-General[\[xlvi\]](#)

- United Nations. Security Council, S/199X (Can't find the first progress report yet)
- United Nations. Security Council, S/1994/168 of 14 February 1994, second progress report.[\[xlviii\]](#)
- United Nations. Security Council, S/1994/463 of 18 April 1994, Third progress report
- United Nations. Security Council, S/1994/588 of 18 May 1994, Fourth progress report
- United Nations. Security Council, S/1994/1006 of 26 August 1994, Sixth progress report
- United Nations. Security Council, S/1994/1167 of 14 October 1994, Seventh progress report
- United Nations. Security Council, S/1995/9 of 6 January 1995, Eighth progress report
- United Nations. Security Council, S/1995/158 of 24 February 1995, Ninth progress report
- United Nations. Security Council, S/1995/279 of 10 April 1995, Tenth progress report
- United Nations. Security Council, S/1995/473 of 10 June 1995, Eleventh progress report
- United Nations. Security Council, S/1995/781 of 9 September 1995, Twelfth progress report
- United Nations. Security Council, S/1995/881 of 23 October 1995, Thirteenth progress report

United Nations. Security Council, S/1995/881/Add.1, 30 October 1995, Thirteenth progress report

United Nations. Security Council, S/1995/1042 of 18 December 1995, Fourteenth progress report

United Nations. Security Council, S/1996/47 of 23 January 1996, Fifteenth progress report

United Nations. Security Council, S/1996/362 of 21 May 1996, Seventeenth progress report

United Nations. Security Council, S/1996/858 of 17 October 1996, Nineteenth progress report

United Nations. Security Council, S/1996/858/Add.1 of 22 October 1996, Nineteenth progress report

United Nations. Security Council, S/1996/962 of 19 November 1996, Twentieth progress report

United Nations. Security Council, S/1997/90 of 29 January 1997, Twenty-first progress report

United Nations. Security Council, S/1997/478 of 19 June 1997, Twenty-third progress report

United Nations. Security Council, S/1997/712 of 12 September 1997, Final report on UNOMIL

[i] Often used are the likely-too-high figures of between 150,000-250,000. This approximates 150,000 for the period 1989-1997 (<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmil/background.shtml>) and approximately another 100,000 from 1999-2003 (<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13729504>).

[ii] Shilue, James Shah and Patricia Fagen. "Liberia: Links Between Peacebuilding, Conflict Prevention and Durable Solutions to Displacement." Brookings Institute, September 5, 2014.

[iii] Radelet, Steve. "Reviving Economic Growth in Liberia." Center for Global Development. Working Paper Number 133, November 2007.

[iv] World Bank. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.LE00.IN?page=4>

[v] UNICEF. http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/liberia_statistics.html

[vi] Aboagye, Festus B., and Alhaji M. S. Bah. "Liberia at a Crossroads: A Preliminary Look at the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and the Protection of Civilians." ISS Paper 95. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2004, p 2. See Economic Community of West African States. Thirteenth Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government – Final Communiqué. 28-30 May 1990.

[vii] For on an incomplete, but indicative account of the various interests that guided being for or against intervention in Liberia, see further Aboagye and Bah (2004) and Brown, Natalie. "ECOWAS and the Liberia Experience: Peacekeeping and Self-Preservation. U.S. Department of State, 1999.

[viii] Bellamy, Alex J., and Paul D. Williams. *Understanding Peacekeeping*. 2nd Edition. Malden: Polity Press, 2011, p. 313-314.

[ix] United Nations. Security Council Resolution 788. S/RES/788. 19 November 1992.

[x] See “Accords of the Liberia Conflict.” The agreement was between the Interim Government of National Unity, the nominal government in Monrovia and the two principle warring factions, Charles Taylor National Patriotic Liberation Front (NPFL) and George Boley’s Liberia Peace Council (LPC).

[xi] UNOMIL official website. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unomilF.html>

[xii] Ibid.

[xiii] These parties included: Charles Taylor, National Patriotic Liberation Front (NPFL); Alhaji Kromah, United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO-K); George Boley, Liberia Peace Council (LPC); Hezekiah Bowen, Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL); Roosevelt Johnson, United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy-J (ULIMO-J); Francois Massaquoi, Lofa Defence Force (LDF); Jucontee Thomas Woewiyu, National Patriotic Front of Liberia Central Revolutionary Council (NPFL-CDC); Chea Cheapoo, Liberia National Conference (LNC). Note that ULIMO had splintered into two groups, ULIMO-J and ULIMO-K. The “J” and “K” refer to the respective leaders, Roosevelt Johnson and Alhaji Kromah.

[xiv] Chapter V, Subsidiary organs of the Security Council, p 165.

[xv] Letter from the Secretary-General. S/1998/1080

[xvi] United Nations Subsidiary Organs official website
http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/subsidiary_organs/special_political_complete.shtml

[xvii] The primary actors in the 1999-2003 war were Taylor’s governmental forces and his loyal paramilitaries, Liberian United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) led by Sekou Conneh, and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) led by Thomas Yaya Nimley.

[xviii] It is worth noting the parallels between peace missions in Liberia and Sierra Leone. War in Sierra Leone began in 1991 and in 1997 ECOMOG intervened militarily. In 1998, the UN created the United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone, which was focused on disarming the fighting forces, a premature move given that the war had not truly ended. On 22 October 1999, the UN Security Council passed resolution 1270 that created the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone under Chapter VII and this mission remained in Sierra Leone until 2005 when the UN transitioned to a lighter, non-military posture focused on peacebuilding and governmental support. The final UN mission in Sierra Leone, the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Sierra Leone, closed in March 2014.

[xix] The Mano River Union is a regional organization whose members are Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea. Cote d’Ivoire joined in 2008.

[xx] Coleman, Katharina, “Liberia.” in Boulden, Jane, Ed. *Responding to Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations*. Palmgrave MacMillan, 2013, pp 203-230. Coleman, Katharina. “Innovations in ‘African Solutions to African Problems: The Evolving Practice of Regional Peacekeeping in Sub-Saharan Africa.” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 4, 49 (2011): 517-545.

[xxi] Ibid.

[xxii] Adebajo, Adekeye. *Liberia’s Civil War: Nigeria, ECOMOG and Regional Security in West Africa*. Lynne Rienner, 2002.

[xxiii] Ibid.

[xxiv] Coleman, Katharina, "Liberia." in Boulden, Jane, Ed. *Responding to Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations*. Palmgrave MacMillan, 2013, p 205

[xxv] Ibid.

[xxvi] Call, Charles. *Why Peace Fails: The Causes and Prevention of Civil War Recurrence*, Georgetown University Press, 2012, p 89. Krasno, Jean E, ed. *The United Nations: Confronting the Challenges of a Global Society*, page 263.

[xxvii] Francis, David J. *Uniting Africa: Building Regional Peace and Security Systems*. Ashgate, 2006, p 158

[xxviii] UNOMIL official website. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unomilF.html>

[xxix] Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, http://conflict.sipri.org/SIPRI_Internet/search/ECOMIL

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