THE AFRICAN CAPACITY BUILDING FOUNDATION

SIERRA LEONE

STUDIES IN RECONSTRUCTION AND CAPACITY BUILDING IN POST-CONFLICT COUNTRIES IN AFRICA

SOME LESSONS OF EXPERIENCE FROM SIERRA LEONE

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SOME LESSONS OF EXPERIENCE FROM SIERRA LEONE

AN ACBF OPERATIONS-BASED STUDY BY

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Acronyms

ACBF	-	African Capacity Building Foundation
ADB	-	African Development Bank
AFRC	-	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
AFRSL	-	Armed Forces of Sierra Leone
APC	-	All Peoples Congress Party
CCF	-	Country Co-operation Frameworks
CCP	-	Consolidation of Peace
CDF	-	Civil Defense Forces
CPDT	-	Commonwealth Police Development Task Forces
CRRP	-	Community Reintegration and Rehabilitation Program
DAD	-	Donor Assistance Database
DDR	-	National Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Program
DFID	-	Department for International Development
ERSF	-	Economic Recovery Support Fund
FMPU	-	Financial Management and Procurement Unit
GNP	-	Gross National Product
GRS	-	Government Reform Secretariat
HDI	-	Human Development Index
IAAC	-	Integrated Approach to Aid Coordination
IMATT	-	International Military Advisory Team
IPRSP	-	Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper of Sierra Leone
MAP	-	Mass Awareness and Participation
MODAT	-	Ministry of Defense Advisory Team
NCDDR	-	National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
NPFL	-	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPN	-	National People Party
NPRC	-	National Provisional Ruling Council
NUSS	-	National Union of Sierra Students
RRR	-	National Resettlement Reconstruction and Rehabilitation
RSLAF	-	Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces
RUF	-	Revolutionary United Front
SAP	-	World Bank Structural Adjustment Program
SLLP	-	Sierra Leone Peoples Party
SPP	-	Strategic Planning and Action Process
STTT	-	Short Term Training Team
TCC	-	Technical Coordinating Committee
TEP	-	Training and Employment Program
UDP	-	United Democratic Party
UNAMSIL	-	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Program

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.1   Sierra Leone like Uganda, Rwanda and Mozambique offers an interesting case study on post-war reconstruction and capacity building in Africa. This small West African country became embroiled in a violent armed conflict in March 1991 when a small group of fighters of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) aided by Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) attacked Bomaru, a small village in eastern Sierra Leone. The war and the subsequent state collapse that followed could be attributed to a number of interrelated factors. Initially, many commentators on the Sierra Leone conflict were convinced that the war was an extension of Taylor's war of terror launched in Liberia in 1989. Of course, there is available evidence to substantiate this claim. In the first place, Taylor was disgruntled with Sierra Leone for the country's pivotal role in facilitating the work of the ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), an outfit created in 1990 to resolve the Liberian crisis. His bitterness against Sierra Leone stemmed from the fact that the country was used as the ECOMOG Headquarters. He openly declared at one point that Sierra Leone would taste the bitterness of war. He practically made available the fighters, weapons and a launching pad for the RUF attack on Sierra Leone in 1991. Furthermore, Taylor also had an envious eye on Sierra Leone's rich diamonds as a ready resource to fund his war in Liberia.

1.2   Another major cause of the Sierra Leone war, like most other African wars, is the phenomenon of bad governance. The period 1968-1992 represents a distinct watershed in the political history of Sierra Leone as it witnessed the reign of the All Peoples Congress Party (APC) first under Siaka Stevens (1968-1985) and latter under Momoh (1986-1992). The APC era was not only noted for introducing a one-party rule for the country but for also for its insensitivity to democratic principles. In his attempt to annihilate any form of organized opposition to his regime, Siaka Stevens employed a series of techniques including Draconian press laws, executions and detention of political opponents. There was also rampant corruption and mismanagement of state resources by the APC. In addition to bad governance, the inability of the government to improve the welfare of the youths, the majority of whom were unemployed and illiterates. It was from this category of people that a significant number of the RUF recruits were drawn.

The forgoing discussion suggests that the war could not be attributed to any one particular factor as it was engendered by a combination of interrelated economic, political, social, cultural and external factors. The war itself was accompanied by many deaths and displacements, massive suffering and widespread destruction of the country's social and economic asset**s.**

1.3   Sierra Leone's post–war reconstruction and capacity-building like in the other case studies was championed by the government and the international community. The program received a strong international support owing mainly to the international perception of the post-war political regime as a democratic one headed by Alhaji Dr. Ahmad Tejan Kabbah of the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP). Unlike Liberia, where an incomplete disarmament process

frustrated the entire post-war reconstruction and capacity-building programs, a successful disarmament process in Sierra Leone set the smooth scene for the post-war reconstruction and capacity-building program.

1.4   Many lessons were learnt from the Sierra Leone case study. First among these lessons is that successful post-war peace building, reconstruction and capacity building hinges greatly on the funds, support and commitment to the realization of complete disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-fighters. Secondly, the post-war trauma caused by the brutalities of wartime experiences would not heal if all sectors in post-war civil society are not taken into account and carried along in the reconstruction and reconciliation program. Thirdly, that the nature of the post-war regime will play a pivotal role in galvanizing international support for post-war reconstruction and capacity-building.

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HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL SETTING

Study Scope Methodology

1.1   Case studies of four country experiences form the core of this assessment. They are Uganda, Rwanda, Mozambique and Sierra Leone. Liberia was dropped because of logistics problems. Since researchers did not participate in the selection of the countries to be studied nor in deciding on the periods to be covered for each respective country, we took liberty to extend the mandate of the terms of reference by documenting histories of each conflict and by going beyond indicated time frames in order to draw lessons of experienced and best practices.

1.2   The sources of information of this retrospective study were two-fold: intensive reviews of the recent literature on the effectiveness of international intervention in capacity-building and structured interviews with officials in government, private sector, civil society and in international development agencies. The first stage of the study used secondary sources, which included a review of books, journal articles and newspapers, official and unofficial government documents as well as those from major development agencies. These reviews analyzed donor and recipient experiences from various post-conflict countries and highlighted valuable insights and knowledge gaps concerning capacity-building policies, processes, institutions involved in the provisions of emergency relief, reconstruction and reconciliation. The second phase used primary sources, mainly in the form of structured interviews and informal conversations and discussions with senior officials in government, private sector and in the donor community in Freetown, Sierra Leone and Lagos, Nigeria.

1.3   Answers were sought on questions such as (i) who formulated the demand for capacity-building needs? (ii) How and to what extent were national institutions involved in designing, implementing and evaluating post-conflict capacity-building programs? (iii) What critical factors impeded the said programs to realize their full potential? (iv) To what extent were those programs sustainable? And, (v) how and to what extent was the national leadership involved in articulating needs, priorities and their sequencing?

1.4   Although fully aware of the subjective nature of the interviews, and the need for caution in processing the information obtained, there was a strong conviction that interviews would allow a nuanced grasp of the reality of the experiences through perception, frustration, and expectation of a wide variety of actors and

stakeholders.

1.5　　The main objective of the study is to draw conclusions and present recommendations that would provide a guide to strategies and instruments for post-conflict capacity building initiatives by the African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF) in post-conflict settings. Additionally, the study aims at contributing to a dialogue on the Fund's ability to respond more effectively and efficiently to the needs of societies rebuilding after conflict. It also provides recommendations for clarification and refinement of the Fund's policy in this area. A selected list of documents reviewed and persons interviewed is contained in the bibliography and annexes respectively.

1.6　　The Report is thematically organized. It starts with a theoretical presentation that informs the explanation of the nature of conflicts and their costs in the African settings. This is followed by a short historical background of the Sierra Leonean political economy that provide the context for understanding the impact as well as limitations of external interventions in conflict mitigation, reconstruction and capacity building. Finally, lessons of experience and best practices are drawn out and discussed in lieu of the conclusion.

Conflict and African Politics

1.7　　In the realm of peace and security in Africa, the 1990s witnessed dramatic and profound changes throughout the continent. With the conclusion of the Cold War, some of the major tensions between East and West over the African battleground were markedly eased. South Africa and Namibia installed democratically elected governments. Relative peace and stability was established in Mozambique after three decades of confrontation between warring parties. Several dozens of African countries held democratic elections. Unquestionably, all these were positive and significant signs of peace, stability and development. However, while many parts of the world moved toward greater stability and political and economic cooperation, Africa remained one of the cauldrons of instability. Political insecurity and violent conflict became increasingly persistent realities of the development scene in Africa. Internal strife with deep historical roots surfaced in many countries on the continent. Ironically, while the international community paid less and less attention to African security affairs, the continent's institutional and organizational capacity to manage its pervasive conflicts was not developing at the same pace as conflict escalations. Against such a backdrop, peace and peacemaking in Africa emerge as critical issues in global politics.

1.8　　Widespread societal conflicts in Africa are often played out against the backdrop of deep poverty, illiteracy, and weak systems of governance. Undermined by unfavorable terms of trade, indebtedness and administrative failures, most states in Africa have not responded adequately to the critical social needs of their citizen. In the most extreme cases, Africa's insecurity has been reflected in

traumatic episodes of collapsed and fragile states.[1] Almost invariably, state collapses are products of long-term degenerative politics marked by a loss of control over the economic and political space. As would be expected, collapsed states in Africa have had harmful spillover effects on neighboring countries. The overflow of refugees, heightened ethnic tension in some cases, and the resulting diplomatic conflicts, have engaged substantial resources and efforts from relatively stable countries that share borders with collapsed states (Zartman, 1995: 1-5). In the process, what were once thought to be merely domestic conflicts, out of the purview of international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and regional organizations such as the African Union (AU) have now been internationalized. External actors have been drawn into what was technically a civil war in order to restore peace and security. It has become increasingly apparent that Africa should develop capacities to deal with its own growing domestic security problems.

Essence of Conflict and Conflict Mapping

1.9   From antiquity to contemporary times, competition and conflict are regarded as inherent phenomena in both nature and society. Latent or violent social confrontations have long been considered as the *primum mobile* for social change and transformation. Arguments abound to support this proposition that conflict and competition are inevitable and ubiquitous in all societies at all times. Similarly, in the best of circumstances, conflict and competition are bounded and circumscribed. Contending groups of people and rival nations get involved in violent conflicts either because their interest or values are challenged or because their needs are not met. The deprivation (actual or potential) of any important value induces fear, a sense of treat, and unhappiness. Whether contending groups in a particular society are defined by ethnicity, religion, ideology, gender, or class identities, they have, by definition, different needs, interest, values and access to power and resources. Understandably, such differences necessarily generate social conflict and competition. What is at issue, therefore, is how to represent, manage and resolve inherent social conflicts before they degenerate into violent expression and massive destruction. The aim of conflict prevention then is not to prevent conflict as such, but to reduce the likelihood of specific conflicts becoming, or continuing to be, physically violent (Goodhand and Hulme, 1999:14).[2]

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[1]. "Fragile states" are understood to be countries facing latent or protracted conflict (including situations of war), countries emerging from conflict (with major uncertainties as to their future stability) and countries directly affected by regional conflicts. Their "fragility" can take different forms. In the extreme cases, state structures have disappeared. In other cases, the central state may appear strong (e.g. in terms of military control), but lacks legitimacy, controls only part of the national territory or fails to deliver even the most basic services (including in developmental terms). The net result is generally a situation of chronic instability, insecurity, violation of human rights, economic and social collapse, high levels of aid dependency and rising levels of absolute poverty (Rugumamu, 2001).

[2]. Either termed "conflict", "war", or, more fashionably, "complex political emergencies" they may be characterized by the following features:

- They occur within and across state boundaries. Although the conflict may originate or take place within a particular state, they also have regional origins, spillover effects and involve numerous external actors

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1.10 The major positive and negative changes and transformations in world history occurred as a result of resolving old intractable conflicts through violence or war. In fact, the epoch-making social revolutions of the past centuries were the only way of resolving irreconcilable conflicts of different social formations. On the ashes destruction and disintegration caused by the previous system, social revolutions provided societies with unique opportunities to devise more conducive institutional arrangements to meet the challenges of the new times. In this broader sense, therefore, conflict *per se* is not at issue. The existence of conflict does not in itself necessarily lead to the eruption of widespread hostilities. The tolerance and coping capacities of the poor, excluded and marginalized are legend and manifold. Conflict does engender large-scale violence if various structural conditions are present, such as authoritarian rule and a lack of political rights, state weakness and lack of institutional capacity to manage conflict. The risk of an outbreak of violence increases when these conditions exist concurrently or are exacerbated by other problems, such as manipulation of ethnic or other differences (in religion, culture, and language), which further fragment society and intensify conflict (Collier And Hoeffler, 1999; Colletta and Cullen, 2000).

1.11 Even the simplest interpersonal conflict has many elements. Conflicts involving multiple parties, a large number of people or complex organizations such as nation-states are enormously complicated. Every conflict has certain basic elements that permit researchers to produce a tentative road map. The mapper first gathers information about the history of the conflict and its physical and organizational settings. To be sure, a conflict does not emerge in a vacuum. Sometimes one conflict is nested within another. The second stage is to examine the parties to a conflict. These differ in the directness of their involvement, and the importance of its outcome. Primary parties are those who oppose one another, have a direct stake in the outcome of the conflict and exhibit fighting behavior. Secondary parties have an indirect stake in the outcome. They are often allies or sympathizers with the primary parties are actors such as mediators, peacekeeping and peace enforcing forces that might intervene to facilitate the management of the conflict.

1.12 It is not always possible to distinguish the cause of a conflict from its consequences. In fact, as a conflict emerges, cause and consequences tend to blend. Hostility might be a consequence of one phase of a conflict and a cause of the text. Perceived goal and interest incompatibility is perhaps the most basic cause of social conflict. Identity defense is also common, particularly in the contemporary world where group awareness and rights have assumed high

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- They are political in nature. The competition for power and scarce resources is the central dynamic in social conflicts
  - They have multiple and interconnected causes
  - They are prorated in duration. They may subside and escalate over time so that sporadic violence and the threat of violence become the accepted norm
  - They are embedded and are expressions of cleavages within existing social, political, economic and cultural differences
  - They involve predatory social formations. Often ethno-nationalist in nature, conflicts involve groups that can be mobilized and violently manipulated by conflict entrepreneurs and political leaders (Goodhand and Hulme, 1999:16).

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visibility. Cultural differences, and particularly language, are yet other sources of separateness and difference. They create a sense of self and self-defense, which is probably another primary motive for conflict. It is important to distinguish clearly the contending goals and interests of each party

1.13   Moreover, a conflict is constantly moving and changing. Even if parties are at a stalemate, aspects of a conflict context will be changing. Runaway responses of parties to one another are made more visible through conflict mapping. Dynamics such as unrestrained escalation and polarization carry participants away from cooperative resolution toward greater hostility. Perception changes occur within opposing sides, which reinforce runaway response: stereotyping opponents, seeing them as the negative mirror image of oneself, and imputing to them increasingly malign motives. In this way, a conflict map is able to serve as a conceptual guide to clarify the nature and dynamics of a conflict (Wehr, 1995; Rugumamu, 2001).

1.14   Once conflicts escalate into violence, the major concern of neighboring states, civil society, and the international community is to intervene in the conflict in order to facilitate the mediation process and to help transform structures that produce insecurity and structural violence into positive peace.[3] We should hasten to point out that conflicts in which the state is an effective arbiter do not present particular difficulties since they are manageable within the national framework. The problem arises when the state itself is a party to the conflict, for under those conditions, external involvement becomes necessary. It is argued in this report that a solid foundation for effective organization and enabling institutions is a necessary precondition for sustainable and enduring peace building. For the purpose of this report, institutions are understood as sets of rules governing the actions of individuals and organizations, and encompass the interactions of all-relevant parties and negotiations among participants. Specifically, countries as well as societies need institutions that strengthen organizations and promote good governance, whether through laws and regulations, or by coordinating the actions of many players, as in international treaties. Rule-based processes increase the transparency of policies designed to create desired outcomes, and of organizations used to implement them. Institutions that are internally consistent have the lowest risk of a breakdown because such institutions are self-reinforcing. For emerging democracies, this means a wide distribution of power and no permanent exclusion of actors from the political system.

Costs of conflict

1.15   During a civil war a society diverts some of its resources from productive

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[3]. Joan Galtung makes a clear distinction between "positive" and "negative" peace. Positive peace. Positive peace encompasses an ideal of how society should be. It requires that not only all types of violence be minimal or non-existent, but also that the major potential causes of future conflict be removed. The notion of negative peace is defined as the end of widespread violent conflict associate with war. It may include prevalent social violence and structural violence. For details see Galtung (1995; 1998).

activities to destruction. This, according to Paul Collier et al (2003), causes double loss: the loss from what the resources were previously contributing and the loss from damage that they now inflict. The division of resources to the war effort often causes a decrease in other public expenditures such as those on infrastructure, health and education. During the war, the rebel forces tend to target physical infrastructure as part of their strategy. The main targets are the enemy's communications and support lines, such as telecommunications, airport, ports, roads and bridges. They also loot and destroy housing, schools and health facilities.

1.16   As will be noted in this and in subsequent reports, the costs of civil war are usually prohibitive. About 40 percent of Mozambican immobile capital in agriculture, communications and administration sectors was destroyed. The pre-war transport system had been one of the largest foreign exchange earners, as goods were transported from and to the neighboring states of Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. In fact, 208 out of 222 units of rolling stock were lost or damaged between 1982 and 1989 (Bruck, 2001).

1.17   Severe conflict, especially its most virulent ethnic forms, destroys much more than buildings and power plants. It short-circuits the rules that keep human interaction constructive and predictable, targets primarily the organizations and individuals who administer those rules, and wipes out most positive forms of social capital. Civil war can have the effect of switching behavior from an equilibrium in which there is expectation for honesty to one in which there is expectation of corruption. Once the reputation for honest has been lost, the incentive for honest behavior in future is greatly weakened. In this sense, therefore, post-conflict reconstruction is first and foremost an institutional challenge. Failure to meet that challenge dooms the effectiveness of any external facilitation and intervention.

1.18   Probably a substantial cost arises from the fear that violence generates in society. It increases insecurity in two senses: micro-insecurity by which the threat of violence is directly targeted against the person and against property. Frightened people tend to flee from their homes. Civil wars also increase macro-insecurity, by which the threat is targeted at those state-level institutions, which provide the framework for economic activity such as non-arbitrary taxation, the rule of law, and the sanctity of contracts. Paul Collier et al. (2003:14-16) have noted that less than a fifth of 1980 cattle stock in Mozambique remained by 1992. Cattle were lost because of direct rebel activity, that is, rebels stole them to feed their troops and killed other many others to spread terror, and because of indirect effects of warfare, namely, a lack of adequate feed and veterinary attention during the war. Faced with the prospects of such losses, people try to protect their assets by shifting wealth abroad. In July 1994, the fleeing Rwandan government looted about 24 billion Rwandan franks and substantial amounts of foreign currency from the Central Bank.

1.19   The more direct effects of civil war are fatalities and population displacements. Violent conflict can decimate the human resources of a country as people are killed, maimed, or displaced in large numbers. In the modern civil war the composition of victims differ radically from the wars of the early 20th century, in

that the impact has shifted from military personnel to civilians. At the beginning of the 20th century about 90 percent of the victims were soldiers, but by the 1990s, nearly 90 percent of the casualties resulting from armed conflict were civilians, and mainly women and children (Carns, 1997). Forced migration broadly consists of two groups: refugees and internationally displaced persons. During the 1994 Rwandan genocide, an estimated 1 million men, women and children were killed over a three-month period. The genocide also produced about 3 million refugees and 4 million internally displaced persons out of a total Rwandan population estimated at 7.7 million.

1.20   Finally, civil wars are not only costly for the countries in which they are fought, but for the entire region. Neighboring countries end up accommodating large numbers of refugees and their consequences for the population of the asylum countries. Moreover, civil wars lead to increasing defense budgets in neighboring countries, spreading of diseases, drug production and trafficking, terrorism, as well as tarnishing the reputation of the region in relation to investors. In the following chapter, we put forward a conceptual and analytic framework used the study to explain conflict and post-conflict reconstruction.

POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION:
A CONCEPTUL FRAMEWORK

A Conceptual Framework

2.1   Post-conflict reconstruction, like other disciplines, has unique concepts that require explanation. The entry point for this work is the World Bank study, *A framework for World Bank Involvement in Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (1997). The study identifies a "country conflict" as one that has recently experienced widespread violence, or where the preoccupation of the state is armed warfare, where the state has failed, or where significant part of the population is engaged in armed struggle with the state. In each situation, external agencies need to understand the varying histories and the nature of a "failure" process in order to calibrate informed intervention measures to facilitate the transition from war to sustainable peace, support the resumption of economic and social development, and determine at what point in the post-conflict process is a particular country judged to have achieved a relative state of normalcy.[4] These observations are very important precisely because conflicts are different everywhere and require tailor-made approaches. They differ, *inter alia,* in duration, intensity and scope of destruction, the relative military and political strength of the opponents, and the degree to which the middle and upper classes are affected by the hostilities. Whereas the conflicts in Uganda and Sierra Leone were products of state failure due to predatory or ineffectual governance, the Rwandan state erosion was a product of ethnic-cum-regional conflict and the Mozambican state failure was due to ideological conflict.

2.2   While post-conflict reconstruction, like post-natural disaster reconstruction, typically involves the repair and reconstruction of physical and economic infrastructure, it also entails a number of interventions aimed at rebuilding weakened institutions. The state institutions are usually so weakened that they exhibit incapacity to carry out its traditional functions. Those interventions include jump-starting the economy, reconstructing the framework for democratic governance, rebuilding and maintaining key social infrastructure, and planning for financial normalization. In contrast, unlike post-disaster construction, post-conflict reconstruction assistance often operates amid tensions and suspicions between key actors within the country, which can and does influence relations among involved international parties as well. Moreover, a civil war alters both the level and the structure of economic activity in ways, which persist beyond the war (World Bank, 1998a; Colletta and Cullen, 2000).

2.3   As cross-country studies have demonstrated, unlike post-post disaster reconstruction, post-conflict reconstruction interventions are radically different from "normal" operations. The devastation of human, social and physical capital

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[4] . The speed of the evolution toward normalcy and the benchmarks for evaluating progress remain contentious. The World Bank has tentatively proposed possible indicators to include: (i) macroeconomic stability and its likely sustainability; (ii) recovery of private sector confidence, as measured by the investment ratio; and (iii) the effectiveness with which institutional arrangements and the political system are coping with the tensions, schisms and behaviors that lay behind the conflict to begin with. *For details see World Bank (1998b: 47).*

often found at the beginning of the post-conflict period, and the particular provisions of the peace agreement, require a paradigm shift diagnosing and prescribing policy interventions which should be conflict mitigating. The volatile and fast-changing circumstances of post-conflict societies demand a high degree of flexibility and speed in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of projects and programs. In addition, post-conflict interventions tend to have explicit objectives like supporting the transition from war to peace, resumption of economic and social development, reconciliation and reconstruction, human and institutional capacity building, special investment fund to maintain social cohesion during the period of economic adjustment and poverty reduction and decentralization. Moreover, a post-conflict reconstruction process typically requires at least two decades of sustained effort, with the risk of war a recurrent phenomenon (Collier, 2001). Arguably, conflicts are often protracted rather than limited in duration and tend to tear the country's social fabric and destroy is physical and human capital. Recovery requires incremental planning, careful and realistic policy reforms as well as consideration of the post-war constraints and peace agreements. Raising taxes in post-conflict situations, for example, may discourage private investment, downsizing the civil service under public sector reform programs, may contradict agreements made under the peace accords; standard procurement and disbursement procedures can easily degenerate into serious stumbling blocks to recovery, reconstruction and reconciliation. In short, post-conflict operations require intensive monitoring to ensure their continued relevance, effectiveness and efficiency, and timely preparation of post-conflict completion reports to expedite lessons learned (World Bank, 1998b; Duffield, 1994).

2.4   It is against this background that most bilateral and multilateral organizations have established post-conflict research units to consolidate institutional learning on reconstruction issues, to support staff in developing and implementing reconstruction strategies, and act as the focal point for partnership with other members of the international community.

Capacity Building Defined

2.5   In this research effort, we define capacity - including knowledge and technology - as the ability of organizations, organizational units, individuals and societies to identify constraints and to plan and manage development effectively, efficiently and sustainably. This definition involves both the development of human resources, institutions, society and a supportive policy environment. It encompasses the process by which individuals, groups organizations and societies develop their abilities individually and collectively, to identify their problems and constraints to development, set development objectives, formulate policies and programs, perform functions required to solve the identified problems and achieve a set of development objectives. Each society has the capacities that correspond to its own functions and objectives. Non-industrial societies, for example, have relatively few formal institutions, but they do have highly developed skills and complex web of social and cultural relationships that are often difficult for outsiders to comprehend. Capacity building needs to be addressed at three levels: individual, institutional and societal. All these layers of

capacity are mutually interdependent. If one or the other is pursued on its own, development becomes skewed and inefficient (Browne, 2002:2-4).

- *Individual:* This involves enabling individuals to embark on a continuous process of learning – building on existing knowledge and skills, and extending these to new directions as fresh opportunities appear.
- *Institutional:* This too involves building on existing capacities. Rather than trying to construct new and alien institutions on the basis of foreign blueprints, governments and donors instead need to seek out existing initiatives, however nascent, and encourage these to grow.
- *Societal:* This involves capacities in the society as a whole, or transformation for development. It encompasses the facilitatory process, which lie at the heart of human development: the opening and widening of opportunities that enable people to use and expand their capacities to the fullest. Social capital and cohesion are at the core of societal capacity and apply both nationally and locally. Without such opportunities, soon people will find that they skills rapidly erode or become obsolete. And if the find no opportunities locally, trained and skilled people will join the brain drain and take their skills overseas.

2.6 In this regard, therefore, the broad concept of capacity building comprises of various processes of creating new capacities (capacity creation), effectively mobilizing and utilizing existing capacities (capacity utilization) and sustaining the created capacity over time (capacity retention). These dimensions of capacity development are interactive and dynamic. Briefly, let us elaborate on each of these processes.

Capacity Creation

2.7 The creation of effective human and institutional capacity rests on a strong foundation that facilitates the creation of new capacities through learning opportunities as well as putting in place processes, which enhance the adaptability required for dealing with the dynamic environment. Such a foundation is created through formal training and informally through on-the-job training as well as through accumulation of norms, routines and processes, which promote capacity creation on a continuous basis.

Capacity Utilization

2.8 Efficient and effective use of existing capacities is an important aspect of capacity building. The failure of most African countries to make effective use of their human resources has been identified as one of the major factors retarding development. The cause for the underutilization and/or mis-utilization of this critical agent of progress can be traced to the extant disenabling environment. In this context, effectiveness and efficiency involve

taking stock of existing capacities, mobilizing them to achieve a set of development goals. Making best use of existing capacities will involve mobilization of all the creative and innovative capacities that can be valuable from existing human and institutional capacities.

Sustaining Capacity

2.9   The capacity that is being created and utilized to realize a set of development goals will need to be retained, developed and sustained over time. Capacity building programs and projects will need to be designed in such a way that they are sustainable beyond the initial external interventions. Sustaining capacities is more likely to occur in the context of a modicum of political and economic stability supportive of conducive working conditions, ensuring low risk of violent social conflict, and providing an atmosphere of support for the capacity building efforts in society and good governance. Sources of funding are an important element of sustainability and capacity retention. In the long-run, the key to sustaining capacity building programs will be the availability of local sources of funding. Sustainable capacity building will need to address the capacity to mobilize domestic resources, notably government revenues as well as savings and investments. Resource mobilization is therefore an important component of capacity building.

Capacity Building Environments

2.10   The processes of capacity building are embedded in complex environments that affect their ability to achieve intended objectives. At the most general level of analysis is the broad political economy environment. This refers to the economic, social and political milieux (local, national and international) in which individuals, organizations and society attempt to carry out their activities and the extent to which conditions in the environment facilitate or constrain performance. Within this dimension, a broad set of factors affect the ability of actors to perform effectively, efficiently and sustainably. In terms of economic factors, the level and growth rates of GDP, conditions in international commodity and capital markets, the labor market situations, the level of private sector development, and the nature and extent of development assistance impinge on virtually all activities carried out by government. Politically, actors are affected by factors such leadership support, the extent to which civil society is mobilized, the degree of political stability, and the nature and development of political institutions. Social factors are also important, such as the level of human resource development; tolerance or tensions among social groups; social mobilization and needs; the development of non-government organizations (NGOs); and the degree of participation in economic and social life.

2.11   At the international level, it is important to emphasize that donors will have a long-term view of what they want to contribute to – a better health system, efficient judiciary or more skilled economists at the national treasury- in a capacity building needs matrix. At the same time, however, they remain accountable to their constituencies at home. They feel more comfortable,

therefore, if they can point to visible activities – courses in their home universities, training manuals, computer systems – which encourage a bias toward self-contained and pre-ordained packages. Moreover, donors want to retain as much control as possible and avoid accusations that hard-earned taxpayer funds were being squandered through inefficiency, incompetence or corruption. One way of achieving this kind of assurance was to sent expatriates as gatekeepers.

2.12   The second dimension of capacity is the institutional environment of the public sector that facilitates or constrains the actors' activities and affects their performance. This dimension includes laws and regulations affecting the civil service or private sector and the operation of government, such as hiring, promotion, and remuneration policies; the general operating procedures; and standards of performance. It includes the financial and budgetary support that allows organizations to carry out particular tasks as well as the policies in effect that constrain or hinder performance. The institutional context also includes laws and regulations defining responsibilities and power relationships among actors and the informal power relationships that often mean that some institutions and agencies acquire resources or influence policy more effectively than others. Of course, not every capacity building takes place through the public sector. All countries are constantly engaged in multiple processes of capacity development, in the public sector, civil society and the private sector.

2.13   The third dimension of capacity-building relates to the coordinated activity of several organizations that is required to accomplish a given task, i.e., the task network. The interactions of organizations within this network can facilitate or constrain performance. Some organizations may be more central to a given task than others; these are called "primary organizations". Secondary organizations have a less central role in accomplishing the task but are nonetheless essential to it. In addition, there are often supporting organizations that provide important services that enable a task to be performed. How these networks function and the nature of formal and informal interactions among them are important aspects of organizational performance. Within any particular task network, there may be organizations from diverse levels of government, and from the private sector and NGO sectors.

2.14   The fourth and fifth dimensions of capacity development are the organizational and human resource bases of the organization. These two levels of analysis are closely intertwined. The fourth dimension of capacity development focuses on organizational structures, processes, resources, and management styles that affect how individual talents and skills are used to accomplish particular tasks. It should be pointed out that organizations establish goals, structure work, define authority relations and provide incentives and disincentives that shape behavior of those who work within them. The fifth dimension of capacity development relates to training and recruitment of managerial, professional, and technical talent that contributes to organizational performance. Among these five sets of factors that affect capacity building initiatives there may be some that facilitate effective performance and others that constrain it. A case study research, such as this of Uganda, can illuminate how various factors influence capacity building in post-conflict societies and what interventions can promote better performance.

SIERRA LEONE CASE STUDY

Country Context

3.1   Sierra Leone   is one appropriate post-war   African country for a study on capacity building. The eleven-year   old conflict (1991-2002) in this small West African country not only claimed the lives and property of citizens but also contributed to socio-economic and political dislocations. Many actors, including government, civil society groups and the international community are now playing significant roles in post–conflict capacity- building. The majority of these interventions need to be critically reviewed with a view to drawing lessons from their experiences. Lessons learnt could be useful in designing post-war capacity-building interventions for other countries.

3.2   We will examine Sierra Leone's various post-war capacity-building interventions, but first it will be useful to examine the causes and effects of the war as well the various strategies employed by the government, civil society groups and the international community to end the conflict. We then better understand the actions of various actors as they face numerous critical capacity-building challenges of the immediate post-war era.

3.3   Sierra Leone is a small country located on the west coast of Africa with a total landmass of 72,000 square kilometers and an estimated population of 4.5 million people. The country is made up of eighteen ethnic groups. The two largest of these groups are the Mendes of the south and the east and the Temnes of the north. Other minority groups are the Limbas, Vais, konos and the Creoles.[5] The country is blessed with a favorable climate and arable land for agriculture as well as with rich mineral resources, including diamonds, gold, rutile, iron ore and bauxite. The country has the oldest university in West Africa; Fourah Bay College opened in 1827.

3.4   Sierra Leone is a former British colony. Its colonial history can be traced as far back as to 1787 when a group of British philanthropists acquired a piece of land in the western part of the country to be used as a haven for freed slaves. These former slaves (liberated Africans) were mainly from England, America, Nova Scotia, the West Indies and the West African high seas. The Sierra Leone Company, a British trading company, was entrusted with the administration of the settlement in the early period of its establishment. Owing to financial and other problems, in 1808 the company handed over the jurisdiction of the settlement to the British Government thus making it a British Crown Colony. The hinterland of the country was declared a British protectorate in 1896 and added to the colony, a development that finally saw the rest of the country under British rule. In order to ensure the smooth running of the country, the British introduced a dual system of administration- Crown Colony system for the colony and indirect rule for the hinterland. The former entails direct administration of the colony by the British through a resident governor whilst

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[5] Makannah.   T. J. 1996. *Handbook of the Population of Sierra Leone.* Freetown: Toma Enterprises Limited. p. XVII.

the later involves the running of the affairs of the hinterland by the indigenous people, but supervised by British officials like the District Commissioner.

3.5   The country gained independence from Britain on the 27th of April 1961. Sir Milton Margai of the Sierra Leone Peoples Party (SLPP) headed the first post-independence government (1961-1964). His regime was one of a flourishing democracy characterized by political pluralism, press freedom and political tolerance. Against this background, the parties that existed at the time – the National Peoples Party (NPN), the United Democratic Party (UDP) and the All Peoples Congress Party (APC) approached   the public on the basis of political ideology and contested free and fair elections. This was the case notwithstanding the fact that most of these parties were tribally and regionally aligned. In fact, in the 1962 elections, the opposition APC won 16 out of their 32 contested parliamentary seats. [6] As a visionary leader, Sir Milton also formed an inclusive government made up of the major ethnic groups in the country. This political strategy has generally been perceived as responsible for the stability and democratic nature of the Milton regime.

3.6   Sir Milton's regime of flourishing democracy and a relatively peaceful Sierra Leone ended in 1964 with his death and the ascendancy to the premiership of his younger brother, Sir Albert Margai of the SLPP (1964-1967). Instead of building on the democratic credentials of his predecessor, Sir Albert took decisive steps not only to over-centralize political power, but also to annihilate any form of organized political opposition in the country. Against this background, he attempted, though fruitlessly, in the first place, to introduce and implement one-party rule in Sierra Leone in 1965. The stiff resistance put up by members of civil society groups including the Sierra Leone Labor Congress and the National Union of Sierra Leone Students (NUSS) thwarted this political move. He also passed the Public Order Act of 1965, which requires members of the opposition to obtain permission from the government before convening any public meeting or gathering.   In his further quest to establish a firm grip on political power, Sir Albert appointed his fellow tribesmen, the Mendes, to senior positions in the security forces and the civil service. In the military, for instance, he promoted David Lansana, a fellow tribesman and brother-in-law to the rank of Brigadier and Army Force Commander. This move effectively politicized the military in an attempt to ensure regime rather than state protection in the country. He even attempted to use his great influence in the army to continue ruling after losing the elections of 1967 to the opposition APC by trying to encourage the Army Force Commander to stage a coup. His actions contributed in no small way to Sierra Leone's descent into economic and political decay.

3.7   The period 1968-1992 represents a distinct watershed in the political history of Sierra Leone. It witnessed the ascendancy to power of the APC first under the leadership of Siaka Stevens (1968-1985) and then under Joseph Saidu Momoh (1986-1992). Although the gradual economic and political decay of Sierra Leone started with the Sir Albert's SLPP regime, the process was actually fast-tracked by the long reign of the APC. In his determined effort to prolong his stay in power and to edge out the opposition, Siaka Stevens took the bold and

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[6]. Hayward, F.M. 1987. *Elections in Independent Black Africa.* London: Westview Press. P.29.

dangerous step in 1978 to declaring Sierra Leone a one-party state. It was this political arrangement that paved the way for the subsequent undemocratic tendencies of the APC's long reign in Sierra Leone. The one-party system gave the ruling the party complete monopoly in the exercise of political power as no other political party was legally permitted to operate in the country. The president was also given enormous powers in the appointment and retirement of public officials including members of the judiciary. Under Section 115-subsection (1) of the 1978 One Party Constitution of Sierra Leone, for instance, there are many provisions that interfere with the principle of judicial independence in the country. It stipulates that a Justice of the Supreme Court may be required by the President to retire any time after attaining the age of 55 or may retire any time after attaining the age of 62 or shall vacate that office on attaining 65 years.[7] This state of affairs adversely affected the dispensation of justice during the period we are examining, since the independent of the judiciary was highly compromised. Press freedom is another area in which the one-party system undermined democracy. In order to curtail press freedom, the government passed the Press Bill in 1980. The Bill, which later came to be known as the Killer Bill, laid down stiff conditions for the registration of newspapers, including the payment of a registration fee of Le 2000.00. The objective of the bill was to force opposition newspapers to cease publication.

3.8   The APC also was accused of tribalism and nepotism as most of the government positions were given to people very close to the party predominantly made up of northerners. Members of the Ekutay Club[8], a northern–based organization, played a pivotal role in distributing government positions based mainly on loyalty to the party. There was also rampant corruption and mismanagement of state resources as leaders and their henchmen grew fat on the sweat of the people by embezzling public funds most of which were kept in foreign banks. This situation contributed, *inter alia,* to the gradual economic decline of the country, characterized by a dwindling gross national product (GNP) to a mere 965 million United States dollars in 1985 and an onerous inflation of about 170 percent in 1987. [9] The situation worsened with the government's decision in 1987 to implement a World Bank Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) with financial support from international financial institutions. Although the professed objective of the adjustment Program was to realize substantial private sector-led growth and poverty alleviation, it's measures and prescriptions adversely affected the poor in Sierra Leone. The reduction of the country's work force by 50 percent and removal of subsidies on essential commodities like rice and petroleum, for instance, led to suffering for the majority of Sierra Leoneans. No wonder that by 1991, when the war broke out there were inadequate social services like water supply, electricity, transport, health and educational facilities in the country. In fact, the UNDP *Human Development*

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[7]. One Party Republican Constitution of Sierra Leone, 1978 p.75.

[8]. The Ekutay Club is a northern-based organization of core members of the APC drawn mainly from Limbas in Binkolo, the hometown of former President Joseph Saidu Momoh. This association once had great influence in the distribution of government positions

[9]. Musah, Abdel-Fatau and Kayode, Fayemi eds. 2000. Mercenaries*: An African Security Dilemma.* London: Pluto Press, p. 82.

Report of 1990 ranked the country 126 out of 130, with a development Index (HDI) of 0.150. [10]

3.9   This background certainly set the necessary groundwork for the outbreak of a rebel war in 1991. The armed movement that was launched by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) Sierra Leone under the leadership of Corporal Foday Saybana Sankoh, owed its origin to widespread disenchantment with the long and repressive APC one-party rule.   Foday Sankoh, a former corporal and photographer in the Sierra Leone military, had as far back as 1971 harbored a grudge against the APC government for his imprisonment for alleged involvement in the 1971 coup. Upon his release, Sankoh became disillusioned with the APC regime. Consequently, he took to his photography to the forest region in the southeast where he later planned his war against the government. His anti-government feeling coincided with the various radical student movements at Fourah Bay College, one of the constituent colleges of the University of Sierra Leone. Like Sankoh, these radical student movements also aimed at ending APC misrule. Prominent among many of these movements was the Mass Awareness and Participation (MAP) led by Allie Kabbah, the then Student Union President of Fourah Bay College. MAP was a loose coalition of radical students at Fourah Bay College drawn mainly from the membership of the Green Book study group and the Gardeners club among others with a socialist orientation[11]. The arrest, detention and eventual expulsion of Allie Kabbah and four of his colleagues in April 1985 registered the beginning of the long road to the formation of the RUF, a movement later hijacked by Foday Sankoh and his cohorts. It all happened when Allie Kabbah moved into Ghana and enrolled at the University of Ghana, through a Libyan sponsorship. It was from Ghana that the former Students Union leader coordinated the theoretical and logistical arrangements for the armed rebellion, by recruiting disgruntled Sierra Leoneans like Sankoh for training in Libya. The Libyan connection enhanced the formation of the RUF in a number of ways. First, it provided both the logistics and the training ground for the movement. Second, it facilitated the RUF's connection with Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), another armed movement that contributed significantly to helping the RUF assault on Sierra Leone in 1991. In launching its rebellion in 1991, the RUF found support from among unemployed Sierra Leonean youths and a ready pool of recruits in Burkina Faso, in addition to its support from Liberia.

3.10   The military regime of the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC) headed by Captain Valentine Strasser, which replaced the APC regime in 1992, owed much of its popularity to public disgust with APC misrule. The Junta was initially hailed as the liberators from the repressive regime. Candidly speaking, it began auspiciously with a determination to introduce positive changes. The energies of the young people were for instance, redirected to meaningful engagement by actively involving them in the monthly cleaning and beautification of the city. The regime's Deputy Chairman SAJ Musa compelled a significant number of civil servants to imbibe positive work ethics like going to work regularly and on time. However, in less than two years, the Junta turned

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[10]. National Human Development Report of Sierra Leone, 1996: 10.
[11].   Abdullah, Ibrahim, 1997. "Bush Path to Destruction: The Origin and Character of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF/SL)" in *Africa Development,* Vol. XXII Nos. ¾.

out to be more undemocratic and corrupt than its predecessor. It was noted for gross human rights violations undemocratic tendencies and corrupt practices. This situation impelled Sierra Leoneans to work against all odds to vote the regime out of office in multiparty elections held in March, 1996.

3.11   Presidential and Parliamentary elections were conducted concurrently in March 1996. Thirteen political parties run candidates in the elections and despite threats of widespread violence during the elections, a large number of Sierra Leoneans turned out to cast their votes. Voting was done as in previous elections along tribal and regional lines. The SLPP led by Alhaji Ahmad Tejan Kabbah emerged victorious in both the presidential and parliamentary elections by polling 70.1 and 69.9 percents of the votes respectively.[12]

3.12   The life span of the democratically elected government was brief; it ended on the 25th of May 1997, when the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) headed by Major Johnny Paul Koroma toppled it. The junta was disengaged from power in February 1998 through the efforts of Sierra Leonean civil society, the international community and the Nigerian-led ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). The Presidential and Parliamentary elections held on the 14th of May 2002, which were also won by the SLPP ushered in the second term presidency of Alhaji Ahmad Tejan Kabbah.

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[12]. Elections in Sierra Leone http// www.electionworld.org/election/sierraLeone.htm 10/28/2002.

ANATOMY OF SIERRA LEONEAN CONFLICT

Causes of the Conflict

4.1   Sierra Leone was plunged into a brutal armed conflict in March 1991 following the attack at Bomaru by a small band of Revolutionary United Front (RUF) fighters aided by members of Charles Taylor' s National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL).[13]

4.2   That conflict and the subsequent collapse of the state can be attributed to many causes. The war was initially interpreted as an offshoot of Charles Taylor's campaign of terror launched in Liberia in 1989 (Tarr (1993) Fyle (1998), and Alie (1999). Taylor, who became unhappy over Sierra Leone's pivotal role in the setting up of the ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), used disgruntled Sierra Leoneans to destabilize the country. This speculation is supported by the fact that the invasion of Sierra Leone in 1991 was launched on the Liberian border with many NPFL fighters assisting the Sierra Leonean rebels. Taylor may have eyed Sierra Leone's diamonds and other resources as a ready source of funding his own war.

4.3   It is therefore not surprising that the war targeted cash crop production and the diamond miming areas. This led to the displacement of inhabitants and the forceful occupation of their settlements. There were reports that Foday Sankoh was exchanging Sierra Leone's diamonds, cocoa and coffee for arms from Taylor. This practice was not only weakening   Sierra Leone's economy, but was also rebuilding Taylor's weak military in Liberia.

4.4   Another major cause of the war and the subsequent state collapse is the phenomenon of bad governance, especially during the APC one-party regime (1978-1992).[14] This regime was not only corrupt and inept but also very insensitive to democratic principles. In his attempt to annihilate any form of opposition to his regime, Siaka Stevens employed series of techniques, including repression, Draconian press laws, executions and detention of political opponents.   To ensure the success of his divide-and-rule policy, state appointments were not based on merit but on connection. There was also rampant corruption and mismanagement, as the leaders and their henchmen fed fat on the sweat of the people by embezzling public funds most of which were kept in foreign banks. The one-party state therefore created a conducive environment for the war and the eventual state collapse. It not only denied space for healthy competition among different political players but also destroyed the foundations for a system of government of checks and balances.

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[13]. Bomaru is a small village in eastern Sierra Leone very close to the Liberian border.

[14]. For more details on bad governance as a major cause of the conflict see Sesay, 1999; Abraham, 1999; and Abdel-Fatau Musah, 2000.

4.5   The war was also attributed to government's inability to improve the welfare of the youth majority, many of whom were illiterate and unemployed (Abdullah, 1996). During the 1990s, there was a dramatic growth in the number of unemployed and disaffected youth. The majority of them drifted from the countryside to Freetown and other urban areas and to the diamond mining areas in Tongo and Kono in eastern Sierra Leone. These youth became socialized in a climate of violence, drugs and criminality, and were therefore vulnerable to the manipulations of selfish politicians during elections. This set of people provided a fertile ground for the recruitment of the fighting force of the RUF. Most of them were forcefully conscripted while some others joined the movement voluntarily as a way of ensuring their security and survival.

4.6   The gradual economic decline and erosion in the living standards of the majority of Sierra Leoneans, especially during the 1980s and 1990s, also caused the war. Unchecked corruption and poor fiscal management by the APC one-party regime led to a declining economy characterized by unemployment, inflation, illiteracy, frequent blackouts and a brain drain. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) *Human Development Report of 1990* ranked Sierra Leone 126 out of 130 with a Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.150 (NHDR Report, 1996:10). It was frustration over such socio-economic predicaments that, among other things, precipitated the war.

4.7   Thus, the war was engendered by a combination of interrelated economic, social, cultural political and external factors. To attribute it to any one single factor will obviate any objective analysis of its true nature and manifestations.

Costs of the Conflict

4.8   Sierra Leone's eleven-year-old war caused massive human suffering and widespread deterioration of the country's social and economic assets. The approximate total number of people killed was 43,000 and about 2 million were displaced. [15]

4.9   The war also contributed significantly to the dislocation of the economy as well as the physical infrastructure and social facilities of the country. It pushed the economy to the brink of total collapse by seriously disrupting productive economic, agricultural and commercial activities.[16] The major sources of government revenue including diamonds, gold mining and agriculture were adversely affected. Medical, educational and social infrastructure in both rural and urban areas was completely devastated. Hundreds of dwellings and community buildings were also burnt.

4.10   The war also adversely affected government institutions as well as the legitimacy of the state to effectively govern their people. Government authority in the then rebel-controlled districts of Kailahun, Kono and Bombali was completely replaced with rebel authority.

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[15]. SIPRI Year Book 2002 p. 36.
[16]. Program Support Document for Peace, Reconciliation, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction in Sierra Leone (SIL /97/006A/01/31.

POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION INITIATIVES   (1999-2001)

Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Program (DDR)

5.1   The signing of the Lomé Peace Accord of July 1999 between the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF/SL registered a very important stage in the peace-building efforts of Sierra Leone. The accord, among other things, provided for the encampment, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants; the establishment of the Commission for the Consolidation of Peace (CCP), the restructuring and training of the Sierra Leone Armed Forces and the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission [17]. The Accord also tasked the Government of Sierra Leone and the international community to provide the appropriate financial and technical resources for post-war rehabilitation, reconstruction and development. As it were, the Accord provided a framework for ending the conflict and the beginning of the long road to recovery and national development. The task is indeed a tall order requiring the concerted efforts of all the major stakeholders in the government, the international community and civil society groups.

5.2   In it quest to contribute meaningfully to post-conflict peace-building, the Government of Sierra Leone elaborated two major documents that defined its strategy to grapple with the challenges of peace-building. The first of these documents - the National Resettlement, Reconstruction and Rehabilitation (RRR), was approved in 1997. The other document – the National Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) was approved in 1998. Government strategies articulated in these two documents target ex-combatants by way of a series of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration activities; it targeted war-affected communities through reintegration assistance and by fostering the rehabilitation of social and economic infrastructure.

5.3   Specifically, these two programs were designed to disarm and demobilize approximately 45,000 ex-combatants and to provide targeted reintegration assistance to these ex-combatants through non-formal education, vocational training and small scale credit schemes as well as by providing broad-based community level assistance. To effectively oversee the implementation of these programs, the Government established two major institutions: the National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (NCDDR) and the National Commission for Reconstruction, Resettlement and Rehabilitation, now known as the National Commission for Social Action (NacSA).

5.4   The   goal of the NCDDR program was to   consolidate the existing short-term security situation to form a basis for lasting peace. The Executive Secretariat of the Committee is the implementing arm of the institution responsible for the management   of the DDR program on a day-to-day basis, including reporting to stake holders and donors. The Secretariat is organized into four central–level technical units: disarmament and demobilization; reinsertion and reintegration;

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[17]. The peace Agreement between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone, Lomé, 7 July 1999.

information and sensitization and monitoring and evaluation.[18] It has four regional offices – north, east, south and the western area. The Technical Coordinating Committee (TCC) consisting of technical representatives of the major stakeholders is charged with advising the Executive Secretary on technical and operational issues and coordinating the implementation issues among NCDDR partners. Both the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) and the NCDDR spearheaded the DDR program, which ran from October 1998 to January 2002. The program finally demobilized a total number of 72,490 combatants and collected 42,300 weapons and 1.2 million rounds of ammunition [19]. Against this background, the DDR program could be regarded as a success, since it actually realized its objective of disarming the various warring factions including members of the Armed Forces of Sierra Leone (AFRSL), the RUF and the Civil Defense Forces (CDFs). It also played a pivotal role in facilitating the 2002 elections by providing security.

5.5   There are many reasons for the success of the DDR program in Sierra Leone. Prominent among these was the adoption of the phased district–based disarmament approach, which simultaneously encouraged confidence-building measures. The holding of monthly tripartite meetings, which brought together the various actors for constant review of the disarmament process, for instance, created an atmosphere of understanding. Furthermore, the nature and perception of the post-war regime both nationally and internationally helped to galvanize the necessary support for the successful implementation of the DDR program. Unlike Charles Taylor of Liberia who did not enjoy international support and recognition owing to his undemocratic tendencies, President Kabbah of Sierra Leone enjoyed tremendous international support as a democrat. Against this background, the international community heavily supported Sierra Leone's post-war reconstruction. In spite of its successes, the DDR program in Sierra Leone worked under a number of constraints. One of these problems resulted from the poor conditions in the demobilization camps coupled with the late payment of ex-combatants allowances and other entitlements. There was also the problem of lack of trust between the RUF and the CDFs.

5.6   The Government of Sierra Leone also played a central in the overall implementation of the Community Reintegration and Rehabilitation   Project (CRRP). This project has two major components: the Emergency Recovery Support Fund ERSF) – committed to strengthening the NCDDR and its implementing partners; and the Training and Employment Program – designed to provide support to the NCDDR. While the World Bank and the African Development Bank (ADB) provide ninety percent of the total cost of these programs, the Sierra Leone Government and the implementing partners provide ten percent. Both contributions put a premium on   providing equipment, essential goods, consultant services, project proposals development, financial management and the strengthening of the capacity of local implementation partners.

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[18]. *World Bank /African Development Bank Supported Community Re-integration and Rehabilitation Project*, Sierra Leone Government Document.

[19]. Malan, Marl and et al. 2003. *Sierra Leone: The Road to Recovery.*South Africa: ISS Monograph.

5.7   In order to ensure efficient financial management and procurement in the delivery of the DDR services, the Government took a bold step of contracting with a suitably qualified firm to establish the financial management and procurement functions under the CRRP. This unit known as the Financial Management and Procurement Unit (FMPU) is charged with a number of functions. Foremost among these is to ensure that all procurement and financial management functions of the CRRP are carried out in a manner that is acceptable to   the donors supporting the project. It is also tasked to manage all procurement activities and contracting and disbursements, and to ensure that there is proper accounting, record keeping and reporting.

5.8   Another important Government in the capacity-building endeavor was to ensure access to relevant, reliable and timely socio-economic information on the poverty situation in the country. The Strategic Planning and Action Process (SPP) Technical Committee in consultation with the Central Statistics Office carried out *ad hoc* surveys with the objective of establishing benchmarks regarding the current poverty situation. In the medium-term, the program was designed to build a comprehensive information base for poverty analysis and monitoring. One of the major activities undertaken in 2000 was the conducting of a Baseline Service Delivery Survey and the Multi- Indicator Cluster Survey.[20] In its further attempt to strengthen the Central Statistics Office, Government passed an Act in 2001 to transform the Office into an autonomous statistical institution. This step was very crucial in enhancing the planning, production, analysis, documentation, storage, dissemination and use of social and economic statistics.

5.9   Government in close working cooperation with the international community is also playing a crucial role in reconstructing the state both at the central and local level. Closely tied to the promotion of good governance in the country is the ongoing Government initiative to resuscitate the defunct local government system to enhance the devolution of power from Freetown the capital city to District and Chiefdom levels. The National Strategy for Good Governance formulated of 1997, had this major objective in mind. The strategy among other things emphasizes local government reform and decentralization. Successes in this area include   the resuscitation of the twelve district councils and the resettlement of paramount chiefs. There are also plans to review the 1972 Local Government Act with a view to putting in place a proactive local government structure for Sierra Leone. As already noted before, Government current plans for reestablishing authority through out the country have been progressing through the assistance of UNAMSIL and UNDP. As of 2002, ninety-six paramount chiefs or regent chiefs have returned to their chiefdoms, over 50 district officials have returned to the districts, and magistrate courts have started operating in most of the provinces. In spite of this, many of these officials at the district and chiefdom levels lack the most basic logistical support to discharge their functions effectively.[21]

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[20]. Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper for Sierra Leone. Government of Sierra Leone, 2001 p. 18.
[21].   Malan, Mark. et al. 2003. *Sierra Leone: Building the Road to Recovery.* South Africa: ISS Monograph.

5.10 In its quest to further address the fundamental problem of bad governance, a major contributing factor to the war, government worked with international donors notably DFID, to establish the Government Reform Secretariat (GRS) in 2000. A major preoccupation of the Secretariat is to examine critically existing governance institutions at both the national and local levels with a view to revitalizing them. It is divided into various components including the Civil Service Reform Unit and the Paramount Chief Restoration Unit. The Civil Service Reform Unit is currently preparing a report aimed at putting in place meaningful reforms that will not only improve the efficiency of and effectiveness of personnel, but also make government officials more transparent and accountable in the execution of their respective functions. Government has also established the National Commission for Privatization by an Act of Parliament in 2002. The major function of this commission is to work out the modalities for the divestiture and reform of public enterprises in the country. This move is geared towards enhancing public participation in the activities of public enterprises.

5.11 Government is also working through support from the international donors to enhance the capacity of the judiciary for the dispensation of justice. The United Nations Interagency Appeal for Sierra Leone for the year 2003 is US$69.2 million for emergency relief and US$13.7 million for recovery projects. For the latter, there is a joint appeal by the UNDP and UNAMSIL for the sum total of US$ 670,000 to go toward the Recovery of Basic Capacity of Judicial Institutions.[22] The appeal targets the Ministry of Justice and the magistrate and appellate courts that are also seen as project-implementing partners. Some of the activities envisaged for enhancing the capacity of the judiciary include the procurement of basic office equipment, vehicles and the provision of training.

5.12 The Sierra Leone Government and its international donors have also taken a bold step to establish both the Special Court and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Sierra Leone with a view to enhancing transitional justice. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission is also an offshoot of the Lomé Peace Accord of 1999. According to this agreement, the TRC is intended: to address impunity, break the cycle of violence, provide a forum for both victims and perpetrators of human rights violations to tell their story and get a clear picture of the past, in order to facilitate genuine healing and reconciliation.[23] The main purpose of the TRC as could be seen is two-fold. Firstly, to investigate the causes, nature and extent of gross human rights violations and abuses. Secondly, to restore the human dignity of victims by providing both victims and perpetrators with the opportunity to give an account of human rights violations committed during the conflict. The Commission has conducted a series of public hearings in both the capital and in the provinces with very interesting presentations by both victims and perpetrators. These hearings have been very instrumental in promoting the spirit of peace and reconciliation. Through Resolution 1315 of 14th August 2000, the United Nations Security Council authorized the creation of the Special Court for Sierra Leone. The mandate of the court is among other things, to prosecute those who bear the greatest

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[22]. Malan, Mark, ibid. p. 141.
[23]. Lomé Peace Agreement of July 7,1999.

responsibility for war crimes, crimes against humanity and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in Sierra Leone.[24] One interesting aspect of this special court is that it can apply Sierra Leone, s penal law and international law. Since its establishment, the court has indicted and arrested a good number of perpetrators including the former Deputy Minister of Defense of Sierra Leone, Sam Hinga Norman, former interim leader of the RUF, Issa Sesay. Charles Taylor, former president of Liberia has also been indicted but not yet arrested.

5.13   While paying attention to improving the efficiency and capacity of the public sector, the Government has also been engaged in efforts to enhance the capacity of civil society for effective participation in the implementation of post–war peace building and development initiatives. Through the Strategic Planning and Action Process (SPP), the participation of civil society in public expenditure reviews, tracking of budgetary expenditures and monitoring of services delivery is highly encouraged.

5.14   As discussed above, one would be right to conclude that the Government of Sierra Leone has attempted, since 1999, to cope and to assist in the road to peace and recovery but material and financial constraints have severely circumscribed its efforts.   Furthermore, the damage and or destruction of the economic infrastructure, especially the attacks on the mining and agricultural areas, have reduced public revenue to a minimum. The increased defense outlays   made necessary by the war also absorbed much of the already reduced revenue. The result is that little is available for coping with post-conflict peace building especially capacity building. There is therefore highly reliant on international support.

United Nations Efforts

5.15   The United Nations and its various agencies also played and are still playing a crucial role in post-war capacity-building initiatives in Sierra Leone during the period under review. Like most other multilateral agencies, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) post-conflict interventions everywhere are guided by clearly defined mandates. The organization's Executive Board Decisions, General Assembly Resolutions, Global Summits and Country Co-operation Frameworks (CCF) and Advisory Notes generally prescribe these mandates. General Assembly Resolution 44/211, for example, emphasizes the organization's role in national capacity building, the realization of national goals and principles, and the integration of women in   all aspects of the development process.[25]

5.16   Against this background, the UNDP in close working cooperation with the Sierra Leone Government and other multilateral agencies like the World Bank and the African Development Bank, has concentrated its efforts on not only addressing the needs of war- affected Sierra Leoneans, but also on building

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[24]. Article 2-7 of the Statute of the Special Court for Sierra Leone.
[25]. Program Support Documents for Peace, Reconciliation and Reconstruction for Sierra Leone, ibid, pp.19

capacity for the delivery of services. Unsurprisingly, the signing of the Lomé Peace Accord in July 1999 witnessed renewed UN efforts in Sierra Leone's post- war recovery program. The Accord specifically tasks the international community including the UN to practically assist in the implementation of the DDR program. Article XIV of the Accord clearly spells out this request in the following words: The UN Security Council is requested to amend the mandate the United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) to enable it to undertake the various provisions outlined in the present agreement (Article XIV of the Lomé Peace Agreement of 1999).

5.17   The above circumstances, among other things, precipitated the establishment of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone through Security Council Resolution 1270 of 22nd October, 1999. The mission's mandate include: to assist the Government of Sierra Leone in the implementation of the DDR program; to ensure the security and freedom of movement of UN personnel; to encourage the parties to create confidence-building mechanisms and support their functioning.[26] In March 2001, the UN Security Council decided to increase the mission's force to 17,500. With this increased force and a robust mandate, UNAMSIL was poised to contribute effectively to peace building and consolidation in Sierra Leone. On assuming office, the Force Commander and his Deputy Lt. General Daniel Opande, a Kenyan, and Major-General Martin Agwai, a Nigerian, respectively, embarked on a systematic program of reorganization of the force. They both undertook tours to visit the troops in their various deployment zones with a view to giving them morale and confidence. They also carried out a thorough mission analysis and assessment process and produced a detailed plan of operation to realize the Mission's objectives in Sierra Leone.

5.18   One of the most visible roles of UNAMSIL in Sierra Leone's march to national recovery is in the area of complementing government efforts in facilitating the reintegration of former ex-combatants into civil society. Through funds provided by the Japanese Government to the UN Human Security Trust Fund as well as the UNV, UNAMSIL's Civil Affairs Department, UNAMSIL is funding many local NGOs working in the area of skills training for ex-fighters.

5.19   UNAMSIL has also been playing and is still playing a crucial role in facilitating the reestablishment of   government authority nationwide. The Abuja II Cease-fire Review Agreement of 2nd May 2001 puts premium on this all-important aspect of the peace process in the country. The agreement among many other things urges all the parties to the conflict to genuinely commit themselves to the realization of this goal. UNAMSIL in close working cooperation with other stakeholders deployed its forces throughout the country to facilitate the reestablishment of government authority. It is also playing a pivotal role in the retraining and restructuring of the country's security forces – the military and the police. The Mission's Human Rights Section is also contributing significantly to protecting the human rights of the citizens and in building the capacity of national institutions, especially in the area of human rights training.

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[26]UN Security Council Resolution 1270 of 22nd October 1999

5.20   Under the UNDP-funded Integrated Approach to Aid Coordination (IAAC), sectoral overviews on external aid inflows have also been undertaken. The results have   provided updated information on some of the statistics for measuring and monitoring poverty situation and its dimension in the country. The Project has installed a Donor Assistance Database (DAD) that facilitates the tracking   and utilization of donor funds. The other UNDP-funded capacity-building project located in the Ministry of Development and Economic Planning, is enhancing the capacity of government ministries, agencies and NGOs for effective participation in post-war peace building. It is charged with the responsibility of providing the necessary equipment and facilities, as well as the provision of the necessary technical training for these agencies in an attempt to enhance their service delivery.

World Bank Interventions

5.21   The World Bank's post-war interventions generally focus on rebuilding physical infrastructure; aid coordination; strengthening policy dialogue and reform; and mobilizing resources. Most recently, the Bank has developed an interest in the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants and in the resettlement of displaced persons and returnees. In implementing these programs, the Bank coordinates with the UN and other agencies on the ground. In Sierra Leone, the Bank has been very supportive of the CRRP program for a long time through – the Economic Recovery Support Fund (ERSF) and the Training and Employment Program (TEP). In close working cooperation with the African Development Bank, the Bank   is financing   a maximum of ninety percent of the total cost of the ERSF sub-project. It meets the costs of equipment and vehicles, basic inputs, construction materials, training, technical assistance and essential operating costs associated with the implementation of the project. It also provides support to the NCDDR: provision of essential goods, equipment, consultant services, and meeting the operational costs of the   central and regional offices. Furthermore, the Bank supports the local NGOs implementing partners especially in the areas of sub-project proposal development, financial management and sub-project implementation. The support is geared towards enhancing the capacity of the national institutions for effective participation in the program.

British Government Efforts

5.22   As the former colonial master of Sierra Leone, the British Government through its   Department for International Development (DFID) and the Ministry of Defense has also been playing a significant role in enhancing the post-war peace-building program. One of the capacity-building areas in which these British efforts are most visible is in the retraining and restructuring of the Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF) and the Sierra Leone Police. Since the signing of the Lomé Peace Accord in 1999, the Ministry of Defense (MOD–UK), the Ministry of Defense Advisory Team (MODAT) and the British-led International Military Advisory Team (IMATT) have been playing an important role   in restructuring the RSLAF. Under the Short Term Training

Teams (STTT), these bodies have been training the future trainers of the RSLAF Platoon Commanders and Sergeants. The training focuses mainly on International Humanitarian Law, civil-military relations, the rights of the child, and staff and command. In recent times the training has shifted attention to budget management, and the role of the security forces in peace-building and in maintenance regional security

5.23   In addition, MOD–UK is playing a pivotal role in the restructuring and reorganization of MOD-SL through advice and guidance. Major steps have been the appointments of British Military and Civilian Advisers to the Government of Sierra Leone. The   latter is charged with many functions including: the development of a defense policy framework for Sierra Leone; putting in place a comprehensive cash budgeting system; and developing a strategy for making MOD–SL a more efficient department. These developments have in many ways helped to improve the performance of the RSLAF, especially in enhancing security.

5.24   The efforts of the British in enhancing the capacity of the Sierra Leone police are also impressive. In 1998, a seven-member Commonwealth Police Development Task Force (CPDT) arrived in Sierra Leone. The Task force was among many other things required to help devise a plan for   the rebuilding of the Sierra Leone Police Force and to advise the Sierra Leone government on police practice, training, recruitment and human rights (Ero: 2000:49). The recommendations of this Task Force later culminated in far-reaching restructuring of the Sierra Leone Police Force. Keith Biddle, a British expatriate was appointed as Inspector General of Police. In an attempt to   enhance the efficient management of the Sierra Leone police force, a change Management Department was created in the Police Headquarters.   The Department was designed to enhance the efficiency of the force and to groom Sierra Leonean Police force, Officers for leadership positions after the British left.

5.25   The UK DFID is also very active in efforts to enhance institutional structures to handle corruption by funding the Anti–Corruption Commission, established in 2000. The Commission has extensive powers of search and arrest. Working with British intelligence, the Commission has been able to track down corrupt pubic officials. In spite of this it lacks the power to prosecute and there is too much Government interference in its work.

SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND LESSONS LEARNED

6.1   We have examined the causes of the Sierra Leone conflict and considered its impact, especially in relation to the destruction of the economic management and governance capacity of the state. We have reviewed the interventions of the various actors involved in post-war capacity-building programs in the country. A recurring theme in the report is the view that there is too much government dependence on external actors for post-war capacity-building. This development in a way undermines the sustainability and national ownership of the programs. This is particularly so when a significant number of the programs are donor-driven sometimes with very little regard for the country's socio-cultural, economic and political realities.

6.2   Another major conclusion is that although there are visible signs of coordination between the Government and the various international actors in the implementation of capacity- building programs there are still areas of duplication of efforts. This is not helpful, particularly for a country where there are many uncoordinated international and national actors involved in post-war reconstruction.

6.3   Although a significant number of ex-combatants have been disarmed and demobilized, majority of these have not been reintegrated into civil society. This is due to a number of interrelated factors, including some resistance from community members; the lack of capacity of communities to accommodate these ex-combatants and the lack of resources. In the absence of funds to enhance the proper reintegration of these former fighters, there is the likelihood of disruption of the post-war peace and stability. The situation is even worse in a country like Sierra Leone where the capacity of local communities has been so weakened by years of war that they are in no position to accommodate ex-fighters.

6.4   The nature and type of the post-war regime led by Alhaji Ahmad Tejan Kabbah played a pivotal role in galvanizing international support for the post-war reconstruction program in Sierra Leone. This largely explains largely why there has been some degree of international commitment to Sierra Leone's post-war reconstruction efforts.

6.5   Post-war trauma caused by the brutalities of wartime experiences might heal if all sectors of post-war civil society were taken into account and carried along in the reconstruction and reconciliation processes. Therefore, all hands must be on deck to promote post-war reconstruction and peace building.

6.6   Successful post-war peace building and reconstruction hinges largely on the availability of funds, support and commitment to the realization of complete disarmament, demobilization, and the reintegration of former fighters.

Recommendations
- Steps should be taken to effectively coordinate the capacity-building programs of both national and international actors.

- Capacity building efforts should be directed toward rebuilding structures and systems that serve all the groups rather than on those that serve a few groups.
- Job opportunities should be provided first for young people and others who may be enticed into conflict.

- A regional post-conflict capacity-building program should be put in place.
- Efforts should not just be limited to preventing the conflict but also to addressing the root causes of conflict through initiatives to discourage bad governance, economic deprivation and exclusion. There must be support for conflict analysis initiatives.

Notes

1. Makannah.T.J. 1996, *Handbook of the Population of Sierra Leone* (Freetown: Toma Enterprises Limited) p. XVII

2. Hayward. F.M., 1987, *Elections in Independent Black Africa* (Westview Press) p.29

3. One Party Republican Constitution of Sierra Leone, 1978: p. 75

4. The Ekutay Club is a northern-based organization of core members of the APC drawn predominantly from Limbas in Binkolo, hometown of former president Joseph Saidu Momoh. This association used to have very great influence in the distribution of government positions.

5. Musah, Abdul Fatau and Kayode, Fayemi eds, 2000, *Mercenaries: An African Security Dilemma* (London: Photo Press) p. 82)

6. National Human Development Report of Sierra Leone.1996: p.10

7. Abdullah, Ibrahim, 1997*, Bush Path to Destruction: The Origin and Character of the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone (RUFSL) in* Africa development, Vol.XXII Nos ¾

8   Elections in Sierra Leone, http // wwwelectionworld.org/election/Sierra Leone html 10/28 2000

9. Bomaru is a small village in eastern Sierra Leone very close to the Liberian border for more information on bad governance as a cause of the conflict see Sesay 1999, Abraham 1999 and Abdul Fatau Musah 2000

10. SIPRI Year Book 2002   p. 36

11. Program Support document for Peace, Reconciliation, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction for Sierra Leone (Sil / 97/006A/10/31

10. The Peace Agreement between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone (RUFSL), Lomé, July7, 1999

11. World Bank   /African development Bank Supported Community and Reintegration Project, Sierra Leone Government Document

12. Malan, Mark and Tal, 2003, Sierra *Leone: The Road to Recovery* (South Africa: ISS publication)

13. Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy paper for Sierra Leone (IPRSP) (Government of Sierra Leone, 2001: p.18.

14. Malan, Mark et al. ibid.

15. Ibid. p. 141

16. Lomé Peace Agreement, ibid.

17. Article 2-7 of the Statute of the Special Court for Sierra Leone

18. Program Support Document for Peace, Reconciliation, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction for Sierra Leone, ibid.

19. UN Security Council Resolution 1270 of 22nd October 1999.

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