



Security and Development in Sierra Leone

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Executive Summary

- ◆ In Sierra Leone and elsewhere, the fields of security and development are intrinsically linked and cannot be treated as separate spheres. Just as activities by security actors have an impact on development programs, development activities have security implications. More work is needed in defining a common agenda at the intersection of security and development in order to foster strategies in both areas that are mutually reinforcing. On an operational level, making development thinking part of a peacekeeping operation from the outset, both in planning and implementation should be a priority.
- ◆ There is a need for an integrated regional UN strategy for West Africa. Over the past year, the UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) has been successful in keeping the peace and beginning to address long-term peacebuilding issues in Sierra Leone, but the conflict in Liberia threatens to spill over the border. In order to consolidate a lasting peace, the UN should not only support the work of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), but may also consider the creation of a regional peace operation to eventually replace UNAMSIL.
- ◆ A key challenge for Sierra Leone is the successful reintegration of former combatants, including child soldiers, into society. Providing ex-combatants with means of supporting themselves is crucial so that they do not pose a threat to stability. It is equally important however, to address resentment of this “special treatment” from victims of former abuse as well as other civilians. One way of abating the problem is to treat former combatants, not separately but as part of a larger group that needs to be resettled. Another is to provide resettlement benefits to the communities in which ex-combatants relocate rather than to the ex-combatants themselves.
- ◆ Security Sector Reform is under way in Sierra Leone but may not be carried out to a satisfactory level before UNAMSIL starts to pull out and hand over remaining security responsibilities to the armed forces and the police. The bloated armed forces need to be reduced, while the police force needs to significantly increase its ranks. The police in particular is lacking in resources and facilities, making it difficult to maintain law and order necessary for economic development.

- ◆ The Sierra Leonean government, with support from UNAMSIL and the rest of the UN Country Team is quite successfully addressing administrative issues such as decentralization and restoration of basic services throughout the country. However, governance problems such as corruption need more attention. Initiatives by the United Kingdom have advanced transparency and government accountability but more remains to be done. NGOs can play a great role, and as women are, for the most part, kept out of policy making in Sierra Leone, they remain a largely untapped resource for new leadership with fresh ideas and approaches.
- ◆ In contrast to NGOs and other civil society groups, Sierra Leonean media shows little potential for acting as a check on the government; many journalists partake in gossip and some spread rumors in return for money. International actors should contribute to the professionalization of the media, for example through targeted training.
- ◆ In spite of vast mineral resources, economic development is not taking place in Sierra Leone and needs to be encouraged further by international actors. Along with the debt relief package for Sierra Leone supported by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, a business climate needs to be created facilitating serious investment. As part of a broader initiative, a program could be created to entice the return of individuals from the large Sierra Leonean diaspora to invest in the country.
- ◆ Sierra Leone is in the unique situation that it has both a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and a Special Court created to deal with human rights violations committed during the ten-year conflict. While the former will focus on victim participation and reconciliatory measures, the latter will prosecute those individuals most responsible for human rights atrocities such as mutilation and rape. It is important that the legal relationship between these two institutions is defined in order for them to become mutually reinforcing. Especially important however, is that they both support the development of the domestic court system.
- ◆ Coordination is an issue that is much talked about but not much practiced. In Sierra Leone, the UN has attempted to overcome problems by concentrating the positions of Humanitarian Coordinator, UNDP

Resident Representative and Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General into one person. This innovation has bridged the gap between UNAMSIL and other agencies and could be more widely used in UN missions. In order to avoid gaps or duplication, a lead agency should also be appointed in each issue area.

- ◆ Funding is a problem in Sierra Leone, not only in terms of limited resources, but also in terms of timing. It has been the case that vital programs have been held up due to delayed funds. For example, while demobilization and disarmament was, at the time of the workshop mostly completed, the reintegration program of former combatants was delayed due to lack of funding. For security and development to have a chance of becoming mutually reinforcing, this delay in implementation of key programs must be avoided.

Introduction

On June 10-11, 2002, the International Peace Academy organized a workshop on security and development in Sierra Leone, funded by the Canadian International Development Agency. Participants included senior personnel from the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), the UN Secretariat, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and various other UN agencies as well as Sierra Leonean government representatives, key Sierra Leonean civil society actors, prominent academics, and bilateral donors. Over the course of the one and a half day seminar, participants analyzed the international involvement in Sierra Leone through a combined security-development lens.

The Security-Development Nexus

In recent years, there has been increasing agreement among international relations professionals that activities in security (including the management of an army and police force) and development (including the provision of health and education services, support for economic activities, and infrastructure improvements) cannot be undertaken in isolation. In order to break the cycle of violence and underdevelopment, these problems need to be addressed in a holistic and integrated manner. Security is vital to create a stable condition that is a prerequisite for development; sustainable development is in turn, the best foundation for a stable, non-violent state of affairs. The nexus between security and develop-



Ambassador Sylvester E. Rowe and Mr. Alan Doss

ment indicates that activities in one of the areas have implications for the other — positive or negative. Mutually reinforcing security and development programs should therefore be the goal. Simply put, security gains must amplify successes in development and vice-versa.

That development is vital to consolidate and build a lasting peace was recognized in the Brahimi Report, which emphasized that there is a role for development actors within UN peace operations.¹ This view was shared by workshop participants who further agreed that development thinking needs to be part of UN peacekeeping operations from the outset. However, what can be achieved on the ground often falls short of conceptual ambitions. Sierra Leone is the epitome of a complex emergency; the severity of its condition and the recalcitrance of the combatants have tested each task undertaken by UN personnel. With its 17,500 troops, UNAMSIL is currently the largest UN peacekeeping operation. In addition to maintaining security, UNAMSIL and other UN agencies are involved in areas such as humanitarian aid, human rights, institution building, and economic development.

It became apparent during the workshop that there is still need for comprehensive engagement among international actors to develop a shared analysis and common agenda at the intersection of security and development. Participants agreed that the two provinces are closely related and must be more strategically linked but precisely how this should be done needs to be ironed out.

The workshop did not succeed in providing a detailed recipe for tethering security and development in future international interventions but was highly instructive in illustrating useful strategies as well as pitfalls arising from the Sierra Leone case.

What is clear is that insuring mutually reinforcing security and development programming requires a constellation of peacebuilding activities. They include: disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants (DDR); security sector reform (SSR); resettlement of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs); measures for improving social and economic governance; the provision of basic services such as health and education; gender mainstreaming; justice reform; and reconciliation. These issues are all being addressed to a varying degree in Sierra Leone but as one participant noted: “what may seem like a strategic continuum in hindsight is not more than a collection of ad-hoc policies at the time”. Perhaps the bluntest recommendation is for security professionals to take into consideration issues they long considered part of the development portfolio and for development experts to become far savvier in topics like police reform, cantoning, and regional security analysis.

Historical Background

The Sierra Leonean conflict is to a large extent rooted in poor governance. Since independence from the United Kingdom in 1961, the country has been ruled by a small urban elite more interested in its own enrichment than in the welfare of the population. Distribution of wealth has been extremely uneven and education and basic social services poor. Corruption and clientelism have been rampant and the role of civil society severely curtailed. After independence, the economy spiraled downward as official revenue from the diamond and iron ore industries dropped. The dire economic situation exacerbated the feeling of hopelessness and lack of opportunity among the youth, which in turn paved the way for their significant recruitment into the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). RUF, supported by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), initiated the violence in 1991 and soon became known for its savage methods of terrorizing the civilian population.

A maelstrom of violence leading to instability both internally and regionally prompted the involvement of

¹ Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations (A/55/305-S/2000/809), 21 August 2000.



Ms. Yasmin Jusu-Sheriff and Mr. Jean-Marc Métivier

the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). In July 1999, a peace accord between the rebels and government was finally signed in Lomé. In October, the UN Security Council authorized UNAMSIL to begin deploying. UNAMSIL was mandated to cooperate with the Government of Sierra Leone and other parties to implement the Lomé Peace Agreement and initiate peacebuilding measures such as helping to restore law and order, facilitate the DDR process, and create the conditions for a free and fair election.

The initial implementation of the Lomé accords was marred by delays in most, if not all, of its key components as serious human rights abuses continued. In May 2000, RUF rebels took approximately 500 UNAMSIL troops hostage and seized their weapons and vehicles. Meanwhile, armed men roamed Freetown. It took the involvement of British forces (not under UN command) to stabilize the situation. Initially, the disarmament of the rebels was painfully sluggish, as Liberia's Charles Taylor continued supplying the RUF with weapons in exchange for plundered diamonds. The safety of refugee and IDP camps was threatened and UNAMSIL suffered internal management problems culminating in India and Jordan withdrawing their contingents, further lowering the morale of the mission.

Through improved coordination, a more robust mandate, and a more obliging rebel force, UNAMSIL began to function significantly better in 2001. In January 2002, it had deployed throughout the whole country and President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah officially declared Sierra Leone at peace. The disarmament and demobilization of an estimated 70,000 former combatants was completed

in January and on May 14, Sierra Leone held its first elections since 1996 – elections that were conducted without violence and declared free and fair by international observers. Incumbent president Kabbah won with over 70% of the votes.

Among experts and practitioners, the intervention in Sierra Leone is increasingly referred to as a UN success story. Major challenges, however, lie ahead as Sierra Leone enters a transition period during which peace must be consolidated and a recovery phase begun. Complicating matters further, these issues have to be addressed as UNAMSIL starts to gradually pull out. The challenges were elaborated at the New York workshop. The discussions focused on six main issues: the regional dimensions of the conflict; reintegration of former combatants; security sector reform; governance issues; transitional justice and the legal system; and coordination and collaboration.

The Regional Dimension

Any integrated security and development strategy for Sierra Leone must take regional developments into account. Significant gains achieved in Sierra Leone could be lost if the Liberian conflict continues to spill over. At the time of the workshop there were already cross-border raids taking place and the flow of refugees fleeing the fighting in Liberia was increasing. The small United Nations peacebuilding office in Liberia, mainly staffed with humanitarian workers, is not enough to address the Liberian problem. It was argued that the UN strategy in Liberia, mainly focused on containing president Charles Taylor through sanctions, needs to be much improved.

Participants further agreed on the need for a common strategy for the sub-region, especially for the Mano River Union countries (Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea). If a holistic approach is not adopted, the UN may have to move from country to country with a peacekeeping operation to put out violence as it flares up. The Mano River Union states are all endowed with an abundance of mineral resources but suffer from poor governance, instability and porous borders through which weapons, armed gangs, and minerals move easily.

In the search for a regional solution the new UN regional office in Dakar was welcomed as a step in the right direction. One participant suggested another UN peace operation to replace UNAMSIL: UNAMWA (United Nations Mission in West Africa), which would embody a shift in thinking towards a regional perspective. Others stressed

the importance of regional organizations such as ECOWAS in brokering peace and stability. ECOWAS mechanisms to address these issues, albeit very fragile, are being put into place. A drawback of such regional institutions however, is that they can be regarded as tools for regional hegemony and treated with suspicion by weaker states.

Reintegration of Former Combatants

Reintegration of former combatants constitutes one major challenge at the intersection of security and development: if ex-combatants find economic alternatives to warring and marauding, the risk of spasmodic violence is significantly diminished. At the time of the workshop, some short-term reintegration had begun with training of former fighters from the RUF, the Civil Defense Forces (CDF), and the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC)/Sierra Leone Army in skills such as carpentry, car repair, and hairdressing. Former child combatants were also receiving psychosocial counseling and education.

But while the disarmament and demobilization has been carried out to a satisfactory level, the DDR process has stalled at the reintegration phase, which is crucial for preventing a relapse into violent conflict. A majority of former combatants are presently unemployed and not enrolled in training programs. Reasons for this delay include the sheer size of the project (over 70,000 combatants have been disarmed and need to find a productive way to make a living) and the limited capacity of the government and its lead agency, the National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (NCDDR). However, the main culprit is the lack of funding

for the reintegration program. As the “CNN effect” wore off, and high-visibility activities such as symbolic weapons burnings gave way to the more mundane tasks of providing training and housing, funding dried up.

Currently, ex-combatants’ expectations for the future are high; the longer they remain idle, the greater the risk that their disaffection will lead Sierra Leone back into conflict. In addition, even if ex-combatants are trained, the demand for their skills may not be high in a poor country where a majority of the population is involved in subsistence farming without the means to hire mechanics or carpenters.

There is growing resentment among many Sierra Leoneans who claim that those responsible for committing atrocities and acts of violence are being supported to a much larger extent than their victims. While former combatants have received one-time reinsertion benefits of \$150 and are promised additional training, victims of sexual violence, mutilations, and displacement complain that they have not received sufficient support. Striking a balance between supporting vulnerable groups and preventing ex-combatants from spoiling the peace requires very delicate and shrewd maneuvering. One strategy put forward at the workshop was to treat ex-combatants not as a separate group, but as part of a larger group of war-affected people that needs to be resettled and reintegrated into society. As part of this strategy, support can be provided to receiving communities rather than to the individual. By this type of support and by having both victims and perpetrators testify in front of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, it is hoped that reluctant communities will open up to the integration of former combatants amongst them.



Ms. Ameerah Haq and Ms. Margaret Ford

Security Sector Reform

Security sector reform includes the reorganization and training of the army and police as well as the placement of these institutions firmly under control of a democratically elected civilian leadership. To avoid security lapses in Sierra Leone, participants argued these changes should be put in place before UNAMSIL leaves. However, as a gradual drawdown of UNAMSIL seems imminent, and specific strategies for future UN involvement are not yet fully formed, the Sierra Leonean police and army may have to take full responsibility for security before they have reached institutional maturity. For that reason, coordination between UNAMSIL, Sierra Leonean security institutions, and the main funder of security sector

initiatives, the United Kingdom, becomes all the more important in the immediate future.

The Police

Regularized, stable policing and rule of law are preconditions for an overall secure environment, which in turn is vital for economic growth. The Sierra Leone Police (SLP), traditionally corrupt, politicized, and disorganized, has undergone significant reorganization. With support from the British Department for International Development, the police has achieved a new structure and a new approach to policing, the so-called "local needs policing". UN Civilian Police (CIVPOL) has been involved in "train the trainers" programs. The SLP has also received new uniforms, vehicles, and regular wages – a professionalization that has boosted confidence. Additionally, police officers are now provided meals when they come on duty.

In spite of these achievements, there are still considerable shortcomings and progress is not proceeding at a sufficient pace. The main problem is the low number of police officers – approximately 6,000 as compared to the 15,000 needed to police the country effectively. The immediate goal is to bring the numbers up to the pre-war level of 9,500. However, due to lack of buildings and equipment, training facilities can only accommodate around 800 new recruits per year. Of this 800, a not insignificant number die of natural causes before they graduate, reflecting the overall poor health situation in the country. At this rate, reaching the required number of police officers will take several years.

In addition, it is crucial that police officers are literate, a precondition that lowers the recruitment base for the police substantially and underlines the importance of literacy campaigns as part of any long-term security-development strategy. For the more immediate future, in order to bring the police up to a level where it has the potential to meet internal security needs, more financial support is needed to increase the capacity of training facilities. There is also an urgent need for housing and police stations in the northern and eastern parts of the country, as well as the establishment of a new record keeping system as old police records and forensic evidence were burned by the rebels during the war.

Participants encouraged more funders to become involved in police reform, an area that has not traditionally been funded by development agencies but that is



Inspector General Keith Biddle and Major-General Martin Luther Agwai

certainly vital to sustainable development. Security sector reform in general, and police reform in particular are areas where more strategic thinking is needed in order to integrate security and development activities.

The Armed Forces

The capacity of the Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF) is higher than that of the police and it was argued that the RSLAF now has the means to address "real or perceived threats". Significant reform of the armed forces is carried out with the support of the British-led International Military Assistance Training Team (IMATT). As part of the reform strategy, IMATT officers are directly integrated into the hierarchic structure of the RSLAF. The UK commitment to working with the armed forces is five to six years during which it wants to expand international participation in IMATT.

In size, the armed forces have the opposite problem of the police with around 14,000 troops rather than the desired 10,000. This may have security repercussions. However, IMATT has made the decision to let the RSLAF ranks swell to incorporate a significant number of former fighters. Ex-combatants joining the army undergo a six-week training course and are then offered a one-year contract with possible extension. At the workshop, it was debated whether this was sufficient for their reintegration since the loyalty of the RSLAF, which still harbors quite substantial support for the former AFRC junta leader Johnny Paul Koroma, has been questioned. Participants thus agreed that the downsizing of the army should be a priority.

Both the police and the army need to improve their relationship with the civilian population and especially with women and girls. In light of the extremely high incidence of rape, sexual violence, and other gross human rights abuses committed against women and girls in Sierra Leone during the conflict, an important part of the peacebuilding process must be to educate the police and army in human rights. While the police is developing an integrated approach to deal with gender-based violence (although much more remains to be done), this is lacking in the army. In addition, both the SLP and the RSLAF need to make greater efforts to recruit women. This work sadly includes convincing women that they will not be sexually harassed or used as domestic slaves if they sign up, which was often the case in the past.

Governance Issues

National ownership of the peacebuilding process is vital to achieving a lasting and self-sustaining peace. Capacity building for national and local governance is therefore paramount. During the conflict, Sierra Leone's central government was cut off completely from the already underserved northern and eastern areas of the country. The restoration of basic services in these areas, along with devolution and decentralization, are crucial, especially since much of the conflict had its roots in poor governance. Sierra Leone was already extremely poor and mismanaged before the brutal conflict, which only exacerbated the emergency situation and shattered what little government capacity there was. UNAMSIL's deployment throughout Sierra Leone has made the whole country accessible to the government, which is, in cooperation with the UN Country Team, addressing local health, education, and infrastructure needs. Participants agreed that the government and UN agencies are performing these tasks well under very difficult circumstances. However, many participants argued that other governance issues have received far too little attention by the international community.

Corruption

One such area is the effort to fight corruption. Corruption not only diverts resources away from the people who need them most, it can also give the armed forces or rebels an excuse to yet again interfere in political affairs. With the return of government control and authority, many corrupt officials from the past may also be resuming their careers. The UK-driven initiative on anti-corruption and the establishment of an Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC)

were broadly welcomed at the workshop but it was agreed that much work remains to be done. For example, the efficacy of the ACC was questioned as it is appointed by the government, a fact that may compromise its independence vis-à-vis government officials.

Other funders were also encouraged to get involved in governance programs. However, the main responsibility for fighting corruption cannot lie with donors, but with Sierra Leoneans themselves. Some participants argued that there is a level of acceptance of corruption in Sierra Leone that needs to be fought with extensive education programs for the general public. Civil society, including NGOs and the media, have a great role to play in keeping tabs on the government and ensuring accountability and transparency. In addition, incentives should be provided to infuse "fresh blood" into the leadership of the country. It is especially important to include more women in the decision-making process, not only to provide new ideas and approaches, but also in terms of taking advantage of the full potential of the country and making the government more representative.

Civil Society

Sierra Leone has an extensive civil society tradition. Local NGOs such as women's organizations and religious associations played a significant role in earlier peace processes, influencing the agenda and making the parties come together. These groups have great potential to advance peacebuilding through community initiatives. The Kabbah government has to a certain degree opened up to civil society by providing information, but a lot more remains to be done in terms of access and



Ms. Vanessa Howe-Jones, Ambassador John Hirsch and Mr. Russel Geekie



Mr. Kanja Ibrahim Sesay, Dr. James O.C. Jonah, and Mr. Rupert Davies

influence. Cooperation between international and local NGOs, for example, is virtually non-existent and if local NGOs are to take over some responsibilities for community services once international organizations leave, they need significant support in capacity building. Instead, there is competition for resources between local and international NGOs as well as among local NGOs.

In contrast to the rich variety of NGOs, participants noted the sad state of Sierra Leonean media. Quality journalism is hard to find; instead of acting as watchdogs, newspapers have reverted to sensationalism and gossip. Politicians routinely use the press to fight their political battles by paying journalists to dig up dirt on their political opponents. This tactic has been used repeatedly against those fighting corruption, which led some workshop participants to conclude that if the media is not reformed, prospects for good governance in Sierra Leone are very poor indeed. International actors were encouraged to facilitate the development of responsible journalism by providing structured training programs, especially for younger journalists.

Economic Governance

Participants argued that the link between good governance and economic development needs to be strengthened and the international community should provide more incentives for economic policies that attract outside investment. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are already supporting a debt-relief package for Sierra Leone under the enhanced Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative, but corruption must be stemmed to attract more potential

investors. Most businessmen active in Sierra Leone at the moment are those interested in making money quickly and then leaving.

The potential for government revenue is not high in Sierra Leone. In spite of great mineral resources, revenue from the mining industry is likely to remain limited. Sierra Leone is a high-risk investment country, which scares off many foreign companies. Diamond taxes must also be kept low to prevent smuggling. Furthermore, the prevalence of diamonds has proven more destabilizing than beneficial and addressing diamond mining rights to prevent future unrest may be more important than collecting diamond revenue. It was posited that the rutile industry has greater economic promise.

Brain Drain

It is estimated that during the conflict 80% of all professionals left Sierra Leone. This means that the very people who have the greatest potential for helping the country getting back on its feet are not present. Workshop participants, several of whom are themselves part of this "brain drain", discussed a number of ways to attract members of the diaspora back to Sierra Leone. In addition to low salaries, obstacles include negative attitudes towards overseas Sierra Leoneans, low health standards, and poor security. One option put forward was increased salaries for national UN staff, although this could also have a negative effect by sucking capacity away from the government. Another proposed solution to reverse the brain drain is the creation of a specific program such as that implemented by the International Organization for Migration in Afghanistan, which facilitates the return and employment of professional expatriate Afghans.

Transitional Justice and the Legal System

Justice and reconciliation are imperative in reaching a state of normalcy and stability where social and economic development can take hold. Sierra Leone is in the historically unique position of having two different institutions dealing with past wrongdoings: a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and a Special Court. The TRC seeks to create a climate that fosters understanding and reconciliation through a focus on victim participation. Women who have been victims of

sexual violence are encouraged to speak out in the TRC, as are children. Many former child soldiers and other ex-combatants have an interest in coming before the TRC in the hope that confessing their crimes will start a mutual healing process that will eventually lead to their acceptance back into their old communities.

The Special Court will be based in Freetown and is a hybrid international/national body. It will prosecute those who fall under the umbrella of “most responsible” for human rights abuses — as determined by the prosecutor. Consequently, former child soldiers are unlikely to be charged. However, if children are brought before the court, they will be treated, not as adults but as juveniles — something that has been hotly debated. Persons living outside of Sierra Leone could theoretically be indicted, but in order to obtain custody, the court would need to seek extradition. It is thus unlikely that the Special Court could put someone like president Charles Taylor of Liberia behind bars.

The Relationship between the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Special Court

Having both the TRC and the Special Court functioning alongside each other is, in the words of one participant, a “grand experiment that was not originally planned”. How the relationship will play out is yet to be seen. At the workshop, the complementarity of the two institutions was emphasized. While the Special Court has the mandate to prosecute the most culpable perpetrators of crimes against humanity, war crimes, and other serious violations of humanitarian law, the TRC will encourage societal reconciliation by documenting a larger number of human rights violations and encouraging victims to speak out.

Some participants cautioned that problems may materialize in the future since the legal relationship between the two institutions has not yet been clearly defined — it has not been determined which institution has primacy. Both institutions have, for example, the right to subpoena information from the other. Theoretically, testimony given in the TRC could be used as evidence by the Special Court, which may deter some victims from speaking out. However, participants argued that this is very unlikely since the Special Court will focus on the prosecution of a relatively small number of high-level individuals against whom there is enough independently available evidence. Information would only be made available by the TRC if it was crucial for a particular case and if the TRC was the only source.

The Domestic Court System

In order for the domestic criminal justice system in Sierra Leone to function as a whole, judiciary reform is vital. Law courts are dilapidated and there is a desperate need for professional judges and magistrates. Even though the police incarcerates criminals, it can take two to three years for a case to make its way through the courts. Some critics argue that money would be better spent on the domestic judicial system rather than on the Special Court and the TRC. However, participants at the New York workshop stressed that these two institutions will strengthen national courts by laying the foundation for a new justice system and providing training.

It was emphasized that the three bodies have a great opportunity to work together and benefit from each other. This however needs to be explained better to the people of Sierra Leone through improved public information. The public understanding of the purpose of the Special Court is low and without popular support, the lasting impact of the court will be limited. In the meantime, what all three institutions seem to have in common, albeit to a varying degree, is a lack of funding.

Coordination and Collaboration

Coordination is a challenge in any international intervention and Sierra Leone is no exception. With multiple UN agencies, donors, and NGOs involved, adopting a clear division of labor becomes a challenge — each actor has its own mandate, priorities, and goals. Coordination needs to be multifaceted and carried out on several levels: locally, regionally, and internationally. The Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) plays a vital role in bringing these levels together and it was agreed that coordination has been much improved in Sierra Leone under the leadership of Ambassador Oluyemi Adeniji.

The appointment of a Deputy SRSG for Governance and Stabilization (DSRSG-GS) alongside the Deputy SRSG for Operations and Management has also enhanced coordination significantly, especially on the national level. The DSRSG-GS also functions as UNDP Resident Representative and Humanitarian Coordinator for Sierra Leone and has proven valuable in bridging the gap between UNAMSIL and other UN agencies. Additionally, he acts as a broker between the civilian and military side. For example, in the face of concerns in the humanitarian

community that political issues may overshadow humanitarian needs, he has been able to step in and address the matter. This arrangement could be reproduced in other UN missions bearing in mind the uniqueness of each operation.

Coordination works best when it is issue driven and one agency functions as the lead actor. In Sierra Leone, the National Commission for Social Action (NaCSA) coordinates efforts relating to the immediate consequences of the war and conducts weekly meetings to which international, national, and local organizations are invited. However, participation in this forum has been low. As one participant put it, “everyone wants coordination but no one wants to be coordinated”. This is still a major problem that needs to be tackled if resources are to be used more effectively.

Bilateral Donors

As the main bilateral funder in Sierra Leone – maintaining a close relationship with the nation since its independence – the United Kingdom is carrying much of the brunt in coordinating activities. For example, when a gap appeared in the DDR process and disarmed combatants were not provided with food and medical help, the UK stepped in with aid until the World Food Programme took over. Instances like these prove that there is still a lot of work to be done to provide for a smooth transition between activities.

The UK has stated that it has a long-term commitment to Sierra Leone and participants agreed that its role is vital in funding governance and security sector reform initiatives. Additionally, having a champion in the UN Security Council has been invaluable in that it has placed Sierra Leone on the map. However, it was agreed that it is important that other bilateral donors step up their efforts in Sierra Leone. Bilateral actors can have a greater impact than UN agencies since they often have more funding available. But with more funders, coordination becomes all the more important. There have already been several instances of program overlap, while some areas – such as the penal system, which is in desperate need of rehabilitation – have been neglected. These problems await to be addressed in a comprehensive way.

Funding Priorities

Limited financial resources for key initiatives was a recurring theme throughout the workshop. Lack of

funding necessarily imposes the setting of priorities. Sierra Leone is overwhelmingly dependent on outside financial assistance – the UNAMSIL budget for example, is roughly equivalent to the annual GDP of the whole country of Sierra Leone. This “disproportionality of means” is clearly not sustainable in the long-term and making hard choices will become necessary. However, leaving the priority-setting to a heterogeneous group of funders, all with their own agendas, time-frames and requirements can, as discussed above, lead to poor coordination, funding gaps, and duplication of programs. Priorities must be harmonized.

Voluntary funding mechanisms have led to slowdowns in vital programs at critical points. The UN Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal Process (CAP) has abated some disconnects but the CAP is geared towards humanitarian assistance and does not focus on developmental issues. Participants argued that funding through assessed contributions from UN member states (however politically difficult to implement) was much preferred as a way of ensuring availability of means. In order to prevent gaps and delays in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants for example, funding for the whole DDR process could have been made available through the UNAMSIL budget. As it stood at the time of the workshop, the realization of the reintegration phase was hanging in the balance.

Conclusion

The New York workshop was very useful in identifying operational challenges with both security and development dimensions. However, in developing programming and furthering practice at the intersection of security and development, a common conceptual framework, stemming from a shared theoretical understanding of the security-development nexus, would be beneficial. This would allow disparate actors from various fields to speak the same language and link their priorities in setting the security-development agenda. It is clear that much work remains in conceptualizing strategies that seek to ensure a positive relationship between security and development. In Sierra Leone, international and local actors have come a long way towards consolidating peace. However, programs would benefit greatly from a holistic view that more deliberately integrates strategies in regional security, reintegration, security sector reform, governance, and transitional justice.

Workshop Agenda

Monday, June 10

- 8:15AM – 8:45 AM Breakfast
- 8:45 AM – 9:00 AM **Welcoming Remarks**
David M. Malone, President, International Peace Academy
Mr. Jean-Marc Métivier, Vice President, Multilateral Programmes Branch,
 Canadian International Development Agency
- 9:00 AM – 11:00 AM **Panel I – Operationalizing a Security-Development Continuum**
Chair
David M. Malone, President, International Peace Academy
Speakers
Ms. Ameerah Haq, Deputy Director, Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery,
 United Nations Development Programme
Mr. Hédi Annabi, Assistant Secretary-General, Department of Peacekeeping
 Operations, United Nations
Mr. Kanja Ibrahim Sesay, Commissioner of the National Commission for
 Social Action, Sierra Leone
- 11:00 AM – 11:15 AM Coffee Break
- 11:15 AM – 1:15 PM **Panel II – Coordination and Collaboration among Local, National,
 and International Actors**
Chair
Dr. James O. C. Jonah, Senior Fellow, Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies
Speakers
Mr. Alan Doss, Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General for
 Governance and Stabilization, United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone;
 United Nations Resident Coordinator for Sierra Leone
Ambassador Sylvester E. Rowe, Deputy Permanent Representative of the
 Republic of Sierra Leone to the United Nations
Mr. Florian Fichtl, Senior Social Protection Specialist, World Bank
Mr. Abdul Tejan-Cole, Campaign for Good Governance, Sierra Leone
- 1:15 PM – 2:45 PM Lunch
Lunch speaker
Major-General Martin Luther Agwai, Deputy Force Commander,
 United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone

2:45 PM – 4:45 PM **Panel III – Institution Building: Security Sector Reform**

Chair

Dr. Adekeye Adebajo, Director, Africa Program, International Peace Academy

Speakers

Mr. Keith Biddle O.B.E., Inspector General, Sierra Leone Police

Mr. Joseph Dankwa, Police Commissioner, United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone

Dr. Ismail Rashid, Assistant Professor, Vassar College

Ms. Isha Dyfan, Program Director, International Women's Tribune Center

7:00 PM **Dinner**

Dinner speaker

Dr. James O. C. Jonah, Senior Fellow, Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies

Tuesday, June 11

8:30 AM – 9:00 AM **Breakfast**

9:00 AM – 11:00 AM **Panel IV – Legal Issues in the Peacebuilding Process**

Chair

Ambassador John Hirsch, Senior Fellow, International Peace Academy

Speakers

Ms. Yasmin Jusu-Sheriff, Executive Secretary, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Sierra Leone

Mr. Andras Vamos-Goldman, Counsellor, Legal Affairs, Permanent Mission of Canada to the UN; Chair, Special Court Management Committee

Mr. Michael O'Flaherty, Deputy Director, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, United Nations

Ms. Priscilla Hayner, Program Director, International Center for Transitional Justice

11:00 AM – 11:15 AM **Coffee Break**

11:15 AM – 12:15 PM **Panel V – Conclusion: Lessons Learned for Future UN Peace Operations**

Chairs

Dr. Patrick K. Muana, Professor, Department of English, Texas A&M University

Ambassador John Hirsch, Senior Fellow, International Peace Academy

12:15 PM – 1:15 PM **Lunch**

List of Participants

Dr. Adekeye Adebajo
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UNAMSIL

Ms. Beatrice Agyarkoh
International Peace Academy

Mr. Arnauld Akodjenou
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Ms. Remi Alapo
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