CHAPTER III

LIBERIA CIVIL WAR AND POST-CONFLICT SITUATION

Chapter III is more specific on the case study which is Libera. This part will explain how was Liberia during the 14th years of civil war, and the situation in Liberia after 14th years of conflict in various aspect. The capacities and challenges for the government towards the process of conflict resolution, inclusive society, and the re-integration for the national development planning will become the main topic of discussion as well as a supporter data for Liberia's situation in post-conflict.

A. Liberia 14 Years Civil War

Liberia was relatively stable for more than a century under the single-party rule of the settler elites. However in 1989 to 2003 the country turn into a series of brutal civil wars and political chaos. The peace agreement was comprehensively been signed in that marked with the establishment of a transitional government due to the exile of President Charles Taylor, that laid the groundwork for elections in 2005.

1. First Civil War 1989-1997

The hatred against Doe Government was the factor that led to the first civil war. Rebellion group crossed from Cote d'Ivoire onto Liberia in Nimba County and attacked the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) was the first attempt which indicates the beginning of the civil war (Prestholdt, 2009). Around hundred men led by Charles Taylor under

Government, campaign and fight against Doe that leading to Doe's Execution, ended with Taylor's victory in the 1997 elections. In between these events, Taylor launched brutal campaign for power, and it was really affected the split of the country into numerous ethnic lines, military groups, and factions. (Vinck, Pham , & Kreutzer, 2006)

AFL Losses were light because the number of the first attempt from the rebel group were so few. However, it continues onto more brutal fighting where the AFL retaliated against the rebellion ferociously, slaughtering the civil society that indicates as the supporter of the rebel group and burning whole villages to the ground in the Nimba County where mostly inhabited by Gios and Manos ethnic. However, those revenge responses from the AFL and the Government were totally brought the conflict of a small group onto a full-scale and insolent civil war in Liberian history, because its drive huge a number of Gios and Manos to join the rebels. (Vinck, Pham , & Kreutzer, 2006)

With their new-found manpower from Gios and Manos ethnic groups, the rebels also began to bloodshed the civilians from Mandingoes and Krahns, a group seen as a supporter of Doe Government. Meanwhile, the AFL continued to massacre the civilian from Gios and Manos. These attacks set a grim precedent for the character of the civil war as a whole. (Prestholdt, 2009).

After the conflict runs, there was a discordance in the rebellion group, where Taylor split from his former ally Prince Johnson. Many of the educated and experienced political figures who joined Taylor camp were killed, leaving no moderate alternatives to his rule. After the split his

party National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), a one-time member of the Doe with Taylor under NPFL, Johnson creates the new party called The Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL). This party played a limited functioned less as a political force, but had a significant role in Liberia's conflict, a simply known as an unpredictable and dangerous group of armed men. Johnson led his INPFL in an erratic, mentally unstable, and psychotic manner. (Herbert, 2014)

In July 1990, both Taylor and Johnson independently carry out encirclement to Monrovia that causing the most violent battles of the war which ending in Doe's execution, killed by the INPFL group that led by Johnson.

After the execution on Doe by the rebellion group, there were many counter-rebellions challenged the territory that controlled by Taylor, such as the Krahn and Mandingos' which was known as the supporters of Doe government. They made a formation of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) in 1991. In 1993, another counter-rebellion emerged led by the Liberia Peace Council (LPC) representing the Sapo people in the south of Liberia. (Global Security, 2011).

Next few years to the election of the new president of Liberia, Charles Taylor was about to join the election as a candidate. Moreover, those counter-rebellion group against and attempt Charles Taylor from any political solution including the election. However, after the national elections were held, Taylor came out as the twenty-second Liberian President with a full 75% of the

vote. Many hoped Taylor's strong hand would bring stability to the country. Since that time, Taylor controlled the rest of Liberia which enabled him to control economic and social decision, political solution and extract Liberian natural resources, including timber, metals, and diamonds. (Global Security, 2011).

2. Second Civil War 1999-2003

Following the election of Taylor as the newest president of Liberia in 1997, Taylor and its counter-rebellion group were live in peace due to a position in the government to each leader of factions. However, in 1999, the tension between the ethnic group and the government led to the renewed of the conflict. Such situation deals with the attitude of the government which remains to continue the old practices of corruption, exploitation of ethnic divisions, repression of people's opinion, and severe poverty for most Liberians (Prestholdt, 2009). Beside it, human rights issue were so well documented. These included torture and rape of suspected opposition supporters, extrajudicial executions, use of child soldiers, and persecution of government critics.

As a result of it, a new rebel army arose against the Taylor regime. Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) and Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) were two new factions that formed to oust Taylor that made up from Mandingo and Krahn ethnics from previous civil war. The MODEL faction was received support from Cote d'Ivoire, while LURD got backup from Guinea and Sierra Leonne. Guinea and Sierra Leonne provided support to LURD in the form of logistical assistance, medical treatment, a base, transport, food, arms, weaponry, and

ammunition. Cote d'Ivoire also provided support to MODEL by supplying rebels with a base, combatants, and a shipping route for weapons. (Vinck, Pham, & Kreutzer, The Second Phase of the Civil War: 1999–2003, 2006)

By 2003, both factions had taken control over the west and the northwest of Liberia. Both MODEL and LURD were highly disorganized, the situation in Liberia is getting complex and extreme. A brutal violent conflict was widespread along the territory. Monrovia as the capital was being blockaded by these two rebel group, made the area becoming a humanitarian catastrophe.

On August 11, 2003, under the pressure of internal rebel group and external international community, Taylor decided to resign as the president of Liberia and flew into exile in Nigeria leave his vice president to undertake the control of the country and peace process with the rebel and the international community. Finally on August 18, 2003, Taylor's Government under vice president Moses Blah after the negotiation process, he signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) with LURD, MODEL, and with civil society representatives in Accra, Ghana, that formally ended the conflict. (Global Security, 2011)

B. Liberia Situation after 14 Years of Civil War

The impact of the 14 years civil war on Liberia development was very tremendous. The effects were challenged every aspect of development including on economic opportunities, politic and transparency, social opportunities, security sector, and infrastructure and environment. To point out how is Liberia situation

right after the civil war, the following part will show the fact of the impact of 14 years of civil war in each affected aspect.

1. Economic, Infrastructure, and Environment

Liberia's conflict has great implications and left massive destruction on the economic, environment, and the infrastructure. Data found that, an amount of Liberia external debt of $3.7 billion and an unemployment rate of over 80 percent (United Nations, 2006). Poverty was increased and recorded more than 75 percent of Liberian live below poverty with 1$ of income per day, and the export officially registered dropped from $486 million in 1978 to about $10 million in 2004 (Radelet, 2007). The civil war has left a basic infrastructure in ruins. Public facilities including electricity services were no function at all. The road and bridges were in dire and need to be repaired because its isolates entire sections of the country, undermine the delivery of basic health and education services, and weakens economic activity in agriculture, timber, and mining. These facts show that Liberia had faced one of the biggest economic collapses in the world since the end of the World War II compared to other conflict countries in the region.

Table 2 3.1 Value Added of Economic Sector in Liberia 1987-2015

	1987	2005	Decline		1987	2005	Decline
Real GDP	1,167	402	66%				
Agriculture & fisheries	369	185	50%	**Manufacturing**	87	52	41%
Rubber	60	41	31%	Cement	23	15	36%
Coffee	1	0	91%	Beverages & beer	53	34	36%
Cocoa	6	1	79%	Other	11	3	72%
Rice	117	32	73%	**Services**	530	93	82%
Cassava	57	38	35%	Electricity & water	18	3	85%
Other	128	72	43%	Construction	39	8	79%
Forestry	57	71	-26%	Trade, hotels, etc	71	20	72%
Logs & timber	34	0	100%	Transportation & communication	90	29	68%
Charcoal & wood	22	71	-221%	Financial institutions	142	10	93%
Mining & panning	125	1	99%	Government services	129	10	92%
Iron ore	116	0	100%	Other services	41	14	67%
Other	9	1	92%				

Source: International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates on "Reviving Economic Growth in Liberia" by Steve Radelet published in Center for Global Development (2007), retrieved from https://www.cgdev.org/files/14912_file_Liberia_Growth.pdf

2. Humanitarian Condition

Education and health aspects had a very devastating impact on the 14 years of civil war. Schools, hospitals, and clinics were destroyed. Meanwhile, Liberia's stock of educated professionals and civil servants has been severely exhausted due to the forced displacement of the war (African Development Bank, 2013). Majority of Population in Liberia had a dramatically low on skills and literacy, particularly in the case of women and young people because most of them have spent more time in war rather than school (Wembolenga, 2008). This made the entire generation especially the youth and the children of civil war affected had ill-equipped for work and in many cases psychologically traumatized or physically disabled.

3. Security Sector

The situation of Liberia's post-conflict security markedly has improved since the sign of the peace agreement as the ended event of the 14 years of civil war. However, it still remains subject to the periodic volatility and instability. There were around 101.000 demobilized ex-combatants under disarmament program organized by United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). While the public security been threatened periodically by criminal acts, violent political faction rivalries, ex-combatants civil unrest related to socio-economic demonstrate due to the dissatisfaction of social and public services, predominantly involving workers,

civil servants, student, jobless youth, and former fighters. These alleged actions are seen as destabilizing and threatening to the consolidation of peace. (Cook, 2005)

4. Governance and Politic

The hope of the civil society toward Taylor regime had left in a tremendous political instability. Corruption, human rights abuses, and exploitation reminded strong. That caused the re-emergence of rebel group to stepped down Taylor from his position. Due to such terrible action and bloodiest effect of the rebel group, its made the United Nations (UN) trigger to find out the core problems of the conflict. In the latest of 2001, UN found that the government of Liberia had exploited the diamond and selling it to the rebel faction in Sierra Leone (Country Watch, 2017). That fact made the UN passed a resolution authorizing sanctions against Liberia. With the help of the international community on case fire and peace process, Talor decided to resign from his position in July 2003.

After the peace agreement been signed, there was a progress toward political stability. Power sharing agreement of the transitional government toward the next election had been established, where 21 people were inaugurated with the representatives from the armed factions and the former government under Gyude Bryant as its head of the office. However, this transitional government also faces enormous challenges due to the devastating infrastructure that left government buildings cannot be operated and being occupied by Liberians who have been displaced by the fighting. Moreover, The erosion of central power and increased private appropriation of offices institutionally marked the transitional period,

which is giving rise to a decentralized patrimonialism characterized by strong personal connections between relatively equal individuals and status groups.

October 2005 marked Liberia's first democratic elections following the end of its 14-year long civil war. The election came out with Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf elected as the new president. One day after Ellen Johson claimed a position as the new president, the supporter of the unelected candidate was took to the streets to protest of the election result. They made charges about the ballot tampering and voter intimidation as well as about fraud from the winning candidate. However, United Nations Mission to Liberia (UNMIL) praised the smooth process of voting, which was free from both fraud and violence, and they ensured the election had been peaceful, fair, and transparent. (Country Watch, 2017)

C. Liberia Government Capacity on Recovery Programme

Most of us probably familiar with the definition of state capacity from Skocpol which defines it as the ability of the government to manage its territory with four main aspects of state basic capacities which are financial resources mobilization as an extractive capacity, steering capacity such as socioeconomic development guidance, and legitimation and coercive capacity that known as capacity to dominate by using symbols and the use of force (Walder, 1995). However, in the context of post-conflict country capacity, it becomes more complex because the state is demanded to rebuild the destruction made during the conflict

toward peace, just, and more inclusive. That objective could only meet if the state has the capacity in several interrelated areas: (Salmon & Lopez, 2010)

1. The re-establishment of community, humanitarian, and state security
2. The creation of new accountability mechanism, rule of law, an end to impunity
3. Reforming the public governance institution that can pursue the collective goals of development and prosperity
4. The establishment of the power-sharing network and constitutional change
5. Economic recovery including employment re-creation, economic growth, managing natural resources, and fairly wealth distribution.
6. Restoring social integration across lines of conflict, and providing unity for the purpose of governance effectiveness.

However, most of the researcher found that the state affected by conflict had less capacity to do such process of re-development programme that mentioned above due to any reason. Jago Salmon and Eugenia Piza-Lopez on Capacity is Development published by UNDP stated that this various challenges might cause state not capable of the recovery process: (Salmon & Lopez, 2010)

1. The instability of politic and security including the absence of rule of law

    The vulnerability of post-conflict situations can allow for a lot of corruption and illicit activities, as well as other bad behaviors. The vacuum of government institutions caused by the occurrence of conflict can destroy the general ethos of government and weaken the political will to transparency and accountability, thus

blocking the mechanism and capacity of a country. The lack of togetherness in carrying out the political vision and ethos of government, often encourage factions that make various groups in government work in favor rather than for the national good, especially when members are taken from previously warring parties or divided ethnic groups.

The absence and the dysfunctional rule of law also can affect many post-conflict situations undermines the state legitimacy. This was characterized by the ineffective and corrupt institutions that especially evident in the judiciary and the police. While the failure in security sector leads to continuing mistrust from the civil society and at worst can breeding for the re-eruption of conflict and violence.

2. The destruction of government institutions legitimacy, governmental infrastructure, state system, and bureaucracy

Once government legitimacy, infrastructure, system, and bureaucracy destroyed by the conflict, it could create an ineffectiveness of post-conflict government and might lead to the delayed of the recovery process.

3. The collapse of economic value and system

The economic aspect is one of the very important units for sustainable and development. However, if the economy of a country has affected a lot and caused a crisis in the country, it will leave the state development behind, because the economy is the steering of the other aspects when it

is not being operated, the other cannot move forward.

4. The collapse of much of national educational and knowledge systems

The capacity of the state can be seen through how many educational and knowledge system being operated. The government in post-conflict need more brain and power for the process of recovery because the aspect focus is in all areas at all level of society.

5. The collapse of an enabling environment

Bad environment for operation might affect the conducive situation which could lead to the long process of the system. In Liberia, the environment was very dangerous for any type of operation, including government services and transition agenda.

These are concluded base on the nature and the degree of destruction caused by the conflict. Most of the post-conflict countries are fragile and vulnerable, all generally suffer from not just on the assets and skills but of the system in all aspects including physical, economic, financial, technical, social, organizational, and institutional that lead to the incapacity of state for the recovery process.

Alastair J. McKechnie, the World Bank country coordinator for South Asia Region release the characteristic of post-conflict country conditions which shows the low capacity of the state for the recovery programme, as follows: (McKechnie, 2004)

1. In a post-conflict country, conflict is still reminded to re-emerge

2. The World Bank shows that the capacity of a state to reunite the society, economic and security recovery, and utilize aid and donor are relatively low for three years after the conflict due to physical and institutional constraints.

3. The expectations of the public from the benefits of the peace agreement that ended the conflict, and donor pressures to achieve early results are likely to be unrealistically high.

In Liberia, the destruction was pervasive in all aspect, the World Bank even recorded Liberia had the worst effect of a conflict in the region in the modern world, which close to 90% of the country was being destructed by the civil war. It is blocked both institutional and human capacities and delayed the sustain of the county development. The public services cannot be running through the plan, concept, design, and formula because it was being dysfunctional and disorientated as an effect of the war. The universities, training center, polytechnics, primary and secondary school, and kindergartens could not fully operated and were not maintained. The brutal character of the war caused the communities difficult to function normally like the pre-conflict situation, and also caused the internal displacement that leads people to think more about survival than education.

Table 3 3.2 Index of State Capacity

Rank	Country	Overall Score	Economic	Political	Security	Social Welfare	GNI Per Capita
1	Somalia	0.52	0.00	0.00	1.37	0.70	226
2	Afghanistan	1.65	4.51	2.08	0.00	0.00	271
3	Congo, Dem. Rep.	1.67	4.06	1.80	0.28	0.52	130
4	Iraq	3.11	2.87	1.67	1.63	6.27	1134
5	Burundi	3.21	5.01	3.46	2.95	1.43	100
6	Sudan	3.29	5.05	2.06	1.46	4.59	810
7	Central African Rep.	3.33	4.11	2.90	5.06	1.25	360
8	Zimbabwe	3.44	1.56	1.56	6.81	3.84	350
9	Liberia	3.64	3.39	3.91	6.01	1.25	140
10	Cote D'Ivoire	3.66	5.23	2.12	3.71	3.56	870
11	Angola	3.72	5.42	2.67	5.32	1.45	1980
12	Haiti	3.76	3.90	2.62	5.21	3.31	480

Table 1 3.2 Index of State Capacity

Source: Rice, Susan.E; Patrick, Stewart (2005) - "Index of State Weakness".Published online at Brookings.edu. Retrieved from https://www.brookings.edu/wpcontent/uploads/2016/06/02_weak_states_index.pdf

Due to the destructive nature and the impact of the war on human capital development, it is made largely acknowledged that Liberia had lack of capacity and competencies for the process of recovery, post-conflict reconstruction, and national development. On 2005, Susan E. Rice and Stewart Patrick released state capacity index (Table 2) that measured from 20 indicators of politic, economic, humanitarian, and security aspect also recorded Liberia as one of the weak states and had fewer competencies for their post-conflict recovery. This data also proof that, most of state conflict-affected were fewer capabilities and capacities at all level of state development recovery process which might lead to the inability of the state to achieve peace, just, and inclusive society alone without the help from the international community including the operation of UNDP.

Based on the facts, characteristics, and data above, it is crucial for the state in the post-conflict situation to engage and collaborate with the Global Governance for the recovery process and national

development planning for the achievement of peaceful, just, and inclusive society. As a Global Governance for development, UNDP will constitutively help the country affected by conflict to restore all aspect that had been destroyed by the conflict, and continuously will support toward the achievement of the post-conflict country objective for peace, just, and inclusive society.