

**SECURITY CONCERNS:
NIGERIA'S PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS IN LIBERIA AND SIERRA LEONE
1990 - 1999**

by

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SUMMARY

The essence of this thesis is to explore the role of Nigeria, West Africa's hegemon, in the intervention efforts by the Economic Community of West African states (ECOWAS) through its Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in both Liberia (1990-1997) and Sierra Leone (1993-2000). While the thesis has sought to understand the leading role played by Nigeria in first establishing the ECOWAS and being the primus motor for its functions, I have also attempted to analyse the rationalities for the transformation of ECOWAS from a purely economic integrative scheme to a security organisation. While the economic agendas for ECOWAS have not changed, the argument in this thesis is that security related issues and realities have taken precedence over the original economic agendas. One of the thesis' major arguments is that the nature of results attained in both Liberia and Sierra Leone are different because of (a) the leadership role of Nigeria and (b) the nature of international responses and contributions to the resolution of these conflicts.

In the thesis, I argue that in the Liberian case, Nigeria took a more domineering leadership role albeit tinged with the characteristics of the actions of a benevolent hegemon. Here, Nigeria through different processes either through leadership, consensus-seeking processes and dialogue managed to get other ECOWAS states to coalesce around its leadership. However, in Sierra Leone, Nigeria's leadership role was not permitted to unfold. The resultant effect was the shift from NIFAG to ECOMOG and eventually 'rekindling hatred' of these troops as UN troops.

This thesis has pointed to the utility of sub-regional organisations in resolving conflicts and demonstrates the need for further study.

KEY TERMS

Peacekeeping Efforts; ECOMOG; Liberian Conflict; Sierra Leonean Conflict; Sub-regional Security; Security Concerns; Regimes Theory; ECOWAS; Peace-enforcements; Nigerian Intervention.

DECLARATION

I, *Onuorah J. Obodozie*, declare that **from Economic to Security Concerns: Nigeria's Peacekeeping Efforts In Liberia and Sierra Leone: 1990-1999** is my own work and that all sources that I have used or quoted, have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

SIGNATURE OF STUDENT

DATE

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1955) before Nigeria became Independent in 1960. He encouraged and provided land for European Missionaries to build schools and churches.

Dedicated

To my Children

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Mukosolu Mahogany (Mukky)

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Kossy Odysseus (Kossy)

And

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and his dear wife Agnes Ahuforo

Acronyms

ACS	American Colonisation Society
ADB	African Development Bank
AFL	Armed Forces of Liberia
AFRC	Armed Forces Ruling Council
APC	All Peoples Congress
ARB	African Research Bulletin
AREF	African Refugee Foundation
BTC	Barclay Training Centre
C-5	Committee of Five
C-9	Committee of Nine
CDF	Civil Defence Forces
CMRRD	Commission for the Management of Strategic Resources, National Reconstruction and Development
CMO	Chief Military Observer
ECOMOG	Ecowas Cease-fire Monitoring Group
ECSOC	Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EMC	Executive Military Council
EO	Executive Outcomes
IFMC	Inter Faith Mediation Committee
IGNU	Interim Government of National Unity
IEC	Interim Electoral Commission
IGOs	International Governmental Organisations
IJC	International Court of Justice
INN	International Negotiation Network
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INPFL	Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia
JCMC	Joint Cease-fire and Monitoring Committee
LCC	Liberian Council of Churches
LAMCO	American-Swedish Mining Company
LAP	Liberian Action Party
LDF	Lofa Defence Force
LNC	Liberian National Conference
LNTG	Liberian National Transitional Government
LPC	Liberia Peace Council

LUDF	Liberian United Democratic Front
LWI	Liberian Women’s Initiative
MCPMR	Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution
MRU	Mano River Union
MOJA	Movement for Justice in Africa
MRM	Movement for the Redemption of Liberian Muslims
NAWOCO	National Women’s Council of Liberia
NCC	National Constitutional Committee
NDPL	National Democratic Party of Liberia
NIFAG	Nigeria Armed Forces Agreement (with Sierra Leone Government)
NMCL	National Muslim Council of Liberia
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPFL-CRC	National Patriotic Resistance Assembly Government
NPRC	National Provisional Ruling Council
NRA	National Resistance Army
NRM	National Resistance Movement
OUA	Organisation of African Unity
ODP	Open Door Policy
PAL	Progressive Alliance of Liberia
PMAD	Protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defence
PPP	Progressive People’s Party
PRC	People’s Redemption Party
PSC	Private Security Company
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SATU	Special Anti-Terrorist Unit
SECOM	Special Election Commission
SLA	Sierra Leone Army
SLPP	Sierra Leone Peoples Party
SMC	Standing Mediation Committee
SOFA	Status of Forces Agreement
SOP	Standing Operating Procedures
SREC	Special Representative of the ECOWAS Chairman
SRSG	UN Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General
SMC	Standing Mediation Committee
TNC	Transnational Corporation
TWP	True Whig Party
UliMO-J	United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia — Krahn

	Faction
UNHACO	United Nations Humanitarian Assistance Coordinator
UliMO-K	United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia — Mandingo faction
UN	United Nations
UPP	United People’s Party
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNSG	United Nations Secretary General
UNOMIL	United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia
UPDF	Uganda People’s Defence Force