

THE ROLE OF THE U.S. MILITARY IN THE PROFESSIONALIZATION
OF THE ARMED FORCES OF LIBERIA

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by

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF THE U.S. MILITARY IN THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF THE ARMED FORCES OF LIBERIA, by LCDR Jeremy R. Steffen, 85 pages.

The national security interests of the United States include a growing concern for stability on the African continent and specifically the region of West Africa. One potential U.S. partner in this region is the country of Liberia. The newly formed Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) presents a developing opportunity to contribute to the broader U.S. interests. However, in order to ensure stability within Liberia, the AFL requires growth and development through its continued professionalization.

This research ascertained the key challenges faced by Liberia in the professionalization of the AFL and assessed how the United States should focus resources in support of this effort through Building Partner Capacity (BPC) strategies. The researcher used comparative case study analysis of similar U.S. led BPC professionalization efforts with the Armed Forces of the Philippines, the Mali Armed Forces, and the Botswana Defence Force in order to draw cross conclusions and themes. These conclusions were connected to current National Strategic documents and U.S. military doctrine to provide future recommendations for the role of the U.S. military in professionalizing the AFL.

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ACRONYMS

AFL	Armed Forces of Liberia
AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines
BDF	Botswana Defence Force
BPC	Building Partner Capacity
DCSC	Defence Command and Staff College (Botswana)
FID	Foreign Internal Defense
GEF	Guidance for the Employment of the Force
GOL	Government of Liberia
IMET	International Military Education and Training
LOE	Lines of Effort
MAF	Mali Armed Forces
MIL-TO-MIL	Military-to-Military
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
NDS	National Defense Strategy
NSS	National Security Strategy
PMA	Philippine Military Academy
QDR	Quadrennial Defense Review
RAF	Regionally Aligned Forces
SFA	Security Force Assistance
TRADOC	Training and Doctrine Command
UN	United Nations
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

If you want to go quickly, go alone.

If you want to go far, go together

— *African Proverb*, Quoted in Charles Hooper,
“Going Farther by Going Together”

The national security interests of the United States focus on a growing concern for stability in the region of West Africa. Terrorist organizations like Boko Haram are becoming stronger every day and the United States has a strategic interest in promoting stability and security within countries throughout this region in order to stop the spread of terrorism. The 2015 *National Security Strategy* (NSS) states that the United States will continue to collaborate with established and emerging powers to promote our shared security and defend our common humanity.¹ Regional stability combats the threat of global terrorism by denying terrorist organizations the ability to influence the local populace with fear and coercion.

In the current environment of fiscal constraints, the U.S. military faces challenges of downsizing personnel and equipment while continuing to respond to threats throughout the world. Increasing the ability of host nation militaries to combat terrorist threats and establish internal security is an effective tool that the U.S. military will use in the years to come.

¹ U.S. President, *National Security Strategy* (Washington, DC: The White House, February 2015), 29.

The West African country of Liberia has the potential to become a stable U.S. partner in this insecure region. Although fraught with the same problems of other West African states, Liberia has a promising democratic government complete with a small security force. This force is designed to defend the national sovereignty of Liberia, and provide security during natural disasters. The Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) consists of approximately 2,000 soldiers. Each soldier has been vetted and selected following a rigorous training and evaluation process. With such limited resources and manpower available, the professionalization of the AFL would clearly contribute to and ensure success in their role of providing long-term security for Liberia.

This research intends to ascertain the challenges faced by the AFL and assess how the U.S. military should focus future commitments of Building Partner Capacity (BPC) resources in order to contribute to the professionalization of the AFL. The lack of a professional AFL could have a devastating impact on this fragile nation and could require the United States to intervene in cases of terrorism or natural disasters. An objective of the AFL needs to be a force capable of establishing peace and security in order to keep Liberia from failing and ultimately maintain this peace in the long-term interests of Liberia and the United States.

The History of the AFL

From 1989 to 2003, the nation of Liberia has been riddled with civil wars and numerous conflicts. In 2003, the Liberian Peace Agreement established a ceasefire between the Government of Liberia (GOL), the Liberians United for Reconciliation and

Democracy, and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia.² Among the myriad of topics discussed was the essential task of reforming and restructuring the AFL. The key principles taken into account in the restructuring were:

- a. Incoming service personnel shall be screened with respect to educational, professional, medical and fitness qualifications, as well as prior history with regard to human rights abuses;
- b. The restructured force shall take into account the country's national balance. It shall be composed without any political bias to ensure that it represents the national character of Liberia;
- c. The Mission of the Armed Forces of Liberia shall be to defend the national sovereignty and in extremis, respond to natural disasters;
- d. All Parties shall cooperate with ECOWAS, the UN, the AU, the ICGL and the United States of America.³

The Liberian Comprehensive Peace Agreement also specifically requested that the United States play a lead role in organizing this program.⁴ Following the signing of this agreement, the United States looked to outside corporations to train and restructure the AFL.

Ultimately, DynCorp won the bid and began implementing a training course in late 2006. The straightforward initial DynCorp proposal consisted in its essentials of putting 2,000 men through boot camp and supplementing their training with a significant rule-of-law and human rights component emphasizing such things as

² U.S. Department of State, *Comprehensive Agreement Between the Government of Liberia and the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) and Political Parties, Accra August 18, 2003*, United States Institute of Peace, accessed October 22, 2014, http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/file/resources/collections/peace_agreements/liberia_08182003.pdf.

³ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*

respect for international humanitarian law and the law of war, separation of army and police responsibilities and the centrality of civilian control of the military.⁵

The first soldiers began training in 2006. The focus was on producing an Army that was educated on rule of law and ethics.⁶ DynCorp's contract eventually ended in 2009 and the Liberian Ministry of Defense formally took control of the AFL on January 1, 2010.⁷ As of February 2014, the AFL strength stood at 1,981 soldiers. According to a RAND study called, *Making Liberia Safe: Transformation of the National Security Sector*, the primary missions of the AFL are to safeguard the country against possible external threats and to support the internal security forces in defeating any insurgency or other internal threat for which Liberia's internal security forces prove inadequate on their own.⁸ Presently, the threats that would most likely go against the AFL would be non-state external and internal threats.⁹ With this understanding, it was assessed that a large AFL would not be

⁵ International Crisis Group, Report. No.148, *Liberia: Uneven Progress in Security Sector Reform* (Washington, DC International Crisis Group, January 13, 2009), 10, accessed October 22, 2014, http://www.observatori.org/paises/pais_67/documentos/148_liberia___uneven_progress_in_security_sector_reform.pdf.

⁶ Sean McFate, "Building Better Armies: An Insider's Account of Liberia" (Report, Strategic Studies Institute and U.S. Army War College Press, November 1, 2013), 100.

⁷ HIS, "Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment-West Africa," July 28, 2014, accessed September 19, 2014, <http://www.ciaonet.org.lumen.cgscarl.com/wps/gav05/gav05.pdf/>.

⁸ David C. Gompert, Olga Olikier, Brooke Stearns, Keith Crane, and K. Jack Riley, *Making Liberia Safe: Transformation of the National Security Sector* (Santa Monica, CA: National Defense Research Institute, RAND Corporation, 2007), 26.

⁹ Ibid.

required. A small force with quality training, equipment, and leadership will be more essential in dealing with any of these threats.

Before the formation of the AFL and the introduction of DynCorp, the United Nations (UN) enacted a plan to provide security to the region, as the newly formed Liberian government tried to establish a foothold. Under the recommendation and direction of the Secretary-General, the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) was created. This was a multidimensional operation composed of political, military, police, criminal justice, civil affairs, human rights, gender, child protection, disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration, public information, and support components.¹⁰ The UN decided that UNMIL would consist of up to 15,000 UN military personnel, including up to 250 military observers and 160 staff officers.¹¹ On October 1, 2003, the UNMIL forces took over peacekeeping duties. UNMIL forces were comprised of soldiers from Benin, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Bissau, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, and Togo. The UNMIL forces played an instrumental part in the success of the government of Liberia and provided much needed peace, stability, and security to date. However, with the establishment of the AFL, the UNMIL forces will start to reduce their footprint in the country consistent with the UNMIL charter. According to the drawdown plan, the

¹⁰ United Nations Mission in Liberia, “UNMIL Background, 1989-1997,” United Nations, accessed December 13, 2014, <http://unmil.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=3937&language=en-US>.

¹¹ Ibid.

mission's military strength will be about 3,750 personnel by July 2015.¹² With the drawdown plan enacted, the AFL will be required to maintain security with limited help from the UN.

Challenges Facing the AFL

The newly formed AFL has many challenges ahead. With such small numbers of soldiers within its ranks, the professionalization of the Army is even more important. However, several factors are creating problems for the AFL. These factors can be labeled as internal and external factors.

Internal factors within the AFL include problems that can inhibit progress. Major Christine Whitmer describes these challenges in her 2011 masters titled "Security Sector Reform in Liberia: Uneven Progress." She says the U.S. Marine Corps Security Cooperation Education and Training Center identified many shortcomings in the AFL. Using the Doctrine, Organization, Training, Material, Leadership/Education, Personnel and Facilities construct, there is a collective gap in the lack of functional national revenue system, lack of national infrastructure, lack of public and educational systems, tribal/ethnic divisions, and nepotism combined with various levels of corruption throughout the military.¹³ She goes on to say that, these factors within the AFL

¹² Morrison O. G. Sayon, "UNMIL Still Working on a Draw Down Plan," *The Inquirer Newspaper*, April 19, 2013, accessed December 13, 2014, <http://monroviainquirer.com/2013/04/19/unmil-still-working-on-draw-down-plan/>.

¹³ Major Christine Whitmer, "Security Sector Reform in Liberia: Uneven Progress" (Master's thesis, U.S. Marine Corps Command and Staff College, Quantico, VA, 2011), 12.

negatively impact the AFL's ability to build the capabilities and capacities to become a professional military able to accomplish its missions and tasks.¹⁴

Another significant Doctrine, Organization, Training, Material, Leadership/ Education, Personnel and Facilities gap identified by the Crisis Group Africa report is in the AFL's leadership. In their report published in January 2009, the group discusses the lack of competent and capable leadership within the ranks. "Because it was decided to build an army from scratch, lack of 'middle management'—upper-level noncommissioned officers (NCOs), captains and majors—will be a concern for at least a decade."¹⁵ This gap presents a significant concern for the professionalization of the AFL that will require time and effort to ensure success.

These problems describe the internal struggles that the AFL has to overcome. The researcher examined three case studies that have similar issues in their respective armed forces. By analyzing these case studies and determining if U.S solutions worked or not, the researcher was able to recommend further solutions for the professionalization of the AFL.

Along with internal factors, there are also many factors external to the AFL that inhibit its ability to become professionalized. Major Whitmer says, "Several critical vulnerabilities for Security Sector Reform (SSR) in Liberia include unemployment, food shortages, poverty, disease, Liberia's sub-regional security, and continued land and

¹⁴ Whitmer, 12.

¹⁵ International Crisis Group, Report No. 148, 9.

family disputes.”¹⁶ She also brings up the interesting point that the long history of corrupt security and government systems left the citizens of Liberia with a mistrust of officials within the defense force.¹⁷ This distrust severely impacts the ability of the AFL to carry out its mission of peacekeeping.

Problem Statement

The problem statement sums up the research and data analysis into a well thought out definition of the problem. This research’s problem statement is, How should the U.S. military focus BPC efforts to professionalize the AFL in order to maintain regional security against internal and external threats and achieve U.S. national strategic objectives?

Primary Research Question

This thesis intends to answer the primary research question, What should the role of the U.S. military be in professionalizing the AFL to create partner capacity in the common interest of the United States and Liberia?

Secondary Research Questions

Secondary research questions are designed to focus the research. The secondary questions in this thesis are, What are the key issues the U.S. military can address at the ministerial, institutional, and tactical levels of the AFL in order to create a force recognized for its professionalism? and What U.S. BPC military commitments are

¹⁶ Whitmer, 17.

¹⁷ Ibid.

necessary and realistic to support Liberia and the AFL in order to develop and maintain the professionalism of the AFL to remain capable of contributing to the long-term stability of Liberia and the region?

Methodology

This thesis is a qualitative analysis of key challenges facing the AFL in its professionalization as discussed by various reports and sources. This essay also examines the role of the U.S. military in addressing these challenges by citing examples of BPC in similar cases from recent years.

Assumption

This study assumes that the sources and documents cited throughout this research used factual data to support each conclusion. This study also assumes the researchers, who wrote their respective pieces, had no biases towards the information presented.

Definitions

Armed Forces of Liberia: Though the AFL has been active since the 1960s, this essay will only focus on the newly formed AFL. The newly formed AFL is defined as the forces formed from the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the GOL, the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy, and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia and Political Parties Accra, August 18, 2003.¹⁸

Building Partner Capacity: BPC is currently defined as the outcome of comprehensive inter-organizational activities, programs, and engagements that enhance

¹⁸ U.S. Department of State, *Comprehensive Agreement*, 9.

the ability of partners for security, governance, economic development, essential services, rule of law, and critical government functions.¹⁹

Professional Army: A professional army is one that responds to civilian authority, respects the rule of law, and abides by international human rights. This definition comes from the Theater Strategic End state of U.S. Africa Command.²⁰

Limitations

The author had to work with key limitations while compiling the research for this study. The first limitation was time. This research was conducted during a ten-month study from September 2014 to June 2015 in order to be completed within time requirements. A second limitation of this research is that the author has not been to Liberia. Due to the outbreak of Ebola and other infectious diseases, the U.S. government issued limitations on travel to the nation of Liberia. All research was conducted in the United States through published documents.

Delimitations

The purpose of this research is to assess the current disposition of the AFL in order to provide possible recommendations on the role of the U.S. military in professionalizing the AFL. Throughout the time that this research was conducted, Liberia was in a fragile state of unrest and confusion with a myriad of problems stemming mostly

¹⁹ U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, TRADOC Pamphlet 525-8-4, *The U.S. Army Concept for Building Partner Capacity* (Fort Monroe, VA: U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, November 22, 2011), 1.

²⁰ Thomas Dempsey, "Security Sector Reform in Liberia Part I: An Assessment of Defense Reform," *PKSOI*, no. 2008-01 (2008): 2.

from years of civil war. This research cannot possibly cover every problem that surrounds this young state and its armed forces. This study is also restricted to limited information due to the short time that the AFL has been formed.

Significance of the Study/Summary

This study is intended to identify the major challenges and obstacles faced by the AFL in pursuit of becoming a professionalized force. The United States and Liberia both have a strategic interest in the success of the AFL and the U.S. military has the tools and knowledge to aid in the professionalization of this force. This study highlights these major problems and provides the U.S. military some possible courses of action to combat these key issues. A literature review is conducted in chapter 2 that describes the Army as a profession and analyzes current U.S. Army doctrine and historical case studies of capacity building in order to answer the primary and secondary research questions.

An explanation of the case study methodology used throughout this research will be described in chapter 3. Chapter 4 discusses the findings of the qualitative study. Chapter 5 contains the conclusions and possible recommendations for the U.S. military to follow while building partner capacity with the AFL in the interests of both nations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The purpose of this research is to assess the current disposition of the AFL in order to provide possible recommendations on the role of the U.S. military in professionalizing the AFL. U.S. national security objectives require capable armed forces to maintain regional security in order to stop the spread of terrorist organizations. These national security objectives are linked by the professionalization efforts of the U.S. military to create a force capable of stopping internal and external threats. Currently, literature on the progress of professionalizing the AFL is sparse, due to the lack of time that the newly formed AFL has been in existence. There are, however, many case studies throughout history that analyze the evolution of professionalizing military forces around the world.

This chapter begins with a review of Samuel P. Huntington's theories of a professional army. As a well-respected expert on political science and civil-military relations, Huntington's theories of professional armies have been documented in his book, *The Soldier and the State, The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Although written in 1957, the ideas and conclusions are as relevant today as they were then. This book serves as the guiding document on what a professional force should strive to look like. Through efforts of the U.S. military, the AFL may someday exemplify the attributes of a professional military that Huntington introduces.

This chapter also describes how current U.S. strategic policy guidance and military doctrine relate to conditions of BPC. The researcher reviewed the overarching themes of BPC from strategic documents in order to understand the U.S. strategic objectives relating to BPC. Concurrently, the researcher narrowed the scope of research down to tactical level objectives by including U.S. Army doctrinal references and pamphlets. The inclusion of these documents into this research will inform the potential U.S. BPC efforts at the tactical level. This includes a review of the conceptual framing approach known as Lines of Effort (LOE) and examines specific ways that the U.S. military accomplishes the end states of BPC in different environments.

Finally, this chapter examines three case studies. These case studies highlight specific U.S. led BPC efforts that transformed other nations' military forces into professionalized organizations. The first case study reviews the U.S. involvement in professionalizing the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP). The U.S. played a significant role in professionalizing the AFP, and serves as a current example of how this process could potentially help the AFL.

The second case study reviews the efforts of the U.S. in establishing a professional armed force in the country of Mali. As part of the Trans-Sahara Counter Terrorism Initiative, the U.S. government spent over a decade in Mali trying to build partner capacity with the Malian Armed Forces (MAF). The lessons learned from this operation serve as an important reminder of how fragile these armed forces truly are. Professional deficiencies within the MAF combined with a very capable external security threat created a harsh operating environment that ultimately resulted in a military coup.

Examination of these deficiencies will enable the AFL to avoid these potential disasters and overcome them with the help of the United States.

The third case study examines the evolution of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF). As one of the only armed forces in the African continent that has not had a coup, the BDF is an incredible example of a successful professionalization effort that remains stable in this unstable region. These successes should be shared and applied to help ensure success in professionalizing the AFL.

This literature review connects the current U.S. ideas of BPC with case studies of professionalizing armed forces. Connecting the themes found within these documents and case studies will serve as the basis of understanding for specific comparisons and conclusions, which will ultimately answer the primary and secondary research questions.

The Soldier and the State

Samuel P. Huntington is an expert on civil-military relations. His book, *The Soldier and the State, The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*, published in 1957, is a theoretical framework of looking at and thinking about civil-military relations.²¹ Specifically, Huntington's definition of the concept of a professional military creates the basis of understanding needed to answer this researcher's primary and secondary research questions. His concept of profession revolves around the military officer who pursues a "higher calling" in the service of society.²² Huntington describes

²¹ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory of Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), vii.

²² *Ibid.*, 8.

expertise, responsibility, and corporateness as the three characterizations that make up a profession as a special type of vocation.²³

Huntington writes that a professional man is an expert with specialized knowledge and skill in a significant field of human endeavor.²⁴ He goes on to say that, this expertise is acquired by prolonged education and experience.²⁵ This professional education consists of two phases: the first imparting a broad, liberal, and cultural background, and the second imparting the specialized skills and knowledge of the profession.²⁶ When describing the role of the U.S. military in professionalizing the AFL, expertise in the field of military officership should be emphasized throughout all facets of training and vetting.

Responsibility is the second characterization of a professional. Huntington states that the professional man is a practicing expert, working in a social context, and performing a service, which is essential to the functioning of society.²⁷ A professionalized force takes on the responsibility to share its services and skills at the request of society.²⁸ Responsibility sets a professionalized army apart from an armed

²³ Huntington, 8.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., 9.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

force because of the idea of service to others. This higher calling serves as a relentless foundation in a dynamic world of uncertainties like West Africa.

Corporateness is the final characterization of a professional. The members of a profession share a sense of organic unity and consciousness of themselves as a group stemming from a common bond of work, lengthy discipline and training, and the sharing of a unique social responsibility.²⁹ In order to professionalize the AFL, each member must share this sense of camaraderie and acceptance. Huntington also says, an officer's behavior within the military structure is governed by a complex mass of regulations, customs, and traditions, and his behavior in relation to society is guided by an awareness that his skill can only be utilized for purposes approved by the state.³⁰ The critical factor in this statement relies on the establishment of the state itself to govern and direct the officer corps.

As the AFL becomes a professional organization, the establishment of a functional officer corps will be a major factor in determining whether the AFL will succeed or fail. The U.S. military cannot afford to overlook this point.

Samuel P. Huntington's theories of civil-military relations create a standard in which it is possible to analyze the extent to which this relationship will enhance or detract from the military security of that society.³¹ The relationship between the AFL and the country of Liberia is no different. Liberia's military security is currently in a state of

²⁹ Huntington, 10.

³⁰ Ibid., 15.

³¹ Ibid., viii.

fragile repair. The Liberian government can only hope that a professional force can stabilize this environment for the good of their country and the African continent.

U.S. Strategic Policy Guidance

At the strategic level, the U.S. is committed to BPC in order to maintain its interests abroad. The U.S. NSS emphasizes the role of the United States in BPC.³² The 2015 NSS states, “We prefer to partner with those fragile states that have a genuine political commitment to establishing legitimate governance and providing for their people.”³³ The state of Liberia precisely fits this description. After years of civil war and political instability, the newly formed GOL slowly created a stable and reliable system of governance that gained worldwide recognition. The NSS goes on to say that, U.S. efforts must focus on proven areas of need such as reforming security and establishing rule of law.³⁴ The AFL is a prime candidate to receive help from the United States due to the strategic implications of a failed Liberia. Liberia maintained a partnership with the United States for over a hundred years and remains a loyal partner to the United States.

³² U.S. President, *National Security Strategy*, 4.

³³ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

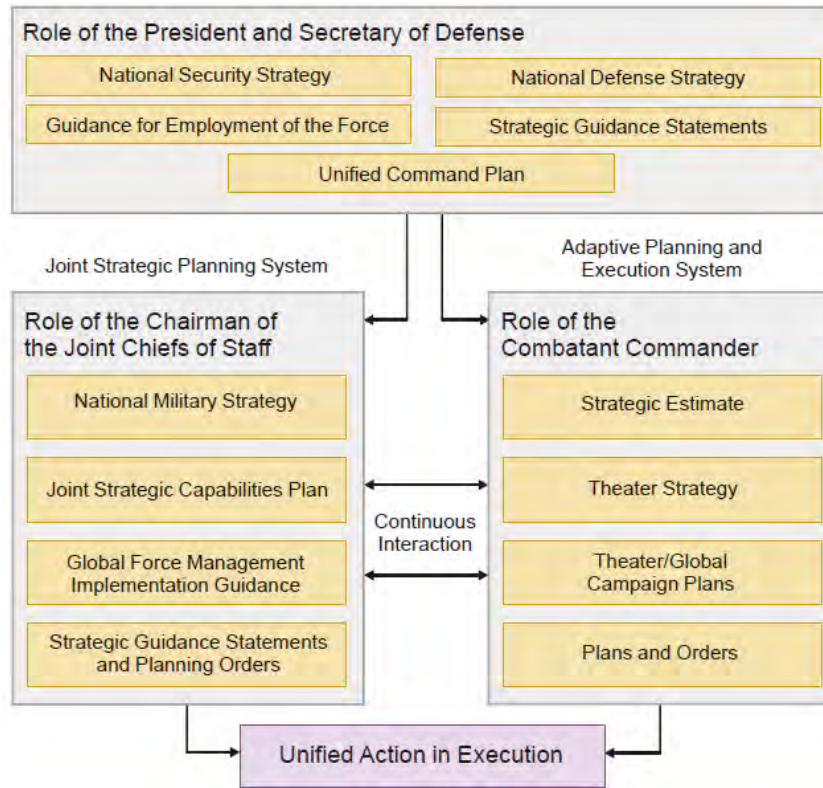


Figure 1. National Strategic Direction

Source: Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication 5-0, *Joint Operation Planning* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, August 2011), II-5.

The 2011 *National Defense Strategy* (NDS) also gives specific guidance on BPC. It states, “We will assist other countries in improving their capabilities through security cooperation, just as we will learn valuable skills and information from others better situated to understand some of the complex challenges we face together.”³⁵ This strategic document creates a general understanding that one of the core responsibilities of the Department of Defense is to secure U.S. interests abroad. BPC efforts are key missions

³⁵ U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, TRADOC Pamphlet 525-8-4, 4.

that the Department of Defense will be tasked to complete in the future. In a time of fiscal constraints and resource reductions, the United States will heavily rely on the efforts of partner nation military forces in order to maintain security around the globe.

Another strategic document is the 2014 *Quadrennial Defense Review* (QDR). This document states, “Building security globally not only assures allies and partners and builds their capacity but also helps protect the homeland by deterring conflict and increasing stability in regions like the Middle East and North Africa.”³⁶ The most recent version, published in 2014, suggests that U.S. forces need to remain actively engaged in building partnerships in regions like West Africa.³⁷ With the drawdown of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, combatant commanders will have more opportunities to employ special operations forces.³⁸ These special operations forces will continue to train and assist partner nation forces in an effort to create a security force capable of quelling any sort of outside or inside threats.

The *Guidance for the Employment of the Force* (GEF) directs combatant commanders to create campaign plans to achieve theater and functional strategic ends.³⁹ The GEF identifies ten strategic end states, but there is one end state that can be specifically tied to professionalizing the AFL. The GEF states, “Partner nations provide for their own security, contribute effectively to broader regional or global security

³⁶ Secretary of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Defense, March 4, 2014), vi.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 39.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, TRADOC Pamphlet 525-8-4, 5.

challenges, and maintain professional, civilian-led militaries that respect human rights.”⁴⁰

The GEF is clear that a professional military creates a secure environment in order to enhance partner nations within unstable regions. The lack of a professional AFL will certainly destabilize Liberia, and ultimately create a situation in which the United States may have to react to potential regional instability. The success of the AFL will be in the strategic interests of both the United States and Liberia.

U.S. Army Doctrine

Along with national strategic documents, there is also U.S. Army specific doctrine that describes foundations for building partner capacity. The overarching U.S. Army doctrine for building partner capacity is U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command Pamphlet (TRADOC Pam) 525-8-4 entitled, *The U.S. Army Concept for Building Partner Capacity*. Written in 2011, this document describes the broad concept and capabilities the U.S. Army requires in the future in order to build partner capacity with other nations. It establishes a common framework and is the foundation to develop future concepts with regard to building partner capacity.⁴¹ TRADOC PAM 525-8-4 illustrates three key concepts in order to achieve the strategic end state of a stable force. The first concept is Security Cooperation. Essentially this is the interaction of the U.S. Department of Defense with the foreign defense establishments to enable self-defense and access to the partner nations during peacetime and contingency operations.⁴² The second concept is

⁴⁰ U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, TRADOC Pamphlet 525-8-4, 5.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, v.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 7.

Security Force Assistance (SFA). “Field manual (FM) 3-07 defines SFA as the unified action to generate, employ, and sustain local, host nation, or regional security forces in support of a legitimate authority.”⁴³ SFA provides defense articles, military training, and other defense-related services to the host nation.⁴⁴ Foreign internal defense (FID) is the third and final concept described in TRADOC PAM 525-8-4. FID is participation of a government to protect its society from acts of subversion, lawlessness, insurgency, terrorism, and other threats to its security.⁴⁵ FID, along with SFA, can be combined using different funds in order to provide security of the host nation. At a strategic level, BPC is essential to ensure success of U.S. interests. With no established foothold on the African continent, Liberia is the key to establishing a U.S. presence in the region.

TRADOC Pam 525-8-4 describes the role of the U.S. Army in BPC. Helping develop the host nation’s capabilities at the individual unit level and enhancing those capabilities is described as the tactical level.⁴⁶ This includes the interaction of special forces as well as conventional forces in small unit training specifically in weapon proficiency and small unit tactics.

At the institutional level, forces assist in professional education, force generation, and force sustainment.⁴⁷ The establishment of a strong non-commissioned officer corps

⁴³ U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, TRADOC Pamphlet 525-8-4, 8.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 18.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

and the use of Professional Military Education are examples of the institutional level of BPC. The newly formed AFL began to incorporate NCOs among their ranks. The selection of NCO's through the AFL was conducted by DynCorp during the initial vetting process. "Those selected as noncommissioned officers (NCOs, also known as sergeants) attended a basic NCO course (BNCOC, pronounced *bee-knock*) for four weeks, and those selected as officers attended an officer basic course (OBC) for six weeks."⁴⁸

Finally, the ministerial level includes security sector programs that strengthen and professionalize forces for security operations.⁴⁹ The successes of ministerial level objectives are subject to successful implementations at the tactical and institutional levels first.

TRADOC Pam 525-8-4 describes LOE as a link of multiple tasks using the logic of purpose to focus efforts towards operational and strategic end-states. There are five LOEs that the Army must endorse in the role of BPC.⁵⁰ The first LOE is to improve partners' individual and unit capabilities and capacity for security operations. This is described in doctrine as coordinating joint unit exercises, individual and unit exchanges, mobile training teams, and even joining partner units in the field.⁵¹

⁴⁸ McFate, 85.

⁴⁹ U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, TRADOC Pamphlet 525-8-4, 18.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Many soldiers in the AFL are seasoned combat veterans from the years of civil wars and unrest in Liberia. Educating and training the AFL on U.S. tactics and doctrine presents a challenge to the U.S. military. Soldiers in the AFL have experience, but have never been professionally trained. By working with the AFL at the tactical level, the United States can instill a commonality between the forces for use during future operations.

The second LOE is to develop the partners' leaders. The TRADOC Pam states, "Developing partners' leaders through training, leader interactions, and combined planning forges professional militaries that adhere to international standards and principles and are able to support regional or global coalition partners."⁵² The AFL lacks leadership at the junior officer level. In his thesis titled "Rebuilding the Armed Forces of Liberia: An Assessment of the Liberia Security Sector Reform Program," Ryan D. Welken suggests that the bottom up approach from DynCorp resulted in a lack of training and education for junior officers throughout the AFL.⁵³ This lack of a highly skilled officer corps presents a serious gap in the capabilities of the AFL and will certainly need to be addressed by the United States.

The third LOE as described in the TRADOC Pam is to develop the partners sustaining institutions. "Institutions with the ability to train, educate, generate, sustain, and synchronize their professional security forces bolster the national defense and

⁵² U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, TRADOC Pamphlet 525-8-4, 20.

⁵³ Ryan D. Welken, "Rebuilding the Armed Forces of Liberia: An assessment of the Liberia Security Sector Reform Program" (Master thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 2010), 31.

contribute to a more stable international security environment.”⁵⁴ Currently, there is no institution in Liberia that has the funding or the capability to perform any of these functions. Training leaders of the AFL is only performed during staff assistance visits and exchanges. Exchanges also include Liberian officers attending the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

The fourth LOE is to foster long-term relationships that assure access. The professionalization of the AFL is key to ensuring regional security and future cooperation. Conducting bilateral, regional, and allied agreements, exercises, and military-to-military (mil-to-mil) interactions can attain this.⁵⁵ As threats from different enemies throughout Africa emerge and become more rampant, it will be imperative to ensure coalition access in order to quell these enemies. The successful relationship between the U.S. military and the AFL will help facilitate this access for years to come.

The fifth and final LOE as described by TRADOC Pam is to support BPC efforts led by other U.S. Government agencies. The U.S. military cannot complete the professionalization of the AFL alone. Nor can the other governmental agencies expect success without the military. “This LOE suggests future Army forces must be able to support efforts led by other U.S. Government agencies to enhance partners’ ability for governance, economic development, essential services, rule of law, and other critical government functions.”⁵⁶

⁵⁴ U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command, TRADOC Pamphlet 525-8-4, 20.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

The U.S. National Strategic documents and doctrine of the U.S. Army contain broad ideas intended to generalize the U.S. strategic goals. Although Liberia is not specifically named within, documents like the NSS, NDS, and QDR, they provide a picture of future BPC commitments that the United States may pursue and create a general understanding of the role that the U.S. military may be tasked to do in the future. However, specific roles of the U.S. military can be further understood and visualized by reviewing case studies of previous professionalization efforts and comparing their results with opportunities and challenges in the professionalization of the AFL.

The remaining portions of this chapter will review case studies of professionalization of armed forces in the Philippines, Mali, and Botswana.

Professionalizing the AFP Case Study

President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's commencement speech to the Philippine Military Academy Class of 2002 encompasses the fundamental nature of a professional armed force. She says, "The Armed Forces is a constitutional instrument. It defends democracy and protects human rights. It holds unconditional allegiance to civilian authority and to the unity of command. It adheres to a code of discipline and absolute fealty to the constitution."⁵⁷ These remarks highlight the culmination of a partnership forged by many years of influence from the U.S. military. This relationship has strengthened the AFP into a highly professional organization capable of completing missions across the entire range of military operations.

⁵⁷ Manuel R. Carlos, "U.S. Influence on Military Professionalism in the Philippines" (Master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 2003), 24.

U.S. influence on the Philippines has been around since the turn of the twentieth century. Rosalie Arcala Hall, a professor from the University of the Philippines-Visayas, writes about the history of the United States and Philippine military relationship. She states that the institutional roots of the AFP can be traced back to the defense established during the Japanese aggression.⁵⁸ “As a result, the Philippine armed forces’ structure and the civilian control mechanisms attached to it mirror that of the United States.”⁵⁹ Through bilateral assistance in the form of education, training, and equipment, the influence of the U.S. significantly evolved the Philippine military.⁶⁰

Manuel Carlos suggests that the United States played a significant part in influencing the AFP and professionalizing the organization. His thesis, written in 2003, concludes that the United States influenced military professionalism in a variety of ways and that this influence has been the cornerstone of the strength of this institution.⁶¹ He concludes that there are four specific areas in which the United States influenced the AFP’s professionalism.

The first area of influence is with the establishment of the Philippine Military Academy (PMA). Established in 1936, the PMA confers a Bachelor of Science degree to

⁵⁸ Rosalie Hall, “Boots on Unstable Ground: Democratic Governance of the Armed Forces under post 9/11 US-Philippine Military Relations,” *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review* 10, no. 2 (January 2011): 29.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Carlos, i.

its graduates as a four-year institution.⁶² “As the premier institution for military training in the Philippines, PMA applies U.S. training principles and practices.”⁶³ The academic curriculum also mirrors the curriculum offered at West Point. With an overarching goal to produce 21st century leaders of the armed forces, cadets are introduced to a multitude of programs.⁶⁴ The professional course program trains cadets to become functional and effective junior officers following the completion of basic military training and service specific classes.⁶⁵ The leadership development program focuses on the development of character and professionalism by providing leadership opportunities from small unit to company level.⁶⁶ Upon completion of the academy, cadets are offered a degree in Management, Information Systems, or General Engineering.⁶⁷

A second area of influence that is suggested by Carlos is with the attendance of Filipino cadets at the U.S. service academies. Since 1908, Filipinos have been amongst the ranks of West Point cadets and still make up a contingent of each class today. The appointment of General Narciso Abaya (U.S. Military Academic class of 1971) to the head of the AFP highlights the influence that West Point has on the AFP.⁶⁸

⁶² Carlos, 21.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 23.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 26.

The third area of influence that is suggested by Carlos is the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program. According to the U.S. Department of State department's website, the IMET program provides training and education to students from allied and friendly nations.⁶⁹ The Department of State goes on to say that IMET facilitates the development of important professional and personal relationships that effectively strengthen military alliances and the international coalition against terrorism.⁷⁰ The results of a National Defense Research Institute study conducted in 1994 concluded that a main U.S. objective is to ensure the Philippine military is competent and compatible with the U.S. military.⁷¹ With the shift of the current NSS to the Pacific theater, the involvement of the AFP in the IMET program will become even more pronounced.

The fourth area of influence that the United States has on the AFP is in mil-to-mil exercises.⁷² A RAND case study entitled, *What Works Best When Building Partner Capacity and Under What Circumstances*, published in 2013 focused on a particularly successful program in the Philippines. "The aim of the program is to train and equip Philippine forces to counter the activities of terrorist groups-particularly the Islamist separatist Abu Sayyaf Group-on a domestic scale and to deny safe haven to al Qaida

⁶⁹ U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, "International Military Education and Training (IMET)," U.S. Department of State, accessed March 19, 2015, <http://www.state.gov/t/pm/65533.htm>.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Carlos, 27.

⁷² Ibid., 28.

operatives in the region.”⁷³ From 2001 to 2004, U.S Special Operations units from U.S. Pacific Command specifically led these efforts while using resources totaling over \$180 million.⁷⁴ Training of the Philippine forces included light infantry, night flying operations, combat and humanitarian engineering, and intelligence capabilities.⁷⁵ Equipment from the United States included radars for border surveillance, UH-1 Huey helicopters, maritime vehicles, and precision-guided missiles.⁷⁶ The report suggests that the overall effort of assisting the Philippines in addressing terrorist and insurgent threats has been successful.

This case study examined four key areas in which the United States had tremendous influence on professionalizing the AFP. Today, the AFP is a world-renowned force that prides itself on the foundations that were built by the United States. The successes of the AFP should serve as an example to the United States and the AFL that a professional force requires commitment at all levels of the military.

Professionalizing the MAF Case Study

March 21, 2012 marked a tragic day in the country of Mali. A force of Malian soldiers incited a coup d'état that resulted in the resignation of the democratically elected

⁷³ Christopher Paul, Colin P. Clarke, Beth Grill, Stephanie Young, Jennifer D. P. Moroney, Joe Hogler, and Christine Leah, *What Works Best When Building Partner Capacity and Under What Circumstances?* (Santa Monica, CA: National Defense Research Institute, RAND Corporation, 2013), 25.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

President Amadou Toumani Toure and included setbacks of U.S. efforts on professionalizing the MAF. Led by U.S. trained Captain Amadou Sanogo, the coup was over within days, but the lingering effects may last for decades.

This Mali case study examines many of the mistakes that were made on the part of U.S. Special Operations Forces. By analyzing these mistakes and comparing them to the successes of other professionalization efforts, the researcher intends to draw conclusions and recommendations on the role of the U.S. military with the AFL.

Simon J. Powelson writes about one mistake that was made by U.S. Special Operations Forces in Mali. In his thesis from December 2013 entitled “Enduring Engagement Yes, Episodic Engagement No: Lessons for SOF from Mali,” Powelson explains that military organizations that lack a culture of quality and productive training will not benefit from U.S. sponsored episodic training.⁷⁷ “When the training occurs away from the unit’s (host nation) habitual base or region, the training further departs from the normal state of affairs (something akin to an out of body experience).”⁷⁸ His analysis suggests that once individuals return from training they are ineffective at producing change.⁷⁹ “Some IMET – trained Malian officers clearly personify this point; while competent individually, once returned to their status quo environment, their skills either atrophy as the system around them completely fails to make use of their knowledge, or

⁷⁷ Simon J. Powelson, “Enduring Engagement Yes, Episodic Engagement No: Lessons for SOF from Mali” (Master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 2013), 57, accessed January 20, 2015, http://lignesdedefense.blogs.ouest-france.fr/files/13Dec_Powelson_Simon.pdf.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

they prove unable to export their skills to their parent organization.”⁸⁰ History shows that Malian officers who study abroad in the United States or other countries do not return to a military culture that is accepting to change. Powelson suggests that enduring engagement and enduring training should start from within the host nations’ military system.⁸¹ He suggests a partner-focused relationship is the key to success. “Strategically, the end state of an enduring engagement is to develop the capability and capacity of a partnered unit or units to conduct unilateral operations at a high level of proficiency (to a level that is recognizable in professionalized militaries), while also having the ability to generate, sustain, and maintain those high standards.”⁸² This partner-focused approach will play a large role in the success of professionalizing the AFL.

Emile Ouedraogo’s research paper entitled, “Advancing Military Professionalism in Africa,” presents other mistakes that occurred in the MAF. Published in 2014, this research provides many conclusions to failed militaries in Africa, including Mali.

Ouedraogo concludes that one mistake is the gap in chains of command that lead to indiscipline.⁸³ He says that professionalism of a military relies on effective command and control systems, skills, and resources to carry out successful missions.⁸⁴ Weak operational capacity within African militaries renders them unable to play this role,

⁸⁰ Powelson, 57.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid., 58.

⁸³ Emile Ouedraogo, “Advancing Military Professionalism in Africa” (Research Paper, Africa Center for Strategic Studies, Washington, DC, 2014), 22.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 21.

calling into question their very relevance.⁸⁵ The example of the MAF being overrun by only a few dozen rebels in 2012 highlights the point that there was no command and control in place to repel any forces in order to quell the coup. There was a significant lack of leadership within the ranks of the MAF, which ultimately led to the downfall of this organization within a matter of hours.

A second key mistake that Ouedraogo concludes is a misaligned or obsolete mission.⁸⁶ He states, “A security strategy is essential to align resources to identified national priorities, to coordinate multi-institutional efforts, and to foster a shared understanding of the roles and responsibilities of all branches of government for the benefit of the state, the military, and civil society.”⁸⁷ African leaders must incorporate a clear mission into their strategic guidance in order to resource and train their troops for real security challenges they face.⁸⁸ Examples of the past decades show that much of Africa’s threats come from within the states. Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler explain in their study entitled, *Coup Traps: Why does Africa have so many Coups d’Etat?*, “A common core of economic factors underpins proneness to coups and rebellions: low income and a lack of growth.”⁸⁹ Their conclusions state that Africa looks more likely to

⁸⁵ Ouedraogo, 21.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 30.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 31.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, “Coup Traps: Why Does Africa Have so Many Coups D’état?” (Centre for the Study of African Economies, Department of Economics, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK, 2005), 20.

be saved from the menace of coups if it could achieve economic growth rather than further political reform.⁹⁰ In order to achieve economic growth, nations must create an environment that is secure. A professionalized force can help create and maintain this environment. Unfortunately, the guiding doctrine of most African militaries is founded on the defense of the nation from a foreign enemy.⁹¹ There have only been a few instances of African nations being overrun by other external states. Leadership must learn to provide an armed force with tools necessary to compete and win in the environments of domestic threats. One of those tools is a clear national security strategy that defines the role of the military and gives guidance on the future of the state. Specifically, the role of the AFL to quell internal threats must be addressed in this strategy.

A final key mistake that is concluded in Ouedraogo's research is the problem of poor morale.⁹² Morale affects every soldier and is an important aspect to military culture. Without it, troops will feel directionless and abandoned by their military and civilian leaders.⁹³ Ouedraogo goes on to say, "The lack of motivation of Malian troops to fight against militant Islamists and Tuareg separatists in 2012-2013 was due to a combination of factors, including political instability caused by the military coup, allegations of corruption at senior levels in the chain of command, and minimal support and equipment

⁹⁰ Collier and Anke Hoeffler, 20.

⁹¹ Ouedraogo, 31.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 29.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

to frontline troops tasked with combating the militants.”⁹⁴ Every military in existence deals with morale problems. As an example, the U.S. Army was dramatically reduced to a status of ineffectiveness following the Vietnam War due to morale issues and problems. Only after years of leadership development and an increased emphasis on professionalization within the ranks did the U.S. Army finally regain its status among the American public. Much like the U.S. Army following the Vietnam War, the MAF lacked strong leadership at the officer and NCO level. This exacerbated the already present morale problem and left the MAF ineffective to prevent the coup.

Although the U.S. Special Operations Forces elements in support of the country of Mali did a lot of work that led to many successes in countering terrorism throughout the region of North and West Africa, the failures of the MAF were quite apparent and need to be reviewed. Professionalization of the AFL will include many of the problems listed above and the lessons learned from this case study may prevent future U.S. forces from making the same mistakes.

Professionalizing the BDF Case Study

To examine the transformation of a newly established military into a professional and respected force, one has to look no further than the BDF. In just over twenty-five years, this organization developed into a capable, well-educated, and self-disciplined force that attracted the nation’s most talented young people.⁹⁵ Dan Henk is an Associate

⁹⁴ Ouedraogo, 29.

⁹⁵ Dan Henk, “The Botswana Defence Force: Evolution of a Professional African Military,” *African Security Review* 13, no. 4 (2004): 86.

Professor in the Department of Leadership and Ethics at the U.S. Air War College. His essay published in 2004 entitled, “The Botswana Defence Force; Evolution of a Professional African Military,” describes the reasons why the BDF has been one of the only successful professional militaries in Africa. Botswana’s model of professionalizing the armed forces could offer lessons to Liberia as it struggles with national security issues.

The initial lessons of professionalism began right from the beginning. The BDF was established in 1977. Initially, this force was created to provide protection from external threats that were the results of regional political evolution.⁹⁶ Within the span of a decade, the BDF began to develop productive relationships with foreign partners.⁹⁷ The partnerships ranged across all spectrums of military activities. The U.S. and British forces conducted small-scale annual combined exercises with the BDF in Botswana.⁹⁸ Concurrently, the BDF sent numerous officers to attend command and staff and war colleges throughout the world in an attempt to broaden its military officers.⁹⁹ In 1992, the BDF deployed along with the U.S.-led peacekeeping operations in Somalia.¹⁰⁰ This

⁹⁶ Henk, 94.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 87.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

critical event highlighted the fact that the BDF was capable of dispatching military personnel as peace operators in Africa.¹⁰¹

A second lesson that professionalized the BDF occurred in 1998. The BDF underwent critical changes to the leadership and to the definition of roles and missions. The third BDF Commander was Matshwenyego-Louis Fisher. Fisher was a graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and the U.S. Army War College.¹⁰² His education and training from the United States placed an emphasis on national military strategy with an ongoing emphasis of redefined roles and missions for the BDF.¹⁰³ This shift in emphasis brought the national strategy of the BDF to the attention of the state of Botswana. Though the numbers of personnel are not large enough to pose a significant offensive threat to neighboring countries, the leaders of Botswana are interested in a military capability that provides credibility in any security initiative.¹⁰⁴ This emphasis on a national strategic objective set the BDF apart from many other militaries throughout Africa.

A third lesson that describes the professionalization of the BDF is in the features of its organizational culture. The features that enhance BDF capabilities include high standards of discipline, emphasis on education, and competent leadership at all levels.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Henk, 87.

¹⁰² Ibid., 91.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 92.

Henk writes, “The BDF sees itself—and citizens see it—as the most capable of the country’s ‘disciplined services’. Its members believe they are faithful stewards of resources entrusted by the nation to their care.”¹⁰⁶ The idea that the officers and enlisted personnel of the BDF serve a higher calling supports the theories of Samuel P. Huntington that a professional force serves the society and the state.

The successes of the BDF are truly rare. Botswana is one of only three countries in Africa that has never had a military coup or coup attempt.¹⁰⁷ This force exemplifies a true professional force at all levels. The United States and the AFL could greatly benefit from the successes of the BDF in professionalizing the organization in the interests of the world.

Conclusion

This chapter began with a review of the world’s most renowned expert on civil-military relations. Samuel P. Huntington’s theories about the military professional have remained relevant since being published in 1957. His definition of a professional force is a good starting point to answer the primary and secondary research questions.

This chapter also summarized major points of BPC in U.S. national strategic policy documents and U.S. Army doctrinal references. Specifically, documents like the NSS, NDS, QDR, and GEF highlight the possible future of U.S. national strategy in West

¹⁰⁶ Henk, 92.

¹⁰⁷ Ntibinyane Ntibinyane, “Why Botswana has never had a coup,” Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, May 17, 2012, accessed March 19, 2015, <http://www.osisa.org/hrdb/blog/why-botswana-has-never-had-coup>.

Africa. The U.S. Army's TRADOC Pam 525-8-4 and Field Manual 3-07 give insight to tactical level efforts that U.S. military forces will employ while conducting BPC.

Finally, this chapter introduced three case studies that highlight the professionalization of different armed forces around the globe. The professionalization of the AFP, the MAF, and the BDF represent three distinctly different armed forces that experienced successes and challenges based on similar factors related to their transformations. By reviewing past successes and failures of U.S. led BPC efforts in the case studies above, the researcher will be able to compare common themes. The researcher will use comparative case study analysis, as described in chapter 3 to provide conclusions to these similar themes. These conclusions will be shared in chapter 4, along with recommendations in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology in which this researcher answers the primary and secondary research questions. Comparative case studies analysis was the primary method chosen to answer the research questions. Arend Lijphart, a political scientist who focused on comparative politics, designed this methodology for use in his chosen field. Lijphart defines the comparative method as the analysis of a small number of cases, entailing at least two observations.¹⁰⁸ He suggests this method is the most appropriate when the research is based on modest resources.¹⁰⁹ This research reviews successes and failures throughout the history of the United States in building capacity of partner nation armed forces. By examining specific themes and cross conclusions, the researcher provides possible solutions to the problems of professionalizing the AFL. A graphical representation of the comparative case study methodology is shown in figure 1.

Reasons for Choosing a Comparative Case Study Analysis

The researcher chose to use comparative case study analysis for many reasons. First, David Collier explains that comparison is a fundamental tool of analysis.¹¹⁰ “It

¹⁰⁸ David Collier, “The Comparative Method,” in *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*, ed. Ada W. Finifter (Washington, DC: American Political Science Association, 1993), 105, accessed December 12, 2014, <http://polisci.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/people/u3827/APSA-TheComparativeMethod.pdf>.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 105.

sharpens our power of description, and plays a central role in concept-formation by bringing into focus suggestive similarities and contrasts among cases.”¹¹¹ Collier’s discussion is primarily focused on politics and international studies, but comparative case studies are not restricted to one specified field of study. Case studies and lessons learned are compiled by the U.S. military following every major battle and military operation.

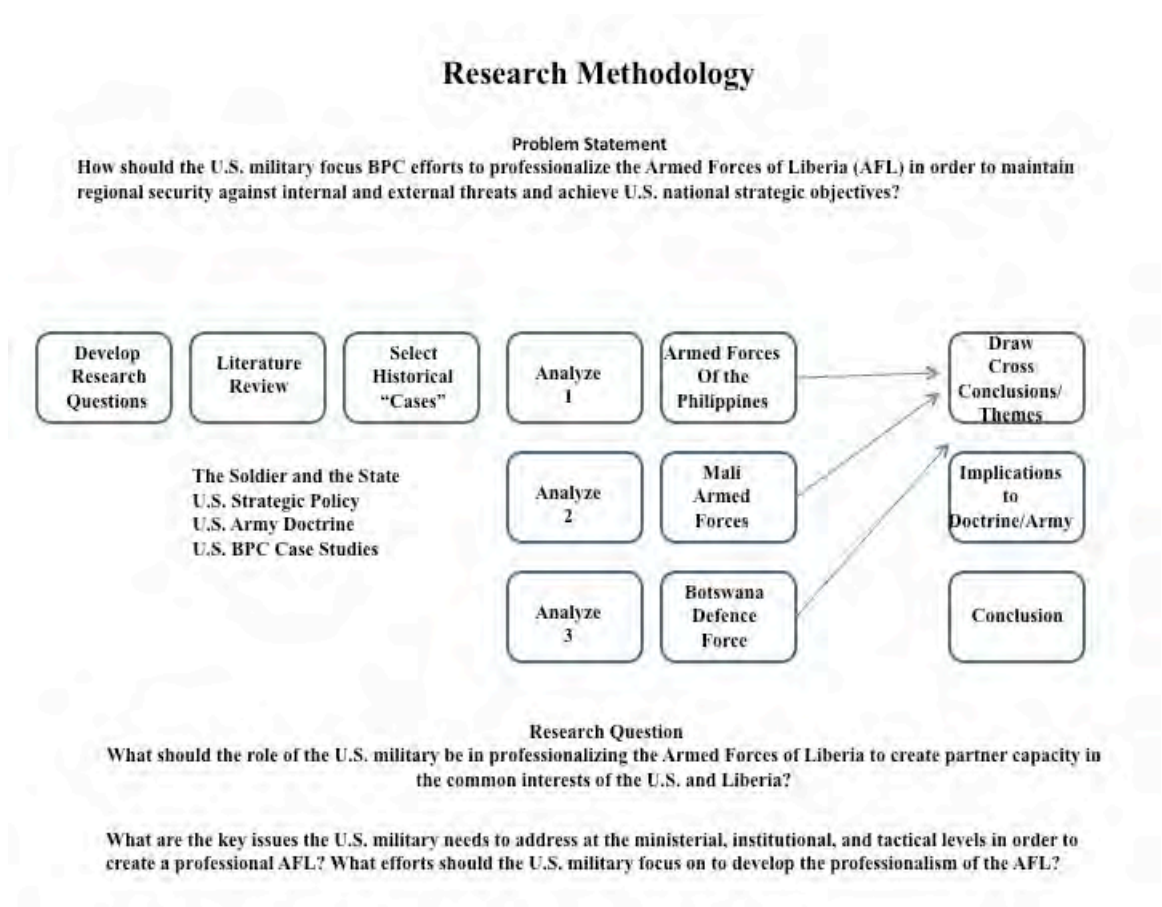


Figure 2. Research Methodology

Source: Created by author.

¹¹¹ Collier, 105.

There is an unending amount of information from the Center for Army Lessons Learned available to researchers of historical military experiences. These case studies are usually devoid of any immediate biases. They are designed to examine and reflect on all facets of previous operations in order to establish a baseline of knowledge for use by military professionals in possible future operations. Case studies include ideas and decisions that worked, as well as those that did not. The ultimate goal is to learn from the past by examining unbiased case studies.

Secondly, the researcher chose the comparative case study methodology due to multiple constraints in this process. “The case-study method has the merit of providing a framework in which a scholar with modest time and resources can generate what may potentially be useful data on a particular case.”¹¹² All of the research, writing, editing, defense, and signing has to be completed within a ten-month period. This researcher did not have the time to select and complete other time consuming methodologies.

Lastly, the comparative research methodology was selected because of the researcher’s ability to mitigate the shortcomings of this methodology. Comparative case studies provide a weaker basis of data than the experimental or statistical method for evaluating hypotheses due to the lack of experimental control and the problems of many variables.¹¹³ The researcher was able to mitigate these problems by incorporating the offered potential solutions. Potential solutions include increasing the number of cases,

¹¹² Collier, 107.

¹¹³ Ibid., 111.

focusing on comparable cases, and reducing the number of variables.¹¹⁴ The researcher was able to use all of these potential solutions in this thesis.

Mitigating Problems of Comparative Research Analysis

Time and resource constraints as well as paper length all played a part in selecting the amount of case studies to research. The researcher, in this report, chose to increase the number of case studies to three. Three case studies allowed the researcher to keep the research paper within the acceptable page limits, while validating similar U.S. activities throughout the history of U.S. led BPC efforts.

A second possible solution was to focus on comparable studies. The researcher chose three case studies from a myriad of options. All of these studies focused specifically on the role of the U.S. in BPC throughout many years. While some focused on the tactical levels, and others focused on ministerial levels, each had similar ideas in regards to an immature and undermanned host nation armed force being helped by the U.S. military. By focusing on these particular case studies, the researcher was able to easily compare activities and methods employed by the United States while BPC.

The third possible solution was to reduce the number of variables. While researching these case studies, one aspect became very evident. BPC is a complex problem with a plethora of solutions and players. Each case was uniquely different, but they all had multiple challenges. The challenges of the host nation armed forces stemmed from socioeconomic differences among the ranks, to a lack of government funding, corruption, and lack of training. These examples are only a fraction of the myriad of

¹¹⁴ Collier, 112.

challenges facing these second and third world countries. The players involved seemed to be just as numerous. Examples include the Department of Defense, Department of State, United States Agency for International Development, and multiple Non-government organizations. The researcher reduced the variables that these case studies referenced by focusing on the role of the U.S. military. The researcher was able to reduce the amount of variables to tactical, institutional, and ministerial levels, as well as reduce the number of players involved.

Data Analysis

Interpretation of data compiled during this research was completed through identification of themes. These themes were identified by analysis of similar challenges within three case studies. These challenges belonged to one of three levels of professionalization efforts; ministerial, tactical, and institutional. Each level provided similar challenges that enabled the researcher to develop themes that were present across all three scenarios. The researcher utilized these themes to answer the primary and secondary research questions.

Conclusion

The comparative case study methodology is an ideal choice to answer the primary research question. By analyzing the selected case studies and determining the similarities and differences of each one, the researcher was able to draw cross conclusions and themes. The case studies used in this thesis were all communicated within professional publications with no apparent biases from the individuals who wrote the final analyses. The researcher also mitigated the risks of the shortcomings of this methodology by using

the proposed potential solutions. The researcher is confident that the selected case studies will inform the answer to the question of the role of the U.S. military in professionalizing the AFL, by drawing similar conclusions from different case studies. The analysis of these case studies is included in chapter 4. This analysis has been compared to current doctrine in order to draw conclusions for possible future military operations. Those conclusions have been determined and recommendations are included in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

The purpose of this research is to assess the current disposition of the AFL in order to provide possible recommendations on the role of the U.S. military in professionalizing the AFL. The literature review conducted in chapter 2 explained current internal and external issues affecting the AFL, as well as U.S. strategic interests on the African continent. Heavy emphasis was placed on ensuring security and stability with regional armed forces. The U.S. military has the tools and knowledge to aid in the professionalization of the newly formed AFL, and recent case studies show both successes and failures of similar efforts around the world.

Chapter 4 analyzes the comparison of the case studies from the literature review in order to answer the primary research question, What should the role of the U.S. military be in professionalizing the AFL to create partner capacity in the common interest of the United States and Liberia? The chapter also compares these case studies in order to answer the secondary research question of, What are the key issues the U.S. military can address at the ministerial, institutional, and tactical levels of the AFL in order to create a force recognized for its professionalism? The analysis from this effort will inform cross conclusions and themes to enable the researcher to provide answers to the research questions.

The first section of this chapter reviews the comparatives of the case studies at the ministerial level. The ministerial level includes issues and problems that relate to the

executive functions of the government. Specifically, the solutions and recommendations that occurred at the strategic level in these case studies have been compared and analyzed.

The second section of this chapter reviews the comparatives of the case studies at the institutional level. This level includes problems and solutions that correlate to high-level leadership and policy makers within the AFL. The case studies revealed specific occurrences of institutional level successes and failures that were prevalent in all three studies.

The third section compares the case studies at the tactical level. The tactical level includes any problem or solution involved at the unit level. Each case study provided examples of different approaches at the tactical level, which were used to draw comparisons.

The final section of chapter 4 includes a summary and conclusion. This conclusion summarizes the comparisons of the three different forces at the ministerial, institutional, and tactical levels. These comparisons provide the basis of the researcher's recommendations that are discussed in chapter 5.

Ministerial Level Comparisons

The ministerial level of military organizations must be defined in order to understand the comparisons, which are evident in the three case studies provided. Merriam-Webster defines ministerial as “of or relating to a government or minister.”¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Merriam Webster, “Ministerial,” accessed April 20, 2015, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ministerial>.

A professional military is a source of power that enables a government to instill their will upon another state. Military power is essential to the strategy of a state, and is included in future plans and national objectives. Samuel P. Huntington says, “A highly professional officer corps stands ready to carry out the wishes of any civilian group which secures legitimate authority within the state.”¹¹⁶ A professional military cannot make decisions alone that will affect the strategic objectives of the state. Huntington goes on to say that, there are three distinct functions of civil-military relations at the ministerial level.

The first function is the professional military function.¹¹⁷ This includes representing the nation’s military requirements, advising on the military implications of proposed courses of action and of the military needs necessary to carry out adopted policies, and directing the military forces in the implementation of national policy.¹¹⁸ In the three case studies presented in the literature review, there are examples of the professional military function provided in all three.

The BDF was formed by an act of Parliament on April 15, 1977. The preamble to the act reads: “an act to provide for the establishment, administration, recruitment, conditions of service, training, command, discipline, and employment of the BDF.”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Huntington, 84.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 428.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Lekoko Kenosi, “The Botswana Defence Force and Public Trust: The Military Dilemma in a Democracy,” in *Ourselves to Know: Civil-Military Relations and Defence Transformation in Southern Africa*, ed. Rocklyn Williams, Gavin Casthra, and Diane Abrahams (Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2003), 189-203, accessed April 1, 2015, <http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/ourselveskenosi.pdf>.

The government of Botswana realized the importance of a professional army in national strategic objectives. “To the extent that the military is a creation of the state, it is a political institution.”¹²⁰ Martin Edmonds, a civil-military historian argues that, “as a state institution, a political construct, the armed forces have a permanent political label, and are symbolic of the political ideology and principles of the constitution upon which the regime is based.”¹²¹ The BDF established a professional military force because of the relationship of the BDF within the government of Botswana. The BDF was established specifically to implement the national strategy of the state through autonomy, with the ability of the legislature and executive branch to intervene in reasons of suspected abuse of power.¹²² The BDF fulfills this first function that Samuel P. Huntington describes, and there are examples of this function in the other case studies as well.

The AFP is also a good example of Huntington’s professional military function definition. The most recent Philippine National Security Policy explains the role of the AFP in the strategic objectives for the near future. It states that the country will continue to pursue reforms in the security sector by professionalizing the security forces to include the establishment of programs designed to train soldiers on their respective functions and responsibilities under the constitution or as provided by law. The AFP will also develop competencies on human rights, international humanitarian law, ethnic sensitivity, and

¹²⁰ Kenosi, 192.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid., 193.

indigenous peoples' rights, in accordance with the rule of law.¹²³ The AFP is a source of power for the government and is an essential entity in the formulation and implementation of the national strategic objectives.

Furthermore, the National Security Policy states that the strengthening civilian control and oversight of the security sector will include reforms in the defense agency designed to enhance the oversight function of the legislative branch and continue to capacitate the civilians in government and civil society organizations to oversee the security sector.¹²⁴ The ability to analyze and reform the AFP from the top down enables the civilian led government to insist that the military remains an extension of the government, and not the only source of power. Huntington would be pleased with the efforts of the Philippines to continue to professionalize their military in order to obtain their strategic objectives.

The MAF has not had the success in recent years like the AFP or the BDF. Though the coup of 2012 revealed the problems within the country, a national security strategy was in the process of being implemented. In December of 2011, Dr. Zeini Moulaye described the highlights of this strategy in his report entitled, *Shared Governance of Peace and Security; The Malian Experience*. The national security strategy of Mali was originally supported by article 53 of the Malian Constitution of

¹²³ Benigno S. Aquino III, *2011-2016, National Security Policy, Securing the Gains of Democracy*, Republic of the Philippines, 2010, accessed April 26, 2015, <http://www.gov.ph/downloads/2011/08aug/national-security-policy-2011-2016.pdf>, 27.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

February 25, 1992.¹²⁵ It states, “the Government shall determine and implement the Nation’s policy. Each ministry shall develop and implement the policies related to its area of competence as well provisions of the decree stipulating the specific powers of Members of Government.”¹²⁶ Dr. Moulaye explains that the development and implementation of a national security strategy policy are within the purview of the Minister of Internal Security and Civil Protection, but the consultations on peace and security were largely dominated by civil society.¹²⁷ This generated the orientation and strategic vision of national policy on security through an unprecedented participatory process.¹²⁸

The government of Mali recognized the importance of an armed force that adheres to the basic universal principles of democracy, their submission to legitimate civilian regimes, and their compliance with the rules of democratic control.¹²⁹ The overall objective of the nation is to ensure the security of the State, persons, as well as property and to promote social peace.¹³⁰ The MAF played an integral part in trying to ensure this objective was realized. As an instrument of national power, the MAF was envisioned to

¹²⁵ Zeini Moulaye, *Shared Governance of Peace and Security: The Malian Experience* (Abuja, Nigeria: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2011), 13, accessed March 20, 2015, <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/nigeria/08972.pdf>.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 11.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 14.

play the role of a force for implementation. Unfortunately, the circumstances in this situation did not allow this visualization to occur, but the strategic construct was established.

Huntington describes the second function of the civil-military relations at the ministerial level as the administrative-fiscal function.¹³¹ This includes representing the interests of economy and efficiency, advising on fiscal, budgetary, and management matters, and administering “civilian” activities such as supply, procurement, construction, nonmilitary personnel, and the budget.¹³² Militaries require strong financial support from the government. This financial support needs to include capabilities to replenish forces. Equipment and facilities eventually grow old and wear out and the need to repair these commodities becomes increasingly evident. The comparisons between two examples provided in the literature review show the importance of a system to procure, distribute, and regenerate forces.

The BDF worked to create a professional military for over forty years. Two aspects apply to Huntington’s administrative-fiscal function. First, the professionalization efforts of the BDF are a direct result of the ability of the government to finance and budget the military. Due to the violent nature and ever increasing threats from neighboring states, the BDF significantly increased their defense spending. Major Gaborone, a military strategist says, “as an element of national power, the military should ideally reflect the capacity of the country to finance national security. All factors held

¹³¹ Huntington, 428.

¹³² Ibid.

constant, the level of development attributable to Botswana should determine the nature and stage of the development of the armed forces.”¹³³ His recommendation to increase spending to the BDF came under much scrutiny due to massive deficits in Botswana’s capacity in healthcare and education, but has been essential to ensuring the safety of the nation.¹³⁴

Another source of executive oversight and control over the BDF that directly relates to Huntington’s administrative-fiscal function is through the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning.¹³⁵ This budget committee reviews and approves the fiscal year budget for the BDF. This oversight requires that the BDF be subject to the same rigors that ordinarily apply to other government departments.¹³⁶ This adds another layer of scrutiny to ensure that money is used lawfully and efficiently. The transparency of military funding also increases the trust that the public has for its military. Transparency is a key element in professionalization efforts because it enhances the trust between the military and the civilians.

The AFP took many steps to professionalize their armed forces. One aspect that separates the AFP from other paid forces is the formation of a future security plan. This

¹³³ Kenosi, 196.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 195.

¹³⁵ Paul Sharp and Louis Fisher, “Inside the “Crystal Ball: Understanding the Evolution of the Military in Botswana and the Challenges Ahead,” in *Evolutions and Revolutions: A Contemporary History of Militaries in Southern Africa*, ed. Martin Rupya (Pretoria, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies, 2005), 55, accessed April 1, 2015, <http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/evolutchap2.pdf>.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 56.

plan includes defense reform within the AFP that institutionalized the type of self-sustaining character that is necessary for long-term systemic change.¹³⁷

The central government committed 300 billion pesos of its own funds over 15 years to further the process of internal security capacity building (these monies will frontload priority requirements for national defense over the next six years) and in 2005 drafted its first ever formal plan for guiding future defense asset procurement to meet the gamut of domestic challenges specified in the National Internal Security Plan (NISP).¹³⁸

The ability of a government to fund a force that is self-sustaining is a critical aspect of becoming a professional organization. The AFP worked hard to ensure the professionalization of their forces and the government committed their support. Moreover, steps are now being taken to root out corruption and inculcate an ethos of military professionalism with the development of internal auditing programs designed to identify and discipline officers and soldiers implicated in embezzlement and other questionable practices.¹³⁹ The AFP continues to be successful because the administrative fiscal function that Huntington describes is evident in their future plans.

Examples of administrative-fiscal functions within the government of Mali were not found during this research. The MAF has a history of corruption that directly contributed to the coup of 2012. A lack of ability to fund, resupply, and maintain the MAF, created conditions in which the leaders were unable to instill pride in equipment or mission. This had a deleterious effect on the professional culture within the MAF, and created conditions, which were conducive to a coup.

¹³⁷ Aquino, 143.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

The third and final function that Samuel P. Huntington describes as key to civil-military relations at the ministerial level is in the policy-strategy function.¹⁴⁰ This includes balancing the professional military and administrative-fiscal viewpoints, formulating the departmental recommendations on force levels and the military budget, and defending departmental views before outside groups.¹⁴¹ The professionalization of the AFP and the BDF provide examples of this function.

The most recent Botswana National Development Plan entitled, *Vision 2016; Towards Prosperity for All*, gives strategic goals for the BDF to attain by 2016. One of the main considerations is the acquisition of defense assets. The BDF has large deficiencies in all types of equipment, vehicles, and infrastructure.¹⁴² Because of these deficiencies, the national strategy suggests to initiate the defense assets acquisition program in order to close the capability gap resulting from technological advancements, high maintenance costs, and aging equipment.¹⁴³ The BDF worked closely with its military commanders to identify capability gaps. Much like the BDF, the AFP has also turned their acquisition process into a capabilities based process.

The AFP reconfigured their forces in order to counter newly created threats and enemies within their borders. A RAND study called *Counterterrorism and National*

¹⁴⁰ Huntington, 428.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Seretse Khama Ian Khama, *Accelerating Achievement of Vision 2016 Through NDP 10*, Botswana National Development Plan (NDP 10) 2011, Ministry of Finance and Development Training, Government of Botswana, accessed April 1, 2015, http://www.finance.gov.bw/images/ndp-ten/ndp_ten_final.pdf, 319.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

Security in the Philippines, says the Philippine government is engaged in a process of defense reform and rationalization. Manila's Department of Defense is looking across doctrine, force structure, training, and equipment to redirect defense forecasting and mapping in accordance with a multi-year capabilities planning system.¹⁴⁴ The key variable to understand is the force structure and capabilities planning system. Huntington concludes that the military must have a say in this process of restructuring. This helps ensure that budget resources are distributed effectively and efficiently. The military has the professional expertise to shift national security policy from traditional, threat-based planning and input-driven budgeting to a framework that is more strategic in nature, with capability and performance being the primary factors for respectively determining defense formulation financing.¹⁴⁵ Without the added assistance of the military to determine specific capability gaps and performance deficiencies, the threat based budget process has the potential of wasteful spending. The ability to correctly identify and evaluate threats is difficult and costly. Capability gaps, however, are analyzed and evaluated constantly regardless of the threat risks. This is a major strength of the AFP that has eliminated wasteful spending and increased their capabilities.

The case study of the MAF did not provide any examples of the policy-strategy function that Huntington described. Much of the MAF equipment and materiel was given to Mali from foreign forces without any consideration to how this equipment would be maintained. The government of Mali does not have the resources or capability to fund

¹⁴⁴ Aquino, 137.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

programs for maintaining this equipment, nor can it spend money to fund capability based assessment programs. The lack of resources also contributed to the coup of 2012.

The comparison of all three of these case studies has one particular underlying theme. The military is a civilian-run extension of the government that is a component of a source of power. The military is not the only source of power. The government, along with the input from the military, has the ability to reform, review, and change the structure and role of the military. The three case studies all provide examples that, when compared, show many similarities to each other.

Institutional Level Comparisons

According to the official U.S. Army website, the institutional Army supports the operational Army. It says, “Institutional organizations provide the infrastructure necessary to raise, train, equip, deploy, and ensure the readiness of all Army Forces.”¹⁴⁶ This infrastructure includes; an industrial base to provide equipment, military installations to provide power projection platforms to deploy land forces, and logistics to support those units.¹⁴⁷ Another aspect of the institutional Army includes professional development programs designed to provide professional education to soldiers and officers. The U.S. military academies, Reserve Officer Training Corps, and service specific War Colleges are all examples of different leadership development courses designed to professionalize the officer corps within the military. This professional

¹⁴⁶ U.S. Army, “Organization,” accessed April 30, 2015, <http://www.army.mil/info/organization/>.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

development directly influences the culture of professionalism, which is key to professionalizing the U.S. military.

Military culture is a set of shared beliefs and values that are present in the personnel of an organization. The three case studies included in this research each have aspects of institutional level programs that directly influenced the military cultures of these forces. The AFP and BDF established a culture of professionalism, while the MAF struggled to inculcate this idea into their forces. Examples of each case study can be compared and analyzed in order to draw cross conclusions.

The BDF stressed the importance of a professional culture resulting from institutional level ideas. One example is the Defence Command and Staff College (DCSC). This school provides commanders and staff officers with a military training program that is relevant to the operational environment of Botswana, using the terrain and equipment that BDF has, and under the unique circumstances that prevail in Botswana.¹⁴⁸ Along with military and combined arms theories, the school also provides an opportunity for other relevant government departments to present issues that can affect military operations.¹⁴⁹ This exposes students to theories of foreign policy, and national capacity in order to emphasize the professional culture in the BDF.

The AFP has a long history of professionalization efforts at the institutional level as well. One of the most impressive efforts was the establishment of the PMA. This

¹⁴⁸ Botswana Defence Force, "Defence Command and Staff College," Republic of Botswana, accessed May 1, 2015, <http://www.gov.bw/en/Ministries--Authorities/Ministries/State-President/Botswana-Defence-Force-BDF/Training--Recruitment/Officer-Cadets10/>.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

institution was founded in 1936 and continues to provide well-rounded officers into the AFP. The official PMA website says the mission of the academy is to instruct, train, and develop the cadets so that each graduate shall possess the character, the broad and basic military skills and the education essential to the successful pursuit of a progressive military career.¹⁵⁰ As an organization, the AFP realized the need to produce a professional cadre of officers in order to lead the military. The core values of selfless service to God and country, honor, and excellence provide an insight into the culture of professionalism that the AFP established for seventy years. The AFP's culture of professionalism demonstrates to the world that they are reliable partners designed to enhance the security of the Philippines.

The PMA and the Botswana Defence Command and Staff College are positive examples of the efforts that these organizations and their respective governments placed on professionalizing their forces. These institutions provide the first opportunities for the military to directly influence the culture of the organization, but they are not the only efforts at the institutional level.

A second example of an institutional level effort to enhance the culture of professionalism is in the IMET program. This program is designed to expose foreign militaries to U.S. training with the hope that those foreign soldiers return to their respective countries to serve in an instructor role armed with the tools and knowledge of U.S. ideals. According to the Secretary of State, IMET has three objectives: (1) to enhance the capabilities of allied and friendly militaries to participate in peacekeeping

¹⁵⁰ Philippine Military Academy, "PMA Mission and Vision," accessed May 1, 2015, http://www.pma.ph/?pageid=Mission_Vision.

operations under the UN or other multinational efforts; (2) to promote common understanding with U.S. military forces by exposing IMET students to American military doctrine, strategic planning processes, and operational and logistical procedures; and (3) to build positive relationships between civilian and military officials from the United States with counterparts in other countries.¹⁵¹ A RAND study on the effectiveness of the IMET program with the AFP says, “The United States has the opportunity to expose friendly and allied nations’ future leaders to the U.S. system and culture, thus generating mutual understanding and durable working relationships.”¹⁵² The AFP has been participating in U.S. led training efforts since World War II, and been part of the IMET program since its inception. This program is an integral part of institutional level concepts that build legitimacy to a force and foster a culture of professionalism.

The successes of this program are readily apparent, but the IMET program does have some drawbacks. Jennifer Morrison Taw explains in her RAND study that the IMET program helps develop military-to-military relationships, but it does not guarantee U.S. influence.¹⁵³ “It can expose foreign military students to U.S. culture, ideals, and values but it cannot guarantee that they will choose to-or be able to-reproduce them in

¹⁵¹ David Wallechinsky, “International Military Education and Training (IMET),” ALLGov, accessed May 1, 2015, <http://www.allgov.com/departments/department-of-defense/international-military-education-training-imet?agencyid=7378>.

¹⁵² Jennifer Morrison Taw, “Thailand and the Philippines: Case Studies in U.S. IMET Training and Its Role in Internal Defense and Development” (Monograph, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA, 1994), 54, accessed April 20, 2015, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/2006/MR159.pdf.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 55.

their own countries.”¹⁵⁴ One example of this major drawback is the military coupe d'état in Mali. The officer who planned, coordinated, and executed the 2012 coup was trained in the United States through the IMET program. Captain Amadou Haya Sanogo, who led a renegade military faction that deposed Mali's democratically elected president, received professional military education, including basic officer training, in the United States.¹⁵⁵ The Mali example shows that the IMET program provides opportunities to increase professionalization, but cannot accomplish this alone.

Institutional level comparisons among the three case studies show that establishing a culture of professionalism requires a multifaceted approach. Institutions like the PMA and the Botswana DCSC provide unique leadership and educational opportunities that encourage this culture. All three case studies contain forces that have participated in the IMET program. This program is an essential element to increasing professionalism by building legitimacy of foreign militaries, but there are definite drawbacks. One drawback is the inability to influence the culture of professionalism due to the relatively small amount of members who attend these programs. The institutional level is a focal point that requires attention and resources to ensure successful professionalization efforts in foreign forces.

¹⁵⁴ Taw, 55.

¹⁵⁵ Craig Whitlock, “Leader of Mali Military Coup Trained in U.S.,” *The Washington Post*, March 24, 2012, accessed May 1, 2015, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/leader-of-mali-military-coup-trained-in-us/2012/03/23/gIQAS7Q6WS_story.html.

Tactical Level Comparisons

Tactical level comparisons relate to engagements concerned with the planning and conduct of battle. U.S. efforts to train and equip foreign forces in order to establish capable forces have been an effective form of cooperation throughout history. The case studies of the three selected armed forces included in the literature review have each been a part of tactical level cooperation with the United States that resulted in positive and negative results.

Mil-to-mil exercises are widely used throughout the world as a way to promote cooperation among forces. In Botswana, the BDF worked closely with U.S. military personnel in the recent years. One successful exercise in 2012 known as Southern Accord enhanced the capabilities of both nations' military personnel in areas including humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, anti-poaching, peacekeeping, convoy operations, and aero-medical evacuation.¹⁵⁶

The United States and the AFP have been partners in mil-to-mil exercises since World War II. One of the most successful exercises is Joint Exercise Balikatan. For over thirty years, U.S. and Philippine forces used this exercise to ensure interoperability and readiness in order to promote regional peace and security.¹⁵⁷ One important aspect of these mil-to-mil exercises is the establishment and continuation of relationships. Colonel

¹⁵⁶ U.S. Africa Command Public Affairs, "Botswana Defence Force, U.S. to Conduct Joint Military Exercise," U.S. Africa Command, July 25, 2012, accessed May 1, 2015, <http://www.africom.mil/Newsroom/Article/9092/botswana-defence-force-us-to-conduct-joint-militar>.

¹⁵⁷ SSG Christopher McCullough, "U.S., Philippines Partner for Exercise Balikatan 2013," U.S. Army, May 3, 2013, accessed May 1, 2015, http://www.army.mil/article/102588/US__Philippines_partner_for_Exercise_Balikatan_2013.

James Joven, Commander of the Joint Task Force National Capitol Region Command says, “We have developed professional and personal relationships that will last beyond the duration of the exercise.”¹⁵⁸ These relationships stem from common experiences and teamwork and provide a bond that will endure for a long period.

In Mali, the MAF have been recipients of many mil-to-mil exercises without positive results. Prior to the 2012 coup, the United States had Special Operations Forces presence working alongside the MAF in order to prevent the spread of external terrorism. Operation Flintlock is an annual regional exercise among African and U.S. counterterrorism forces that has taken place since 2006. This exercise is designed to foster regional cooperation to enable our African partners to stabilize regions of North and West Africa in an effort to provide regional security and reduce support for violent extremism.¹⁵⁹ Much like Operation Balikatan, this operation provides increased interoperability and combat skills while fostering long-term relationships. Unfortunately, the 2012 coup in Mali made it illegal for the United States to provide aid to the MAF, and relations are strained. In February of 2015, Operation Flintlock commenced with West African nations, but Mali was not included. As in all of the other exercises mentioned above, fostering long-standing relationships is the underlying goal of these activities.

¹⁵⁸ McCullough.

¹⁵⁹ U.S. Africa Command, “Flintlock,” accessed May 1, 2015, <http://www.africom.mil/what-we-do/exercises/flintlock>.

Conclusions

The three case studies selected for analysis share commonalities that demonstrate different levels of success within each armed force. The ministerial, institutional, and tactical level comparisons of the case studies draw three distinct cross conclusions and themes.

Each case study that was analyzed at the ministerial level contained aspects of Samuel P. Huntington's professional-military function. The military forces were designed to carry out the functions of their respective nation's strategic objectives. The key to this function is the establishment of national strategic objectives. Each nation analyzed in this research had strategic objectives and the militaries were designed to implement those objectives.

In Huntington's administrative-fiscal definition, the AFP and BDF played important roles in addressing their ability to change and restructure their organizations based on external and internal threats. The MAF case study did not find evidence to support the influential role of the MAF in its ability to change the force structure, nor did the study show find evidence to show budgetary oversight or transparency. In a country that has a history of corruption and fiscal irresponsibility, the MAF was not prepared to quell the coup of 2012.

The AFP and the BDF shared similar ideas on the policy-strategy function described by Huntington. Both forces incorporated a way to change their viewpoints on force structuring and equipment acquisition. Threat based decisions on material procurement were replaced by capability based assessment gaps. Both forces identified that this cost saving measure greatly increased their effectiveness and legitimacy.

The institutional level also had similar aspects. All three of the armed forces participated in the IMET program. The training and education received by the United States enhance the professionalization efforts of all three countries by emphasizing professional military education, but the limits of IMET were apparent. The Mali case study showed this limit. With only a limited number of officers attending IMET, they were unable to change the culture of professionalism within the MAF.

The AFP and BDF were not susceptible to this problem because each force has established institutions in which leader development and a culture of professionalism are promoted and maintained. The PMA and the Botswana Defence Command and Staff College promote this culture to the entire force, not just individuals who are lucky enough to be a part of IMET. This is a key difference between the successes and failures of these forces and the MAF.

The tactical level showed that each force benefits greatly from the mil-to-mil exercises. The relationships that are established during these exercises form an enduring bond that will stand the test of time, but there is a limit to what they can accomplish. At some point, the U.S. forces will have to leave and it is up to the leadership of the respective armed force to incorporate the training and equipment into their daily routine. Without the culture of professionalism, mil-to-mil exercises can only do so much.

The answer to the primary research question, What should the role of the U.S. military be in professionalizing the AFL to create partner capacity in the common interest of the United States and Liberia?, is leadership development and developing partners'

sustaining institutions. These LOE's from TRADOC Pam 525-8-4 should be the focus of any U.S. BPC efforts in professionalizing the AFL.

The analysis provided by this comparison informs recommendations to the primary and secondary research questions. This researcher provided those recommendations and conclusions in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this research is to assess the current disposition of the AFL in order to provide possible recommendations on the role of the U.S. military in professionalizing the AFL. In the current environment of fiscal constraints faced by the U.S. government, U.S. national strategic objectives require a capable national force in Liberia in order to quell internal and external threats from global terrorism in the region of West Africa.

Chapter 5 provides the recommendations that the researcher determined from his research. The primary research question, What should the role of the U.S. military be in professionalizing the AFL to create partner capacity in the common interest of the United States and Liberia? is answered in this chapter. The secondary research questions are also considered and answered. Using the case study methodology, the researcher was able to determine cross conclusions and themes from three similar cases of current professionalization efforts around the world. Recommendations for potential U.S. BPC efforts to professionalize the AFL are also provided in this chapter.

Summary of Findings

The selected case studies revealed two main themes at the ministerial level. First, the AFP, BDF, and MAF were all sources of national power that were designed to implement their respective nations' national strategic objectives. Each individual nation had, at one time, strategic objectives that were attainable and helped ensure regional

security. These national objectives became key aspects in the professionalization of their armed forces because it gave a vision and an end-state for the nation and military force. In contrast, there is no national security strategy in place for the country of Liberia. This lack of national strategic objectives is a concern for the AFL. Dr. John Kotter's method of organizational change suggests that a clear vision is required in order to effectively change an organization. This has been a proven method designed to instill teamwork and a sense of pride in an organization. A national security strategy is a way to visualize the end-state and provide a vision for the AFL. The government of Liberia should recognize this need and make a national security strategy a top priority.

Secondly, the AFP and BDF determined a way to regenerate their forces by instituting a capability based assessment strategy rather than a threat based assessment to equipment and material solutions. The AFL currently has limited ability to regenerate forces and equipment. Less than four percent of their gross domestic product goes directly to the military, and this needs to be increased and invested in resources to regenerate forces and equipment.

The institutional level analysis determined that the underlying key to successful professionalization efforts resides in the culture of professionalism. This culture brings together soldiers from different backgrounds and social divides, and gives them all a common bond of service to their country. Currently, the AFL officer and NCO corps remain small with very few opportunities to advance. The AFL needs to focus on these cohorts as the most important factor in establishing the culture of professionalism.

The case studies of the AFP and the BDF both emphasized the importance of leadership development at the junior officer level. The PMA and the Botswana DCSC

were established to ensure this culture of professionalism is inherent in all they do. The AFL should recognize the need for an institution that produces well-educated officers with an emphasis on leadership development. This will establish an officer force generating capacity and a culture of professionalism.

Currently, Liberia is participating in the IMET program, but this may not be enough. This program is a cost effective way of training and educating selected officers in the United States, but cannot be the only institutional level answer to professionalization efforts. The Mali case study proved that taking part in the IMET program alone is not enough to change the culture of professionalism. The AFP and BDF were both successful at the institutional level, and this culture is readily apparent in their forces.

Finally, the tactical level proved that mil-to-mil exercises were a cost effective way to establish relationships and camaraderie from common experiences. Each case study revealed the successes of mil-to-mil exercises and these should not be overlooked. The AFL has recently had the opportunity to work alongside the U.S. military in an effort to quell the Ebola outbreak. The U.S. military currently has a small contingent of soldiers assisting with the cleanup efforts, which is a step in the right direction for long-term relationship building.

The State Partnership Program with Liberia has also been a means to establish and foster a long-standing relationship with U.S. military personnel. Since 2009, the Michigan National Guard has partnered with Liberia in the hopes of establishing relationships based on mutual understanding and common experiences. The Michigan National Guard has sent troops and advisors to Liberia to provide training and leadership

development. The idea of the State Partnership Program is to provide an opportunity for the same unit to deploy many times to the same region in the hopes of fostering these relationships. The State Partnership Program is an integral aspect to establishing these relationships.

The U.S. Army has established a plan for Regionally Aligned Forces (RAF) designed to help foster relationship building at division levels. Much like the SPP, the RAF allows commanders and soldiers to work together multiple times over multiple deployments with the hopes of establishing relationships based on common experiences. Implementation of RAF needs to occur quickly as the UNMIL mission ends. The RAF concept will be fully employed by 2025, but efforts need to be focused on a deployable unit to U.S. Africa Command much sooner.

Interpretation of Findings and Recommendations

The country of Liberia needs to publish a national security strategy in order to provide the AFL with a vision of the future. The U.S. military should strive to ensure that this is emphasized at the highest levels of the AFL. Strategic objectives were apparent in all three case studies, and their importance needs to be emphasized to the leadership of Liberia.

The U.S. military should focus all available efforts on leadership development and developing partners' sustaining institutions. These LOEs were described in TRADOC Pam 525-8-4 as part of the military's role in professionalizing the AFL. The United States should provide support in the establishment of a Liberian Military Academy. This academy could establish the culture of professionalism that has been a cornerstone of success in other armed forces. Military academies are designed to instill

principles that are key to success in a military organization. This will also fix the problem of internal divisions. As cadets lose their sense of identity through the rigors of a cadet system, they emerge as a class with a shared experience. This common bond will foster this culture of professionals and ensure success in the future. The United States should be prepared to assist in all facets to establish this academy.

Additionally, the United States should send a team of advisors and instructors to establish an NCO professionalization course. The small course of BNCOOC established by DynCorp was insufficient to develop a professional NCO corps. The U.S. has a well-established professional NCO cadre, and efforts need to be focused on increasing the capacity of the AFL NCO corps. This researcher believes that a regionally aligned force (RAF) should be devoted primarily to the professionalization efforts of the AFL. The AFL requires continuous support for the near future and RAF can provide this support.

This researcher recommends the country of Liberia to continue to participate in programs like IMET and mil-to-mil exercises. These programs foster relationships, and introduce officers and soldiers to the culture of professionalism that is inherent in the U.S. military. The government of Liberia needs to seriously consider a national military academy, and the U.S. should assist in every way possible.

Conclusions

This chapter discussed the cross conclusions and common themes from chapter 4 that were analyzed from case study methodology. It answered the primary and secondary research questions based upon the case study methodology and offered an interpretation of findings and recommendations. The purpose of this research was to assess the current disposition of the AFL in order to provide possible recommendations on the role of the

U.S. military in professionalizing the AFL. In the researcher's opinion, it is clear that if one or more of the offered recommendations are implemented as part of the U.S. BPC commitment to Liberia, this professionalized AFL (the means) will promote a secure and stable Liberia (the way) and directly contribute to U.S. national strategic interests related to Liberia and West Africa (the ends). By committing to this strategy, the AFL becomes the Center of Gravity for the U.S. and Liberian partnership. Together we can go farther.

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