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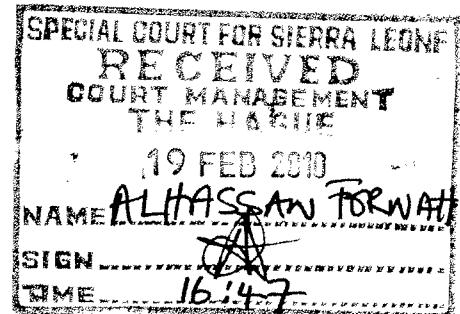
**SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE
OFFICE OF THE PROSECUTOR**

TRIAL CHAMBER II

Before: Justice Julia Sebutinde, Presiding
Justice Richard Lussick
Justice Teresa Doherty
Justice El Hadji Malick Sow, Alternate Judge

Acting Registrar: Ms. Binta Mansaray

Date filed: 19 February 2010



THE PROSECUTOR

Against

Charles Ghankay Taylor

Case No. SCSL-03-01-T

PUBLIC
PROSECUTION LIST OF DOCUMENTS MARKED FOR IDENTIFICATION DURING THE TESTIMONY
OF CHARLES TAYLOR SOUGHT TO BE ADMITTED INTO EVIDENCE

Office of the Prosecutor:
Ms. Brenda J. Hollis

Counsel for the Accused:
Mr. Courtenay Griffiths, Q.C.
Mr. Terry Munyard
Mr. Morris Anyah
Mr. Silas Chekera
Mr. James Supuwood

I. INTRODUCTION

1. In accordance with the Trial Chamber's Orders,¹ the Prosecution files its lists of documents that were presented and marked for identification during the testimony of Charles Taylor and which it wishes to tender for admission into evidence.
2. **Annex 1** lists (i) the documents or portions of the documents which were presented and used by the Prosecution during cross-examination and (ii) the portions of those same documents which were used by the Defence during re-examination and which the Prosecution now seeks to admit.
3. Copies of the documents listed in Annex 1 are being provided with this filing as **Annex 2**. Documents under (i) above are marked by brackets and numerically, while documents under (ii) above are marked with a double line and alphabetically, as explained in the text of Annex 1.
4. **Annex 3** lists the documents or portions of the documents which were presented and used by the Defence during examination-in-chief which the Prosecution seeks to admit in the event that those documents or portions of documents are not put forward by the Defence for admission.

II. ARGUMENT

Documents presented by the Prosecution and marked for identification during cross-examination

5. Annex 1 is comprised of five columns, including the transcript reference to the presentation and use of the documents or portions of the documents with the Witness as well as a summary of the arguments in support of admission.
6. In its Documents Decision of 30 November 2009,² the Trial Chamber held that the admission of documents containing fresh evidence that were used in order to impeach the credibility of the Accused would be determined on a case-by-case basis. It was only with respect to fresh evidence probative of the guilt of the Accused that

¹ *Prosecutor v. Taylor*, Trial Transcript, 15 February 2010, 34881; *Prosecutor v. Taylor*, Trial Transcript, 17 February 2010, 35165.

² *Prosecutor v. Taylor*, SCSL-03-1-T-865, "Decision on Prosecution Motion in Relation to the Applicable Legal Standards governing the Use and Admission of Documents by the Prosecution during Cross-Examination", 30 November 2009 ("Documents Decision").

“exceptional circumstances” needed to be established for admission.³ Since the Prosecution was precluded from using any fresh evidence that could potentially be probative of guilt, even for impeachment purposes only, there is no question of the “exceptional circumstances” test arising at this stage. All the documents or portions of documents now put forward for admission were allowed to be used only to impeach the credibility of the Accused.

7. Therefore, the only test to be applied for admission is one of relevance as provided in Rule 89(C) of the Special Court Rules.⁴ The appropriate weight to be given to relevant evidence does not fall to be determined at this stage. Weight is to be assessed at the conclusion of the case in the context of the evidence as a whole. These principles have been confirmed by the Special Court Appeals Chamber which has held that Rule 89(C) “is designed to avoid sterile legal debate over admissibility”.⁵
8. The documents that the Prosecution tenders for admission in this category are relevant to challenge the credibility of the Accused and his evidence as set out in Annex 1.

Prosecution Documents used by the Defence during re-examination

9. During re-examination, the Defence presented a number of documents to the Witness that had been marked for identification during cross-examination by the Prosecution. In certain instances, the Defence used portions of those documents additional to those portions used by the Prosecution. The Prosecution seeks to admit into evidence the portions of the documents used by the Defence on the basis of their relevance.
10. The documents in this category include: MFI 305, 306, 307, 308, 311, 312, 313, 314, 316, 323, 343, 362, 371B, 371D, 377, 383, 384, 385 and 398. Annex 1 sets out the portions of these documents sought to be admitted as well as a summary of arguments as to relevance.

Defence Documents sought to be admitted by the Prosecution

11. The Prosecution seeks to admit certain documents presented by the Defence and marked for identification during the examination-in-chief of the Witness on the basis

³ Documents Decision, para. 27.

⁴ See Rule 89(C): “A Chamber may admit any relevant evidence.” See also *Prosecutor v. Norman, Fofana, Kondewa*, SCSL-04-14-T-371, “Fofana – Appeal against Decision Refusing Bail”, 11 March 2005, para. 26.

⁵ *Prosecutor v. Norman, Fofana, Kondewa*, SCSL-04-14-T-371, “Fofana – Appeal against Decision Refusing Bail”, 11 March 2005, para. 26.

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- of their relevance. These documents or portions of documents are listed in Annex 3. Annex 3 is comprised of five columns, including the transcript reference to the presentation and use of the documents or portions of the document with the Witness as well as an indication of the relevance of the document or portion of the document.
12. These documents do not constitute "fresh evidence" in the sense used in the Documents Decision and are not governed by the regime imposed therein. Therefore, the only test to be applied for admission is one of relevance.
 13. In the event that the Defence itself puts forward the same documents or portions of the documents for admission, then the current application by the Prosecution may be taken as an agreement to admit those specific documents or portions of the documents described in Annex 3.
 14. As noted in Annex 3, the Prosecution requests that the Defence be ordered to provide copies of the missing pages of MFI-70 and MFI-82.

III. CONCLUSION

15. For these reasons, the Prosecution requests the admission into evidence of the documents or portions of documents described in Annex 1, 2 and 3.

Filed in The Hague,

19 February 2010,

For the Prosecution,



Brenda J. Hollis
Principal Trial Attorney

INDEX OF AUTHORITIES

SCSL

Prosecutor v. Taylor

Prosecutor v. Taylor, Trial Transcript, 15 February 2010, 34881.

Prosecutor v. Taylor, Trial Transcript, 17 February 2010, 35165.

Prosecutor v. Taylor, SCSL-03-1-T-865, “Decision on Prosecution Motion in Relation to the Applicable Legal Standards governing the Use and Admission of Documents by the Prosecution during Cross-Examination”, 30 November 2009.

Prosecutor v. Norman, Fofana, Kondewa

Prosecutor v. Norman, Fofana, Kondewa, SCSL-04-14-T-371, “Fofana – Appeal against Decision Refusing Bail”, 11 March 2005.

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ANNEX 1

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Annex 1 – Prosecution Documents Marked for Identification and Sought to Be Admitted by the Prosecution

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 302 A Cover and Publication Page	Excerpt from <u>Long Story Bit by</u> <u>Bit Liberia Re-</u> <u>told</u> , by Tim Hetherington	[1-2] Cover and Publication Page	02.12.09, p. 32871	[1-2]: Document's identifying information
MFI 302 B John T. Richardson, pp. 106-107	Excerpt from <u>Long Story Bit by</u> <u>Bit Liberia Re-</u> <u>told</u> , by Tim Hetherington	[1] Identifying Info. ----- [2] Quote off to the side, beginning with “What journalists have failed...”	02.12.09, pp. 32870-32871, 32877-79	[1-2]: Impeaches prior testimony of the ACCUSED as to: 1) it being total nonsense for anyone to talk about seeing intestines strung up at roadblocks; and 2) it being physically impossible to stretch intestines across a roadblock.
MFI 303 A Pages 00102782- 00102872	An Act Adopting a New Aliens and Nationality Law	[1] Entire Act	02.12.09, p. 32904	[1]: The entire act will show the date of enactment.

ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION					
MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness		
MFI 303B Pages 00102856- 00102861	An Act Adopting a New Aliens and Nationality Law	[1] Section 21.1 (2) ----- [2] Section 21.1 (4) ----- [3] Section 21.2 ----- [4] Section 21.3 ----- [5] Section 21.3 (3) ----- [6] Section 21.6	02.12.09, p. 32895-32904	[1-6]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's prior testimony that he acted appropriately under the Liberian Constitution and other legislation in granting citizenship to Sam Bockarie and other RUF fighters (people the accused knew had been involved in a force committing atrocities against the civilians of SL). Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony that the President can make any foreigner a citizen of Liberia without limitations or other formalities. Specifically, shows that the applicant must fulfill a residence requirement, take an oath, and be of "good moral character."	[1]: Document's identifying information [2]: The ACCUSED testified that he remains "Dahkpannah," contradicting this report that the title was taken from him in 2006. It further goes to ACCUSED's initial assertion that he was elected after becoming President, and that it states that he unilaterally took the title.
MFI 304	Star Radio, Former President Taylor Loses Title	[1] Title ----- [2] Article in its Entirety	02.12.09, p. 32953		

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ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION				
MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	
MFI 305	Liberian Bank for Development and Investment, New Account Application, Charles G. Taylor, No. 32851-01, dated 08 December 1999	[1-3] Title , Name, Address ----- [4-6] Initial Deposit, Signature, Date ----- REDIRECT [A]	Cross: 07.12.09, p. 33041 Redirect: 15.02.10, p. 34889	<p>[1-6]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony as to his denial of the existence of a personal bank account at any financial institution. This evidence collectively reveals a personal bank account at the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment under his name. Shows millions of dollars of other deposits that the accused would not explain.</p> <p>Specifically shows that revenue from timber, which by law should have gone to Central Bank, was diverted to ACCUSED's personal checking account. Shows millions of dollars of other deposits that the ACCUSED would not explain.</p> <p>[A]: The Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which included and, in some cases, exceeded the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to (marked as 1-6) as well as the section the Defence referred to (marked as A), as indicated to the left.</p>
MFI 306A	Liberian Bank for Development and Investment Checking Account Signature Card – dated 08 December 1999	[1] Entire document (referenced, but not put to witness)	07.12.09, p. 33043	[1]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony as to his denial of the existence of a personal bank account at any financial institution. This evidence collectively reveals a personal bank account at the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment under his name.

ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION			
MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS
MFI 306B	Liberian Bank for Development and Investment Checking Account Signature Cards – dated 15 December 1999 & 8 December 1999	<p>[1-4] (Top) “HE Charles Taylor,” “Kaddieyatu Darrah,” signature, date.</p> <p>[5-9] (Bottom) Account Title, Account #, Name Signature</p> <p>----- REDIRECT [A-C]</p>	<p>Cross: 07.12.09, pp. 33043-33044 Redirect: 15.02.10, pp. 34889-34893, 34930</p> <p>[1-9]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony as to his denial of the existence of a personal bank account at any financial institution. This evidence collectively reveals a personal bank account at the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment under his name.</p> <p>[A-C]: The Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which included and, in some cases, exceeded the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to (marked as 1-9) as well as the section the Defence referred to (marked as A-C), as indicated to the left.</p>
MFI 307	Liberian Bank for Development and Investment Debit Ticket 20656, 18 July 2000	<p>[1-2] Title, Date</p> <p>[3] Name and Account #</p> <p>[4] REF #, handwritten amount of debit</p> <p>----- [5]</p>	<p>Cross: 07.12.09, p.33045 Redirect: 15.02.10, pp. 34898- 34899</p> <p>[1-5]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony as to his denial of the existence of a personal bank account at any financial institution. This evidence collectively reveals a personal bank account at the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment under his name.</p> <p>[A-B]: The Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which included and, in some cases, exceeded the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to (marked as 1-5) as well as the section the Defence referred to (marked as A & B), as indicated to the left.</p>

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
		Debit amount in figures ----- REDIRECT [A]-[B]		
MFI 308	Liberian Bank for Development and Investment account statement for 1 July 2000 through 31 July 2000	[1] Title ----- [2] Name, Account # ----- [3] Dates ----- [4] Line 18: deposit amount ----- REDIRECT [A]	Cross: 07.12.09, p. 33054 ----- Redirect: 15.02.10, p. 34889 ----- [3] Dates ----- [4] Line 18: deposit amount ----- REDIRECT [A]	[1-4]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony as to his denial of the existence of a personal bank account at any financial institution. This evidence collectively reveals a personal bank account at the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment under his name. [A]: The Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which included and, in some cases, exceeded the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to (marked as 1-4) as well as the section the Defence referred to (marked as A), as indicated to the left.

ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION			
MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness
MFI 309	The Association for the Legal Defence of Charles G. Taylor – How to Help, 24 April 2008	[1] Title [2] Citibank Info [3] Ecobank Info	07.12.09, p. 33059-33060 <p>[1-9]: Demonstrates how funds can be transferred from around the world to Liberian banks through major financial institution acting as correspondent banks. This is how funds from Natura Holdings (OTC) and Taiwan (ROC) embassy passed through Citibank. Also, impeaches ACCUSED's credibility in that it shows funds being raised around the world for ACCUSED's defense, and his implausible testimony that he is unaware of how much was raised, who controlled the funds, or how the funds were used.</p>
MFI 310	Citigroup Response to Commissioner's Subpoena including LBDI's Most Current Authorized Signatures for Account 3600-6105. ERN 00054578, 00054588-00054590	[1] Citigroup Info [2] Date [3-5] Excerpts from letters [6] Francis Dennis as Pres of LBDI	07.12.09, pp. 33061-33062 <p>[1-8]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony as to his denial of the existence of a personal bank account at any financial institution. This evidence collectively reveals a personal bank account at the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment under his name.</p> <p>Specifically explains Citibank records of LBDI's correspondent account and how account records were obtained.</p>

		ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION			
MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	TRANSCRIPT	REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS
		<p>[7] Date of doc</p> <p>[8] Excerpt from letter</p>			<p>[1-8]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony as to his denial of the existence of a personal bank account at any financial institution. This evidence collectively reveals a personal bank account at the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment under his name.</p> <p>Specifically shows a transfer of \$2 million from Natura Holdings (OTC) to ACCUSED's personal checking account at LBDI.</p> <p>[A-B]: Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which included and, in some cases, exceeded the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to (marked as 1-8) as well as the section the Defence referred to (marked as A & B), as indicated to the left.</p>
MFI 311	<p>Page from an Account Activity Report for LBDI Account 3600-6105 covering 1 July through 31 July, dated 01 August 2000</p> <p>ERN 00057473</p>	<p>[1] Report Date</p> <p>[2] Account #</p> <p>[3] Statement Dates from letters</p> <p>[4] Trans Date</p> <p>[5-6] “For further credit to” account #, “Natura Holdings PTE LTD”</p>	<p>Cross: 07.12.09, pp. 33062-33063</p> <p>Redirect: 15.02.10, P. 34900</p>		

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ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION					
MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness		
		[7] Deposit amt. ----- [8] Page # ----- REDIRECT [A-B]			
MFI 312	Page from Account Activity Report for LBDI Account 3600-6105 covering 1 March 2000 – 31 March 2000 ERN 00057129	[1] Transaction Date ----- [2] “further credit to Charles G. Taylor”, account #, ordering party ----- [3] deposit amount ----- REDIRECT [A-B]	Cross: 07.12.09, p. 33064 ----- Redirect: 15.02.10, p. 34900 -----	<p>[1-3]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony as to his denial of the existence of a personal bank account at any financial institution. This evidence collectively reveals a personal bank account at the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment under his name. Specifically, this shows a transfer of \$3.5 million from Taiwan (ROC) embassy to ACCUSED's personal checking account. This was also used to question the ACCUSED's implausible testimony that he did not recall such a deposit.</p> <p>[A-B]: The Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which included and, in some cases, exceeded the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to (marked as 1-3) as well as the sections the Defence referred to (marked as A & B), as indicated to the left.</p>	

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 313	Liberian Bank for Development and Investment account statement covering 1 August 2000 through 11 September 2000	[1] Title [2] Name, account number [3] Statement date [4] first two entries under "Account Summaries" REDIRECT [A-B]	Cross: 07.12.09 – pp. 33067-33068 Redirect: 15.02.10, p. 34901	<p>[1-4]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony as to his denial of the existence of a personal bank account at any financial institution. This evidence collectively reveals a personal bank account at the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment under his name.</p> <p>[A-B]: The Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which included and, in some cases, exceeded the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to (marked as 1-4) as well as the section the Defence referred to (marked as A & B), as indicated to the left.</p>
MFI 314	Liberia Bank of Development and Investment Transaction report (first 7 pages shown to the Accused)	[1] Identifying Information REDIRECT [A]	Cross: 07.12.09, pp. 33113-33114 Redirect: 15.02.10, pp. 34901-34906	<p>[1]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony as to his denial of the existence of a personal bank account at any financial institution. This evidence collectively reveals a personal bank account at the Liberian Bank for Development and Investment under his name.</p> <p>[A]: The Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which included and, in some cases, exceeded the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to (marked as 1) as well as the section the Defence referred to (marked as A), as indicated to the left. The additional pages of the report revealed in re-direct show</p>

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
				a second bank account at LBDI for the “Charles Taylor Educational Fund.”
MFI 315 A Page 115	Excerpt from the Liberian TRC Report, Volume II	[1] One sentence beginning: “The political contest spilled...”	11.01.10, p. 33145	[1]: Impeaches ACCUSED’s prior testimony challenging the date of the attempted coup by General Quiwonkpa.
MFI 315 B Cover Page	Excerpt from the Liberian TRC Report, Volume II	[1] Identifying Information	11.01.10, p. 33145	[1]: Document’s identifying information
MFI 316	Profile of Charles M. Taylor from Case No. 84-1251R, U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts, 27 July 1990	[1]: Page 10, line beginning “It was later discovered the Dhillon brothers...” ----- REDIRECT [A-W] Pages 1, 3, 4, 5, 10 (read in their entirety)	Cross: 11.01.10, p. 33145 Redirect: 18.02.10, pp. 35320-35330	[1]: Used for further information. It is relevant in that the ACCUSED admitted that \$100K was transferred to an account maintained by him in the US. He denies this money should have gone to the Government of Liberia or that he embezzled any money. [A-W]: Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which included and, in some cases, exceeded the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to (marked as 1) as well as the section the Defence referred to (marked as A-W), as indicated to the left.

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MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	TRANSCRIPT	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
MFI 317	Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission Diaspora Project – Appendix D, Key Events in Liberian History from 1979-2003	[1] Title ----- [2-3] Appendix D, date of coup	11.01.10, p. 33144	[1]: Document's identifying information [2-3]: Impeaches prior testimony of ACCUSED regarding timing of his escape and the Quiwonkpa coup and reason he did not participate in the coup.	
MFI 318	Excerpts from a BBC Interview with the NPFL Leader, Charles Taylor, In Gbarnga, West Africa, No. 3892, 20-26 April 1992	[1] Title ----- [2-3] Under Caption Taylor Explains: ‘Why did NPFL invade...and the RUF’S’	11.01.10, pp. 33172-74	[1]: Document's identifying information [2-3]: Impeaches credibility of the ACCUSED’s prior testimony in general and credibility of his testimony in re his knowledge of Foday Sankoh and the RUF in particular, in that in 1992 he is denying knowing Foday Sankoh and the RUF when in his testimony he said he met him in August 1991 and admitted that his NPFL worked with Foday Sankoh and the RUF during the period August 1991 to May 1992.	
MFI 320 A&B	Mary Harper Interview of Charles Taylor A: Clip of broadcast B: Unofficial transcript of broadcast	A: Clip with CMS (note that the clip begins with the second sentence of the transcript which is marked as 1). A & B: Impeaches ACCUSED’s prior testimony that he had not known Foday Sankoh before August 1991 and impeaches ACCUSED’s credibility in that he is portraying conflict as something other than quest for power and control.	11.01.10, pp. 33153-56, 33176-77, 33184-86		

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MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		[1] B: Transcript, page 2		
MFI 321	BBC Monitoring Report: Taylor Sets up Interim National Assembly, 23 October 1990	[1] Title and 5 lines below title	11.01.10, p. 33190-91	[1]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony in which he denied that he moved his headquarters to Gbarnga in 1990 and that the headquarters were functioning in Gbarnga in 1990. [2]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony as to timing of when Gbarnga was functioning as his headquarters and that he did have a radio station but it was not a commercial station.
MFI 322	BBC Monitoring Report: Liberian Rebel Leaders Visit West African Countries, 14 March 1991	[1] Title ----- [2] 3 lines below title	11.01.10, p. 33193-94	[1]: Document's identifying information [2]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony as to timing of when Gbarnga was functioning as his headquarters and when his presidential palace was in use in Gbarnga
MFI 323	"My Husband Must Head Government", The Inquirer, Vol. 1, No. 19, Monrovia, Liberia, 19 March 1991	[1] Title, Volume, Date ----- [2-3] Caption: "My Husband Must Head Govt." and text on page 3	Cross: 11.01.10, P. 33195-98 Redirect: 16.02.10, pp. 35090-35092	[1]: Document's identifying information [2-3]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony as to timing of when Gbarnga was functioning as his headquarters and when his presidential palace was in use in Gbarnga [A-B]: The Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which included the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to (marked as 1-3) as well as the section the Defence referred to (marked as A-B), as indicated to the left.

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
		Redirect [A-B]		
MFI 324	State Department Noon Briefing, 21 July 2003	[1-7] Title and Pages 1-3, 6	11.01.10, pp. 33220-24	[1-7]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony that the United States did not condemn the shelling of the Greystone compound and the timing of that shelling incident, which in turn impeaches his testimony as to what he told the assembled leaders in Accra as to whether he was willing to leave the Presidency and why.
MFI 325	IRIN News article - Liberia: More than 100 killed in Monrovia fighting, 22 July 2003	[1-3] Title, 1 st para – 5 lines and ... “On Monday, angry... sought refuge.”	11.01.10, p. 33215-17	[1-3]: Impeaches ACCUSED's prior testimony that the shelling of Greystone which led to the citizens of Monrovia carrying the bodies of the victims to the American embassy and saying “see what you have done” occurred before the ACCUSED went to Accra on 4 June 2003. This in turn impeaches his testimony as to what he told the assembled leaders in Accra as to whether he was willing to leave the Presidency and why.
MFI 326	Peace Agreement Between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone, Lome Accord, 7 July 1999	[1-2] Title ----- [3-14] Pages 1-3, 6	11.01.10, p. 33227-33, 33251-55	[1-2]: Document's identifying information [3-14]: Refreshes ACCUSED's recollection of provisions of the Lome Peace Agreement and impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony regarding the benefits which the RUF gained from the Agreement and the comparative benefits to the RUF as opposed to the Government of Sierra Leone.

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ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION				
MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	
MFI 327	An Act to Grant Immunity from Both Civil and Criminal Proceedings <i>[sic]</i> Against All Persons Within the Jurisdiction of the Republic of Liberia from Acts and or Crimes Committed During the Civil War from December 1989 to August 2003, dated 8 August 2003	[1-2] Title, Date [3-4] Section 1: “That from..Republic of Liberia.” AND Section 2	14.01.10, p. 33257-61	[1-2]: Document's identifying information [3-4]: Refreshes the ACCUSED's recollection of the contents of the Act and the date the Act came into effect.
MFI 328	News article: “Star Radio Obtains Controversial Immunity Act”, 15 July 2009	[1-2] Title, Date [3] Last Three Paragraphs: “The former majority leader... then headed by	14.01.10, p. 33264	[1-2]: Document's identifying information [3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that the Liberian Immunity Act was a product of the ACCUSED's Executive branch and hastily sent to the 51 st Legislature for action and passed just before he was due to leave Liberia

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ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION			
MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness
	President Charles Taylor.”		[1-2]: Document's identifying information
MFI 329	UN Document S/1995/1042 - Fourteenth Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia, 18 Dec. 1995	<p>[1-2] Title, Date</p> <p>[3] Page 2, Paras 6 and 7</p> <p>[4] Page 3, Para 10</p> <p>[5] Page 3, Paras 13 and 14</p> <p>[6, 7, 8] Page 8, Annex</p>	<p>[1-2]: Shows that the Accused and Mr. Kromah entered into a Memorandum of Understanding on 30 November 1995 and the scope of that MOU. Impeaches the ACCUSED's characterization of the relationship of his NPFL and ULIMO K during this period and impeaches his denial that he and Alhaji Kromah continued to cooperate with each other in various ways after the establishment of the five member Council of State in 1994. One such way was military cooperation</p> <p>[5-8]: Refreshes the memory of the ACCUSED as to deployment of the UNOMIL observers in Liberia as of mid December 1995. And impeaches his testimony as to numbers and capability of UN observers to carry out their mandate as of this time.</p>
MFI 330	Excerpts from Liberia's Civil War by Adekeye Adebajo	<p>[1-3] Title, Date, Publication</p> <p>[4-5] Forward</p> <p>[6-8]</p>	<p>[1-8]: Information regarding the author and the book.</p> <p>Note: p. xiii-xiv (the page number is incorrectly referred to as viii at 14.01.10, 33283.27, 33284.7, 33332.7 as the bottom portion of the page number was cut off on copy and it appears at first glance as "viii" although it is actually "xiii")</p> <p>[9]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony as to timing of ULIMO takeover of locations in Liberia in that ULIMO not created until 29 May 1991. Also</p>

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MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		Acknowledgments ----- [9] Para. 2, sentences 1-2: "The United Liberation Movement of Liberia.... the plunder of Charles Taylor" ----- [10] Para. 3, sentences 1-3: "On 2 March 1996...Johnson's Monrovia home for weapons."		impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony regarding the conduct of his forces toward civilians and resources in Liberia, as reflected in the declared purpose of ULIMO's creation. [10]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony regarding the events which led to the attack on Roosevelt Johnson in April 1996 and the subsequent fighting. Shows the ACCUSED and ULIMO-K's leader cooperated on this matter, contrary to the ACCUSED's testimony characterizing the relationship between the two groups.
MFI 331	News article from West Africa magazine: "Recourse to Arms?" by James Butty, 24-30 June 1991	[1] Cover page ----- [2-3] Title of Article, Paras. 1-3: "A new resistance group... plunder of Charles Taylor"	14.01.10, pp. 33287-33288	[1]: Document's identifying information [2-3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial and refreshes his memory that he was called upon by ULIMO to surrender on 11 June 1991 to ECOMOG within 15 days from that date. Also impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony as to timing of ULIMO takeover of locations in Liberia in that ULIMO not created until 29 May 1991. Also impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony regarding the conduct of his forces toward civilians and resources in Liberia, as reflected in the declared purpose of ULIMO's creation.

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ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION				
MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	
MFI 332	Two pages from DCT-258 – Description page from the atlas of maps introduced by the Defence – Generalized Geologic Section between Monrovia and Buchanan	[1] Title and sub-title [2] Section 1.1.2, beginning para. 2-3, sentences 1-3: “For over 15 years...only occasional follow up.” [3-4] Para. 3 of “Diamonds” Section: “Numerous Cretaceous... east-west in strike.”	14.01.10, pp. 33371-33374	[1]: Document's identifying information [2-4]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony as to relative quantity of diamonds in Liberia as compared to Sierra Leone and relative economic exploitation of diamonds in Liberia as compared to Sierra Leone. [3]: Document's identifying information [3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony as to timing of ULIMO takeover of locations in Liberia in that ULIMO not created until 29 May 1991.
MFI 333	Excerpt from the Liberian TRC Report, Vol. 2	[1-2] Title, Volume No. 33276-33278 [3] Last 8 lines: “A Mandingo faction... on May 29, 1991.”	14.01.10, pp. 33276-33278	[1-2]: Document's identifying information [3]: Document's identifying information

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MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	TRANSCRIPT	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
MFI 334 B	News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, December 1998	[1-2] Title, Date, Source [3-4] Para. 2, lines 1-2: “ECOMOG sent 300 troops...troops” Para. 2, lines 9-17: “Then Bockarie said...Tejan Kabbah government out” Para. 3: “Gambian President... Kabbah returned to Freetown.”	18.01.10, pp. 33453	[1-2]: Document's identifying information [3-4]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was the point President for peace in Sierra Leone, given that role by other leaders, in that role he professed to be unaware that Sam Bockarie claimed his forces had captured Masiaka and that he was unaware of a pronouncement that Sam Bockarie made in late December to the effect that the rebels would invade Freetown if Foday Sankoh was not released, and he would not stop shelling Freetown until they saw the Tejan Kabbah government out. Further, impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was not aware of Bockarie's discussions with Blaise Compaoré nor was he told by Compaoré of Bockarie's request to mediate, and that he was unaware that President Jammeh had offered to mediate between the Sierra Leone government and the rebels – an offer which also impeaches the ACCUSED's supposed role as point President for Peace, a role supposedly given to him at this time by other leaders.	Further impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony about Sam Bockarie wanting peace.
MFI 334 C	News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, 19 November 1998	[1] Title, Date, Source [2] Para. 1: “The Revolutionary United Front will	18.01.10, pp. 33434-33435	[1]: Document's identifying information [2]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was the point President for peace in Sierra Leone, given that role by other leaders, in that he professed to be unaware of Sam Bockarie saying that the RUF would destroy every living thing, kill, kill, if anything happens to Foday Sankoh. The Prosecution asserts that the	27/159

ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION					
MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness		
		destroy... defeated man can do so."		ACCUSED as point President for peace in Sierra Leone was very aware of what Bockarie was doing because he was acting with the ACCUSED knowledge and control or consent. Further impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony about Sam Bockarie wanting peace.	
MFI 334 D	News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, December 1998 Pages 5 and 6	[1] Title, Date, Source ----- [2] Page 5: 25 December ----- [3] Page 6: 2 nd complete Para: “RUF commander... confirmation of his claims.”	18.01.10, pp. 33439-33443	[1]: Document's identifying information	[2-3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was the point President for peace in Sierra Leone, given that role by other leaders, in that he professed to be unaware of very important pronouncements coming out of Sierra Leone; his purported lack of awareness that Sam Bockarie in December 1998 had publicly pronounced that the rebels were going to march into Freetown on New Year's Day unless the government agreed to their terms and to have captured Waterloo close to Freetown. Further impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony about Sam Bockarie wanting peace.

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ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION					
MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness		
MFI 334 E Pages 3 and 4	News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, December 1998	[1] Title, Date, Source ----- [2] Page 3: 27 December ----- [3] Page 4, lines 3-8 read, lines 1-2 referred to: “RUF commander ... Associated Press.”	18.01.10, pp. 33445-33446	[1]: Document's identifying information [2-3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was the point President for peace in Sierra Leone, given that role by other leaders, in that he professed to be unaware of public pronouncements Sam Bockarie made around 27 December 1998 that his fighters had captured Makeni and killed 60 ECOMOG soldiers and dragged their bodies through the streets as an example to everyone; that he was unaware that Sam Bockarie has also threatened an assault on Freetown and called on President Kabbah to resign. Further impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony about Sam Bockarie wanting peace.	
MFI 334 F Page 2	News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, December 1998	[1] Title, Date, Source ----- [2] Page 2: 28 December ----- [3] P. 2, 2 nd para from bottom: “RUF commander... it was too late now.”	18.01.10, pp. 33451-33452	[1]: Document's identifying information [2-3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was the point President for peace in Sierra Leone, given that role by other leaders, in that he supposedly was not briefed by his National Security Council and remained uninformed that Sam Bockarie publicly stated that they had captured Waterloo and Benguela, 20 and 30 miles from Freetown respectively, and that Sam Bockarie made it clear that the rebels were no longer seeking dialogue, it was too late. Further impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony about Sam Bockarie wanting peace.	
MFI 334 H	News article from Sierra Leone Web	[1-2] Title, Date, Source	18.01.10, pp. 33478-33479	[1-2]: Document's identifying information	

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MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	TRANSCRIPT	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
	- SL News Archive, 26 January 1999	[3] Page1, para. 3: “RUF commander...can you trap a rebel in the bush.”		[3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was the point President for peace in Sierra Leone, given that role by other leaders, in that he professed to have no recollection of being briefed as to a later statement by Sam Bockarie about making Sierra Leone ungovernable after the January 1999 attack had begun and that he was unaware of that threatening statement or of being told that by Bockarie directly. Further impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony about Sam Bockarie wanting peace	
MFI 334 I	News article from Sierra Leone Web - SL News Archive, 25 January 1998	[1-2] Title, Date, Source [3] Page 1, para. 4 lines 1-4: “Former ECOMOG force...do his biddings.”		18.01.10, pp. 33493-33496	[1-2]: Document's identifying information [3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was working as the point President for peace in Sierra Leone, that he supported ECOWAS objectives in Sierra Leone, and that he was in support of restoring the Kabbah government. Also impeaches his testimony relating to his relationship with the Junta and that he was not a destabilizing influence in the sub-region.
MFI 334 J	News article from Sierra Leone Web - SL News Archive, 30 October 1997	[1-2] Title, Date, Source [3] Page1, Para. 2: “An aide to deposed... station's frequency.”		18.01.10, pp. 33520-33521	[1-2]: Document's identifying information [3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was working as the point President for peace in Sierra Leone, that he supported ECOWAS objectives in Sierra Leone, and that he was in support of restoring the Kabbah government. Also impeaches his testimony relating to his relationship with the Junta and that he was not a destabilizing influence in the sub-region.

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ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION				
MFI NO.	TITLE	PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	
MFI 334 K	News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, 14 March 1998	[1-2] Title, Date, Source [3] Page 1, para. 2: “Saturday that the poor reception... includes Guinea.”	18.01.10, pp. 33527	[1-2]: Document's identifying information [3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was the point President for peace in Sierra Leone in that it indicates a lack of awareness of this role by the people of Sierra Leone. Had this been the ACCUSED's given role at this time, he would have ensured that the Government of Sierra Leone and the people of Sierra Leone knew this through public relations statements and other public relations initiatives.
MFI 334 L	News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, 10 July 2000	[1-2] Title, Date, Source [3] Page 1, para. 2: “African leaders opened... diamonds originating in Sierra Leone.”	19.01.10, pp. 33591-33592	[1-2]: Document's identifying information [3]: Refreshed the memory of the ACCUSED after he testified that he was unable to recall this three-day OAU summit in Lome, Togo on 10 July 2000 and if he personally attended or sent a representative. Gives notice of ongoing crimes being committed against civilians by rebels in Sierra Leone. Also gives notice that OAU urged trial of RUF leaders for crimes against humanity and war crimes. The ACCUSED admitted that indeed if he had sent a representative, he would have reported back to him. Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that there was a conspiracy by western powers to economically isolate Liberia in that the OAU supported the decision to impose a global embargo on diamonds from Sierra Leone.
MFI 335	“No Lawyer Willing to Defend Rebel Leader,” by Lansana Fofana,	[1-2] Title, Date, Source [3]	18.01.10, pp. 33430-33431	[1-2]: Document's identifying information [3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was the point President for peace in Sierra Leone, given that role by other leaders, in that he professed to be

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ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION				
MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	
	Inter Press Service, 7 September 1998	Page 2, paras. 6-7: "Even as Sankoh... monitored here."	unaware from September 1998 until the Freetown invasion of January 1999, that Sam Bockarie was threatening to carry out attacks in Sierra Leone, and that he (the ACCUSED) was not briefed by his national security team about the specific threat by Bockarie in September 1998 that he would kill every living thing including chickens if Foday Sankoh was not released.	
MFI 337	News article from New African magazine, No. 369; "Nigerians Execute Sierra Leone Coupists", December 1998 Cover Page & Page 24	[1] Title ----- [2] Title of Article ----- [3] Picture and caption ----- [4] Date at bottom of page referred to -----	18.01.10, 33465-33466	<p>[1, 2, 4]: Document's identifying information</p> <p>[3, 5]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was the point President for peace in Sierra Leone, given that role by other leaders, in that he supposedly was not aware of and was not briefed on a report about rebels beheading men and women and chopping arms off of others including children in a small village called Alkallia in December 1998 in retaliation for the death sentence passed against Sankoh.</p> <p>Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that Sam Bockarie wanted peace and that Sam Bockarie's trips to Liberia and Burkina Faso were to talk about peace.</p> <p>[5] Last paragraph: "But news of Sankoh's death... The bloody war continues."</p>

MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
MFI 338	"West Africa According to Mr. Taylor", Africa Confidential Vol. 40, No. 2, 22 January 1999	[1-2] Title, Volume, Issue ----- [3] Page2, para. 3, sentence 1: "Taylor recently boasted to journalists that Liberia has the most effective guerilla fighters in Africa."	18.01.10, pp. 33482, 33489	[1-2]: Document's identifying information [3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that at this time he had no arms, none at all—he could not have the most effective guerilla fighters in Africa if they had no arms.
MFI 339 A	BBC Focus on Africa clip, Kwabena Mensah, 30 December 1998	Clip from track 2 BBC Focus on Africa: 30/12/1998	18.01.10, pp. 33498-33499	Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was working as the point President for peace in Sierra Leone in that the UN Security Council is calling on all countries supporting the rebels to stop interfering in Sierra Leone's affairs and purportedly unaware of the United Nations Security Council condemnation of the recent upsurge in rebel attacks and statement that the rebels had said they were poised for an attack on Freetown. Also impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was acting as the point President for peace in Sierra Leone in that the UN Security Council is calling on all countries supporting the rebels to stop interfering in Sierra Leone's affairs and the article states that Liberia has been accused by several regional countries of such activity. This also impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that these allegations were on the part of western powers seeking to remove him from power.

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 339 B	Unofficial transcript of BBC Focus on Africa Clip, Kwabena Mensah, 30 December 1998	[1] Title, date, track, time [2] Name of reporter [3] Content under TIME: 35:31 "The United nations has condemned.... intervention force."	18.01.10, pp. 33498-33499	[1-2]: Document's identifying information [3]: Same as above, transcript of the BBC broadcast clip.
MFI 340	"We Don't Want Charles Taylor Here Tomorrow", Independent Observer, Vol. 1, No. 31, 9 March 1998	[1-2] Newspaper Name, Date, Article Title [3] Page 1, para. 4-7 of article (under picture of Nelson Mandela): "Meanwhile.... security network of the junta."	18.01/10, pp. 33524-33525	[1-2]: Document's identifying information [3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was the point President for peace in Sierra Leone in that it indicates a lack of awareness of this role by the people of Sierra Leone. Had this been the ACCUSED's given role at this time, he would have ensured that the Government of Sierra Leone and the people of Sierra Leone knew this through public relations statements and other public relations initiatives.

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ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION				
MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	
MFI 341	"Liberia Blamed in Sierra Leone Conflict", by Jeff Cooper, Inter Press Service, 18 January 1999	[1-2] Copyright, Source, Date, Headline, Author [3] Paras. 2-6 (only first sentence of para. 6); "President Jerry Rawlings... full might of the sub-region." AND paras 7-9: "Liberia's support... Victor Gbeho said."	18.01.10, pp. 33538-33540	[1-2]: Document's identifying information [3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was the point President for peace in Sierra Leone and his testimony that the allegations of his involvement with the rebels in Sierra Leone were a conspiracy by western powers because here, an African leader is condemning the ACCUSED's involvement.

ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION				
MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	
MFI 342	Government of Sierra Leone, Political Settlement of the Crisis in Sierra Leone, 14 January 1999	[1-2] Title, Date, heading [3] Paras. 3-4: "The government of...destruction of Sierra Leone."	18.01.10, pp. 33542-33543	<p>[1-2]: Document's identifying information</p> <p>[3]: Refreshes the memory of the ACCUSED that indeed the Sierra Leone government made a statement on 14 January 1999 re. exposing those who supported and continued to support the rebels and taking all necessary measures to put an end to their conspiracy in the systematic destruction of Sierra Leone.</p> <p>Also impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was the point President for peace in Sierra Leone, that he had good relations with President Kabbah, and that the allegations of his involvement with the rebels in Sierra Leone were a conspiracy by western powers in that the Government of Sierra Leone—an African leader—is applauding that the Security Council and some of the major powers have at last decided to name those who are supporting the rebels.</p>
MFI 343	Letter dated 19 January 1999 From the Charge D'Affairs A.I. of the Permanent Mission of Sierra Leone to the UN addressed to the Secretary-General, S/1999/73, 25 January 1999.	[1-2] Date, Title, Signature [3] Page 2, Annex, para. 1: "Current security developments...a meliorate the situation."	Cross: 19.01.10, pp. 33553-33556 Redirect: 16.02.10, pp. 35051-35059	<p>[1-2]: Document's identifying information</p> <p>[3-4]: Refreshes the memory of the ACCUSED that the President of Sierra Leone, President Kabbah, expressed negative views about the quality and the character of the ACCUSED's involvement in Sierra Leone in 1999.</p> <p>Also impeaches the Accused's testimony that he was the point President for peace in Sierra Leone, that he had good relations with President Kabbah, and that the allegations of his involvement with the rebels in Sierra Leone were a conspiracy by western powers in that the President of Sierra Leone is explaining the involvement of the Accused with the rebels in Sierra Leone despite President Kabbah's conciliatory approach to the Accused.</p>

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
		sentence 1: “Regrettably, it would... on my part.”	[A]: Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which included and, in some cases, exceeded the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to (marked as 1-4) as well as the section the Defence referred to (marked as A), as indicated to the left. [4] Pages 2-3, Annex, paras. 4-8: “My government is gratified... ECOWAS countries.”	
MFI 344	Government of Sierra Leone, Statement on UN sanctions against Liberia, 24		[1-2] Heading, Title, Date [3-5]	[1-2]: Document's identifying information [3-7]: Refreshes the memory of the ACCUSED that he did not recall a statement in 2001 in which the Government of Sierra Leone made negative comments about the character of his conduct toward Sierra Leone.

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MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
	February 2001	Page 1-2, paras. 1-3: "It is now almost a month ... to address the problems." AND paras 5-8: "Conscience of the need...should be delayed."	Also impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was the point President for peace in Sierra Leone, that he had good relations with President Kabbah, and that the allegations of his involvement with the rebels in Sierra Leone were a conspiracy by western powers in that the Government of Sierra Leone is condemning the ACCUSED's involvement with the rebels.	
MFI 345	Letter dated 28 November 2002 from the	[1-3] Heading, Title, Date	19.01.10, pp. 33568-33570	[1-3]: Document's identifying information

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ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION			
MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness
	Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia addressed to the president of the Security Council, S/2002/1304, 29 November 2002	<p>[4] Page 2, Annex, Title, General Reference to contents of letter</p> <p>[5] Page 3: Enclosure</p> <p>[6] Page 3: "The Government of Sierra Leone has taken note...of its resolution 1343 (2001)</p>	<p>[5-8]: Refreshed the memory of the ACCUSED after he testified that he did not recall a statement in late 2002 in which the Government of Sierra Leone once again directed very negative comments toward him and his involvement in Sierra Leone.</p> <p>Impeaches the ACCUSED's denials of criminal involvement with the rebels in Sierra Leone and his assertions that he was acting openly in regard to the presence of Sam Bockarie and his men in Liberia.</p> <p>[7-8] Page 3-4, para. 7-8 (beginning with 2nd sentence of Para 7 and ending with 1st sentence of para 8: "This in no way implies... Panel to talk to Mrs. Bockarie." no</p>

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MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	TRANSCRIPT	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
MFI 346 Pages 1, 2 & 4	A Statement by His Excellency The President, Alhaji Dr. Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, Made before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 5 August 2003	way		[1] Heading, Title, Date [2] Page 2, para. 6, sentences 1-6: “The rebel war...people of this country.” [3] Para. 13a: “Before I became President...haven in the Ivory Coast.”	[1]: Document's identifying information [2-3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony of his supposed role as the point President for peace in Sierra Leone and his denials of ongoing involvement with the rebels in Sierra Leone including the time period of that involvement. Also impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he and President Kabbah were on good terms and that President Kabbah was aware of, and did not object to, the ACCUSED's activities with Sam Bockarie and the rebels in Sierra Leone. Further impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that the allegations of his involvement with the rebels were part of a conspiracy on the part of western powers.

ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION				
MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	
MFI 347	News article, “Kabbah – It’s Difficult to Forgive Charles Taylor”, All Africa.com, 9 August 2009	<p>[1] Heading, Title, Date AND Para 1: ‘Former President of Sierra Leone...difficult thing for him to do.’</p> <p>[2] Paras. 4-para. 9 (ending at sentence 5): “...it would be difficult from him to... try to forgive each other.”</p>	<p>19.01.10, pp. 33575-33577</p> <p>[1]: Document's identifying information</p> <p>[2]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony of his supposed role as the point President for peace in Sierra Leone and his denials of ongoing involvement with the rebels in Sierra Leone including the time period of that involvement.</p> <p>Also impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he and President Kabbah were on good terms and that President Kabbah was aware of, and did not object to, the ACCUSED's activities with Sam Bockarie and his men.</p> <p>[2]</p> <p>And impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that the allegations of his involvement with the rebels were part of a conspiracy on the part of western powers.</p>	
MFI 348	UN Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/1999/1, 7 January 1999.	<p>[1] Title, Number, Date</p> <p>[2] Para. 1: “At the 3963rd meeting....recom mendations as appropriate.”</p>	<p>19.01.10, pp. 33578-33580</p> <p>[1]: Document's identifying information</p> <p>[2]: Refreshes the memory of the ACCUSED after testifying that he did not recall in January 1999, the President of the Security Council issued a statement that was also negative about the involvement of Liberia in the affairs of Sierra Leone.</p> <p>Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony of his supposed role as the point President for peace in Sierra Leone and his denials of ongoing criminal involvement with the rebels in Sierra Leone.</p> <p>Also impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he did not have knowledge that</p>	27473

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ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION				
MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	
MFI 349	Security Council Report of the Security Council mission to Sierra Leone, S/2000/992, 16 October 2000	[1] ERN 00102110-00102122. Title, Document Number, Date ----- [2] Page 2, Paras 4-6: “The mission left New York...Felix Downes-Thomas.” ----- [3] Page 3, para 33: From the outset....to defeat militarily.”	[1]: Document's identifying information [2-3]: Provides details of the UN mission sent to Sierra Leone and other countries in the region and refreshes the memory of the ACCUSED regarding that mission. Impeaches the testimony of the Accused that he was point President for Peace in Sierra Leone and that he had engaged in peace building activities in La Cote d'Ivoire in that President Obasanjo expressed his concern that Liberia was behind the destabilisation of the sub-region. Also impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that the allegations against him of his involvement with the rebels in Sierra Leone were the product of a conspiracy against him on the part of western powers in that a fellow President was accusing him of being a destabilizing force in the region.	

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 350	Full text of the statement issued by the Federal Government of Nigeria on the situation in Sierra Leone as printed in The News, Monrovia, Liberia, 19 January 1999	[1] Name of newspaper, Date, Place, Caption, Title [2] Para. 3: "It is regrettable... main our sons and daughters."	19.01.10, pp. 33585-33586	<p>[1]: Document's identifying information</p> <p>[2]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony of his supposed role as the point President for peace in Sierra Leone and his denials of ongoing criminal involvement with the rebels in Sierra Leone.</p> <p>Also impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that the allegations against him of his involvement with the rebels in Sierra Leone were the product of a conspiracy against him on the part of western powers in that an African government was condemning him of such involvement.</p>
MFI 351	BBC News, World: Africa Commonwealth Supports Ceasefire, 8 January 1999	[1-3] Title, Source, Date [4] Page, 1, Para. 1 (under picture): "The Secretary-General...support the ceasefire." [5] Page 2, 3 rd full paragraph on page: "Mr. Anyaoku... supporting the	19.01.10, pp. 33588-33589	<p>[1-3]: Document's identifying information</p> <p>[4-5]: Refreshes the memory of the ACCUSED that in January 1999, the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth himself made negative comments about the role of Liberia in the events in Sierra Leone and called on international pressure to be put on Liberia to cease supporting the rebels.</p> <p>Also impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that the allegations against him of his involvement with the rebels in Sierra Leone were the product of a conspiracy against him on the part of western powers in that an African leader and Secretary General of the Commonwealth were accusing the Government of Liberia of such involvement.</p>

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MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		rebels.”		
MFI 352	“Ex-Leader Stole \$100 Million from Liberia, Records Show,” The New York Times, 18 September 2003	[1] Source, Title, Heading ----- [2] Page 4, paras. 5-9: “Though in exile, Mr. Taylor....He’s missing it.”	19.01.10, pp. 33602-33604	[1]: Document’s identifying information [2]: Impeaches the ACCUSED’s denial that while he was in Nigeria, he was receiving large sums of money from individuals including Colonel Gadaffi. Further impeaches his testimony that after he left the Presidency and went to Nigeria, he basically he had no assets except for the support he was getting from the Nigerian government.

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ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION				
MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	TRANSCRIPT
MFI 353	“Human Rights C’sion’s Existence Questioned, Cllr. Kokpor Addresses JPC W’shop”, The Inquirer, Vol. 8, No. 66, 28 April 1999	<p>[1-2] Issue, volume, date, magazine name, article title</p> <p>[3-4]</p> <p>Page 1, Para. 1 and <i>cont’d on page 6:</i> “...has queried the existence...appropriate action in the premises.”</p> <p>-----</p> <p>2nd page <i>cont’d from front page:</i> “...the National Human Rights Commission has not been made to function effectively.”</p>	<p>19.01.10, pp. 33618-33622</p> <p>-----</p>	<p>[1-2]: Document’s identifying information</p> <p>[3-4]: Impeaches the ACCUSED’s denial that the work and functions of the Human Rights Commission since its establishment in late 1998 and thereafter in 1999 was effective.</p>
MFI 354	Amnesty International Report 2000 – Liberia, 1 June 2000	<p>[1-3]</p> <p>Title, Source, Publication Date</p> <p>-----</p> <p>[4]</p> <p>Page 2,</p>	<p>19.01.10, pp. 33623-33624</p> <p>-----</p>	<p>[1-3]: Document’s identifying information</p> <p>[4-5]: Refreshes the memory of the ACCUSED that he could recall when the five Commissioners were approved by the Legislature and when they took office. Impeaches the ACCUSED’s testimony about the timing of the establishment of the Human Rights Commission and its effectiveness.</p>

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MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		Background ----- [5] 2 nd full paragraph: “The National Human Rights Commission...ini tiate investigations.”		[1]: Document's identifying information. [2]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony about the timing of the establishment of the Human Rights Commission and its effectiveness. Also impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that the Human Rights Commission required government approval before conducting investigations.
MFI 355	“Liberian Slayings Began Brutal Trend in Africa”, by Howard W. French, The New York Times, 4 February 1998	[1] Title, Date, Author ----- [2] Page 2 of 3, 2 nd full paragraph from the bottom of the page	19.01.10, pp. 33629-33630	[1]: Document's identifying information. [2]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that the judiciary was subject to his control or interference.
MFI 356	News Article from AllAfrica.com, Panfrican News Agency, “Liberia: Attorney Rates Liberian Judiciary as Rotten”, 31 July 1998	[1] Page 1 of 1, Date, Tide, Author, paragraphs 1-2 ----- [2] Page 1 of 1, paragraphs 6-10	19.01.10, pp. 33633-33634, 33638	[1-2]: Document's identifying information. The first two paragraphs provide information about the state of the Liberian judiciary and legal system. [3-4]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that the judiciary was subject to his control or interference.

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ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION			
MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness
MFI 357	International Legal Assistance Consortium (ILAC) Report, Liberia, December 2003	<p>[1] Date, Title, Source Information</p> <p>[2] Page vii, 6th full paragraph from the top</p> <p>[3] Page 4, 4th full paragraph from the top (“Corruption is rife...from the executive”)</p> <p>[4] Page 20, Section IV (B)</p>	<p>19.01.10, pp. 33641-33643, 33645</p> <p>[1]: Document's identifying information.</p> <p>[2, 4]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that his interference with the judiciary continued throughout his presidency.</p> <p>[3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that he knew of any judges who accepted bribes, that his failure to pay members of the judiciary contributed to corruption, and that members of the judiciary were unpaid for two and a half years.</p> <p>Also impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that secret instructions were issued from the executive branch to the judiciary.</p>
MFI 358	The Carter Center, Liberia Elections: Carter Center Plays Key Role in Historic Presidential and	<p>[1] Source</p> <p>[2] Date, Title</p>	<p>19.01.10, pp. 33647-33648</p> <p>[1-2]: Document's identifying information.</p> <p>[3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that the Liberian people voted for him because they feared they had a choice between electing him or resumption of the war.</p>

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ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION				
MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	
	Legislative Oct. 11 Vote, 4 October 2005	[3] Page 2 of 3, 3 rd Paragraph from the bottom (“Following the 1996 ...hope for peace was betrayed”)		
MFI 359	The Carter Center, Letter to President Taylor from Mr. Jimmy Carter, 6 November 2000	[1] Letter addressed to President Charles Ghankay Taylor from Jimmy Carter, dated 6 November 2000	19/01/2010, pp. 33656-57, 33660	[1]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial of failing to protect and advance human rights, rule of law and good governance procedures while President. It also refreshes the ACCUSED's memory as to the reasons for the Carter Center's withdrawal from Liberia. The ACCUSED confirmed that the Carter Center was trying to advance human rights in Liberia, and that he had the opportunity to make human rights the cornerstone of his presidency and to enact good governance procedures.
MFI 360	Excerpt from the Liberian TRC Report, Vol. 2 Page 249 & Cover Page	[1] Page 249, 1 st full paragraph (ending with “...for wounded rebels”) [2] Page 249, 2 nd full paragraph, (ending with	19.01.10, pp. 33678-33680	[1-2]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's claims that he worked diligently for peace in Ivory Coast. Also impeaches the ACCUSED's claim that he was not involved in the Ivorian conflicts from an early phase (shows he was initially supported by the Ivorian government and later maintained relationships with Ivorian Presidents Bedie and Guei). [3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denials that he sent personnel into Ivory Coast, that he was seeking to destabilize the country to his benefit, and that he was using positions in Ivory Coast against opposition forces which might attack Liberia.

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MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
	“...against Ivorian President Laurent Gbagbo”	[3] Page 249, 2 nd full paragraph (“Taylor purportedly...90 percent of the rebels.”)	[1-3]: Also impeach the ACCUSED’s testimony that allegations of his interference in the affairs of other countries in the sub-region were the work of a conspiracy of western powers in that Liberian members of the Liberian TRC arrived at these findings. [4]: Document’s identifying information.	
MFI 361	International Crisis Group, Africa Report No. 62, Tackling Liberia: the Eye of the Regional Storm, 30 April 2003	[1] Title, Date [2] Issue Number, Source [3] Page 15, Section A Title	19.01.10, pp. 33684-33689 20.01.10, pp. 33701-33703 [4] Page 15, 2 nd	[1-3]: Document’s identifying information. [4-11]: Impeaches the ACCUSED’s testimony of the nature, duration and character of the Taylor-Guei link by showing the existence of a pact with Guei, that top Liberian officers were engaged in the Ivorian conflict, and that Ivorian soldiers were being trained by the ACCUSED’s subordinates in Liberia. Also impeaches the ACCUSED’s denial that his subordinates were involved with training Guei’s men or that such training was supervised by the ACCUSED’s subordinate, Kuku Dennis. [12-15]: Impeaches the ACCUSED’s denial that he knew the inner workings of the Ivorian crisis. Moreover, it impeaches the ACCUSED’s claim that he did not send his fighters to Ivory Coast to be involved in the conflict there.

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MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	TRANSCRIPT	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		Paragraph under Section A ("The Taylor-Guei link...including key")	[4-15]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he was working for peace in Ivory Coast and that he was not a destabilizing force in the sub-region.	<p>[5] Page 15, Beginning of right hand column ("commanders such as...gave during Liberia's war")</p> <p>[6] Page 15, right hand column, 1st full paragraph ("Cote d'Ivoire")</p> <p>[7] Page 15, right hand column, 1st full paragraph ("and the relationship...in December 1999")</p>	

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		<p>[8] Page 15, right hand column, 2nd full paragraph</p> <p>[9] Page 16, left hand column, lines 1-15 (“on the ground...Guei fired on the demonstrators”)</p> <p>[10] Page 16, left hand column, 2nd and 3rd full paragraphs (“Additional training...through mid-2001. A”)</p> <p>[11] Page 16, right hand column, lines 1-9 (“We knew that Guei...based in Côte d’Ivoire”)</p>		

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
			<p>[12] Page 16, right hand column, 2nd full paragraph (“Guei’s murder on the morning of the attempted coup”)</p>	
			<p>[13] Page 16, right hand column, 2nd full paragraph (“Following his death... Taylor’s frontline”)</p>	
			<p>[14] Page 17, left hand column (“commander, Roland Duo...Liberian and Sierra Leonean”)</p>	
			<p>[15] Page 17, right</p>	

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MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		hand column through the 1 st full paragraph (“fighters, as well... General William Sumo”)		
MFI 362	News article, Frontline World: “Liberia – No More War, A Political Survivor: Interview with Daniel Chea”, May 2005	[1 & C] Date, Source ----- [2 & D] Interview Title ----- [3] Page 2, 1 st paragraph ----- [4] Page 2, 4 th -5 th paragraph ----- [5] Page 4, 2 nd question from top (“What about the security situation?”)	Cross: 20.01.10, pp. 33693-33694 & 02.02.10, pp. 34596 & 04.02.10, pp. 34754-34755 Redirect: 15.02.10, pp. 34969-35002	[1-2]: Document's identifying information. [3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that he used militias instead of the AFL, that he transferred power away from the AFL to his militias, and that he ran them from his Executive Mansion and White Flower. Also impeaches the ACCUSED's denials, subsequent to reading of this passage, that these militia groups acted in a disorderly fashion and that the people rejected the idea of not empowering the AFL. [4]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that he used militia groups in the Ivory Coast and that his Defence Minister spoke to him about this, and the ACCUSED's response to what the Defence Minister said. [5-6]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that he turned in the great majority of his weapons during the pre-Presidential elections disarmament, and that he had no weapons at the time he was elected President and for some time thereafter. [A-II]: The Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which included and, in some cases, exceeded the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to

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MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		[6] Page 4, 4 th & 5 th paragraphs from top ----- Redirect	(marked as 1-6) as well as the section the Defence referred to (marked as A-I), as indicated to the left.	

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MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		[H] Page 4, through 3 rd full paragraph from top (ending at “...1995 was a fiasco”)	[I] Page 4, 5 th full paragraph from top	[1]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that while claiming to work for peace in Ivory Coast, he was actively supporting the Ivorian conflict. (20.01.10, p. 3369) Also, impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that he ever sent any of his personnel into Ivory Coast. [2]: Document's identifying information.
MFI 363	Excerpt from the Liberian TRC Report, Vol. 2 Page 186 & Cover Page	[1] Page 186, 2 nd full paragraph from bottom ----- [2] Title, Source	20.01.10, pp. 33697, 33699 ----- [2] Title, Source	[1-2]: Document's identifying information.
MFI 364	International Crisis Group, Africa Report No. 72, Côte D'Ivoire: The War is Not Yet Over, 28 November 2003	[1] Title, Date ----- [2] Source, Issue Number -----	19.01.10, pp. 33663, 33667, 33670 ----- [2] Source, Issue Number -----	[3-5]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial of involvement in the conflict in La Côte d'Ivoire including his claim that he had “no knowledge of the inner workings of the Ivorian crisis”, his denial of knowing that N'dri N'guessan was another name for Doh, that senior Liberians organized MPIGO, that he knew Bockarie was fighting for Doh, that the ACCUSED and Blaise Compaoré were working

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MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		[3] Page 18, Right hand column (“IV. The Wild, Wild West...Compaore gradually”)	04.02.10, pp. 34703-34705, 34714-34717, 34724-34729	<p>together for regional destabilization, that Guei supported the ACCUSED’s war effort in the early 1990s; and that the ACCUSED supported Guei, including by the training of Ivorian soldiers by senior Liberian officers in 2001.</p> <p>Also impeaches the ACCUSED’s claim that he did not become aware of Sam Bockarie’s meetings with MPCL.</p> <p>[6]: Refreshed the memory of the ACCUSED on the date of the coup which ousted Bedie in Ivory Coast.</p> <p>[7]: Refreshed the ACCUSED’s memory as to the date of the 2000 elections in Ivory Coast, the call for an elections boycott, and the low voter turnout.</p> <p>[8]: Refreshed the ACCUSED’s memory as to the date of Guei’s death in Ivory Coast and impeaches the ACCUSED’s claim that Guei died right after the 2000 elections.</p> <p>[5] Page 19, Right hand column, lines 1-7 (“number of Liberians...movement, MODEL”)</p> <p>[6] Page 55, 1st full paragraph from top</p> <p>[7]</p>

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
		Page 55, Last paragraph ("22-25 October 2000...only 34 percent") [8] Page 57, 1 st full paragraph from top		[1]: Document's identifying information. [2]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's claim that he was involved in a peace building role in the Ivorian conflict and that he was not involved in the fighting in La Côte d'Ivoire including supplying the factions with arms and ammunition. [3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that he was involved in corruption during his Presidency and that he and his close associates benefited financially from his practices as President. Impeaches the ACCUSED's denials that he benefited from a monopoly arrangement in regard to the import of fuel. Also impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that he received money from a tax on fuel of between \$300,000 and \$600,000. Also impeaches the ACCUSED's claim that the ATU, SSS and other paramilitary services' salaries were not paid from this tax. Finally, impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that the tax was collected directly from the Basma family.
MFI 365	UN Document S/2003/937: Letter dated 28 October 2003 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia addressed to the President of the Security Council, 28 October 2003	[1] Title [2] Page 16, Paragraph 42 (ending with “...support from Charles Taylor”) [3] Page 19, Paragraphs 61-63 (ending with “...equipment, to Taylor.”)	20.01.10, pp. 33716-33717 04.02.10, pp. 34703-34705, 34714-34717, 34724-34726	

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MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		<p>[4] Page 19, Paragraph 65 (ending with “...the provision of”)</p> <p>[5] Page 20, 1st line (“approximately 72,000 bags of “free” rice deliveries to Charles Taylor”)</p>	<p>[4-6]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denials that he profited from an agreement establishing a rice monopoly in Liberia with the Bridgeway Corporation and from agreements with logging companies who were exempted from the monopoly. Impeaches his denials that his security forces were provided rice by logging concessions who were exempted from the monopoly arrangement.</p> <p>[7-8]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that he benefited from granting logging concessions during his Presidency and that during his presidency he allowed the majority of the concessions to be controlled by non-Liberians. Also refreshed the ACCUSED's memory as to the concession-control by non-Liberians.</p>	

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MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		Paragraph 70 (ending with “...reveals a deep inequity”)		
MFI 366	Asia Trading Post Online, Russian Helicopter Sales.	[1-3] Source, Title, Segment Title ----- [4-5] Second Page, 1 st Paragraph	20.01.10, pp. 33725-33726, 33729	[1-3]: Document's identifying information. [4-5]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's claims as to the capacity of the Mi-2 helicopter. Also, answered ACCUSED's invitation that technical information related to Mi-2 capacity be produced.
MFI 367	Page from Sinodefence.com regarding Mi- 17/171 Hip Multi- role Helicopter, 7 September 2009	[1] Title ----- [2] Page 2 of 3, 2 nd full paragraph (ending with “...externally under sling”)	20.01.10, pp. 33732-33733	[1]: Document's identifying information. [2]: Clarifies for the ACCUSED the capacity of the Mi-17 helicopter. The ACCUSED accepted the contents of the paragraph.
MFI 368	Amnesty International: “Sierra Leone: First Indictments before the Special	[1] Source ----- [2] Page 1 of 3, Title	20.01.10, pp. 33766-33767 28.01.10, p. 34406	[1]: Document's identifying information. [2-4]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's claim that he was not aware that an SCSL indictment was issued for Sam Bockarie.

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
	Court for Sierra Leone', 2 April 2003	& Paragraph 1 up to bullet point 2 (ending with “...leading RUF member”)	<p>[3]</p> <p>Page 1 of 3, Paragraph 1, Bullet Points 5-7 (“Morris Kallon...Civil Defence Forces (CDF)”) </p> <p>[4]</p> <p>Page 1 of 3, 3rd full paragraph from bottom</p>	<p>[1-3]: Impeaches the ACCUSEID's alleged ignorance of the indictments issued against the RUF leaders and the SCSL request that Sam Bockarie and Johnny Paul Koroma be handed over to it.</p>
MFI 369	BBC News Report, “Surprise at Sierra Leone arrests”, 11 March 2003		<p>[1]</p> <p>Title, Paragraphs 1-2</p> <p>[2]</p> <p>Page 2 of 3, 8th full paragraph and heading</p>	<p>20.01.10, pp. 33768 28.01.10, p. 34407</p>

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
		(“Extradition Requests...hand them over”)		
		[3] Page 2 of 3, 11 th through 13 th full paragraphs from top (“Sam Bockarie...in Ivory Coast”)		[1]: Document’s identifying information. [2-3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED’s denials of criminal involvement with the RUF in that the GoL announced a “new policy of disengagement by which the Government would no longer support the activities of the RUF.” Also impeaches the ACCUSED’s claim that Sam Bockarie was expelled in January 2001.
MFI 370	UN Document S/2001/424; First Report of the Secretary General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1343 (2001) regarding Liberia, 30 April 2001 ERN 00102100-00102106	[1] Title ----- [2] Paragraphs 4-4(a) (“The measures...lay down its arms”) ----- [3] Paragraphs 4(c)-5 (“All persons...liaison office in Liberia”)	[1] 20.10.10, pp. 33760-33761, 33773 ----- [2] 28.01.10, p. 34352	[1]: Refreshed the ACCUSED’s memory as to his request for the reduction of
MFI 371 A	Excerpt from	[1]	20.01.10, pp.	27493

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
Page 101 (ERN 00043097)	ECOMOG: A Sub-regional experience in Conflict Resolution, Management and Peacekeeping, by Festus B. Aboagye	Page 101, ERN 00043097, 3 rd full paragraph ("Obviously taking...from 8,000 to 1,500") ----- [2] Title	33773-33774	ECOMOG troop numbers in Liberia in October 1991. [2]: Document's identifying information.
MFI 371 B	Excerpt from ECONMOG: A Sub-regional experience in Conflict Resolution, Management and Peacekeeping, by Festus B. Aboagye Page 105 (ERN 00043101) – no footnotes	[1] Page 105, 2 nd full paragraph and heading ("Operation Octop us...naval and air assets") ----- [2] Page 105, 2 nd full paragraph, last sentence ("ECOMOG responded...to Gbarnga") ----- [3] Title	Cross: 21.01.10, pp. 33811-33813 Redirect: 17.02.10, pp. 35212-35218	[1-2]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that the NPFL was bringing arms and war materials into Liberia in 1992 by air and sea. Also impeaches the ACCUSED's denial of any use of the Sea Rose, later seized by ECOMOG to import arms and war materials at this time. [3]: Document's identifying information. [A]: Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which included and, in some cases, exceeded the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to (marked as 1-3) as well as the section the Defence referred to (marked as A), as indicated to the left.

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
		Redirect [A] Page 105, Entire 2 nd full paragraph		
MFI 371 C Pages 124-125 (ERN 00043118- 00043119)	Excerpt from <u>ECOMOG: A</u> Sub-regional experience in <u>Conflict</u> <u>Resolution,</u> <u>Management and</u> <u>Peacekeeping,</u> by Festus B. Abogye	[1] Page 124, Heading above the 3 rd full paragraph (“The 6 April, 1996 Mayhem in Monrovia”) [2] Page 125, lines 8-9 (“Additionally...va ndalized?”) [3] Title	21.01.10, pp. 33856-33857	[1-2]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that all media facilities, other than the NPFL-controlled KISS FM station, were vandalized on 6 April 1996 in Monrovia. [3]: Document's identifying information.

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 371 D Page 270 (ERN 00043261)	Excerpt from ECOMOG: A Sub-regional experience in Conflict Resolution, Management and Peacekeeping, by Festus B. Aboagye	[1] Page 270, 2 nd full paragraph ("late 1997") ----- [2] Page 270, 2 nd full paragraph ("At the same...malreated by Liberians") ----- [3] Title ----- Redirect [A] Page 270, 2 nd to 3 rd Paragraphs ("Besides soliciting...and the FC")	Cross: 21.01.10, pp. 33867-33868 Redirect: 17.02.10, pp. 35219-35221	<p>[1-2]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that Nigeria was concerned about the increasing maltreatment of Nigerian ECOMOG troops by Liberians and time period involved.</p> <p>[3]: Document's identifying information.</p> <p>[A]: The Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which included and, in some cases, exceeded the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to (marked as 1-3) as well as the section the Defence referred to (marked as A), as indicated to the left.</p>
MFI 372 A Page 103	Excerpt from Liberia's Civil War by Adekeye Adebajo	[1] Page 103, 1 st full paragraph, first sentence ("The first...April 1992")	20.01.10, pp. 33776-33777	<p>[1-3]: Refreshed the ACCUSED's memory as to the exact numbers he asked for when calling for the reduction of ECOMOG troops in Liberia following a peace conference in April 1992.</p> <p>[4]: Document's identifying information.</p>

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MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		[2] Page 103, 2 nd full paragraph, first 3 words (“After the conference”) ----- [3] Page 103, 2 nd full paragraph, 3 rd sentence (“At a week-long...to 1,500”) ----- [4] Title, Author		[1]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that France resisted economic sanctions on Liberia due to commercial ties between French firms and the NPFL. [2]: Document's identifying information.
MFI 372 B	Excerpt from Liberia's Civil War by Adekeye Adebajo Page 105	[1] Page 105, 3 rd full paragraph (“Following...iron ore”) ----- [2] Title, Author	20.01.10, pp. 33781-33782	

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 372 C Page 137	Excerpt from Liberia's Civil War by Adekeye Adebajo	[1] Page 137, Last Paragraph ----- [2] Title, Author	21.01.10, pp. 33803-33804	<p>[1]: Refreshes the ACCUSED's memory as to the number of Tanzanian and Ugandan troops which came in January 1994 to join the ECOMOG forces in Liberia, as well as the expected Zimbabwean contingent. Also, impeaches the ACCUSED's denial of warning ECOMOG that only the Transitional Government had the power to supervise disarmament.</p> <p>[2]: Document's identifying information.</p>
MFI 372 D Page 138	Excerpt from Liberia's Civil War by Adekeye Adebajo	[1] Page 138, 1 st full paragraph (ending with "...and heavy weapons") ----- [2] Title, Author	21.01.10, pp. 33805-33806	<p>[1]: Refreshed the ACCUSED's memory as to his renewed call for ECOMOG troop reduction and his refusal to disarm to Tanzanians or Ugandans until the transitional government was installed.</p> <p>[2]: Document's identifying information.</p>
MFI 372 E Pages 233, 234 & 239	Excerpts from Liberia's Civil War by Adekeye Adebajo	[1] Page 233, Last 3 lines ("Taylor successfully...forcefully that") ----- [2] Page 234, 1 st four words ("ECOMOG restructure	21.01.10, pp. 33876-33877	<p>[1-2]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that he and Malu had disagreements partially evolving from the ACCUSED's desire to bring ECOMOG under his command and Malu's insistence that ECOMOG restructure Liberia's army.</p> <p>[3-4]: Document and source identifying information.</p>

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
	Liberia's army")	[3] Page 239, FN 7		
MFI 373 A Page 175	Excerpt from the Liberian TRC Report, Vol. 2	[1] Page 175, 5 th full paragraph [4] Title, Author	20.01.10, pp. 33779-33780	[1]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that ECOMOG soldiers were taken prisoner and beaten in September 1992. [2]: Document's identifying information.
MFI 373 B Pages 129-130	Excerpt from the Liberian TRC Report, Vol. 2	[1] Page 130, 2 nd full paragraph ("Factional fighting...in Monrovia went") [2] Title, Source	21.01.10, pp. 33835-33836, 33840-33845	[1-2]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's claims that most looting was done by civilians, that the damage inflicted by the fighting at this time was not extensive and that there weren't many civilian casualties as a result of the fighting in Monrovia on 6 April 1996. Also, refreshed the ACCUSED's memory as to the looting of international and UN properties. Further, impeaches the Accused's testimony re. the ability of ECOMOG to carry out its mandate in Liberia and the number of ECOMOG available in country. [3]: Document's identifying information.

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MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		[3] Title, Source		
MFI 373 C Page 133	Except from the Liberian TRC Report, Vol. 2	[1] Page 133, 3 rd Paragraph from top (“No sooner...transpare nt manner”) ----- [2] Title, Source	21.01.10, p. 33878	<p>[1]: Refreshed the ACCUSED’s memory of prior testimony related to his disagreements with Victor Malu. Impeaches the ACCUSED’s denial that he and Malu had disagreements partially evolving from Malu’s insistence that ECOMOG restructure Liberia’s army.</p> <p>[2]: Document’s identifying information.</p>

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 374	UN Security Council Resolution 866 (1993), S/RES/866, 22 September 1993	[1] Date, Title ----- [2] Source, Author ----- [3] Paragraphs 3-4 ("Noting that the Peace Agreement... verify this process") ----- [4] Page 2, 7 th Paragraph from top, 1 st sentence (ending with "...seven months") ----- [5] Page 2, 8 th Paragraph from top, (ending with "...to support it")	20.01.10, pp. 33790-33792	[1]: Document's identifying information. [2-5]: Refreshed the ACCUSED's memory of the UN mandate for the creation of UNOMIL. [1]: Document's identifying information.
MFI 375	UN Document	[1]	20.01.10, pp. [1]	[1]: Document's identifying information.

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MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
	S/26422, Report of the Secretary-General on Liberia, 9 September 1993	Date, UN Document Number ----- [2] Paragraph 2 (ending with “...of UNOMIL”) ----- [3] Page 5, Paragraph 18	33791-33792	<p>[2-3]: Refreshed the ACCUSED's memory as to the estimated number of military observers necessary fro for the UNOMIL operation at that time, 303 military observers.</p>
MFI 376	UN Document S/1994/168, Second Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 14 February 1994	[1] Date, UN Document Number ----- [2] Title ----- [3] Page 2, Paragraph 9 ----- [4] Page 4, paragraphs 15-17	20.01.10, pp. 33793-33795	<p>[1-2]: Document's identifying information.</p> <p>[3]: Refreshed the ACCUSED's memory that at this time the transitional government had not yet been installed and disarmament had not yet commenced.</p> <p>[4]: Refreshed the ACCUSED's memory as to UNOMIL numbers in January 1994 and UNOMIL deployment based on consultations with Taylor and ULIMO. Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony re. numbers of UN and ECOMOG personnel in Liberia and their corresponding ability to fulfill their mandates.</p> <p>[5-8]: Refreshed the ACCUSED's memory as to the deployment of Tanzanian and Ugandan ECOMOG personnel in Liberia and the logistical and other difficulties ECOMOG faced. Impeaches the ACCUSED testimony that at the height of ECOMOG deployment, there were between 18,000 and 20,000 troops in Liberia, the difficulties faced by ECOMOG and the resulting impact on its</p>

27502

27503

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MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		<p>[5] Page 5, Paragraph 24</p> <p>[6] Page 6, Paragraph 27, 1st sentence (ending with “...throughout Liberia”)</p> <p>[7] Page 6, Paragraph 27, Last sentence (“While I...great concern”)</p> <p>[8] Page 6, Paragraph 29</p>	ability to fulfill its mandate.	

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 377	UN Document S/1994/1006, Sixth Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 26 August 1994	<p>[1 & A] Date, UN Document Number</p> <p>[2] Page 4, Paragraph 17</p> <p>-----</p> <p>Redirect [B] Paragraphs 1-4 (ending with “...on 7 March 1994”)</p>	<p>Cross: 21.01.10, pp. 33810-33811 Redirect: 17.02.10, pp. 35252-35270</p> <p>[A-F]: The Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which included and, in some cases, exceeded the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to (marked as 1-2) as well as the section the Defence referred to (marked as A-F), as indicated to the left. At paragraph 4 the Defence read only a portion of the first sentence, omitting the last clause. For completeness, the Prosecution requests that the entire first sentence be admitted.</p>	<p>[1]: Document's identifying information.</p> <p>[2]: Refreshed the ACCUSED's memory as to the number of troops disarmed as of 1994.</p> <p>[C] Page 3, Paragraphs 9-13</p> <p>[D] Page 4, Entire Page</p> <p>[E] Page 5, Entire Page</p> <p>[F] Page 7, Paragraphs 29-31</p>

27504

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 378	UN Document S/1995/781, Twelfth Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 13 September 1995	[1] Date, Title [2] Page 3, Paragraph 10 (ending with "...in Monrovia") [3] Page 4, Paragraph 15, 1 st Sentence (ending with "...functions effectively") [4] Page 4, Paragraph 16	21.01.10, pp. 33821-33823	<p>[1]: Document's identifying information.</p> <p>[2-7]: Refreshed the ACCUSED's memory as to the date the Council of State was inaugurated, 1 September. Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony on the numbers of UN in country and its ability to carry out its functions in that the report notes the intended withdrawal of UN monitors in absence of cease fire and disarmament, and that the deployment of UN monitors cannot occur until ECOMOG is able to provide security. Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony about the ability of ECOMOG to carry out its mandate in that the report discusses the crippling effect logistical and financial restraints are having on ECOMOG's ability to deploy and provide security.</p>

27505

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
		“...the Abuja Agreement” ----- [7] Page 13, Annex II		[1]: Document's identifying information. [2-7]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony on the numbers of UN and ECOMOG in country and their ability to carry out their mandates, including lack of needed logistical support for ECOMOG. Also gives the number of ECOMOG needed as 12,000—far less than the ACCUSED's testimony that there were 18,000 to 20,000 ECOMOG and UN in Liberia. Also reports that the maximum number of UN observers that will be deployed is now only 160.
MFI 379	UN Document S/1995/881, Thirteenth Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 23 October 1995	[1] Date, Title ----- [2] Page 6, Section V and V(A) Headings ----- [3] Page 6, Paragraph 25 (“In order...(2,000 all ranks)”) ----- [4] Page 6, Paragraph 27, 1 st Sentence (ending with “...will be needed”) ----- [5]	21.01.10, pp. 33824-33826	

27506

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
		Page 8, Section VI Heading, Paragraph 35 (ending with “...additional 4,371 troops”)	[6] Page 8, Paragraph 37 (ending with “...support its needs”)	[1]: Document's identifying information. [2-4]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony on the numbers of ECOMOG and UN in country, locations and ability of UN and ECOMOG to carry out their mandates in light of LNTG's insistence on clearing UNOMIL's deployments and UNOMIL's task in Liberia.
MFI 380	UN Document S/1996/232, Sixteenth Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 1 April 1996	[1] Date, Title	21.01.10, pp. 33830-33834	[1]: Document's identifying information. [2] Page 5, Paragraph 24 (ending with “...United States of America”) [3] Page 5, Paragraphs 25-26

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MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
MFI 381	UN Document S/1996/362, Seventeenth Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 21 May 1996	[1] Date, Title [2] Paragraphs 2-3 [3] Page 2, 1 st Sentence (ending with "...in those areas")	21.01.10, pp. 33837-33839, 33855, 33845-33855	<p>[1]: Document's identifying information.</p> <p>[2-3]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's claim that large numbers of troops did not come into Monrovia to protect the ACCUSED and other faction leaders in April 1996 when fighting erupted in Monrovia. Also refreshes the ACCUSED's memory as to the events in April 1996 and the LNTG protocol which breached Abuja by referring to a collective presidency and to factional troops as government forces.</p> <p>[4]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony on the numbers of UN observers in country, relocations outside Liberia and ability of UN to carry out their mandates.</p> <p>[5]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony as to ECOMOG's involvement in the events commencing on 6 April and the impact of ECOMOG financial and resource limitations on its ability to carry out its mandate.</p> <p>[6-8]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony regarding the free movement of fighters, the inability of ECOMOG to protect UN and diplomatic sites and personnel, and the withdrawal of ECOMOG from Bo, Tiene, and Sirje.</p> <p>[9]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony regarding the scope of the damage and crimes committed during the events commencing on 6 April. Also impeaches his testimony regarding the UN's ability to carry out its mandate in that there was massive looting of United Nations equipment beginning on 6 April including</p>

27508

MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		<p>[6] Page 5, Paragraph 21 ("While ECOMOG...able to deter")</p> <p>[7] Page 6, Lines 1-7 (ending with "...from the factions")</p> <p>[8] Page 6, Paragraph 22 (ending with "...Tiemne and Sintie")</p> <p>[9] Page 7, Paragraphs 28-29</p> <p>[10] Page 10, Paragraphs 45-46</p> <p>[11]</p>	<p>those goods related to demobilization. Impeaches the ACCUSED's claim that he, as a faction leader, did not assert it would be difficult to retrieve the looted equipment from fighters.</p> <p>[10]: Refreshed the ACCUSED's memory regarding the ECOWAS Foreign Ministers' meeting which reaffirmed the Abuja Agreement as the only basis for peace in Liberia, predicted a regional catastrophe if ECOMOG withdrew, and urged that Liberian faction leaders immediately implement certain measures in order to ensure the continuing presence of ECOMOG and in turn, UNOMIL.</p> <p>[11-12]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony on the ability of the UN and ECOMOG to carry out their mandates in that the insecure and unstable conditions which prevailed in Liberia in 1996 prevented them from doing that.</p> <p>[13]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony on the numbers of UN observers in country, locations and ability of ECOMOG to carry out its mandates.</p>	<p>27509</p>

27510

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
		Page 11, Paragraph 49 ("in the present...to these objectives") ----- [12] Page 12, Paragraph 53 ("I have stressed...peace- keeping force") ----- [13] Page 15, Annex II		

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 382	UN Document S/1996/858, Nineteenth Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 17 October 1996	Page 1: [1] United Nations, Security Council ----- [2] S/1996/858, Date ----- [3] Title ----- [4] Page 4, para. 19: First sentence. ----- [5] Page 4, para. 21: Portion of first sentence (ending with “mandate”) ----- [6] Page 6, para. 28: Last two sentences	21.01.10, pp. 33857-33859 [4-6]: Provides specific numbers from the Secretary-General of ECOMOG and UNOMIL force strength in October 1996 in response to the ACCUSED's testimony that he did not know the exact numbers of force strength and was unaware of the inner workings of those organizations.	[1-3]: Document's identifying information

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27512

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 383	UN Document S/1997/90, Twenty-First Progress Report of the Secretary General on the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 29 January 1997	Page 1: [1] United Nations, Security Council ----- [2] S/1997/90, Date ----- [3] Title ----- [C] Paras. 1-3 (ending with "Liberian peace process.") -----	Cross: 21.01.10, pp. 33860-33863 Redirect: 17.02.10, pp. 35272-35301 [1-3]: Document's identifying information. [C]: Provides background of events and the political atmosphere in Liberia in January 1997, as read by the Defence and commented upon by the ACCUSED. [4-6]: Provides specific numbers from the Secretary-General of ECOMOG and UNOMIL force strength in January 1997 in response to the ACCUSED's testimony that he did not know or was unaware of the exact numbers at that time. The ACCUSED agreed with / or accepted the numbers and information in these sections during cross-examination and when Defence Counsel read the same portions during redirect. [4 & 5] Page 3, paras. 8-9, and 11 ----- [6] Page 12, Table re. Composition of the military component...	

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 384	UN Document S/1997/237, Twenty-Second Progress Report of the Secretary General on the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 19 March 1997.	Page 1: [1] United Nations, Security Council ----- [2] S/1997/237, Date ----- [3] Title ----- [4 & 5] Page 4, Paras. 15-17	Cross: 21.01.10, pp. 33863-33865 Redirect: 17.02.10, pp. 35236-35246	[1-3]: Document's identifying information. [4 & 5]: Provides information about increases in ECOMOG and UNOMIL troop strength in response to the testimony of the ACCUSED that he was not aware of the numbers of troops in Liberia in March 1997.
MFI 385	UN Document S/1997/478, Twenty- Third Progress Report of the Secretary General on the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 19 June 1997.	Page 1: [1] United Nations, Security Council ----- [2] S/1997/478, Date ----- [3] Title ----- [E & 4 & 5]	Cross: 21.01.10, pp. 33865-33867 Redirect: 17.02.10, pp. 35228-35235 Page 5, Paragraphs	[1-3]: Document's identifying information. [E & 4 & 5 & 6]: Provides information about ECOMOG reinforcements and troop strength and UNOMIL deployment in response to the testimony of the ACCUSED that he was not aware of the numbers of troops.

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
		18 & 19 ----- [6] Page 15, Table re. Composition of the military component...		<p>[2-3]: Impeaches the testimony of the ACCUSED that he did not know that Sando Johnson reacted very negatively towards the Catholic Church when it attempted to investigate the murder of the five American nuns killed during Operation Octopus. The article shows that Johnson responded to the investigation into the murders by accusing Archbishop Francis of failing to address homosexuality in the Catholic Church. Johnson's accusation caused the Church to close schools and health centres in protest. The protest was called off after the ACCUSED met personally with Archbishop Francis to discuss the accusations, according to the article.</p>
MFI 386	BBC News: “Liberia’s church strike ends”, 19 November 2002	<p>[1] Page 1: BBC News, World Edition, Africa, Tuesday, 19 November 2002, Liberia’s church strike ends ----- [2] Page 1, First five paragraphs in their entirety ----- [3] Beginning with the last line of page 1, through the fifth complete paragraph on page</p>	<p>25.01.10, pp. 33994-33997</p>	<p>[1]: Document's identifying information</p>

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
		2 (ending with “from his office.”)		
MFI 387	Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, “Liberia: Information on the new government’s human rights record and information on the conditions of members of the Krahn ethnic group under the new government”, 1 February 1998	[1] Refworld, UNHCR Title, Publisher: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Country, Publication Date ----- [2]	26.01.10, pp. 34152-34156 Page 2, First sentence, fourth paragraph (“Two editors” through “police brutality”)	[1]: Document’s identifying information. [2]: Impeaches the testimony of the ACCUSED about the healthy environment for press freedom and freedom of expression during his Presidency (08.09.09, p. 28271; 15.07.09, p. 24493) by showing the government’s (here, the police’s) response to a story that was published on police brutality. The Prosecution asserts that the Government’s treatment of the press and individuals who spoke out against the Government were factors that led the international community to withhold direct support to the ACCUSED’s government—contrary to the ACCUSED’s testimony that Liberia did not receive aid because of an unfounded international conspiracy against him.

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
MFI 388	US Department of State, Liberia Country report on Human Rights Practices for 1998, 26 February 1999. Cover page & Page 7	[1] Cover page (ERN 00100767); U.S. Department of State, Title, Release Source and date ----- [2] Page 7 (ERN 00100773); [3] Third paragraph. ----- [4] Fifth paragraph, first sentence. ----- [5] Sixth paragraph.	26.01.10, pp. 34152-34156	[1]: Document's identifying information. [2-5]: Impeaches the testimony of the ACCUSED about the healthy environment for press freedom and freedom of expression during his Presidency by showing the government's (here, the Ministry of Information and security forces) responses to stories and journalists critical of the government. The Prosecution asserts that the Government's treatment of the press and individuals who spoke out against the Government were factors that led the international community to withhold direct support to the ACCUSED's government—contrary to the ACCUSED's testimony that Liberia did not receive aid because of an unfounded international conspiracy against him.

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
MFI 389	“Liberia: Church, Media Condemn Involvement in Sierra Leone”, Inter Press Service, 10 February 1999 Page 1	[1] Title, date, Source (IPS, Inter Press Service, Global Information Network) ----- [2] Page 1, bottom two paragraphs in their entirety.	26.01.10, pp. 34159-34162	<p>[1]: Document's identifying information.</p> <p>[2]: Impeaches the testimony of the ACCUSED about the healthy environment for press freedom and freedom of expression during his Presidency by showing the government / security forces' response to a news story which challenged Taylor's regime to abandon its insistence that its accusers produce hard evidence to support their claims that Liberia was involved in the conflict in Sierra Leone. The Prosecution asserts that the Government's treatment of the press and individuals who spoke out against the Government were factors that led the international community to withhold direct support to the ACCUSED's government—contrary to the ACCUSED's testimony that Liberia did not receive aid because of an unfounded international conspiracy against him.</p>
MFI 390	News article from allAfrica.com, PanAfrican News Agency: “Liberia: State Shuts Down Independent Radio Stations”, 15 March 2000	[1] Entire article	26.01.10, pp. 34174-34180	<p>[1]: Impeaches the testimony of the ACCUSED about the healthy environment for press freedom and freedom of expression during his Presidency by showing the government's response to broadcasts it said were causing security threats. The Prosecution asserts that the Government's treatment of the press and individuals who spoke out against the Government were factors that led the international community to withhold direct support to the ACCUSED's government—contrary to the ACCUSED's testimony that Liberia did not receive aid because of an unfounded international conspiracy against him.</p> <p>In addition, this article impeaches the ACCUSED's denial that his government suspended the broadcast of Radio Veritas and shut the station down.</p>

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 391	BBC News: “Freed journalists tell of Liberia ‘terror’”, 26 August 2000	[1] Source, Date, Title ----- [2] Caption under photograph on page 1 through second full paragraph on page 2 (ending with “to diamond smuggling.”) ----- [3]	26.01.10, pp. 34180-34186	<p>[1]: Document's identifying information.</p> <p>[2-3]: Impeaches the testimony of the ACCUSED about the healthy environment for press freedom and freedom of expression during his Presidency by showing the government's response to a potential story linking the ACCUSED to diamond smuggling was to arrest the journalists and charge them with espionage. The Prosecution asserts that the Government's treatment of the press and individuals who spoke out against the Government were factors that led the international community to withhold direct support to the ACCUSED's government—contrary to the ACCUSED's testimony that Liberia did not receive aid because of an unfounded international conspiracy against him.</p>

ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION					
MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS		
MFI 392	Annex XII, Letter from the Ministry of Finance, Republic of Liberia, GOL Tax Payment Transfer, 20 August 1999 & Cover page showing source as UN Security Council Document S/2004/396 Page 25 (Annex XII) and Cover Page	Cover Page: [1] United Nations, S/2004/396 ----- [2] Date ----- [3] Report of the Panel of Experts on Liberia ----- [4] Annex XII, entire page (Page 25)	27.01.10, pp. 34240-34251 & 34275-34276	[1-3]: Document's identifying information. [4]: The document impeaches the testimony of the ACCUSED, showing here that \$500,000 was authorized for transfer from the Oriental Timber Corporation (in lieu of taxes due to the Government of Liberia) to a Swiss bank account for Mr. Sanjivam Ruprah, a self-admitted arms dealer. The document directly contradicts the ACCUSED's testimony on direct that all timber revenue was deposited in the Central Bank.	The document contradicts the ACCUSED's testimony on redirect that all arms purchases were made in cash.
MFI 393	SCSL-2003-05-PT-040, Prosecutor v. Issa Hassan Sesay, Power of Attorney, 27 May 2003	Entire document	[1]	28.01.10, pp. 34327-34328	[1]: Official court document that shows how Issa Sesay spells his own name.

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 394 Cover Page & Page 3	UN Security Council Document S/1999/1300, Letter dated 31 December 1999 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee Established pursuant to Resolution 1132 (1997) concerning Sierra Leone addressed to the President of the Security Council, 31 December 1999	Cover Page: [1] Identifying information including date, UN Document number, Title ----- [2] Page 3, Paras. 7-9.	28.01.10, pp. 34336-34340 & 34348-34349	<p>[1]: Document's identifying information.</p> <p>[2]: Impeaches the testimony of the ACCUSED that Sam Bockarie's various trips to Monrovia in December 1999 were done openly with the full approval of the United Nations and ECOWAS authorities because the document shows that no exemption was allowed for the relevant time period. It does show that exemptions were sought and granted for RUF/AFRC members for legitimate travel, but Bockarie's name is absent from a list that includes Foday Sankoh, Johnny Paul Koroma and Mike Lamin.</p>

ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION			
MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS
MFI 395 Cover page & Pages 3 & 4	UN Security Council Document S/2002/50, Letter dated 11 January 2002 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee establish pursuant to resolution 1132 (1997) concerning Sierra Leone addressed to the President of the Security Council, 14 January 2002	[1] Cover Page: Identifying information, including UN document number, date, title ----- [2] Page 3, Para. 10 ----- [3] Pages 3-4, Para. 14	[1]: Document's identifying information. [2-3]: Demonstrates that the United Nations issues exemptions from the travel ban for legitimate travel, including travel to engage in peace negotiations.
MFI 396	Liberian Diplomatic Passport of Moussa Cisse Original marked for identification, ERN 00032033-00032068	Entire document.	28.01.10, pp. 34366-34376 The passport stamp on page 00032042 showing Lusaka, Zambia dated 13 February 2001 impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that Musa Cisse did not travel out of Liberia to Zambia because he (the ACCUSED) would have known. The remaining pages should be admitted for authentication purposes and for purposes of completeness.

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 397	Committee to Protect Journalists, “Attacks on the Press in 2001 – Liberia”, February 2002	<p>Page 1: [1] First four lines of identifying information</p> <p>[2] First paragraph</p> <p>[3] Fourth paragraph, except for last sentence.</p> <p>[4] Fifth paragraph</p> <p>[5] Page 2, “February 21” heading through the first full paragraph below (ending with “charged them with espionage.”)</p>	01.02.10, pp. 34471-34485	<p>[1]: Document's identifying information.</p> <p>[2-13]: Impeaches the testimony of the ACCUSED about the healthy environment for press freedom and freedom of expression during his Presidency by showing the government's numerous responses to media reports that were critical of the government. These responses included jailing reporters for espionage, shutting down newspapers for unpaid taxes, imposing a news blackout, seizing equipment, harassing and threatening journalists, requiring journalists to clear their stories prior to publication, and banning broadcasts. The Prosecution asserts that the Government's treatment of the press and individuals who spoke out against the Government were factors that led the international community to withhold support from the ACCUSED's government—contrary to the ACCUSED's testimony that Liberia did not receive aid because of an unfounded international conspiracy against him.</p>

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
		[6]	Page 2, next to last paragraph, beginning with “According to The News...”	
		[7]	Page 3, second paragraph through the paragraph ending with “... publication or broadcast.”	
		[8]	Page 3, “May 25” heading through the end of the first paragraph below that heading (ending with “... and news organizations.”)	
		[9]	Page 4, “July 2” heading through	

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
		the end of the first paragraph below that heading (ending with “...news countrywide.”)	<p>[10] Page 4, Fifth full paragraph (beginning with “Information Minister Reginald Goodridge...”)</p> <p>[11] Page 4, “August 20” heading through the end of the next to last paragraph on the page</p> <p>[12] Page 5, “September 17” heading through the end of the first</p>	29524

MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		paragraph below that heading (ending with “...against the United States.”)	<p>[13]</p> <p>Page 5, Paragraph beginning with “CPJ protested” through the last paragraph on the page</p>	<p>[1 & A; 2 & B]: Document's identifying information & background information for the report.</p>
MFI 398	Report of the Joint Review Mission on the UN Post-Conflict Peace-Building Support Offices, Department of Political Affairs, UNDP, 20 July 2001	<p>[1 & A] Cover Page</p> <p>[2 & B] Page 2 top of page through the end of the third paragraph</p> <p>[3 & C & 4] Pages 14-15, Paragraph below the heading “Relations with</p>	<p>Cross: 01.02.10, pp. 34505-34510</p> <p>Redirect: 16.02.10, pp. 35145-35152</p>	<p>[3 & C & 4]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony that the Secretary-General's Representative, Felix Downes-Thomas, was objective in his dealings with the ACCUSED by pointing out that opposition parties, civil society organizations and the press all indicated they had virtually no interaction with the Representative, even suggesting he was an apologist for the Liberian Government. The ACCUSED testified to a special arrangement he had with Mr. Downes-Thomas to receive communication cables regarding Liberia, which the Prosecution asserts was an inappropriate arrangement in spite of the fact that the nature of the Representative's job was to work closely with the Government.</p> <p>The Defence read portions of this document during re-examination which</p>

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		Political actors..." through the second line on the top of page 15.		included and exceeded the portions used by the Prosecution on cross-examination. The Prosecution seeks to tender the sections it referred to (marked as 1-4) as well as the sections the Defence referred to (marked as A-C), as indicated to the left.
MFI 399	Wayne H. Valis, DBA Valis Associates, Registration Statement pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act	[1] Page 1: Identifying information, including title of document, Name of registrant, and foreign principal ----- [2] Page 2: Date & signature -----	02.02.10, pp. 34555-34557	[1-3]: Document's identifying information. [4]: Shows that the Washington, D.C. lobbying firm, Valis Associates, provided \$500,000 in services to the Republic of Liberia January 2002 in response to the testimony of the ACCUSED that he did not recall hiring Valis Associates.

MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		----- [4] Financial Information for the reporting period, including a \$500,000 consulting fee for the Republic of Liberia		[1, 3, 5, 7]: Document's identifying information. [2, 4, 6, 8]: Shows that the Washington, D.C. lobbying firm, Swidler & Berlin, provided services to the NRPAG in 1991-1992 for a total in excess of \$356,000 (U.S.) and that Lester S. Hyman was a member of that firm. The documents were provided to refresh the recollection of the ACCUSED because he did not recall how much Swidler & Berlin was paid.
MFI 400	Swidler & Berlin, Supplemental Statements pursuant to Section 2 of the Foreign Agents Registration Act	[1] Page 1: Supplemental Statement, Reporting Period, Name of Registrant ----- [2] Page 2: Financial information for the reporting period, including two entries for payments from the Nat. Pat. Reconstr.	02.02.10, pp. 34559-34561 & 34594-34595	

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MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		<p>[3] Page 3: Supplemental Statement, Reporting Period, Name of Registrant</p> <p>[4] Page 4: Financial information for the reporting period, including two entries for payments from the Nat. Pat. Reconstr.</p> <p>[5] Page 5: Statement for the Six Month Period Ending 7 Jan. 1993, Name of Registrant</p> <p>[6] Page 6: 11/30/92</p>		27528

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
		Payment from the National Patriotic Recon. Govt.	<p>[7]</p> <p>Page 7: Supplemental Statement, Reporting Period, Name of Registrant & Foreign Principal</p> <p>[8]</p> <p>Page 8: Signature of Lester S. Hyman</p>	<p>[1]: Document's identifying information.</p> <p>[2-3]: Impeaches the testimony of the ACCUSED regarding his respect for human rights and his commitment to making human rights an integral part of his administration. This article shows the disregard of the Director of Police and those serving under him for the rights of civilians, stating that Mulbah's tenure as Director of Police was characterized by widespread police brutality, mayhem, intimidation and harassment of civilians, deceptions, tactical cover-ups and empty promises of investigation into acts of lawlessness by police officer. The Prosecution asserts that the widespread nature of such acts meant the ACCUSED</p>
MFI 401	"Human Rights Defenders Call for the Resignation of Police Director Mulbah", The Perspective, 23 February 2002	Page 1: [1] Title, Source, Location, Date	<p>02.02.10, pp. 34607-34615</p> <p>[2]</p> <p>First paragraph, last sentence</p> <p>[3]</p>	

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MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
		Second paragraph through the portion of the second sentence ending in “...a cell of males”	<p>[4] Page 2, First full paragraph, first sentence.</p> <p>[5] Page 2, Second full paragraph, first sentence.</p>	<p>was well aware of the methods of the Liberian police, yet he did nothing to address the problem. Rather, the ACCUSED encouraged such methods, or at the very least, by failing to take reasonable measures to punish the Director and other subordinates, he showed approval of such methods, which enabled other subordinates to practice the same behaviour without fear of punishment. This directly impeaches the ACCUSED’s statement that he was committed to making human rights an integral part of his administration and shows that in reality, human rights were disregarded.</p> <p>The Prosecution asserts that the treatment of civilians by the police was another factor that led the international community to withhold support from the ACCUSED’s government—contrary to the ACCUSED’s testimony that Liberia did not receive aid because of an unfounded international conspiracy against him.</p>
MFI 402	IRIN-West Africa Update 339 for 1998.11.16		<p>[1] Page 1: Title and identifying information</p> <p>[2] Page 2: Two Paragraphs below the heading “Taylor reinstates</p>	<p>[1]: Document’s identifying information.</p> <p>[2]: Impeaches the testimony of the Special Operations Division (SOD) of the Liberian National Police. This article provides a specific example where Taylor’s cousin and police chief, Joe Tate, was reinstated by Taylor himself after Tate had been called before the Senate to answer questions about the alleged beating of a Senate clerk by members of the SOD. The article also states that the SOD had a reputation for harassment of civilians, which, if true, means the ACCUSED should have known or had reason to know of the SOD’s existence.</p>

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
		suspended police chief'		The Prosecution asserts that the ACCUSED denied knowledge of the SOD in an attempt to distance himself from Prosecution evidence which connected members of the SOD to providing assistance and materiel to the RUF, and this article goes to impeach his lack of knowledge/awareness of such a unit.
MFI 403 A-E	Photos of: A: Photo Album Cover B: Benjamin Yeaten giving an Interview in Tubmanburg C: Short description of a tour of Tubmanburg given in July 2002 D: Roland Duoh speaking to the media E: Benjamin Yeaten and individuals	Entire pages: A: P0000879 B: P0000866	A-E: 02.02.10, pp. 34628-34637	The Prosecution seeks admission of these photographs of pages of a photo album seized from the ACCUSED's office at White Flower. These photographs impeach the ACCUSED's testimony that (1) he was not aware of a division called the Navy Rangers and (2) that nobody goes to war in yellow shirts because it only magnifies the fighter's position. Photograph P0000879 shows the cover of the Photo Album that was seized from White Flower. Photograph P0000867 is a page from the album which provides a context to the other photos contained in the album. The remaining photographs shown to the Court show that the Navy Rangers did in fact exist and did wear yellow shirts with the words Navy Rangers on them

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MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
	wearing yellow Navy Rangers shirts			
MFI 404	“Rights Advocate Calls for Disbanding ATU; Goes Into Hiding”, The Perspective, 11 September 2001	[1] Page 1: Title, Source, Date, First paragraph ----- [2] Page 1: Fourth paragraph except for last sentence.	04.02.10, pp. 34661-34665	[1]: Document's identifying information. [2]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's general testimony about the rule of law and the freedoms that existed in Liberia during his presidency. This article shows that contrary to his testimony, the ACCUSED and his Administration did not allow freedom of expression and freedom of speech. The article provides a specific example of a Liberian human rights advocate calling for the disbanding of the “notorious and infamous” ATU and as a result of his statement, the advocate had to hide for safety. The Prosecution asserts that, contrary to his testimony, the ACCUSED did not allow individuals to make comments which were critical of his Presidency or of the units within his Executive branch, and he or his subordinates took actions to retaliate against those individuals who took positions contrary to his.

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MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 406	UN Security Council Document S/2002/1115, Letter dated 24 October 2002 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia addressed to the President of the Security Council, 25 October 2002	[1] Cover page showing identifying information ----- [2] Second page (Annex) showing members of the Panel of Experts who prepared the report ----- [3] Page 41, Paragraph 191 ----- [4] Page 41, Paragraph 192 except for last sentence	04.02.10, pp. 34727-34729 & 34786-34790	[1-2]: Document's identifying information. [3-4]: Impeaches the testimony of the ACCUSED that the practices he used in dealing with timber concessions during his presidency did not result in a large discrepancy between the revenues that were collected by the Forestry Development Authority (FDA) and the amount that actually went to the Central Bank of Liberia. The document shows a \$6 million discrepancy in 2000 and a \$19.6 million discrepancy in 2001.

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
MFI 407 Acknowledgements Page, Pages 11, 27 & 34	Forest Concession Review – Phase III, Report of the Concession Review Committee, 31 May 2005	[1] Acknowledgments Page: Identifying information, incl. Title & Date ----- [2] Page 11, Third paragraph (beginning with “The Committee found...”) ----- [3] Page 27, Second and third bullet points ----- [4] Page 34, Portion of fourth paragraph, ending with “...and social development.”	04.02.10, pp. 34721-34724 & 34732-34735	[1]: Document's identifying information. [2-4]: Impeaches the ACCUSED's testimony regarding the practices of the Liberian government in granting timber concessions and the use of the revenue generated from those concessions. This report shows a pattern of non-compliance with governmental requirements, allocation of mega-concessions to the ACCUSED's inner circle for their benefit, and a failure to pay the taxes assessed into government accounts to benefit the Liberian people.

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ANNEX 2

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MFI-302A

Excerpt from Long Story Bit by Bit, Liberia Re-told, by Tim Hetherington (Cover and Publication Page)

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1998-2003: *Liberia: An Unquiet War* is a powerful and history-making portrait of power and its abuse. It is a rare and intimate witness to the cycles of conflict in Africa. During his time in Liberia he became preoccupied with the web of power that flows from the raw power wielded by the young men of rebel groups to the corrupt power of the transitional government, to the possibilities of a democratic president. This book brings names and faces to the news headlines to show that what happened in Liberia was not the result of inexplicable chaos as is often presented in mainstream media, but a complex web of power, greed, ambition.

TIM HETHERINGTON is an award-winning photographer and filmmaker. He spent eight years living and working in West Africa, four focused on Liberia. In the 2003 Liberian civil war he and broadcast colleague James Beirchon were the only journalists to live behind rebel lines. Their resultant film, *Liberia: An Unquiet War*, received international acclaim. Known for his long documentary work, Hetherington currently lives in London and works as a contributing photographer for *Vanity Fair*.

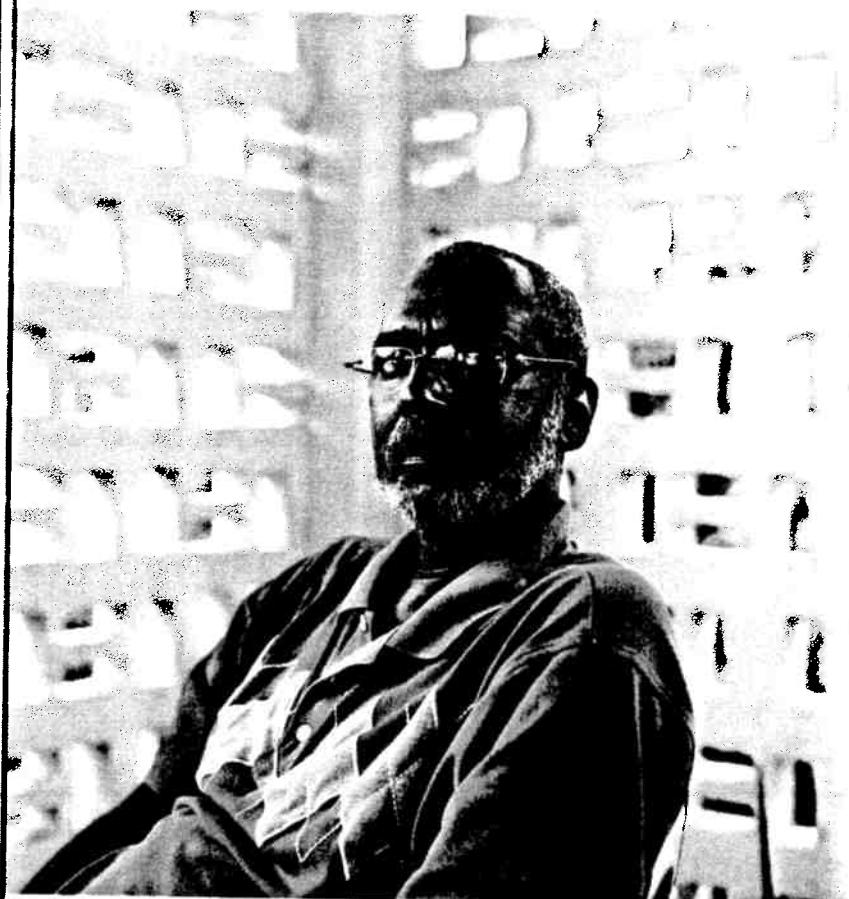
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MFI-302B

Excerpt from Long Story Bit by Bit, Liberia Re-told, by Tim Hetherington (pages 106-107
re. John T. Richardson)

(1)

John T Richardson

Former head of the National Security Agency
and Taylor confidant

In 1993 or 1994 there was fighting and the ECOMOG planes were up and looking for us. So we popped out of our vehicles and went under the trees. Taylor and I were sitting under a particular tree – the bodyguards and everybody were away – and we had about two hours together talking about our visions for Liberia and government, what could be done with this little country and what couldn't be done. I remember we talked about making government a very small thing, and we talked about trying to come up with some law that pegged government to GDP so that government could not be more than thirty percent of GDP or so. If your GDP was low, you have to keep government small. Ministers can't hire new bureaucrats, can't buy new cars, and you can't do anything. But as we increased GDP, then we could let government grow. We talked about running a country and I remember we talked about "Liberia Incorporated," so that it ran more like a business rather than traditional concept of government. We talked about taking Liberia out of Monrovia – which has become a rhetorical phrase. I've always believed that the conflict in this country is not only economically manifested but also geographically manifested, and we needed to take it out of Monrovia and take development more outside.

There was a violent military overthrow. The whole system had been uprooted. Concession agreements were no longer valid, companies had left, contracts, everything – the whole system was gone. I think it now needed a structured approach to rebuild it and that included a new government, a new economic order, a new political playing field. The [people] had demolished whatever it was they had objected to, whether it was the political system that was suppressing them, or whether they thought it was an economic system. Everything was gone – stores, businesses, homes, concessions. Everybody participated. It was a civil uprising of proportions I couldn't believe. Every hamlet, every village was touched and participated in some way and felt they

What journalists have failed to point out is that this time, unlike previous fighting in Monrovia, the civilians have not really suffered... In the past, fighters would rip out people's intestines and use them to string up roadblocks, or cut off people's heads. This time there has been none of that." —John T Richardson⁸

(2)

were now a part of it. I think this was why Taylor overwhelmingly won the election. People tried to say that they voted out of fear, but I don't think so. I think they said, "Fine, lets go to the next stage of this change." The intelligencer would use the word "revolution," but people wanted a change and they felt that to just change the position of the furniture wasn't going to do it. So they just broke all the furniture. I don't know why some of the people followed Taylor because he didn't speak any dialects, but I saw people that didn't even know him who would stand up twenty-four hours through the night in the rain for Taylor.

US government officials were afraid to meet Taylor, or for their bosses to meet Taylor, because they felt that he would overwhelm them with his charisma – that's how bad it was. I don't think he was hypnotizing people but it was magical. I took Jimmy Carter to meet Taylor and Taylor refused to meet Jimmy Carter. He was finally convinced to meet Carter but meanwhile I had to delay Carter twelve hours and drive him all around the countryside. He was pissed. He was livid. And when they finally met, they stayed together for four hours, came out smiling, and became friends.

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MFI-303A

An Act Adopting a New Aliens and Nationality Law (Pages 00102782-00102872)

00102782

**AN ACT ADOPTING A NEW ALIENS AND NATIONALITY
LAW**

*It is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the
Republic of Liberia, in Legislature Assembled:*

§ 1. Title 3 of the Liberian Code of Laws of 1956, known as the Aliens and Nationality Law, as amended through the Fourth Regular Session of the Forty-Fifth Legislature, is hereby repealed, and there is enacted in *lieu* thereof a new Aliens and Nationality Law, to be Title 4 of the Liberian Code of Laws Revised.

§ 2. All references to Secretary of State; Secretary of the Treasury, Attorney General; Director General of the National Labor Affairs Agency; Department of Justice; and National Labor Affairs Agency; appearing in this Act shall mean, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Minister of Finance; Minister of Justice; Minister of Labor and Youth; Ministry of Justice; and Ministry of Labor and Youth, respectively.

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T I T L E 4

00102783

Alien and Nationality Law

Approved: May 15, 1973

Amendments Approved: May 9, 1974

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P A R T I***General Provisions******Chapter 1. DEFINITIONS***

- § 1.1. Terms defined.
- § 1.2. Classes of aliens defined.

§ 1.1. Terms defined.

As used in this chapter--

- (a) The term "alien" means any person not a citizen of Liberia;
- (b) The term "Commissioner" means the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization;
- (c) The term "crewman" means a person serving in any capacity on board a vessel or aircraft;
- (d) The term "Immigration officer" means any employee or class of employees of Liberia designated by the Attorney General individually or by regulation, to perform the functions of an immigration officer specified by this title;
- (e) The term "naturalization" means the conferring of nationality of a state upon a person after birth, by any means whatsoever;
- (f) The term "nonimmigrant" means an alien of any of the classes other than immigrants enumerated in section 1.2 of this title;

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- (g) The term "passport" means any travel document issued by competent authority showing the bearer's origin, identity, distinguishing marks and nationality, if any, which is valid for the entry of the bearer into a foreign country;
- (h) The term "residence" means the place of general abode; and the place of general abode of a person means his principal, actual dwelling place in facts without regard to intent. A residence may be continual without an uninterrupted physical presence;
- (i) The term "visa" means a permit to enter Liberia, issued by a Liberian consular officer to an alien.¹

§ 1.2. Classes of aliens defined.

An alien in Liberia or seeking entry into Liberia is within one of the following categories:

- (a) Aliens with diplomatic status. comprising --
- (i) Ambassadors, public ministers, or career diplomatic or consular officers who have been accredited by a foreign government recognized de jure by the Republic, who are accepted by the President or by the Secretary of State, and the members of their immediate families;
- (ii) Upon a basis of reciprocity, other officials and employees who have been accredited by a foreign government recognized de jure by the Republic, who are accepted by the Secretary of State, and the members of their immediate families;

1. *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:31, 82; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 1; L. 1938, ch. XIII, § 3.

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(iii) Upon a basis of reciprocity attendants, servants, personal employees, with members of their immediate families of the officials and employees who have diplomatic status under (i) and (ii) above.

(b) Alien visitors, comprising --

(i) An alien having a residence in a foreign country which has no intention of abandoning and who is visiting Liberia temporarily for pleasure for not exceeding 60 days;

(ii) An alien having a residence in a foreign country which he has no intention of abandoning and who is visiting Liberia temporarily for business for not exceeding 60 days, exclusive of aliens who are within the definition of alien residents as stated in paragraph (d) of this section;

(iii) An alien in immediate and continuous transit through Liberia;

(c) An alien crewman serving in good faith as such in any capacity required for normal operation and service on board a vessel or aircraft, who intends to land temporarily and solely in pursuit of his calling as a crewman and to depart from Liberia with the vessel or aircraft on which he arrived or some other vessel or aircraft.

(d) Alien residents, who are persons applying for admission or to remain in Liberia for a period up to a year and include-

(i) An alien having a residence in a foreign country which he has no intention of abandoning, who is a bona fide student qualified to pursue a full course of study and who seeks to enter Liberia temporarily and solely for the purpose of

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pursuing such a course of study at an established institution of learning or other recognized place of study in Liberia;

(ii) Professors, teachers, missionaries, merchants, or other persons entering for a period longer than 60 days to engage in business or practice professions or vocations, with their spouses and unmarried minor children;

(iii) Professional, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers who have contracts of employment with employers in Liberia, together with their spouses and unmarried minor children;

(iv) Aliens who have been resident in Liberia for at least 15 years who are no longer employed or no longer engaged in a profession or a business or other activity as a means of earning a livelihood;

(v) Persons whose entry is declared by the President to be in the national interest.

(e) Immigrants, comprising parents, spouses, or children of Liberian citizens, or other acceptable persons, applying for admission with the intention of remaining in Liberia indefinitely and becoming Liberian citizens.²

Chapter 2. ADMINISTRATION

§ 2.1. Administration of title by Attorney General; duties of Secretary of State.

§ 2.2. Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization.

§ 2.3. Deputy Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization.

² Prior legislation: 1956 Code 3:24; L. 1954-55 ch. XVI, § 6.

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- § 2.4. Office of Immigration Appeals; Solicitor General as Chief Appellate Review Officer.
- § 2.5. Power of immigration officers.
- § 2.6. Court order to procure evidence.
- § 2.7. Fees to immigration officer for taking oath prohibited.
- § 2.8. Suspension of provisions of Part II during war or other emergency.
- § 2.9. Fees.

§ 2.1. Administration of title by Attorney General; duties of Secretary of State.

The Attorney General is charged with the duty of administering the provisions of this title and shall have full power to accomplish effectively its aims and objectives, except that the Secretary of State shall be charged with the administration and enforcement of the provisions of this title relating to the powers, duties and functions of diplomatic and consular officers, and shall perform such other duties as are expressly assigned to him by this title.³

§ 2.2. Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization.

The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint a Commissioner to head a Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization which shall be established in the Department of Justice to implement the provisions of this title. The Commissioner shall have the rank of Deputy Attorney General. It shall be the duty of the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization to assist the Attorney General in the administration of this title by performing the following duties, subject to the authority and direction of the Attorney General:

³ Prior legislation: L. 1960-61, ch. XLII, § 3, 4 (13:200); 1956 Code, 3:2; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 2(a); L. 1941-42, ch. LV, § 2(b), 3.

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- (a) To make determinations and rulings with respect to all questions concerning the law of immigration and naturalization of aliens;
- (b) To keep adequate records with respect to immigration and naturalization;
- (c) To prescribe such forms of bonds, reports, entries, and other papers as he deems necessary for carrying out his authority under the provisions of this title;
- (d) To control and guard the boundaries and borders of the Republic against the illegal entry of aliens;
- (e) To prepare for issuance by the Attorney General such rules and regulations as may be deemed advisable for the effective operation of the Bureau and the implementation of the immigration and nationality laws;
- (f) To perform such other duties as are necessary or proper for administering the provisions of this title.⁴

§ 2.3. Deputy Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization.

The President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint a Deputy Commissioner to assist the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization in the performance of his duties.

§ 2.4. Office of Immigration Appeals; Deputy Minister as Chief Appellate Review Officer.

⁴ *Prior legislation:* L. 1960-61, ch. XLII, § 3, 4(13:200); 1956 Code 3:2; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 2(a); L. 1941-42, ch. LV, § 2(b), 3.

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An Office of Immigration Appeals is hereby created for the purpose of hearing appeals from --

- (a) Decisions of a hearing officer in exclusion proceedings under section 5.60 of this title;
- (b) Decisions of a hearing officer in deportation proceedings under section 7.3. of this title;
- (c) Order of the Commissioner imposing a civil penalty prescribed by any provision of this title.

The Office of Immigration Appeals shall be composed of the Deputy Minister of Justice as Chief Appellate Review Officer and, when necessary, such qualified officials of the Ministry of Justice as may be designated by the Minister of Justice. In all cases, the appeal shall be heard by a single Appellate Review Officer only. Deputy Minister, in addition to being required to assign appeals expeditiously for hearing in accordance with statutory requirements and the regulations promulgated with respect thereto, shall act as Appellate Review Officer to the extent his other duties permit. No official of the Ministry who has made the initial administrative decision in the appeal involved or any official who has made an initial administrative determination in a factually related matter, shall act as Appellate Review Officer to review such determination.

§ 2.5. Power of Immigration Officer.

An immigration officer shall have the power, if within the scope of his assigned duties --

- (a) To administer oaths;

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- (b) To take and consider evidence of or from any person or require by subpoena the attendance and testimony of witnesses and production of books, papers, and documents relating to the privilege of any person to enter, reenter, reside in or pass through Liberia or concerning any matter which is material and relevant to the enforcement of this title;
- (c) Where such action may be necessary, to make a written record of such evidence;
- (d) To board and search any vessel, aircraft, railway car or other conveyance or vehicle in which he has reason to believe aliens are being brought into Liberia.⁵

§ 2.6. Court order to procure evidence.

Any Liberian court of competent jurisdiction and within the jurisdiction of which investigations or inquiries are being conducted by an immigration officer may, in the event of neglect or refusal of a person to respond to a subpoena issued under this title or refusal to appear and testify before an immigration officer, issue an order requiring such person to appear before an immigration officer, produce books, papers, and documents if demanded and testify. Any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by the court as contempt.⁶

§ 2.7. Fees to Immigration Officer for taking oath prohibited.

An immigration officer who charges or accepts a fee gratuity, or gift in any form for administering an oath in the course of his duties shall be subject to a fine of not more than \$500 or imprisonment for not

⁵ *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:41(1st para); L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, & 24(a) (2nd sent.).

⁶ *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:42(1st par.); L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 42, § 5(d), 24(e).

more than six months, or both.

§ 2.8. Suspension of provisions of Part II during war or other emergency.

1. Declaration by President. When Liberia is at war or during the existence of any national emergency Proclaimed by the President, the President may, in his discretion, suspend any or all of the provisions of Part II of this title to the extent that he considers advisable in the national interest, and he may prescribe and institute regulations that he believes suited to the situation, and shall make public proclamation thereof, and such regulations shall continue and the provisions of Part II of this title shall remain in suspension until otherwise ordered by the President or the Legislature.

2. Penalty for violation of proclamation, rule or regulation. Any person who shall willfully violate any order or proclamation of the President promulgated under the authority of paragraph 1 of this section or any regulation issued thereunder shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned for not more than three years, or both; and any vehicle or aircraft together with its appurtenances, equipment, tackle, apparel, and furniture, concerned in any such violation shall be forfeited to the Government of Liberia.⁷

§ 2.9. Fees.

The following fees shall be charged:

- (a) For the issuance or extension of a re-entry permit: \$10 (Ten Dollars);

⁷ *Prior legislation:* 1957-58 Supp. 3.55(3); L. 1956-57, ch. XXXI, § 4, 11; 1956 Code 3:54; L. 1954-55; ch. XVI, §§ 18, 19.

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- (b) Change of Status (from Visitor to Resident Alien) \$100.00 (One Hundred Dollars);
- (c) Adjustment of Status (from house-wife to employee) \$50.00 (Fifty Dollars);
- (d) Adjustment of Status (from employee to self-employed) \$75.00 (Seventy Five Dollars);
- (e) Filing of application for employment from one employer to another \$50.00 (Fifty Dollars);
- (f) Filing of application for employment from self employed to employee of another \$150.00 (One Hundred & Fifty Dollars);
- (g) For the issuance of each extension of stay to an alien visitor, \$10.00 (Ten Dollars);
- (h) For filing with the Minister of Justice of each petition under sections 5.13 and 5.19 of this title, \$10.00 (Ten Dollars);
- (i) For the new re-entry booklet, \$5.00 (Five Dollars);
- (j) Permit of Residence Booklet, \$5.00 (Five Dollars);
- (k) Extension fees, \$10.00 (Ten Dollars);
- (l) Entering the Republic of Liberia as a visitor without a visa, \$10.00 (Ten Dollars).

The fees for the furnishing and verification of applications for visas by aliens of each foreign country shall be prescribed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in amounts corresponding as nearly as practicable to the total of all similar visas, entry or other charges assessed or

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levied against citizens of Liberia by the foreign countries of which such aliens are nationals or stateless residents.⁸

Chapter 3. PENALTIES

- § 3.1. Procedure for imposing civil penalty.
- § 3.2. Enforcement of order for payment of civil penalty.
- § 3.3. Denial of clearance to enforce payment of civil penalty or expenses.
- § 3.4. Fine for violations.

§ 3.1. Procedure for imposing civil penalty.

1. *Notice of liability.* Whenever it appears that a person is subject to payment of a civil penalty under the provisions of this title, there shall be served on such person (hereinafter called the "respondent") a written notice of apparent liability which shall contain the following:

- (a) The facts which indicate apparent liability;
- (b) A reference to the particular section of the statute which has been violated and to the provision containing the authority for imposition of the penalty;
- (c) The amount of the penalty to be imposed;
- (d) A statement of the course of action available to the

⁸ *Prior legislation:* L. 1966-67, ch. (An Act to amend sections 22 and 55 of the Aliens and Nationality Law in relation to aliens to be excluded from admission, and schedule of fees), § 2 (3:53(h); 1956 Code 3:53, L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 31; L. 1952-53, ch. XXVIII, § 2.

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respondent under the provisions of paragraph 2 of this section;

(e) The time and place of the hearing to be accorded the respondent, the time to be not sooner than 48 hours after the time of service of the notice.

2. *Response to notice of liability.* A person on whom notice is served in accordance with paragraph 1 of this section shall either

(a) Before the time fixed for the hearing, pay such penalty at the immigration station nearest to his place of residence in Liberia, or if he is an alien visitor, nearest to his temporary abode, or, if so directed by the statute which has been violated, to the specified collector of customs; or

(b) Appear at the hearing in person or through an authorized representative and show why he should not be liable for such a penalty or, if mitigation is permitted by statute, why the penalty should be mitigated.

3. *Hearing and determination.* If the respondent or his authorized representative appears at the time and place set for the hearing, the Commissioner shall conduct the hearing in accordance with the requirements of the Administrative Procedure Act. On the basis of the evidence received at the hearing, the Commissioner shall issue an order

(a) either releasing the respondent from liability for the penalty;

(b) requiring payment of a reduced amount, if mitigation is permitted by statute; or

(c) requiring the penalty to be paid in full.

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4. *Appeal to Office of Immigration Appeals.* A respondent against whom there is issued an order to pay an administrative penalty following a hearing held in conformity with paragraph 3 of this section may appeal from the order to pay the penalty, whether in full or mitigated, by filing with the Office of Immigration Appeals within 48 hours after issuance of such order a petition for review containing a copy of the notice of liability served on him pursuant to paragraph 1 of this section, a copy of the order to pay the fine, a short and clear statement of his defense and reasons urging mitigation, and a request for review of the determination of the Commissioner. The Chief Appellate Review Officer of the Office of Immigration Appeals shall thereupon notify the Commissioner in writing that a review of his determination has been requested and that a hearing on appeal will be granted at the time and place specified in such notice. A written notice of the time and place for hearing the appeal shall also be served on the respondent. The appeal shall be heard not less than two nor more than five days after the filing of the petition for review. The Appellate Review Officer may affirm or reverse the determination of the Commissioner to impose a penalty or may, if permitted by statute, order that the amount of the penalty be mitigated. Notice of the action by the Appellate Review Officer shall be served upon the respondent.

5. *Penalty for frivolous appeal.* If the Appellate Review Officer, either on motion of a representative of the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization or on his own motion, decides that any appeal to the Office of Immigration Appeals under this section is frivolous, he shall assess a penalty of no more than ten dollars against the respondent taking such appeal.

6. *Appeal to Attorney General.* From a determination by the Appellate Review Officer to affirm an order by the Commissioner for payment of a penalty, or to mitigate a penalty imposed by the Commissioner, the respondent may, within two days after service of

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the written notice of action by the Appellate Review Officer, request the Attorney General to review the determination of such Officer, which request the Attorney General has the discretion to grant or deny. If he grants the appeal, the Attorney General may in his discretion permit the Commissioner and the petitioner or their representatives to appear before him or he may base his determination solely on the record of the proceedings. From an adverse decision by the Attorney General, the respondent may appeal to the Circuit Court.

7. *Supersedeas.* No determination that a respondent is liable for a civil penalty shall be enforced during the time allowed by statute for the taking of an appeal, nor, if an appeal is taken within such time, until decision is rendered on the appeal.

§ 3.2. Enforcement of order for payment of civil penalty.

1. *Enforcement.* If a respondent fails to respond to a notice of liability served under paragraph 1 of section 3.1 of this title by paying the penalty or appearing for the hearing as required by paragraph 2 of that section, or if he fails to pay the penalty imposed after a final administrative determination of liability and no appeal has been taken to the Circuit Court, the Attorney General may have a judgment entered against the respondent for the amount of the penalty and enforce it in the manner provided in the Administrative Procedure Act for enforcement of an administrative order for the payment of money.

2. *Deportation of alien.* If a judgment against an alien for payment of civil penalty under this title, entered either pursuant to a final administrative order or the order of a court, has not been paid within six months after filing of the judgment, deportation may be instituted against him. An alien deported for nonpayment of a civil penalty is excludable from readmission to Liberia until he shall have paid the full amount of such penalty plus interest at the rate of six percent per

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annum from the date of entry of judgment, or, if he did not appear for a hearing when served with notice of apparent liability, from the date of service of such notice.

§ 3.3. Denial of clearance to enforce payment of civil penalty or expenses.

If the owner, agent, consignee, master, or commanding officer of any vessel or aircraft, which has arrived in Liberia, is subject to payment of a civil penalty to the collector of customs because of violation of a provision of this title, or if any such person or the transportation company by which he is employed is required to pay the expenses of detention or deportation of an alien, hospitalization of a crewman, or other expenses under the provisions of this title, such vessel or aircraft shall not be granted clearance pending the determination of the question of the liability for the payment of such sums, or while such sums remain unpaid, except that clearance may be granted prior to the determination of such question upon the deposit of an amount sufficient to cover such sums or of a bond approved by the Attorney General with sufficient surety to secure the payment thereof.

§ 3.4. Fine for violations.

Any person violating any provision of this title for which no criminal or civil penalty is specifically prescribed shall on conviction after criminal prosecution, be subject to a fine of not more than \$100.⁹

⁹ Prior legislation: 1957-58 Supp. 3:55(2); L. 1956-57, ch. XXI, § 4, 11.

P A R T II

*Immigration***Chapter 5. ENTRY, ADMISSION, AND
DEPARTURE OF ALIENS****Subchapter A. Requirements for Admission**

- § 5.1. Grounds for exclusion.
- § 5.2. Diplomatic and semi-diplomatic immunities.
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- § 5.10. Application for and issuance of visas.
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Subchapter A. REQUIREMENTS FOR ADMISSION**§ 5.1. Grounds for exclusion.**

Except as provided by section 5.2 or other sections of this title, the following classes of aliens shall be ineligible to receive visas and shall be excluded from admission to Liberia.

- (a) Aliens who are feeble-minded;
- (b) Aliens who are insane;
- (c) Aliens who have had one or more attacks of insanity;
- (d) Aliens afflicted with psychopathic personality, epilepsy or mental defect;
- (e) Aliens who are narcotic drug addicts or chronic alcoholics;
- (f) Aliens who are afflicted with tuberculosis in any form, or with leprosy, or any dangerous contagious disease;
- (g) Aliens not comprehended within any of the foregoing classes

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who are certified by the examining surgeon as having a physical defect, disease, or disability, when determined by the consular or immigration officer to be of such a nature that it may affect the ability of the alien to earn a living, unless the alien affirmatively establishes that he will not have to earn a living;

- (h) Aliens who are paupers, professional beggars, or vagrants;
- (i) Aliens who have been convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude (other than purely political offense), or aliens who admit having committed such a crime, or aliens who admit committing acts which constitute the essential elements of such a crime;
- (j) Aliens who are prostitutes or who have been engaged in prostitution, or aliens coming to Liberia solely, principally, or incidentally to engage in prostitution; aliens who directly or indirectly procure or attempt to procure, or who have procured or attempted to procure or to import, prostitutes or persons for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose; and aliens who are or have been supported by or received or have received, in whole or in part, the proceeds of prostitution, or aliens coming to Liberia to engage in any other unlawful commercialized vice, whether or not related to prostitution;
- (k) Aliens seeking to enter Liberia for the purpose of performing professional skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled labor who have not secured employment permits from the Director General of the National Labour Affairs Agency if such permits are required by the Labor Law;
- (l) Aliens who, in the opinion of the consular officer at the time of for a visa or in the opinion of the Attorney General at the time of application for admission, are likely at any, time to become public charges;

- (m) Aliens who have been excluded from admission and deported and who again seek admission within one year from the date of such deportation, unless prior to their embarkation at a place outside Liberia or their attempt to be admitted from foreign contiguous territory, the Attorney General has consented to their reapplying for admission;
- (n) Aliens who have been arrested and deported, or who have been removed as alien enemies or who have been removed at Government expense in lieu of deportation, unless prior to their embarkation at a place outside Liberia or their attempt to be admitted from foreign contiguous territory, the Attorney General has consented to their applying or reapplying for admission;
- (o) Aliens who are stowaways;
- (p) Aliens who seek to procure, or have sought to procure or have procured a visa or other documentation or seek to enter Liberia by fraud, or by willfully misrepresenting a material fact;
- (q) Immigrants who are ineligible to citizenship;
- (r) Any alien who has been convicted of a violation of any law relating to the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs, or who has been convicted of a violation of any law governing or controlling the taxing, manufacturing, production, com-pounding transportation, sale, exchange, dispensing, giving away, importation, exportation, or the possession for the purpose of the manufacture, giving away, importation or exportation of opium, coca leaves, heroin, marihuana, or any salt derivatives or preparation of opium or coca leaves, or isonipecaine or any addiction-forming or addiction-sustaining opiate, or other drug within the application of the Narcotic Drug Control Act; or any alien who the consular or

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immigration officer knows or has reason to believe is or has been an illicit trafficker in any of the aforementioned drugs;

(s) Any nonimmigrant who is not in possession of a passport valid for a minimum period of six months from the date of his admission or expiration of the contemplated initial period of stay, authorizing him to return to the country from which he came or to proceed to and enter some other country during such period;

(t) Except as otherwise specifically provided in this title, any immigrant who at the time of application for admission is not in possession of a valid unexpired immigrant visa or reentry permit, and a valid unexpired passport or other suitable travel document;

(u) Aliens who the consular officer or the Attorney General knows or has reason to believe seek to enter Liberia solely, principally, or incidentally to engage in activities which would prejudice and be prejudicial to the public interest, or endanger the welfare, safety, or security of Liberia;

(v) Aliens who are, or at any time have been, members of any of the following classes:

(i) Aliens who are anarchists;

(ii) Aliens who advocate or teach, or who are members of or affiliated with any organization that advocates or teaches, opposition to all organized government;

(iii) Aliens who are members of or affiliated with the Communist Party or any other totalitarian party; any section, subsidiary, branch, affiliate, or other subdivision of any association or party; or the direct predecessors or successors of any such group or organization;

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- (iv) Aliens not within any of the other provisions of this section who advocate the economic, international, and governmental doctrines of world communism or the establishment in Liberia or elsewhere of a totalitarian dictatorship, or who are members of or affiliated with any organization that advocates the economic, international, and governmental doctrines of world communism or the establishment in Liberia or elsewhere of a totalitarian dictatorship, whether through its own utterances or through any written or printed publications issued or published by or with permission or consent of or under the authority of such organization or paid for by funds of or funds furnished by such organization;
- (v) Aliens who advocate or teach or who are members of or affiliated with any organization that advocates or teaches the overthrow by force, violence, or other unconstitutional means of the government or of all forms of law; or the duty, necessity, or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer (either of specific individuals or of officers generally) of the Government of Liberia or of any other organized government because of his official character; or the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property; or sabotage;
- (vi) Aliens who write or publish, or cause to be written or published, or who knowingly circulates distribute, print, or display, or knowingly cause to be circulated, distributed, printed, published or displayed, or who knowingly have in their possession for the purpose of circulation, publication, distribution, or display, any written or printed matter, advocating or teaching opposition to all organized government, or advocating or teaching the overthrow by force, violence or other unconstitutional means of the Government of Liberia or of all forms of law; or the duty, necessity or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers (either of specific individuals or of officers generally) of the Government of Liberia or of any other organized

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government because of his or their official character; or the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property, or sabotage; or the economic, international, and governmental doctrine of world communism or the establishment in Liberia of a totalitarian dictatorship;

(vii) Aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that writes, circulates, distributes, prints, publishes, or displays, or causes to be written, circulated, distributed, printed, published, or displayed, or that has in its possession for the purpose of circulation, distribution, publication, issue or display any written or printed matter of the character described in paragraph (vi);

(viii) Aliens with respect to whom the consular officer or the Attorney General knows or has reasonable ground to believe probably would, after entry, engage in activities which would be prohibited by the laws of Liberia relating to espionage, sabotage, public disorder, or engage in other activity subversive to the national security, or engage in any activity a purpose of which is the opposition to or the overthrow of the government by force, violence, or other unconstitutional means.

(w) Any alien who at any time shall have knowingly and for gain encouraged, induced, or assisted, abetted, or aided any other alien to enter or attempt to enter Liberia in violation of law.¹⁰

§ 5.2. Diplomatic and semi-diplomatic immunities.

The provisions of this title relating to ineligibility to receive visas and the exclusion of aliens shall not be construed to apply to non-

¹⁰ Prior legislation: L. 1966-67, ch. (3:22(p); 1956 Code 3:22; L. 1955 (E.S. Mar.) ch. II, § 4; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 15; L. 1927-28, ch. IX, § 14, L. 1915-16, ch. XLIV.

immigrants ---

- (a) With the classes described in paragraphs (a)(i) and (a)(ii) of section 1.2 of this title, except those provisions relating to reasonable requirements of passports and visas as a means of identification and documentation necessary to establish their qualifications under such paragraph, and the provisions of paragraph (u) and (v)(viii) of section 5.1 of this title;
- (b) Upon a basis of reciprocity, accredited officials of foreign governments, their immediate families, attendants, servants, and personal employees who are admitted in immediate and continuous transit through Liberia, except paragraphs (s), (u), and (v)(viii) of section 5.1 of this title.¹¹

§ 5.3. Admission of excludable aliens under exceptions or conditions.

1. Admission as visitor. An alien who is applying for a visitor's visa is known or believed by the consular officer to be ineligible for such a visa under one or more of the paragraphs enumerated in section .5.1 of this title may, after approval by the Attorney General or a recommendation by the Secretary of State or by the consular officer that the alien is admitted temporarily despite his inadmissibility, be granted such a visa and may be admitted into Liberia temporarily as a visitor in the discretion of the Attorney General.

2. Waiver of passport requirement. The requirement of paragraph (s) of section 5.1 of this title may be waived by the Attorney General and the Secretary of State acting jointly on the basis of an unforeseen emergency in individual cases and in the case of aliens proceeding in immediate and continuous transit through Liberia.

¹¹ *Prior Legislation:* 1956 Code 3:23(5); L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 15(f).

3. *Temporary parole.* The Attorney General may in his discretion parole into Liberia temporarily under such conditions as he may prescribe for emergency reasons or for reasons deemed strictly in the public interest any alien applying for admission to Liberia, but such parole of such alien shall not be regarded as an admission of the alien and when the purposes of such parole shall in the opinion of the Attorney General have been served, the alien shall forthwith return or be returned to the custody from which he was paroled and thereafter his case shall continue to be dealt with in the same manner as that of any other applicant for admission to Liberia.

4. *Admission under conditions prescribed by Attorney General.* The Attorney General shall prescribe conditions, including exaction of such bonds as may be necessary, to control and regulate the admission and departure of excludable aliens applying for temporary admission.

5. *Admission conditionally of alien likely to become public charge or having physical disability.* Any alien excludable because he is likely to become a public charge or because of physical disability other than tuberculosis in any form, leprosy, or a dangerous contagious disease may, if otherwise admissible, be admitted in the discretion of the Attorney General upon the giving of a suitable and proper bond or undertaking approved by the Attorney General, in such amount and containing such conditions as he may prescribe, guaranteeing the Government of Liberia and all counties, townships, municipalities and districts thereof against such alien becoming a public charge. In lieu of such bond such alien may deposit in cash with the Attorney General such amount as the Attorney General may require, which amount shall be deposited by him in the public depository of the Republic and a receipt therefor shall be given the person furnishing such sum. In the event such alien becomes a public charge the Attorney General shall dispose of such deposit in the same manner as if it had been collected under a bond as provided in this section. In

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the event of the permanent departure from Liberia of such alien, or his naturalization or death, such sum shall be returned to the person by whom furnished or to his legal representatives. The admission of such alien shall be a consideration for the giving of such bond, undertaking or cash deposit.¹²

Subchapter B. ISSUANCE OF ENTRY DOCUMENTS**§ 5.10. Application for issuance of visas.**

1. *For immigrant visa.* Every alien applying for an immigrant visa shall make application therefor at a consular office of the Republic of Liberia in such form and manner as shall be by regulations prescribed. In the application, the immigrant shall state his full and true name, age and sex; nationality; race; date and place of birth; present address; marital status; occupation; personal description (including height, complexion, color of hair and eyes and any distinguishing marks or features); and such additional information necessary to the identification of the applicant and the enforcement of the immigration and nationality laws as may be by regulations prescribed.

2. *Documentary evidence to accompany application for immigrant visa.* Every alien applying for an immigrant visa shall present a valid unexpired passport or other suitable travel document. The immigrant shall furnish to the consular officer with his application a certificate by the appropriate police authorities stating what their records show concerning the immigrant; a doctor's certificate that the applicant is free from dangerous contagious disease; a sufficient number of copies of a photograph of the applicant, each bearing his signature, to be attached to each copy of the application; and any other records or

12. *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:23(1), (2), (3), (4), (6); L. 1954-55, ch. XVII, § 15(b), (c), (d), (f), 16.

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documents concerning him which may be required by the consular officer. In the event that the immigrant establishes to the satisfaction of the consular officer that any document or record required by this paragraph is unobtainable, the consular officer may permit the immigrant to submit in lieu of such document or record other satisfactory evidence of the fact to which such document or record would, if obtainable, pertain.

3. *Application for non-immigrant visa.* Every alien applying for a non-immigrant visa shall make application therefor at a consular office of the Republic of Liberia in such form and manner as shall be by regulations prescribed. In the application the alien shall state his full and true name, age, and sex; nationality; race; date and place of birth; present address; marital status; occupation; personal description (including height, complexion, color of hair and eyes, and any distinguishing marks or features); the purpose and length of his intended stay in Liberia; and such additional information as may be necessary to the identification of the applicant and the enforcement of the immigration and nationality laws. Every alien applying for a non-immigrant visa shall furnish to the consular officer, with his application, a certified copy of such documents pertaining to him as may be required by law, and including, if he is applying to enter as an alien resident, a written statement of approval of admission by the Attorney General in accordance with the requirement of section 5.13 of this title. The applicant for a non-immigrant visa shall also furnish a sufficient number of copies of his photograph, each bearing his signature, to be attached to each copy of the application.

4. *Signing and verification of application; issuance of visa.* Except as may be otherwise prescribed by regulations, each copy of an application for a visa required by regulation shall be signed by the applicant in the presence of the consular officer, and verified by the oath of the applicant administered by the consular officer. One copy of the application for an immigrant visa, when visaed by the

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consular officer, shall become the immigrant visa. The issuance of a non-immigrant visa shall be evidenced by a stamp placed by the consular officer in the alien's passport and containing the signature and seal of such officer.

5. *Approval of issuance of visa by Secretary of State.* A consular officer shall not issue a resident alien's visa or an immigrant visa without obtaining prior approval from the Secretary of State [Minister of Foreign Affairs]; and any such visa shall not be valid for entry unless the consular officer has entered thereon the date and number of approval issued by the Secretary of State. A consular officer may submit the application for a visa of any kind to the Secretary of State for consideration and advice, and if the Secretary of State directs the disapproval of any such application, the consular officer shall refuse to issue the visa. An alien whose application has been refused under the provisions of this paragraph shall be inadmissible unless and until the disapproval of the Secretary of State has been withdrawn.

6. *Class of alien to be shown on visa.* A consular officer issuing a visa shall indicate clearly thereon the class to which the alien belongs under section 1.2 of this title.¹³

§ 5.11. Diplomatic visas.

On application for admission by an alien with diplomatic status, as defined in paragraph (a) of section 1.2 of this title, the requirements of section 5.10 of this title may be waived in the discretion of the officer issuing the visa, and in lieu thereof a diplomatic visa may be issued, consisting of a simple notation made in the passport. No fee shall be charged for a diplomatic visa.¹⁴

13 *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:26; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 4(a), (b), (c), (d), 22(a).

14 *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:28; L. 1954-55 ch. XVI, § 4(e).

§ 5.12. Period of validity.

An immigrant or resident alien's visa shall be valid for a period of four months. The date of expiration of its validity shall be stated on the visa. A visiting alien's visa or visa for an alien with diplomatic status shall be valid for such period as shall be prescribed by regulations. In prescribing the period of validity of a visiting alien's visa in the case of nationals of any foreign country who are eligible for such visas, the Secretary shall, in so far as practicable, accord to such nationals the same treatment upon a reciprocal basis as such foreign country accords to citizens of Liberia who are within a similar class.¹⁵

§ 5.13. Approval by Attorney General of petition of alien resident

1. *Approval by Attorney General prerequisite to granting of visa.* A consular officer shall grant a visa to an alien applying for admission as a resident alien only after receiving notice from the Attorney General of approval of the petition of the alien, but this requirement shall not apply to the spouse or unmarried minor child of an alien within the categories of aliens defined in section 1.2 (d) (ii) and (iii).

2. *Petition to Attorney General for approval.* The Attorney General shall determine the right of an alien to receive a visa as an alien resident, if such alien requires his approval under the provisions of paragraph 1 of this section, upon petition of the employer, partner, organization, or institution with which the alien will be associated during residence in Liberia, or, if the alien is to be self-employed, on the petition of the alien himself. Approval of the petition shall be denied unless all conditions stated in paragraphs 3, 4, 5, and 6 of this section have been satisfactorily fulfilled. The petition shall be in such form and contain such information as the Minister of Justice shall prescribe. The Minister of Justice shall act on such petition as

¹⁵ Prior legislation: 1956 Code 3:31; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 22(b).

promptly as possible but in no case shall he delay action on the petition longer than 30 days after its submission. The approval of such a petition shall not, of itself, be construed as establishing that the alien is admissible as a resident.

3. *Admission as student.* As a prerequisite for admission as a student, an alien shall show in his petition to the Minister of Justice that he has been accepted in writing by the institution which he plans to attend, that he has sufficient funds or assurance of funds to guarantee his maintenance during the period of his proposed study without accepting employment, or, if he expects to accept employment on a part-time basis, that he has the permission of the Minister of Justice in accordance with the provisions of section 6.4(2) of this title.

4. *Admission as a teacher.* As a prerequisite for admission of an alien as a teacher, the institution employing him shall guarantee in writing to the Minister of Justice that the alien will be given sufficient compensation to provide for his maintenance while in Liberia and that he will be given funds sufficient for repatriation to his home country if he should be dismissed, resign, or be found by the Minister of Justice to be undesirable as a resident subject to the approval of the President of Liberia. Any costs that the Government may incur in effecting the departure of a teacher whose presence has been found to be undesirable shall be borne by the institution employing him. In the discretion of the Minister of Justice, an institution bringing an alien teacher into Liberia may be required to post a bond not in excess of \$3,000 guaranteeing the good behavior of such teacher and his prompt departure upon expiration of the period of his permitted stay in the country.

5. *Admission of self-employed person.* As a prerequisite for admission of an alien to engage in a business or occupation or to practice a profession or vocation as a self-employed person, the alien himself or

the organization with which he intends to become associated shall post with the Minister of Justice a bond in the amount of \$5,000 guaranteeing good behavior of the alien while in Liberia and prompt departure upon completion of his permitted residence. Upon departure of the alien resident permanently from Liberia, and upon showing that all his legal obligations have been met, the bond shall be returned to him, less any expenses which the Government may have incurred in effecting his departure if non-voluntary.

6. Admission under contract of employment; employment permits. The Minister of Justice shall approve no petition for admission in order to perform professional, skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled labor under a contract of employment unless such petition is accompanied by an employment permit issued by the Director General of the National Labor Affairs Agency [Minister of Labour] or by a statement from the Director General that no employment permit is required by law with respect to the particular applicant. As a further prerequisite for admission of an alien to accept employment in Liberia, the employing individual organization shall agree to provide sufficient funds for the repatriation of each employee, worker, or laborer.

7. Fee for bond form and notary certificate. For each bond required by this section, there shall be used a special form which shall be obtainable from the Minister of Finance at a cost of two dollars. To each bond there shall be attached a certificate of a notary public, who may charge a fee of \$5.00 for notarizing such bond.¹⁶

§ 5.14. Refusal of visas.

1. Issuance to ineligible alien prohibited. No visa or other documen-

¹⁶ Prior legislation: L. 1964-65, ch. (An Act to amend the Aliens and Nationality Law with respect to posting of bonds and permits of residence), § 1 (3:34: A); 1957-58, Supp. 3:43-E(2); L. 1955-56, ch. XXXI, § 8. 1956 Code 3:34; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 11(a), (d), (e), (f), 17(b).

tation shall be issued to an alien if it appears to the consular officer, from statements in the application or in the papers submitted therewith, that such alien is ineligible to receive a visa; if the application fails to comply with the provisions of this title or the regulations issued thereunder; or if the consular officer knows or has reason to believe that such alien is ineligible to receive a visa under section 5.1 of this title or any other provision of law or that his entry into Liberia would not be in the national interest; provided, that such a visa may be issued to an alien who is otherwise ineligible upon receipt of notice by the consular officer from the Minister of Justice of the giving of a bond or approval of a petition under section 5.19 of this title or of authorization from Minister of Justice for the issuance of a visa under one or more of the permissive provisions of section 5.3 of this title.

2. Refusal of immigration visas when immigration is contrary to national interest. If the Attorney General finds that entry of more immigrants into Liberia would be contrary to the national interest and requests the Secretary of State to refuse issuance of any further immigration visas until further immigration visas until further notice,

the Secretary of State shall honor such request and direct the consular officer to refuse immigration visas to any applicants until notice to the contrary is received from the Attorney General.

3. Refusal of visa to be made known. Any alien who has been refused a visa by a consular officer and who hereafter seeks entry into Liberia shall make the fact of his previous refusal known to the consular officer on a subsequent application or if a visa has been granted, to the examining immigration officer. Failure to do so renders him inadmissible, and, if he gains entry, will make him subject to deportation.

4. Record of refusals of visas. A consular officer refusing to issue a visa shall send a record thereof, including the reasons for the refusal,

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to the Attorney General, who shall maintain an index of the names of all persons refused.¹⁷

§ 5.15. Revocation of visa.

After the issuance of a visa to any alien, the consular officer who issued the visa or the Secretary of State may at any time, in his discretion, revoke such visa. Notice of such revocation shall be communicated to the Attorney General, and such revocation shall invalidate the visa from the date of issuance; provided, that carriers or transportation companies and masters, commanding officers, agents, owners, charterers, or consignees, shall not be penalized for action taken in reliance on such visas or other documentation unless they receive notice of such revocation prior to the alien's embarkation.¹⁸

§ 5.16. Re-entry permits.

Any legally admitted alien resident or immigrant wishing to depart from Liberia for a temporary period may apply to the Attorney General for a reentry permit, which will be usable in lieu of a visa when returning to Liberia. The grant of a reentry permit may be evidenced by a stamp placed by an authorized immigration officer in the alien's permit of residence which stamp shall indicate the issuance of the reentry permit and the date of its expiration. The usual period of validity shall be one year, but in the discretion of the Attorney General the validity may be limited to a shorter period. For valid cause, the permit may be extended by the Attorney General for one or more periods. When an alien returns to Liberia with a re-entry permit, it shall be surrendered to the immigration officer, who shall forward it to the Attorney General for incorporation into the file of

¹⁷ *Prior legislation:* 1957-58 Supp. 3:12; L. 1955 (E.S. March), ch. II, § 5; 1956 Code 3:27; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 5(a), (b), (c), 13, 22(d).

¹⁸ *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:30; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 22(e).

the alien. An alien presenting a re-entry permit on application for readmission to Liberia is not required to present a visa but may be refused entry under the same terms as any other alien applying for admission if found to be inadmissible under the provisions of this title.¹⁹

§ 5.17. Border crossing identification cards.

Any alien who is lawfully admitted to Liberia or any alien who is a resident of foreign contiguous territory may, on presentation to an immigration officer of a valid passport and on satisfying such officer that he is not excludable under section 5.1 of this title, be issued by such officer a document of identity bearing the designation "resident border crossing identification card" or "nonresident border crossing identification card" as the case may be, which card, on presentation to an immigration official at the Liberian borders entitles the alien to whom issued to cross over the borders between Liberia and foreign contiguous territory, at any time and place prescribed by law, and to remain for a period no longer than 72 hours.

A border crossing identification card shall be valid for repeated crossings within the period of its validity, and shall be accepted for entry into Liberia in lieu of a passport and visa. A record shall be kept at the border of aliens entering or leaving Liberia on presentation of a border crossing identification card. Any such card which has been issued may be revoked at will by an immigration officer.

§ 5.18. Landing cards.

An alien who arrives at a port of entry as a passenger on a ship or aircraft may be admitted to Liberia for the duration of the stay of such ship or aircraft for a period of no longer than 48 hours on issuance to him by an immigration officer of a document of identify known as a

¹⁹ Prior legislation: 1956 Code 3:32; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 14.

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"landing card." A record of all such cards issued shall be made by the immigration officer. A landing card shall be surrendered by an alien to whom issued on reboarding his ship or aircraft and a notation of his departure duly made in the records.²⁰

§ 5.19. Admission of immigrants who are relatives of citizens or immigrants.

Any citizen of Liberia or any alien who has been admitted as an immigrant and who wishes to secure the admission to Liberia as an immigrant of his alien spouse, parent, or child who is or may be excludable under paragraphs (a), (d), (g), (i) or (m) of this title may file a petition addressed to the Attorney General requesting the waiver of any such ground for exclusion. The petition shall be in two copies and shall set forth the following information regarding the petitioner: names date and place of birth, date of naturalization if not a native-born citizen, relationship to the alien whose admission is sought, and, in the case of a spouses date and place of marriage. With regard to the alien whose admission is sought the petition shall set forth the following information; name, date and place of birth, nationality, and the reason why the alien is or may be excludable. If the Attorney General does not find it contrary to the national interest to admit the alien, he may waive the ground for exclusion in accordance with the request contained in the petition and approve the application of the alien. In such case, he shall send a copy of the petition showing his approval to the Secretary of State to be forwarded to the consular officer to whom the alien will apply for a visa and such officer shall not then deny the visa on the ground waived by the Attorney General.²¹

²⁰ Prior legislation: 1956 Code 3:45(1st sent.); L 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 10 (1st sent.).

²¹ Prior legislation: 1956 Code 3:33; L. 1954-55, ch. XXI, § 8.

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§ 5.20. Non-admission upon arrival.

Nothing in this chapter shall be construed to entitle any alien to whom a visa or other documentation has been issued, to enter Liberia if, upon arrival at a port of entry in Liberia, he is found to be inadmissible under this title or any other provision of law.²²

§ 5.21. Fraudulent visas or other documents permitting entry.

Any person who falsely or fraudulently makes or obtains for himself or another a visa, reentry permit, landing card, border crossing identification card, or other document permitting entry into Liberia, or any person who uses such a document knowing it to have been falsely or fraudulently obtained shall be subject to a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.²³

***Subchapter C. APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION
AT PORT OF ENTRY.*****§ 5.40. Time and place for admission of persons to Liberia.**

The Attorney General shall designate by regulation the ports of entry through which persons may enter and depart from Liberia territory. The Attorney General is also authorized to provide such reasonable requirements for vessels and aircraft in civil air navigation with respect to giving notice in advance of landing as shall be deemed necessary for purposes of administration of the immigration laws.²⁴

22 *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:56; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 20.

23 *Prior legislation:* 1956-57 Supp. 3:31-A; L. 1956-57, ch. XXXI, § 9.

24 *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:36; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 24(c).

§ 5.41. Data to be furnished on entering or leaving Liberia.

1. *Requirement.* Every citizen and every alien, except those considered by the Secretary of State to warrant special treatment because of their diplomatic rank or importance, shall upon leaving and upon entering Liberia furnish the immigration officer at the port of entry, on a card to be supplied by the Attorney General, entitled "Embarkation-Disembarkation Card" the following information: his name and nationality, his means of arrival or departure (by land, sea or air), and, if he is an alien, his destination, occupation, purpose in entering Liberia, and proposed length of stay, together with such other information as may be required by regulations.

2. *Data from special persons.* The statistical data required to be furnished by paragraph 1 of this section shall be collected through the Department of State from any person entering or leaving the country who is considered by the Secretary of State to warrant special treatment because of his diplomatic rank or importance.

3. *False statements.* Any person who knowingly furnishes false information on an embarkation-disembarkation card shall be subject to a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.²⁵

§ 5.42. Lists of arriving passengers.

Upon the arrival of any vessel at any port within Liberia from any place outside Liberia, it shall be the duty of the owner, agent, consignee, master, or commanding officer thereof to deliver to the immigration officer at the port of arrival lists or manifests of the

²⁵ *Prior legislation:* L. 1966-67, ch. (An act to amend section 59 of the Aliens and Nationality Law with respect to statistical data and repealing section 61 in relation thereto), § 1.2 (3:59); L. 1960-61, ch. XLIII.

passengers on board such vessel, showing the nationality and destination of each, and such further information as the Attorney General may prescribe for identification of such persons. Any owner, agent, consignee, master, or commanding officer who fails to deliver a complete, true and correct list or report is required by this section shall pay to the collector of customs at the port of arrival the sum of \$10 for each alien not included in such list or for whom the required information is not stated.²⁶

§ 5.43. Statement required of applicant for admission under oath.

Any person applying for admission to Liberia may be required to state under oath the purpose or purposes for which he desires admission, the length of time he intends to remain in Liberia, whether or not he intends to remain in Liberia permanently and, if an alien, whether he intends to become a citizens and such other items of information as will aid the immigration officer in determining whether he is a citizen of Liberia or an alien and, if the latter, whether he belongs to any of the excludable classes.²⁷

§ 5.44. Physical examination of alien at ports of entry.

Any alien applying for admission to Liberia shall, regardless of the sufficiency of his medical documentation, be subject to medical examination under the applicable provisions of the Public Health Law to enable the Attorney General to determine whether the alien belongs to any of the classes excluded from admission by reason of being afflicted with any of the diseases or mental or physical defects or disabilities set forth in section 5.1 of this title. For the purpose of making such determination, or whenever aliens are coming from a country or

26 *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:37; Cons. Serv. Reg., § 101.

27 *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:41 (2nd, 3rd pars.), 42; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 5(d), 24(a), (b), (d), (e).

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have embarked at a place where any such diseases are prevalent or epidemic, such aliens shall be detained on board the vessel or at the airport of arrival of the aircraft bringing them, unless the Attorney General directs detention in a Liberian immigration station or other place specified by him, at the expense of such vessel or aircraft, for a sufficient time to enable the immigration officers and health officers to subject such aliens to observation and an examination sufficient to determine whether they belong to the excluded classes.²⁸

§ 5.45. Inspection of aliens by immigration officers.

The inspection, other than the physical or mental examination of aliens seeking admission or re-admission to or the privilege of passing through Liberia shall be conducted by immigration officers.²⁹

§ 5.46. Time for which alien visitors are admitted; conditional admission.

The period for which an alien visitor is permitted to enter Liberia shall be fixed by the examining immigration officer at the port of entry for a period of 60 days. On admitting the alien, the immigration officer shall affix in the passport a stamp showing the date of admission and the date until which the alien may remain in Liberia. The Attorney General may impose such conditions on the admission of an alien visitor as he deems advisable in a particular case, including when he deems necessary, the giving of a bond with sufficient surety in such sum and containing such conditions as the Attorney General shall prescribe to ensure that at the expiration of such terms or upon failure to maintain the status under which he was admitted, or to maintain any status subsequently acquired, such alien shall depart

²⁸ Prior legislation: 1956 Code 3:40; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 4(h), 23.

²⁹ Prior legislation: 1956 Code 3:41 (1st par.); L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 24(c) (1st 2 sents.).

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from Liberia.³⁰

§ 5.47. Application by alien visitor without visa.

An alien applying for admission to Liberia as a visitor within any of the categories defined in section 1.2 (b) of this title is not required to present a visa. The immigration officer who admits such an alien shall file a record of his admission with the Attorney General.³¹

§ 5.48. Application for admission by alien resident without visa.

If an alien who seeks entry as an alien resident presents himself for admission without a visa, his case shall be submitted for examination and determination to the Attorney General, who shall approve the application only if all the prerequisites for securing an alien resident visa stated in section 5.13 of this title have been fulfilled. If admission is granted, a record of the admission shall be filed with the Attorney General. While the case is under examination by the Attorney General, the alien shall be held in detention at the expense of the transportation line which brought him to Liberia or he may be admitted on temporary parole in accordance with section 5.3(3) of this title, or he may be released upon deposit of a bond of \$3,000, which will be returned to him if his application for entry is rejected and if he thereupon departs voluntarily from the country. If he should not depart voluntarily, the proceeds of the bond shall be used to cover the expense of enforcing his departure.³²

§ 5.49 Records of alien's entry.

30 *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:24(a) (4), 35; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, §6(a) (4), 17(a).

31 *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:29; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 4(f).

32 *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 1/3:29; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 4(f).

Whenever an alien is granted admission at a port of entry the examining immigration officer shall note the fact of the entry upon the alien's passport, together with a brief notation of his status, and if a visitors the further information required by section 5.46 of this title. The immigration visas surrendered at the port of entry shall be marked with the date of the alien's entry and sent by the immigration officer to the office of the Attorney General, who shall maintain a file of such visas. The duplicate copies of any visas or applications for visas on file at consular offices and immigration offices may be destroyed after a lapse of three years from the date of issuance. A record shall be filed with the Attorney General of the admission of all aliens at the port of entry, whether with or without a visa.³³

§ 5.50. Overtime pay for immigration officers.

Each time an immigration officer boards a vessel or aircraft outside the regular official hours from 8 a.m. to 4 p. m., the owners of such vessel or aircraft shall pay an overtime fee of ten dollars. Such charges will be billed and collected by the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization who shall deposit them in a special account with the Bureau of Internal Revenues. An immigration officer who is entitled to receive an overtime fee will be paid on an overtime payroll.³⁴

Subchapter D. EXCLUSION AND DEPARTURE

§ 5.60. Procedure for exclusion.

1. Detention for further inquiry; challenge of favorable decision.

³³ Prior legislation: 1956 Code 3:38; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 4(g)(1st sent.), 12, 22(c), 26.

³⁴ Prior legislation: L. 1966-67, ch. (An act to amend the Aliens and Nationality Law to provide overtime pay for immigration officers) (3:63); L. 1960-61, ch. § 3; 1957-58 Supp. 3:4; L. 1956-57, ch. XXXI, § 10.

Every alien (other than an alien crewman or stowaway) who in the opinion of the examining immigration officer at the port of arrival is not clearly and beyond doubt entitled to admission shall be detained for further inquiry to be conducted by a hearing officer to determine the admissibility of the alien. The decision of the examining immigration officer, if favorable to the admission of an alien, shall be subject to challenge by any other immigration officer at the time of application for admission and such challenge shall operate to take the alien whose privilege to enter is so challenged before a hearing officer designated by the Attorney General to determine the admissibility of the alien.

2. *Hearing.* The hearing of an alien to determine his admissibility shall conform to the requirements of the Administrative Procedure Act. The immigration officer who decided at the port that the alien was not clearly and beyond doubt entitled to admission may appear as a witness at the hearing but shall not participate in the deliberations of the hearing officer.

3. *Appeal to Office of Immigration Appeals.* From a decision of a hearing Officer excluding an alien, such alien may within three days appeal to the Office of Immigration Appeals by filing with such office a petition to review the decision excluding the alien. Any excluded alien shall be advised of his right to take such an appeal. From a decision of the hearing officer to admit an alien, the immigration officer in charge at the port where the hearing is held may also take an appeal within three days to the Office of Immigration Appeals. The Office of Immigration Appeals after hearing an appeal under this section shall decide whether the alien is to be admitted or excluded and deported. From a decision to exclude and deport, the alien may appeal to the Attorney General whose decision shall be final, and may not be appealed to the courts. The provisions of paragraph 6 of section 3.1 of this title shall be applicable to the proceedings before the Attorney General. An appeal by the alien or officer in charge

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shall operate to stay any final action with respect to any alien whose case is appealed until the decision of the Office of Immigration Appeals and, if an appeal is made to the Attorney General, until his decision. During the processing of an appeal, the alien may be held in detention or released on bond, in the discretion of the Office of Immigration Appeals. The bond shall be in the sum of \$3,000, and the proceeds shall be available to cover any costs that the Government may incur in detaining, housing, and deporting the alien.³⁵

§ 5.61. Deportation of excluded alien.

Any alien arriving in Liberia who is excluded under the provisions of this title shall be immediately deported to the country whence he came in accommodations of the same class in which he arrived on the vessel or aircraft which brought him, unless immediate deportation is not practicable or proper. The cost of maintenance including detention expenses and expenses incident to the detention of any such alien while he is being detained shall be borne by the owner or owners of the vessel or aircraft on which he arrived. The transportation cost of deporting the alien shall also be borne by the owner or owners of the vessel or aircraft on which he arrived, unless the alien was in possession of a valid unexpired visa or reentry permit, or, in cases in which the alien is not required by law to present a visa or reentry permit at the port of entry, unless the ground for exclusion could not have been ascertained by the exercise of due diligence prior to the alien's embarkation for Liberia. In such cases the cost of removal of the alien after exclusion shall be payable from the appropriation for the enforcement of this chapter.³⁶

35 *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:41(2nd, 3rd, pars.), 42; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 5(d), 24(a), (b), (d), (e).

36 *Prior legislation:* L. 1966-67, ch. (An act to amend the Alien and Nationality Law with respect to deportation of excluded aliens) 3:46; 1956 Code 3:46; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 25(a); L. 1949-50, ch. XIII, § 4, 5.

§ 5.62. Duties of transportation company as to excluded alien.

1. *Duties enumerated.* It shall be unlawful for any master, commanding officer, purser, person in charge, owner or consignee of any vessel or aircraft

- (a) to refuse to receive any excluded alien ordered deported back on board of such vessel or aircraft or another vessel or aircraft owned or operated by the same person;
- (b) to fail to detain any alien on board any such vessel or at the airport of arrival of the aircraft when required by this chapter or if so ordered by an immigration officer, or to fail to refuse to deliver him for medical or other inspection, as and when so ordered by such officer;
- (c) to refuse or fail to remove any excluded alien from Liberia to the country from which he embarked on the carrier;
- (d) to fail to pay the cost of his maintenance while being detained as required by this chapter;
- (e) to take any fee, deposit, or consideration on a contingent basis to be kept in case the alien is landed, or returned in case he is excluded; or
- (f) knowingly to bring to Liberia any alien excluded or arrested and deported under any provisions of law until such alien may be lawfully entitled to reapply for admission to Liberia.

2. *Civil penalty for violations.* If it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Attorney General that any such master, commanding officer,

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purser, person in charge, agent, owner or consignee of any vessel or aircraft has violated any of the provisions of this section or other provisions of this chapter, such person shall pay to the collector of customs of the port of arrival the sum of \$1,000 for each such violation to be deposited into the Bureau of Revenues.

3. *Payment of costs of deportation if vessel or aircraft has left Liberia.* If the vessel or aircraft by which any alien arrived who has been ordered deported under section 5.61 of this title, has left Liberia and it is impracticable to deport the alien within a reasonable time by another vessel or aircraft owned by the same person, the costs of deportation may be paid from the appropriation for the enforcement of this chapter and recovered by civil suit from any owner, agent, or consignee of the vessel or aircraft liable for such costs under paragraph 1 of this section.³⁷

§ 5.63. Record of departure of aliens.

It shall be the duty of the owner, agent, consignee, master or commanding officer of every vessel taking passengers on board at any port of Liberia, who are destined to any place outside Liberia, to file with the immigration officers before departure from such port a list of all such persons taken on board together with the place and date of entry of any alien included in the list. Such lists shall contain such other information, be in such form, and be accompanied by such documents as the Attorney General shall prescribe by regulation as necessary for the identification of the persons so transported and for the enforcement of the immigration laws. No master or commanding officer of any such vessel shall be granted clearance papers for his vessel until he has deposited such list. Any owner, agent, consignee, master, or commanding officer who fails to deliver a complete, true and correct list as required by this section shall, if required by the

³⁷ Prior legislation: 1956 Code 3:47; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 25(b), (c).

Attorney General, pay to the collector of customs at the port of arrival the sum of \$10 for each alien not included in such list or for whom the required information is not started.³⁸

§ 5.64. Exclusion of stowaways.

The owner, charterer, agent, consignee, master, or commanding officer of any vessel or aircraft arriving in Liberia from any place outside thereof who fails to detain on board or at such other place as may be designated by an immigration officer any alien stowaway until such stowaway has been inspected by an immigration officer, or who fails to detain such stowaway on board or at such other designated place after inspection if ordered to do so by an immigration officer, or who fails to deport such stowaway on the vessel or aircraft on which he arrived or on another vessel or aircraft at the expense of the vessel or aircraft on which he arrived when required to do so by an immigration officer, shall pay to the collector of customs in the port of arrival the sum of \$1,000 for each alien stowaway with respect to whom such failure occurs. The provisions of section 5.60 of this title with respect to examination of aliens before a hearing officer and the right to appeal shall not apply to aliens who arrive as stowaways. No such alien shall be permitted to enter Liberia except temporarily for medical treatment or, in the discretion of the Attorney General, on temporary parole under paragraph 3, section 5.3 of this title.

§ 5.65. Certificate of clearance from Minister of Finance.

No alien resident or alien visitor admitted to engage in business who has been in Liberia for an aggregate of more than 60 days during a calendar year, shall, unless he is in possession of a border crossing identification card, depart from Liberia without presenting to the

³⁸ Prior legislation: 1956 Code 3:45 (except 1st sent.); L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 10 (except 1st sent.).

immigration officer at the port of departure a certificate of clearance obtained from the Secretary of the Treasury to the effect that the alien has complied with all the obligations imposed upon him by the income tax law.

***Subchapter E. SPECIAL PROVISIONS RELATING
TO ALIEN CREWMEN.***

§ 5.70. Information to be given on arrival in Liberia from any place outside Liberia.

It shall be the duty of the owner, agent, consignee, master, or commanding officer thereof to furnish the immigration officer at the port of arrival complete, true, and correct information in writing, with regard to the names of all aliens employed on such vessel or aircraft, the positions they respectively hold in the crew of the vessel or aircraft, when and where they were respectively shipped or engaged, those to be paid off or discharged in the port of arrival; and such additional information as the Attorney General shall by regulation prescribe.

§ 5.71. Reports of illegal landings.

It shall be the duty of any owner, agent, consignee, master or commanding officer of any vessel or aircraft to report to an immigration officer, in writing, as soon as discovered, all cases in which any alien crewman has illegally landed in Liberia from the vessel or aircraft, together with a description of such alien and any information likely to lead to his apprehension.

§ 5.72. Permit to crewman to land.

No alien crewman shall be permitted to land in Liberia except as

provided in this section or under special permission granted pursuant to paragraphs 1 or 3 of section 5.3 of this title or section 5.76 of this title. If an immigration officer finds upon examination that an alien crewman is a nonimmigrant under paragraph (c) of section 1.2 of this title and is otherwise admissible and has agreed to accept such permit, he may, in his discretion, grant the crewman a conditional permit to land temporarily pursuant to regulations prescribed by the Attorney General, subject to revocation in subsequent proceedings as provided in section 5.75 of this title, and for a period of time, in any event, not to exceed --

- (a) The period of time (not exceeding 29 days) during which the vessel or aircraft on which he arrived remains in port, if the immigration officer is satisfied that the crewman intends to depart on the vessel or aircraft on which he arrived; or
- (b) Not to exceed 29 days, if the immigration officer is satisfied that the crewman intends to depart within the period for which he is permitted to land, on a vessel or aircraft other than one on which he arrived. Any crewman who willfully remains in Liberia in excess of the number of days allowed under any conditional permit to enter shall be subject to a fine of not more than \$500, or imprisonment for not more than six months or both.

§ 5.73. Revocation of permit to land.

Pursuant to regulations prescribed by the Attorney General, any immigration officer may, in his discretion, if he determines that an alien is not a bona fide crewman or does not intend to depart within the period of time fixed by his landing permit, revoke the conditional permit to land which was granted such crewman, take such crewman into custody, and require the master of the vessel on which the crewman arrived to receive and detain him on board such vessel or the commanding officer of the aircraft to detain the crewman at a

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place specified by the immigration officer. Such crewman shall be deported from Liberia as soon as practicable at the expense of the transportation line which brought him to Liberia. Until such alien is so deported, any expenses of his detention shall be borne by such transportation company. Nothing in this section shall be construed to require the procedure prescribed in section 7.3 of this title to cases falling within the provisions of this section.

§ 5.74. Documents on landing of crewman.

An alien crewman not in possession of any individual documents other than a passport may be admitted, subject to the provisions of this title, if his name appears in the crew list of the vessel or aircraft on which he arrives and the crew list is visaed by a consular officer; but the consular officer shall have the right to exclude any alien crewman from the application of such visa.³⁹

§ 5.75. Discharge of alien crewman.

It shall be unlawful for any person, including the owner, agent, consignee, charterer, masters, or commanding officer of any vessel or aircraft, to pay off or discharge any alien crewman, employed on board a vessel or aircraft arriving in Liberia, without first having obtained the consent of the Attorney General. If it shall appear to the satisfaction of the Attorney General that any alien crewman has been paid off or discharged in Liberia in violation of the provisions of this section, such owner, consignee, charterer, master, commanding officer, or other person, shall pay to the collector of customs of the port in which the violation occurred the sum of \$1,000 for each such violation. Such penalty may in the discretion of the Attorney General

³⁹ Prior legislation: 1956 Code 3:39; 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 22(c); Rev. Stat. § 1184; OBB 88, Act regulating commerce and revenue, art. VII, § 1; 1841 Digest, pt. I, Gen. Port Reg., art. 7, 2 Hubb. 1513.

be mitigated to not less than \$500 for each violation, upon such terms as he may think proper.

§ 5.76. Hospital treatment of alien crewmen afflicted with disease.

An alien crewman, including an alien crewman ineligible for a conditional permit to land under section 5.72 of this title, who is found on arrival in a port of Liberia to be afflicted with insanity, tuberculosis, leprosy or any dangerous contagious disease, or in immediate need of hospitalization or medical treatment for any other reason, shall be placed in a hospital designated by the immigration officer in charge at the port of arrival and treated, or admitted for medical treatment without hospitalization under such conditions as the Attorney General may prescribe. All expenses connected therewith, including burial in the event of death, shall be borne by the owner, agent, consignee, commanding officer, or master of the vessel or aircraft, and shall not be deducted from the crewman's wages. In cases in which it appears to the satisfaction of the immigration officer in charge that it will not be possible within a reasonable time to effect a cure, to return of the alien crewman may be effected by and at the expense of the transportation line on which he came, upon such conditions as the Attorney General shall prescribe, to insure that the alien shall be properly cared for and protected, and that proper precautions shall be taken against the spread of contagion.

§ 5.77 Information to be given on departure of vessel or aircraft from Liberia.

Before the departure of any vessel or aircraft from any port in Liberia, it shall be the duty of the owner, agent, consignee, master or commanding officer thereof, to deliver to an immigration officer at that port information in writing, concerning the names of all employees who were not employed thereon at the time of the arrival at that port but who will leave such port thereon at the time of the departure of such

vessel or aircraft, and the names of those, if any, who have been paid off or discharged, and those, if any, who have deserted or landed at that port, together with such other information as the Attorney General may by regulation prescribe.⁴⁰

§ 5.78. Duties of agents of transportation companies; penalty.

The owner, agent, consignee, charterer, master, or commanding officer of any vessel or aircraft arriving in Liberia from any place outside thereof who fails

- (a) to detain on board the vessel, or in the case of an aircraft, to detain at a place specified by an immigration officer at the expense of the airline, any alien crewman employed thereon until an immigration officer has completely inspected such alien crewman, including a physical examination by the medical examiner, or
- (b) to detain any alien crewman on board the vessel, or in the case of an aircraft at a place specified by an immigration officer at the expense of the airline, after such inspection unless a conditional permit to land temporarily has been granted such alien crewman, or
- (c) to deport such alien crewman if required to do so by an immigration officer, whether such deportation requirement is imposed before or after the crewman is permitted to land, shall pay to the collector of customs of the customs district in which the port of arrival is located or in which the failure to comply with the orders of the officer occurs, the sum of \$1,000 for each alien crewman in respect to whom any such failure occurs. Such

⁴⁰ *Prior legislation:* 1957-58 Supp. 19:205(I); L. 1957-58, ch. XX, § 44; 1956 Code 22:316; L. 1958-59, 27, § 6.

penalty may in the discretion of the Attorney General be mitigated to not less than \$500 for each violation, upon such terms as he may think proper.

§ 5.79. Penalty for failure to furnish information or reports of illegal landing.

In case any owner, agent, consignee, master, or commanding officer shall fail to furnish complete, true, and correct information or reports of alien crewman as required by sections 5.70 and 5.77 of this title, or to report cases of illegal landing as required by section 5.71 of this title, such owner, agent, consignee, master, or commanding officer, shall, if required by the Attorney General, pay to the collector of customs of any customs district in which the vessel or aircraft may at any time be found a penalty in the sum of \$10 for each alien concerning whom such information is not furnished or such reports are not made as required.

Subchapter F. GENERAL PENALTIES FOR VIOLATIONS OF CHAPTER 5

§ 5.90. Illegal entry.

Any alien who --

- (a) Enters Liberia at any time or place other than as designated by law;
- (b) Eludes examination or inspection by immigration officers; or
- (c) Obtains entry to Liberia by a wilfully false or misleading representation or the concealment of a material fact, shall be subject to a fine of up to \$1,000 or imprisonment for up to one

year or both.⁴¹

§ 5.91. Bringing in or harboring illegal entrants.

Any person, including the owner, operator, pilot, master, commanding officer, agent, or consignee of any means of transportation, who knowing that an alien has not been duly admitted by an immigration officer or is not lawfully entitled to enter or reside in Liberia under the terms of this title ---

- (a) Brings into or lands in Liberia any such alien by any means of transportation or otherwise; or
- (b) Willfully or knowingly conceals, harbors, aids, shields from detection or transports or moves any such alien; or
- (c) Provides a false visa, passport, or other document tending to establish that such alien is a citizen of Liberia or that he was legally admitted to Liberia, is subject to a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year or both for each alien with respect to whom a violation of this section occurs.

§ 5.92. Importation of alien for immoral purpose.

Whoever shall, directly or indirectly, import or attempt to import into Liberia any alien for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose, or shall hold or attempt to hold any alien for any such purpose in pursuance of such illegal importation, or shall keep, maintain, control, support, employ, or harbor for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose, any alien in pursuance of such illegal importation, shall be subject to a fine of not more than

⁴¹ Prior legislation: 1957-58 Supp. 3:55(1); L. 1956-57, ch. XXX, §4, 11; 1956 Code 3:36; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 24(c).

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\$5,000 or imprisonment for not more than three years or both.

§ 5.93. Reentry of excluded or deported alien.

Any alien who ---

(a) has been arrested and deported, or has been excluded and deported within the previous year, and thereafter;

(b) enters or is at any time found in Liberia unless prior to his reembarkation at a place outside Liberia or his application for admission from foreign contiguous territory, the Attorney General has expressly consented to such alien's reapplying for admission;

shall be subject to a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year or both.

Chapter 6. CONTROL OF ALIENS WITHIN LIBERIA

- § 6.1. Permits of residence.
- § 6.2. Extension of stay.
- § 6.3. Adjustment of status.
- § 6.4. Maintenance of student status.
- § 6.5. Maintenance of employment status.
- § 6.6. Records to show nonimmigrants who overstay period of admission.
- § 6.7. Restriction on settlement of immigrants.

§ 6.1. Permit of residence.

1. Requirement stated. Every alien presently in Liberia or hereafter admitted to Liberia as an immigrant or alien resident shall obtain a

permit of residence.

2. *Application by aliens entering Liberia.* Every alien who applies for a visa to enter Liberia as an immigrant or alien resident shall at the same time make out an application for a permit of residence. A copy of the application for the visa shall serve as the application for the permit of residence, and together with his photograph, shall be presented by the alien to the immigration officer on his application for admission at the port of entry.

3. *Issuance at port of entry.* The immigration officer, on admitting an alien to Liberia as an immigrant or alien resident, shall issue to him on payment of a fee of one hundred dollars a permit of residence in the form prescribed by paragraph 4 of this section; or, if it is impracticable to issue the permit of residence at the time of admission of the alien at the port of entry, the immigration officer shall direct the alien to present himself at the Central Office of the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, Monrovia, within ten to twenty days thereafter, at which time he shall be issued a permit of residence.

4. *Contents of permit of residence.* A permit of residence shall state the name and Liberian address of the alien, the date of his admission to Liberia, the status of the alien as immigrant or alien resident, the occupation in which he is presently engaged and name of his employer, if any; and such additional matter as may be prescribed by regulation. Affixed to the permit of residence shall be a photograph having a reasonable likeness to the alien and bearing his signature.

5. *Period of renewal.* A permit of residence shall be valid for one year and shall be renewed on payment of a fee of ten dollars within the period of 30 days after the expiration of the year. Any permit of residence granted after the effective date of this title shall be dated as of the date of admission of the alien to Liberia and its period of validity shall run from that. Any permit of residence granted before

the effective date of this title continues to be valid for one year after the date of its issuance and shall likewise be renewed within the period of 30 days after its expiration.

6. *Duplicate permits.* Any alien who misplaces or loses his permit of residence and can prove that he formerly possessed a permit shall be issued a duplicate permit upon the payment of a fee of one dollar.

7. *Change of address.* Any alien required to hold a permit of residence shall notify in writing the immigration officer at the immigration station nearest to his place of residence, of each change of address and his new address within ten days after the date of such change.

8. *Duty of parent or legal guardian of alien under 18.* It shall be the duty of every parent or legal guardian of any alien under 18 years of age hereafter applying for admission to Liberia as an immigrant or alien resident or presently in Liberia as an immigrant or alien resident to apply for a permit of residence or a renewal of permit of residence and to give notice of change of address on behalf of such alien under 18 in accordance with the requirement of this section.

9. *Penalty.* Any alien or any parent or legal guardian who willfully fails or refuses to obtain a permit of residence in compliance with paragraph 1 of this section, or to renew a permit of residence as required by 5 of this section, or to notify the Attorney General of a change of address as required by paragraph 7 of this section, shall be liable to a payment of a civil penalty of \$25 (twenty-five dollars).

10. *Fraudulent statements.* Any alien or any parent of legal guardian of any alien who files an application for a permit of residence or renewal of a permit of residence, containing statements which he knows to be false, or who notifies the Attorney General of an address which he knows to be false, or who procures or attempts to procure

a permit of residence for himself or another person through fraud, shall be subject to a fine not to exceed \$1,000 or imprisonment for a period not to exceed one year or both; and any alien so convicted shall, upon warrant of the Attorney General, be taken into custody and be deported in the manner provided in chapter 7 of this title.⁴²

§ 6.2. Extension of stay.

The period for which an alien visitor is admitted to Liberia may be extended by the Attorney General in his discretion. A notation of the extension shall be made by the Attorney General on the alien's passport.⁴³

§ 6.3. Adjustment of status.

The status of an alien lawfully admitted to Liberia may be adjusted by the Attorney General to any other status for which he can qualify on application of such alien. A record shall be made of any order of the Attorney General effecting a change of status and a brief notation of the adjustment of status shall be made by the Attorney General on the alien's passport and, if he is an immigrant or alien resident, on his permit of residence.⁴⁴

§ 6.4. Maintenance of student status.

1. Course of study. An alien who has been admitted to Liberia as a student shall carry a full course of study for each semester or show by

42 *Prior legislation:* L. 1966-67, ch. (An Act to amend the Aliens and Nationality Law with respect to fingerprinting), 3:45-F; 1957-58 Supp. 3:43-A, 43-B, 43-C, 43-D; L. 1956-57, ch. XXXI, § 2, 3, 5, 6; 1956 Code 3.43; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 9.

43 *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3.25 (1), (5); L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 4(g), 7(a)

44 *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:25(2), (3), (4); L. 1954-55, ch. XXI, § 7(b), (c), (d), 29.

written affidavit submitted to the Attorney General his reason for not doing so. A student who fails to comply with this requirement shall be subject to deportation proceedings.

2. *Employment.* An alien admitted to Liberia as a student may engage in part-time employment which has been approved by the Attorney General as not likely to affect the regular attendance of the alien at school or lower his grades.⁴⁵

§ 6.5. Maintenance of employment status.

1. *Approval by Minister of Justice of change of employment.* No alien shall change his employment nor his occupation, profession or means of livelihood, whether with the same or a different employer, nor shall an unemployed alien secure employment, without first obtaining the approval of the Minister of Justice. Such approval shall be granted only on condition that (a) the Minister of Labor has issued an employment permit for such change of employment or securing of employment or has advised in writing that no employment permit is required by law with respect to the particular employment; and (b) the prospective employer has furnished a bond in the amount of \$3,000 as a guarantee of prompt departure of the alien upon the expiration of the permitted period of residence or upon order of the Minister of Justice to depart. No person shall employ an alien presently in Liberia---

(a) Unless such alien holds a valid permit of residence; and

(b) Unless the Minister of Justice has granted his approval as herein above required.

2. *Report by employers on alien employees.* Any person employing

⁴⁵ *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:44; L. 1954-55, ch. 11(b), (c).

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aliens shall furnish the Attorney General semi-annually in accordance with rules and regulations with a true and complete list of all alien employees employed by him, indicating the kind of work performed by each employee, and his nationality and tenure of service. An employer who violates the provisions of this paragraph shall be liable to a civil penalty of \$100 for each employee as to whom incomplete or false information is furnished.⁴⁶

§ 6.6. Records to show non-immigrants who overstay period of admission.

The Attorney General shall maintain in his office a chronological record showing the date to which each non-immigrant in the country is entitled to remain and the date of their departure from the country. When the date to which a non-immigrant is permitted to remain has been reached, if there is no record of his departure, the Attorney General shall as soon as practicable institute proceedings to effect the departure of such alien.⁴⁷

§ 6.7. Restriction on settlement of immigrants.

Immigrants may be directed by the Attorney General to settle in specified sections of the country in order to prevent unreasonable numbers from settling in one county, city, town, or village. An immigrant who establishes a residence in a place other than the one designated by the Attorney General shall be liable to payment of a civil penalty of \$10 for every month of noncompliance.⁴⁸

46 *Prior legislation:* 1957-58 Supp.3:43-E(l), (3); L.1956-57, ch.XXI, §§ 1,8.

47 *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:45 (except 1st. sent.); L.1954-55, ch.XVI, § 10 (except 1st. sent.).

48 *Prior legislation:* 1957-58, Supp. 3:13; L. 1955 (E.S. March), ch.11, § 5.

Chapter 7. DEPORTATION

- § 7.1. Grounds for deportation
- § 7.2. Arrest and custody of alien pending determination of deportability.
- § 7.3. Proceedings to determine deportability.
- § 7.4. Failure of alien under order of deportation to depart.
- § 7.5. Unlawful re-entry of deported alien.
- § 7.6. Service of prison sentence prior to deportation.
- § 7.7. Country to which alien is to be deported.
- § 7.8. Payment of deportation costs.
- § 7.9. Removal of aliens requiring public aid.

§ 7.1. Grounds for deportation.

Any alien in Liberia shall, upon the order of the Attorney General, be deported who --

- (a) At the time of entry was within one or more of the classes or aliens excludable by the law existing at the time of such entry;
- (b) Entered Liberia without inspection or at any time or place other than as designated by the Attorney General or is in Liberia in violation of this title or any other law of Liberia;
- (c) Hereafter, within five years after entry, is institutionalized at public expense because of mental disease, defect, or deficiency, unless the alien can show that such disease, defect or deficiency did not exist prior to his admission to Liberia.
- (d) Is convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude committed within five years after entry;
- (e) Is or at any time has been after entry a member of any of the

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classes listed in section 5.1(y) of this title;

(f) In the opinion of the Attorney General has within five years after entry become a public charge from causes not affirmatively shown to have arisen after entry;

(g) Was admitted as a non-immigrant and failed to maintain the status in which he was admitted or to which such original status was changed pursuant to section 6.3 of this title, or to comply with the conditions of any such status;

(h) The Attorney General finds is an undesirable alien by reason of being convicted of a violation of or conspiracy to violate any of the provisions of the Foreign Relations Law relating to reservation of neutrality toward other nations;

(i) Has failed to pay a civil penalty within six months after judgment of liability for such penalty was filed against him;

(j) Is or at any time after entry has been a narcotic drug addict; or who at any time has been convicted of a violation of, or a conspiracy to violate, any law or regulation relating to the illicit possession of or traffic in drugs within the application of the Narcotic Drug Control Act;

(k) By reason of any conduct, behavior or activity at any time after entry becomes a member of any of the classes specified in paragraph (j) of section 5.1 of this title;

(l) Prior to, or at the time of any entry or at any time subsequent to entry shall have knowingly and for gain, encouraged, induced, assisted, abetted, or aided any other alien to enter or try to enter Liberia in violation of law;

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- (m) Has violated the law in some other respect which by statute may subject him to deportation.⁴⁹

§ 7.2. Arrest and custody of alien pending determination of deportability.

Pending a determination of his deportability, an alien may, upon warrant of the Attorney General, be arrested and taken into custody. Any such alien taken into custody may in the discretion of the Attorney General and pending such final determination of deportability,

- (a) be continued in custody; or
- (b) be released under bond in the amount of not less than \$1,000 with security approved by the Attorney General and containing such conditions as the Attorney general may prescribe.; or
- (c) be released on conditional parole. Such bond or parole, whether heretofore or hereafter authorized, may be revoked at any time by the Attorney General, in his discretion, and the alien may be returned to custody under the warrant which initiated the proceedings against him and detained until final determination of his deportability.⁵⁰

§ 7.3. Proceedings to determine deportability.

1. Hearing by special hearing officer. A hearing officer designated by the Attorney General shall conduct proceedings under this section to determine the deportability of any alien, and shall administer oaths, present and receive evidence, interrogate, examine, and cross-

⁴⁹ *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:48; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 27(a); L. 1950 (E.S.) Ch.VII, L. 1927-28, ch. IX, § 15; L. 1915-16, ch. XLIV.

⁵⁰ *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:49; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, Sec. 27(b).

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examine the alien and witnesses, and, as authorized by the Attorney General, shall make determinations, including orders of deportation. Determination of deportability in any case shall be made only upon a record made in a proceeding before a specially designated hearing officer, at which the alien shall have reasonable opportunity to be present, unless by reason of the alien's mental incompetency it is impracticable for him to be present, in which case the Attorney General shall prescribe necessary and proper safeguards for the rights and privileges of such alien. If any alien has been given a reasonable opportunity to be present at a proceeding under this section, and without reasonable cause fails or refuses to attend or remain in attendance at such proceeding, the hearing officer may proceed to a determination in like manner as if the alien were present.

2. *Presentation of evidence by additional immigration officer.* In any case or class of cases in which the Attorney General believes that such procedure would be of aid in making a determination he may require specifically or by regulation that an additional immigration officer shall be assigned to present the evidence on behalf of the Government of Liberia, and in such case such additional immigration officer shall have authority to present evidence, and to interrogate, examine, cross-examine the alien and witnesses in the proceedings. Nothing in this paragraph shall be construed to diminish the authority conferred upon the hearing officer conducting such proceedings.

3. *Regulations to govern proceedings; rights of alien.* Proceedings before a hearing officer acting under the provisions of this section shall be in accordance with such regulations, not inconsistent with this chapter, as the Attorney General shall prescribe. Such regulations shall include requirements that --

- (a) The alien shall be given notice, reasonable under all the circumstances, of the nature of the charges against him and of the time and place at which the proceeding will be held;

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- (b) The alien shall have the privilege of being represented by counsel of his own choosing;
- (c) The alien shall have a reasonable opportunity to examine the evidence against him, to present evidence in his own behalf, and to cross-examine witnesses presented by the Government; and
- (d) No decision of deportability shall be valid unless it is based upon reasonable, substantial, and probative evidence.

4. *Appeal to Board of Immigration Appeals.* From an adverse decision of a hearing officer, an alien may appeal to the Office of Immigration Appeals.

5. *Procedure to be exclusive for determining deportability.* The procedure prescribed in this section shall be the sole end exclusive procedure for determining the deportability of an alien. The decision of the Office of Immigration Appeals may be appealed to the Attorney General whose decision shall be the final administrative decision. From a decision by the Attorney General to deport, the alien may appeal to the Circuit Court.

6. *Voluntary departure in lieu of deportation.* In the discretion of the Attorney General, and under such regulations as he may prescribe, deportation proceedings, including issuance of a warrant of arrest, and a finding of deportability under this section need not be required in the case of any alien who admits to belonging to a class of aliens who are deportable under section 7.1 of this title if such alien voluntarily departs from Liberia at his own expense, or is removed at Government expense as hereinafter authorized, unless the Attorney General has reason to believe that such alien is deportable under paragraphs (d), (e), (h), (i), (j), (k), of (l) of section 7.1 of this title. If any alien who is authorized to depart voluntarily under this paragraph is financially unable to depart at his own expense and the Attorney

general deems his removal to be in the best interest of Liberia, the expense of such removal may be paid from the appropriation for the enforcement of this chapter.

7. *Time within which deportation is to be effected.* When a final order of deportation is made against an alien, the Attorney General shall effect the alien's departure from Liberia as soon thereafter as possible. During the period prior to departure, the alien may be released on bond in an amount and containing such conditions as the Attorney General may prescribe unless the Attorney General believes that the alien will not present himself for deportation at the time and place required by the Attorney General or that the release of the alien under any condition is not in the best interests of Liberia, in which case the alien may be detained pending his deportation.

§ 7.4. Failure of alien under order of deportation to depart.

Any alien against whom a final order of deportation is outstanding who, shall connive or conspire, or take any other action designed to prevent or hamper or with the purpose of preventing or hampering, his departure pursuant to such order of deportation, or who shall willfully fail or refuse to present himself for deportation at the time and place required by the Attorney General pursuant to such order of deportation, shall be subject to a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year or both.

§ 7.5. Unlawful re-entry of deported alien.

If the Attorney General finds that any alien has unlawfully re-entered Liberia after having been deported pursuant to an order of deportation issued on a ground described in paragraph (d), (e), (h), (i), (j), (k), or (l) of section 7.1 of this title, the previous order of deportation shall be deemed to be reinstated from its original date and such alien shall be deported under such previous order. For the purposes of paragraph

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7 of section 7.3 of this title, the date on which the finding is made that such reinstatement is appropriate shall be deemed the date of the final order of deportation.

§ 7.6. Service of prison sentence prior to deportation.

An alien sentenced to imprisonment shall not be deported until such imprisonment has been terminated by the release of the alien from confinement. Parole, probation, or possibility of arrest or further confinement in respect of the same offense shall not be a ground for deferral of deportation.

§ 7.7. Country to which alien is to be deported.

1. Possible countries stated. The deportation of an alien in Liberia shall be directed by the Attorney General to a country promptly designated by the alien if that country is willing to accept him into its territory. No alien shall be permitted to make more than one such designation, nor shall any alien designate as the place to which he wishes to be deported, any foreign territory contiguous to Liberia unless such alien is a native, citizen, subject, or national of, or had a residence in such designated foreign contiguous territory. If the government of the country designated by the alien fails finally to advise the Attorney General within three months following original inquiry whether that government will or will not accept such alien into its territory, such designation may thereafter be disregarded. Thereupon deportation of such alien shall be directed to any country of which such alien is a subject, national, or citizen if such country is willing to accept such alien into its territory. If the government of such country fails finally to advise the Attorney General or the alien within three months following the date of original inquiry, or within such other period as the Attorney General shall deem reasonable under the circumstances in a particular case, whether that government will or will not accept such alien into its territory, then such deporta-

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tion shall be directed by the Attorney General within his discretion and without necessarily giving any priority or preference because of their order as herein set forth either --

- (a) To the country from which the alien last entered Liberia;
- (b) To the country in which is located the foreign port at which such alien embarked for Liberia or for foreign contiguous territory;
- (c) To the country in which he was born;
- (d) To the country in which the place of his birth is situated at the time he is ordered deported;
- (e) To any country in which he resided prior to entering the country from which he entered Liberia;
- (f) To the country which had sovereignty over the birthplace of the alien at the time of his birth; or
- (g) If deportation to any of the foregoing places or countries is impracticable, inadvisable, or impossible, then to any country which is willing to accept such alien in its territory.

2. *Countries refusing acceptance of deportees who are nationals.* Upon notification by the Attorney General that any country upon request denies or unduly delays acceptance of the return of any alien who is a national, citizen, subject, or resident thereof, the Secretary of State shall instruct consular officers performing their duties in the territory of such country to discontinue the issuance of visas to nationals, citizens, subjects, or residents of such country, until such time as the Attorney General shall inform the Secretary of State that such

country has accepted such alien.⁵¹

§ 7.8. Payment of deportation costs.

1. *Within five years.* If deportation proceedings are instituted at any time within five years after the entry of the alien for causes existing prior to or at the time of entry, the cost of removal from the port of deportation shall be at the expense of the owner or owners of the vessel, aircraft, or other transportation line by which such alien came to Liberia; provided, that the costs of the deportation of any such alien from such port shall not be assessed against the owner or owners of the vessels aircraft, or other transportation line in the case of an alien who arrived in possession of a valid unexpired immigrant visa and who was inspected and admitted to Liberia as an immigrant. In such cases the cost of removal shall be payable from the appropriation for the enforcement of the chapter.

2. *Subsequent to five years.* If deportation proceedings are instituted later than five years after the entry of the alien, the cost of removal from the port of deportation shall be payable from the appropriation for the enforcement of this chapter.⁵²

§ 7.9. Removal of aliens requiring public aid.

The Attorney General may remove from Liberia any alien who needs public aid from causes arising subsequent to his entry and is desirous of being so removed, to the native country of such alien or to the country from which he came, or to the country of which he is a citizen or subject, or to any country to which he wishes to go and which will receive him, provided the cost of transportation to such country is not

51 *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:50; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 28 (a), (b)

52 *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:51, 47 (last paragraph); L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 25(c), 28(b).

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greater than that to his own country. Any alien so removed shall be ineligible to apply for or receive a visa for re-admission to Liberia or to apply for admission to Liberia except with the prior approval of the Attorney General.⁵³

⁵³ *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:52; L. 1954-55, ch. XVI, § 30.

*Nationality And Naturalization***Chapter 20. NATIONALITY AT BIRTH****§ 20.1. Citizens of Liberia at birth.**

The following shall be citizens of Liberia at birth:

- (a) A person who is a Negro, or of Negro descent, born in Liberia and subject to the jurisdiction thereof;
- (b) A person born outside Liberia whose father (i) was born a citizen of Liberia; (ii) was a citizen of Liberia at the time of the birth of such child, and (iii) had resided in Liberia prior to the birth of such child.

A child who is a Liberia citizen by virtue of the provisions of subparagraph (b) of this section shall lose his citizenship unless he has resided in Liberia before attaining his majority or unless when he attains his majority and before attaining the age of 23 he goes before a Liberian consul and takes the oath of allegiance to the Republic of Liberia required of a petitioner for naturalization.⁵⁴

**Chapter 21. NATIONALITY THROUGH
NATURALIZATION****Subchapter A. Obtaining Naturalization.**

⁵⁴ Prior legislation: 1957-58 Supp. 3:111; L. 1955-56, ch. XXX, § 2; 1956 Code 3:110, 111, 112. Cons. Reg. §§ 63-64, 71.

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- § 21.1. Eligibility for naturalization.
- § 21.2. Declaration of intention.
- § 21.3. Petition for naturalization.
- § 21.4. Investigation of petitioners.
- § 21.5. Final hearing.
- § 21.6. Oath of allegiance.
- § 21.7. Certificate of naturalization.
- § 21.8. Duties of clerk of Circuit Court with respect to naturalization proceedings.
- § 21.9. Stamp tax and fees.
- § 21.10. Procurement of citizenship or naturalization unlawfully.

Subchapter B. Naturalization or Restoration to Citizenship of Special Categories of Aliens.

- § 21.30. Alien spouse of citizen
- § 21.31. Children born outside Liberia of alien parents or of citizen mother and alien father.
- § 21.32. Liberian woman who lost citizenship by marriage to alien.

Subchapter C. Revocation of Naturalization.

- § 21.50. Grounds for revocation.
- § 21.51. Foreign residence as prima facie evidence of misrepresentation.
- § 21.52. Reports on naturalized citizens residing in foreign country.
- § 21.53. Procedure.
- § 21.54. Revocation of citizenship on conviction of crime of unlawful procurement of citizenship.
- § 21.55. Effect of revocation of citizenship of father on his minor child.
- § 21.56. Records of cancellation of certificate of naturalization.
- § 21.57. Deportation on cancellation of certificate.
- § 21.58. Escheat of real property.

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§ 21.59. Enactment of special statute for revocation of naturalization.

Subchapter A. OBTAINING NATURALIZATION.**§ 21.1. Eligibility for naturalization.**

1. *Race.* No person shall be naturalized unless he is a Negro or of Negro descent.

2. *Residence.* No person except as otherwise provided in this chapter shall be naturalized unless such person (a) immediately preceding the date of filing his petition for naturalization has maintained a continuous and lawful residence in Liberia, for at least two years; and (b) has resided continuously within Liberia from the date of the petition up to the admission to citizenship. Absence from Liberia of more than six months during the period for which continuous residence is required for admission to citizenship, either immediately preceding the date of filing the petition for naturalization or during the period between the date of filing the petition and the date of final hearing, shall break the continuity of such residence, unless the petitioner shall establish to the satisfaction of the court that he did not in fact abandon his residence in Liberia during such period.

3. *Lawful admission.* Except as otherwise provided in this chapter, no person shall be naturalized unless he has been lawfully admitted to Liberia in accordance with all applicable provisions of this title.

4. *Character and belief in Constitution.* No person shall be naturalized unless, during the period of residence required under paragraph 2 of this section, he has been, and still is, of good moral character and

attached to the principles of the Constitution of Liberia.⁵⁵

§ 21.2. Declaration of intention.

Any alien eligible for naturalization who desires to become a citizen of Liberia shall, as a prerequisite, appear in person before the clerk of the Circuit Court in the county in which such alien resides and sign a declaration of his intention to become a citizen of the Republic of Liberia and to renounce his former nationality when the oath of allegiance is administered. The declarant shall give his name, place and date of birth, present and former nationalities, if any, occupation, marital status, present address, last foreign residence, and all information pertaining to his entrance to Liberia. A person who has filed a declaration of intention may, in the discretion of the President be given three months free lodging at the expense of the Government.⁵⁶

§ 21.3. Petition for naturalization.

1. *Filing; contents.* An applicant for naturalization, within not less than two nor more than three years after he has made his declaration of intention, shall make and file with the clerk of the Circuit Court of the county in which he resides a petition signed in his own handwriting and duly verified, in which he shall give information similar to that in the declaration of intention and state that he does not believe in anarchy. The petition shall also aver that he intends to reside permanently within the Republic of Liberia, and shall state whether he has heretofore been refused naturalization and if so, on what

⁵⁵ *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:81; L. 1947-48, ch. XIII; L. 1938, ch. XIII, § 3, 6; L. 1907-1908, 24, §1.

⁵⁶ *Prior legislation:* L. 1965-66, (An act to amend the Alien and Nationality Law to allow persons desiring to become Liberian citizens to retain their citizenship until they have been granted Liberian citizenship); 1957-58 Supp. 3:10; L. 1955 (E.S. Mar.), ch.II, §1; 1956 Code 3:33; L. 1941-1942, ch. VIII; L.1938, ch. XIII, § 4, 5, 15.

grounds. It shall also contain the names of the witnesses whom the applicant expects to summon in his behalf at the hearing. The petition shall be verified by two witnesses who shall not be those to be summoned at the hearing. The witnesses verifying the petition shall be citizens of Liberia who personally know that the applicant has been a resident of Liberia for at least two years and know him to be of good. Moral character.

2. *Age requirement.* No person shall file a petition for naturalization unless he shall have attained the age of twenty-one years.

3. *Waiver of requirement for time interval after filing declaration of intention.* The requirement stated in paragraph 1 of this section that a minimum of two years elapse after the filing of a declaration of intention before the filing of a petition for naturalization, may be waived by the President of Liberia, and an applicant as to whom such waiver has been granted may become a citizen immediately after filing his declaration of intention upon taking the oath of allegiance.⁵⁷

§ 21.4. Investigation of petitioners.

The Attorney General may designate an immigration officer to conduct a personal investigation of the person petitioning for naturalization in the vicinity in which such person has maintained his actual place of abode and in the vicinity in which such person has been employed or engaged in business during his residence in Liberia. On the basis of such investigation, the Attorney General may submit to the court at the hearing on the petition a recommendation that the petition be granted, or denied, or continued, with the reasons therefor.

⁵⁷ *Prior legislation:* L. 1965-66, ch. (An act to amend the Aliens and Nationality Law to allow persons desiring to become Liberian citizens to retain their citizenship until they have been granted citizenship), § 1(3):84; 1956 Code 3:84; L. 1947-48, ch. XIII; L. 1938, ch. XIII, § 6.

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§ 21.5. Final hearing.

1. *Jurisdiction to naturalize.* Exclusive jurisdiction to naturalize persons as citizens of Liberia is conferred upon the circuit courts. In Montserrado County, the First Judicial Circuit shall exercise such Jurisdiction.
2. *Public notice.* Upon the filing of a petition for citizenship, the clerk of the Circuit Court shall give public notice thereof by posting data regarding the applicants together with the date, as near as may be, of the final hearing and the names of the witnesses whom the applicant expects to summon in his behalf.
3. *Conduct of hearing.* Every final hearing upon a petition for naturalization shall be had in open court, and the petitioner and the witnesses shall be examined under oath before the court. At the hearing the residence of the petitioner in Liberia for the required length of time, his good moral character, and attachment to the principles of the Liberian Constitution shall be proved by the oral testimony of at least two credible witnesses, citizens of Liberia, other than those who have verified the petition.
4. *Appearance of Attorney General.* The Attorney General shall have the right to appear before the court in a naturalization proceeding for the purpose of cross-examining the petitioner and the witnesses produced in support of the petition concerning any matter touching or in any way affecting the petitioner's right to admission to citizenship, and shall have the right to call witnesses, including the petitioner, produce evidence, and be heard in opposition to, or in favor of, the granting of any petition in naturalization proceedings.
5. *Subpoena of witness.* The clerk of court shall, if the petitioner requests it at the time of filing the petition for naturalization, issue a subpoena for the witnesses named by such petitioner to appear upon

the day set for final hearing, but in case such witnesses cannot be produced upon the final hearing, other witnesses may be summoned upon notice to the Attorney General, in such manner and at such time as the Attorney General may by regulation prescribe. If it appears after the petition has been filed that any of the verifying witnesses thereto are not competent, and if it further appears that the petitioner has acted in good faith in producing such witnesses, other witnesses may be substituted in accordance with such regulations.

6. *Change of name of Petitioner.* It shall be lawful at the time and as part of the naturalization of any person, for the court, in its discretion, upon the prayer of the petitioner included in the petition for naturalization of such person, to issue a decree changing the name of such person, and the certificate of naturalization shall be issued in accordance therewith.⁵⁸

§ 21.6. Oath of allegiance.

A person who has petitioned for naturalization shall, in order to be admitted to citizenship, take in open court an oath, to be administered by the judge, that (a) he will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Liberia against all enemies, foreign and domestic; (b) that he renounces and abjures absolutely and entirely all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty whatever and particularly to the one of which he was previously a citizen or subject; (c) that he will observe full faith and allegiance to the Republic of Liberia; and (d) that he will bear arms

⁵⁸ *Prior legislation:* L. 1965-66, ch. (An act to amend the Aliens and Nationality Law to allow persons desiring to become Liberian citizens to retain their citizenship until they have been granted Liberian citizenship) (3:88); 1936 Code 3:86, 87; L. 1938, XIII, § 8, 10.

on behalf of Liberia when required by law.⁵⁹

§ 21.7. Certificate of naturalization.

A person admitted to citizenship by a court in conformity with the provisions of this chapter shall be entitled upon such admission to receive from the clerk of such court a certificate of naturalization, which shall contain substantially the following information: Number of petition for naturalization; number of certificate of naturalization, date of naturalization; name, signature, place of residence, autographed photograph, and personal description of the naturalized person, including age, sex, marital status, and country of former nationality; title, venue, and location of the court issuing the order of naturalization; statement that the court, having found that the Petitioner intends to reside permanently in Liberia, and has complied in all respects with all of the applicable provisions of the naturalization laws of Liberia, and was entitled to be admitted as a citizen of Liberia thereupon ordered that the petitioner be admitted as a citizen of Liberia; attestation of the clerk of the court issuing the order of naturalization, and seal of the court.⁶⁰

§ 21.8. Duties of clerk of Circuit Court with respect to naturalization proceedings.

1. *Duplicates of declaration of intention and petitions for naturalization.* It shall be the duty of the clerk of a Circuit Court to forward to the Secretary of State and the Attorney General a duplicate of each declaration of intention and each petition for naturalization promptly after the filing thereof, and to forward to the Secretary of

⁵⁹ *Prior legislation:* L. 1965-66, ch. (An act to amend the Aliens and Nationality Law to allow persons desiring to become Liberian citizens to retain their citizenship until they have been granted Liberian citizenship) 3:38; 1956 Code 3.33; L. 1938, ch. XIII, § 7.

⁶⁰ *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:89; L. 1938, ch. XIII, § 15.

State and the Attorney General certified copies of all other orders issued out of such court affecting or relating to the naturalization of persons.

2. Records of declarations of intention and petition for naturalization. It shall be the duty of the clerk of a Circuit Court to cause to be filed in such manner as to be readily accessible and made a part of the records of such court all declarations of intention and petitions for naturalization.

3. Certificates of naturalization. It shall be the duty of the clerk of a Circuit Court to forward to the Secretary of State and the Attorney General within 30 days after the close of the month in which such certificate was issued a duplicate thereof, and to make and keep on file in the clerk's office, a record of each certificate so issued, wherein shall be entered a memorandum of all the essential facts set forth in such certificates.

4. Denial of naturalization. It shall be the duty of the clerk of a Circuit Court to report to the Attorney General within 30 days after the close of the month in which the final hearing and decision of the court was had, the name and number of the petition of each and every person who has been denied naturalization such month together with the cause of denial. A record of such denials shall be kept on file at the court.

5. Blank certificates of naturalization. The Attorney General shall furnish blank certificates of naturalization to clerks of the Circuit Court, but shall not forward such blanks until such time as they will be needed, and only in such number as will be needed for aliens who are to be naturalized at a particular session of Court. No certificate of naturalization received by any clerk of court which may be defaced or injured in such manner as to prevent its use as herein provided shall in any case be destroyed, but such certificate shall be returned

to the General immediately.⁶¹

§ 21.9. Fees and Stamp Tax.

The applicant in each proceeding for naturalization shall pay into the Bureau of Revenue the following fees and a copy of the receipt therefor shall be presented to the clerk of the court together with a valid revenue stamp of three dollars which shall be placed upon each declaration of intention.

Filing of declaration of intention	\$ 20.00
Filing of petition for citizenship	20.00
Issuing of certificate of naturalization	10.00

The clerk may make a further charge of fees as follows, which may retain as personal remuneration

Filing of declaration of intention	\$ 5.00
Filing of petition for citizenship	5.00
Issuing a certificate of naturalization	5.00

§ 21.10. Procurement of citizenship or naturalization unlawfully.

Whoever knowingly procures or attempts to procure, contrary to law, the naturalization of himself or another person, or documentary or other evidence of naturalization or citizenship for himself or another person shall be subject to a fine of not more than \$5,000 or imprisonment for not more than three years or both.⁶²

⁶¹ *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:83, 91; L. 1938, ch. XIII, § 8, 12, 14.

⁶² *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:92; L. 1938, ch. XIII, § 13.

**Subchapter B. NATURALIZATION OR RESTORATION TO
CITIZENSHIP OF SPECIAL CATEGORIES OF ALIENS.****§ 21.30. Woman who marries citizen.**

A woman of Negro descent who marries a citizen of the Republic shall not become by virtue of such act of marriage a citizen of Liberia. Such woman may be naturalized if she is qualified in conformity with all of the provisions of section 21.1 of this title and complies with all the procedural requirements for naturalization set forth in this chapter.⁶³

**§ 21.31. Children born outside Liberia of alien parents or of
citizen mother and alien father.**

1. *Derivation of citizenship through naturalization of father.* A child born outside Liberia of alien parents, or of a citizen mother and a father who was not born a citizen of Liberia, becomes a citizen of Liberia through naturalization of the father if (a) such naturalization takes place while such child is under the age of 21 years; and (b) such child is residing in Liberia following lawful admission for permanent residence at the time of the naturalization of the father, or thereafter begins to reside permanently in Liberia while under the age of 21 years.

2. *Certificate of citizenship.* A person who claims to have derived Liberia citizenship through the naturalization of a father may apply to the Circuit Court for a certificate of citizenship. Upon proof to the satisfaction of the Circuit Court that the applicant is a citizen and that the applicant's alleged citizenship was derived as claimed, such person shall be furnished by the Circuit Court with a certificate of

⁶³ Prior legislation: 1957-58 Supp. 3:114; L. 1955-56, ch. XXX, § 1, 1955 (E.S. June) ch. III; 1956 Code 3:114; Cons. Serv. Reg. § 67.

citizenship.⁶⁴

§ 21.32. Liberian woman who lost citizenship by marriage to alien.

Any woman formerly a citizen of Liberia who under prior law lost Liberian citizenship by marriage to an alien and who acquired no other nationality by affirmative act other than by such marriage, is hereby declared a Liberian citizen. Such citizenship is effective nunc pro tunc as of the date of loss of citizenship except as to the title of real property which was forfeited as the result of such loss of citizenship.

Subchapter C. REVOCATION OF NATURALIZATION.

§ 21.50. Grounds for revocation.

It shall be the duty of the Attorney General, upon affidavit showing good cause therefor, to institute proceedings for the purpose of revoking and setting aside the order admitting a person to citizenship and cancelling the certificate of naturalization on any of the following grounds:

- (a) That the order admitting such person to citizenship and the certificate of naturalization were procured by concealment of a material fact or by willful misrepresentation;
- (b) That at the time the person acquired citizenship, he was not eligible to such citizenship by some existing law of Liberia;

⁶⁴ Prior legislation: 1957-58 Supp. 3:113; L. 1955-56 ch. XXX, § 2; 1956 Code 3:113; Cons. Serv. Reg. § 69.

- (c) That at the time the person acquired citizenship, he was not eligible to enter or reside in Liberia;
- (d) That the person who acquired citizenship was not of good moral character at the time he was admitted to citizenship and such fact was not then known;
- (e) That at the time the person was admitted to citizenship, he was an anarchist or not attached to the principles of the Constitution of Liberia and such fact was not then known;
- (f) That the order admitting such person to citizenship was issued through manifest error of law or fact, or that the order was issued before it should be, or that the laws governing naturalization have not been fully complied with; provided that if the error can be remedied by procedural means, the person admitted to citizenship through such error shall be allowed a reasonable opportunity after notice to institute corrective proceedings before the Attorney General acts to revoke citizenship and cancel the certificate of naturalization.⁶⁵

§ 21.51. Foreign residence as prima facie evidence of misrepresentation.

If any person who has been naturalized shall go to the country of which he was a citizen or subject at the time he was naturalized and maintain residence where for two years, or go to any other foreign country and maintain residence there for five years, it shall be considered prima facie evidence of a lack of intention on the part of such person to reside permanently in Liberia at the time of filing his petition for naturalization, and, in the absence of countervailing

⁶⁵ Prior legislation: 1956 Code 3:93; L. 1950-51, ch. IX, § 1; Cons. Serv. Reg. § 70.

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evidence, it shall be sufficient in the proper proceeding to authorize the revocation and setting aside of the order admitting him to citizenship and the cancellation of the certificate of naturalization as having been obtained by concealment of a material fact or by willful misrepresentation. An official or employee of the Government of Liberia who may be engaged on government duties abroad shall not be subject to loss of citizenship on the ground stated in this section.⁶⁶

§ 21.52. Reports on naturalized citizens residing in foreign country.

It shall be the duty of a diplomatic or consular officer of Liberia assigned to foreign countries to furnish the Attorney General from time to time through the Secretary of State with statements of the names of those persons within their respective jurisdiction who have been naturalized in Liberia and who have taken permanent residence in the foreign country to which such diplomatic or consular officer is assigned, and such statements, duly certified, shall be admissible in evidence in proceedings to revoke and set aside the order admitting to citizenship and to cancel the certificate of naturalization.

§ 21.53. Procedure.

1. *Venue.* Proceedings to revoke and set aside an order admitting a person to citizenship and cancelling his certificate of naturalization shall be instituted in the judicial district in which the naturalized citizen resides at the time of bringing suit, and, if he resides in Montserrado County, before Circuit Court of the First Judicial Circuit.

2. *Notice and hearing.* The person against whom the Attorney General institutes such proceedings shall have thirty days' notice after completion of service in which to make answer to the petition by the

⁶⁶ Prior legislation, 1956 Code 3:93(a); L. 1938, ch. XIII, § 11.

Government. If such person is outside Liberia, service shall be made by publication in the manner provided by the Civil Procedure Law. A hearing in proceedings to revoke and set aside an order admitting a person to citizenship and cancelling his certificate of naturalization shall be at a special session of the Circuit Court for consideration of such matter.⁶⁷

§ 21.54. Revocation of citizenship on conviction of crime of unlawful procurement of citizenship.

When a person is convicted under section 21.10 of this title of knowingly procuring naturalization in violation of law, the court in which such conviction is had shall thereupon revoke, set aside, and declare void the final order admitting such person to citizenship, and shall declare the certificate of naturalization of such person cancelled. Jurisdiction is conferred on the court having jurisdiction of the trial of such offense to make such jurisdiction.

§ 21.55. Effect of revocation of citizenship of father on his minor child.

Any person who claim Liberian citizenship through the naturalization of a father in whose case there is a revocation and setting aside of the order admitting such father to citizenship which revocation takes place while the child is under the age of 21, shall be deemed to lose his citizenship and any right or privilege of citizenship which he had acquired under and by virtue of such naturalization of his father.

§ 21.56. Records of cancellation of certificate of naturalization.

Whenever a certificate of naturalization is cancelled, as provided in this section, the court in which such judgment or decree is rendered

⁶⁷ Prior legislation: 1956 Code 3:95 L. 1950-51, ch. IX, § 3.

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shall send a certified copy of such order to the Attorney General. In case such certificate was not originally issued by the court making the order, it shall direct the clerk of court in which the order admitting such person to citizenship is revoked and set aside to transmit a copy of such order and judgment to the court out of which such certificate of naturalization shall have been originally issued. It shall thereupon be the duty of the clerk of the court receiving such certified copy of the order and judgment of the court to enter the same record and to cancel such original certificate of naturalization, if there be any, upon the records and to notify the Attorney General of the entry of such order and of such cancellation. A person holding a certificate of naturalization or citizenship which has been cancelled as provided by this section shall upon notice by the court by which the decree of cancellation was made, or by the Attorney General, surrender the same to the Attorney General.

§ 21.57. Deportation on cancellation of certificate.

On entering a decree revoking an order admitting a person to citizenship and cancelling his certificate of naturalization for any ground stated under subparagraphs (a), (c), (d), or (e) of section 21.50 of this title, the court shall also order such alien deported from Liberia.

§ 21.58. Escheat of real property.

All real property held in the territory of the Republic by any person whose certificate of naturalization is cancelled, shall be forfeited and such real property shall be escheated to the Government, unless such person shall have a spouse or child who is a Liberian citizen, in which case the real property shall vest in the spouse, or if there is no spouse, in the child.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Prior legislation: 1956 Code 3:96; L. 1938, ch. XIII, § 11.

§ 21.59. Enactment of special statute for revocation of naturalization.

Where the gravity of the case demands, the Legislature may enact a special statute ordering proceedings to revoke and set aside an order admitting a person to citizenship and to cancel his certificate of naturalization on specified grounds not stated in this sub-chapter.⁶⁹

Chapter 22. LOSS OF CITIZENSHIP

- § 22.1. Acts causing loss of citizenship.
- § 22.2. Citizenship lost solely from performance of act.
- § 22.3. Liberian woman marrying alien
- § 22.4. Certificate as to loss of Liberian citizenship.

§ 22.1. Acts causing loss of citizenship.

From and after the effective date of this title, a person who is a citizen of Liberia whether by birth or naturalization, shall lose his citizenship by --

- (a) Obtaining naturalization in a foreign state upon his own application, upon the application of a duly authorized agent, or through the naturalization of a parent having legal custody of such person; provided that citizenship shall not be lost by any person under this section as the result of the naturalization of a parent or parents while such person under the age of 21 years, unless such person shall fail to enter Liberia to establish a permanent residence prior to his twenty-third birthday; or

⁶⁹ *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:94; L. 1950-51, ch. IX, § 2.

- (b) Taking an oath or making an affirmation or other formal declaration of allegiance to a foreign state or a political subdivision thereof; or
- (c) Exercising a free choice to enter or serve in the armed forces of a foreign state, unless, prior to such entry or service, such entry or service is specifically authorized by the President;
- (d) Voting in a political election in a foreign state or voting in an election or plebiscite to determine the sovereignty of a foreign state over foreign territory; or
- (e) Making a formal renunciation of Liberian nationality before a diplomatic or consular officer of Liberia in a foreign state in such form may be prescribed by the Secretary of State.⁷⁰

§ 22.2. Citizenship lost solely from performance of act.

The loss of citizenship under Section 22.1. of this title shall result solely from the performance by a citizen of the acts or fulfillment of the conditions specified in such section, and without the institution by the Government of any proceedings to nullify or cancel such citizenship.

§ 22.3. Liberian woman marrying alien.

A Liberian woman who marries an alien retains her Liberian citizenship unless she renounces it by an affirmative act.⁷¹

⁷⁰ *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:116; Cons. Serv. Reg., Sec. 70; Rev. Stat., § 1185; OBB 160. Act relating to expatriation, § 1, Com. L. July 3, 1838), 2 Hubb. 1344, 1357.

⁷¹ *Prior Legislation:* L. 1958 - 59, Ch. XXIV; 1956 Code 3:115; Cons. Serv. Reg. § 68.

§ 22.4. Certificate as to loss of Liberian citizenship.

Whenever a diplomatic or consular officer of Liberia has reason to believe that a person while in a foreign state to which such officer is assigned has lost his Liberian nationality under any provision of Section 22.1 of this title, he shall certify the facts upon which such belief is based to the Secretary of State in writing. If the report of such officer is approved by the Secretary of State, a copy of the certificate shall be forwarded to the Attorney General, for his information, and the diplomatic or consular office in which the report was made shall be directed to forward a copy of the certificate to the person to whom it relates.

§ 3. This Act shall take effect immediately upon publication in handbills.

ANY LAW TO THE CONTRARY NOTWITHSTANDING

**Approved May 15, 1973
With Amendments Approved May 9, 1974**

27634

MFI-303B

An Act Adopting a New Aliens and Nationality Law (Pages 00102856-00102861)

ALIENS AND NATIONALITY LAW

00102856

§ 21.59. Enactment of special statute for revocation of naturalization.

Subchapter A. OBTAINING NATURALIZATION.**§ 21.1. Eligibility for naturalization.**

1. *Race.* No person shall be naturalized unless he is a Negro or of Negro descent.

(1)

2. *Residence.* No person except as otherwise provided in this chapter shall be naturalized unless such person (a) immediately preceding the date of filing his petition for naturalization has maintained a continuous and lawful residence in Liberia, for at least two years; and (b) has resided continuously within Liberia from the date of the petition up to the admission to citizenship. Absence from Liberia of more than six months during the period for which continuous residence is required for admission to citizenship, either immediately preceding the date of filing the petition for naturalization or during the period between the date of filing the petition and the date of final hearing, shall break the continuity of such residence, unless the petitioner shall establish to the satisfaction of the court that he did not in fact abandon his residence in Liberia during such period.

3. *Lawful admission.* Except as otherwise provided in this chapter, no person shall be naturalized unless he has been lawfully admitted to Liberia in accordance with all applicable provisions of this title.

(2)

4. *Character and belief in Constitution.* No person shall be naturalized unless, during the period of residence required under paragraph 2 of this section, he has been, and still is, of good moral character and

I attached to the principles of the Constitution of Liberia.⁵⁵

§ 21.2. Declaration of intention.

Any alien eligible for naturalization who desires to become a citizen of Liberia shall, as a prerequisite, appear in person before the clerk of the Circuit Court in the county in which such alien resides and sign a declaration of his intention to become a citizen of the Republic of Liberia and to renounce his former nationality when the oath of allegiance is administered. The declarant shall give his name, place and date of birth, present and former nationalities, if any, occupation, marital status, present address, last foreign residence, and all information pertaining to his entrance to Liberia. A person who has filed a declaration of intention may, in the discretion of the President be given three months free lodging at the expense of the Government.⁵⁶

§ 21.3. Petition for naturalization.

1. *Filing; contents.* An applicant for naturalization, within not less than two nor more than three years after he has made his declaration of intention, shall make and file with the clerk of the Circuit Court of the county in which he resides a petition signed in his own handwriting and duly verified, in which he shall give information similar to that in the declaration of intention and state that he does not believe in anarchy. The petition shall also aver that he intends to reside permanently within the Republic of Liberia, and shall state whether he has heretofore been refused naturalization and if so, on what

⁵⁵ *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:81; L. 1947-48, ch. XIII; L. 1938, ch. XIII, § 3, 6; L. 1907-1908, 24, §1.

⁵⁶ *Prior legislation:* L. 1965-66, (An act to amend the Alien and Nationality Law to allow persons desiring to become Liberian citizens to retain their citizenship until they have been granted Liberian citizenship); 1957-58 Supp. 3:10; L. 1955 (E.S. Mar.), ch.II, §1; 1956 Code 3:33; L. 1941-1942, ch. VIII; L.1938, ch. XIII, § 4, 5, 15.

grounds. It shall also contain the names of the witnesses whom the applicant expects to summon in his behalf at the hearing. The petition shall be verified by two witnesses who shall not be those to be summoned at the hearing. The witnesses verifying the petition shall be citizens of Liberia who personally know that the applicant has been a resident of Liberia for at least two years and know him to be of good. Moral character.

2. *Age requirement.* No person shall file a petition for naturalization unless he shall have attained the age of twenty-one years.

(5)

3. *Waiver of requirement for time interval after filing declaration of intention.* The requirement stated in paragraph 1 of this section that a minimum of two years elapse after the filing of a declaration of intention before the filing of a petition for naturalization, may be waived by the President of Liberia, and an applicant as to whom such waiver has been granted may become a citizen immediately after filing his declaration of intention upon taking the oath of allegiance.⁵⁷

§ 21.4. Investigation of petitioners.

The Attorney General may designate an immigration officer to conduct a personal investigation of the person petitioning for naturalization in the vicinity in which such person has maintained his actual place of abode and in the vicinity in which such person has been employed or engaged in business during his residence in Liberia. On the basis of such investigation, the Attorney General may submit to the court at the hearing on the petition a recommendation that the petition be granted, or denied, or continued, with the reasons therefor.

⁵⁷ *Prior legislation:* L. 1965-66, ch. (An act to amend the Aliens and Nationality Law to allow persons desiring to become Liberian citizens to retain their citizenship until they have been granted citizenship), § 1(3):84; 1956 Code 3:84; L. 1947-48, ch. XIII; L. 1938, ch. XIII, § 6.

§ 21.5. Final hearing.

1. *Jurisdiction to naturalize.* Exclusive jurisdiction to naturalize persons as citizens of Liberia is conferred upon the circuit courts. In Montserrado County, the First Judicial Circuit shall exercise such Jurisdiction.
2. *Public notice.* Upon the filing of a petition for citizenship, the clerk of the Circuit Court shall give public notice thereof by posting data regarding the applicants together with the date, as near as may be, of the final hearing and the names of the witnesses whom the applicant expects to summon in his behalf.
3. *Conduct of hearing.* Every final hearing upon a petition for naturalization shall be had in open court, and the petitioner and the witnesses shall be examined under oath before the court. At the hearing the residence of the petitioner in Liberia for the required length of time, his good moral character, and attachment to the principles of the Liberian Constitution shall be proved by the oral testimony of at least two credible witnesses, citizens of Liberia, other than those who have verified the petition.
4. *Appearance of Attorney General.* The Attorney General shall have the right to appear before the court in a naturalization proceeding for the purpose of cross-examining the petitioner and the witnesses produced in support of the petition concerning any matter touching or in any way affecting the petitioner's right to admission to citizenship, and shall have the right to call witnesses, including the petitioner, produce evidence, and be heard in opposition to, or in favor of, the granting of any petition in naturalization proceedings.
5. *Subpoena of witness.* The clerk of court shall, if the petitioner requests it at the time of filing the petition for naturalization, issue a subpoena for the witnesses named by such petitioner to appear upon

the day set for final hearing, but in case such witnesses cannot be produced upon the final hearing, other witnesses may be summoned upon notice to the Attorney General, in such manner and at such time as the Attorney General may be regulation prescribe. If it appears after the petition has been filed that any of the verifying witnesses thereto are not competent, and if it further appears that the petitioner has acted in good faith in producing such witnesses, other witnesses may be substituted in accordance with such regulations.

6. *Change of name of Petitioner.* It shall be lawful at the time and as part of the naturalization of any person, for the court, in its discretion, upon the prayer of the petitioner included in the petition for naturalization of such person, to issue a decree changing the name of such person, and the certificate of naturalization shall be issued in accordance therewith.⁵⁸

§ 21.6. Oath of allegiance.

(b)

A person who has petitioned for naturalization shall, in order to be admitted to citizenship, take in open court an oath, to be administered by the judge, that (a) he will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Liberia against all enemies, foreign and domestic; (b) that he renounces and abjures absolutely and entirely all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty whatever and particularly to the one of which he was previously a citizen or subject; (c) that he will observe full faith and allegiance to the Republic of Liberia; and (d) that he will bear arms

⁵⁸ *Prior legislation:* L. 1965-66, ch. (An act to amend the Aliens and Nationality Law to allow persons desiring to become Liberian citizens to retain their citizenship until they have been granted Liberian citizenship) (3:88); 1936 Code 3:86. 87; L. 1938, XIII, § 8. 10.

L on behalf of Liberia when required by law.⁵⁹

§ 21.7. Certificate of naturalization.

A person admitted to citizenship by a court in conformity with the provisions of this chapter shall be entitled upon such admission to receive from the clerk of such court a certificate of naturalization, which shall contain substantially the following information: Number of petition for naturalization; number of certificate of naturalization, date of naturalization; name, signature, place of residence, autographed photograph, and personal description of the naturalized person, including age, sex, marital status, and country of former nationality; title, venue, and location of the court issuing the order of naturalization; statement that the court, having found that the Petitioner intends to reside permanently in Liberia, and has complied in all respects with all of the applicable provisions of the naturalization laws of Liberia, and was entitled to be admitted as a citizen of Liberia thereupon ordered that the petitioner be admitted as a citizen of Liberia; attestation of the clerk of the court issuing the order of naturalization, and seal of the court.⁶⁰

§ 21.8. Duties of clerk of Circuit Court with respect to naturalization proceedings.

1. Duplicates of declaration of intention and petitions for naturalization. It shall be the duty of the clerk of a Circuit Court to forward to the Secretary of State and the Attorney General a duplicate of each declaration of intention and each petition for naturalization promptly after the filing thereof, and to forward to the Secretary of

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⁶⁰ *Prior legislation:* 1956 Code 3:89; L. 1938, ch. XIII, § 15.

27641

MFI-304

Star Radio, Former President Taylor Loses Title

(1)

Star Radio
Monday, 28 August 2006

Former President Taylor Loses Title

Veteran traditional politician Chief Jallah Lone has announced the retrieval of the title of Darkpanah from former President Charles Taylor.

Chief Jallah Lone told Star Radio he is now the new Darkpanah of the Republic of Liberia.

He made the pronouncement two days to the celebration of his one hundred and one birth anniversary on August 26.

(2)

Chief Jallah Lone alleged former President Taylor unilaterally took the title.

He said one must go through the eight categories of traditional societies in order to ascend to the position of Darkpanah.

As head of all traditional societies in Liberia, the Darkpanah is immune from arrest and is an untouchable figure.

(Also reported on ELBS and Star Radio)

Traditional Council Withdraws Highest Title Former President Taylor

- The Traditional Council of Liberia recently announced that it has withdrawn from detained former President Charles Taylor the highest traditional title of "Darkpanah" and bestowed same on Chief Jallah Lone.
- Chief Lone disclosed the news of the withdrawal at a ceremony to celebrate his 101st birth anniversary on Saturday, August 26. Chief Lone accused Mr. Taylor of hijacking the title having not gone through the 8 categories of traditional societies to reach the top.

(Also reported on ELBS and Star Radio)

27643

MFI-305

Liberian Bank for Development and Investment, New Account Application, Charles G. Taylor, No. 32851-01, dated 08 December 1999

27644

OL
OLYMPIAN BANK DEVELOPMENT AND INVESTMENT
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

NEW ACCOUNT APPLICATION

OL	OL	OL	
First Name	SARAH	Last Name	
Middle Initial	J	Address	1000 Avenue A
Marital Status	Married	Telephone No.	444-1234
Occupation	Business Owner	Classification	Business
Employer	OLYMPIAN BANK	Employer Address	1000 Avenue A
Personal Reference	Name	Address	
Personal Reference	Name	Address	
Business Bank Reference	Name	Address	
Business Bank Reference	Name	Address	
Type of Account requested (check one)			

- United States Personal Checking Account
- United States Business Checking Account
- United States Business Savings Account
- United States Business Certificate of Deposit
- United States Business Checking Account
- Savings Account
- Time Deposit

OL \$1000.00

Deposited by

Signature (s) *[Signature]*

Date 3/12/1994

1(A)

DOCUMENT CHECK LIST FOR BANKING

- Bylaws
- Fund Resolution
- Partnership
- Stockholders Certificate
- Power of Attorney
- Article of Incorporation
- Letter of Administration
- Partnership Agreement
- Trade Name Certificate
- Photographs**
- Specimen Signature/Beneficiary**
- Resumes

Check By

Completed By

3/12/1994

Customer Signature

OLYMPIAN BANK



OLYMPIAN BANK
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

27645

MFI-306A

Liberian Bank for Development and Investment Checking Account Signature Card, dated
08 December 1999

27646

The Library of Congress
Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication

X Account Title Charles G. Taylor Access Number 08-201-38257-01

Name	Original Title	Specimen Signature
<u>Charles G. Taylor</u>		

X Number/Combination of Signatures Registered 1

This is to confirm the Authenticity of the above Registration:

X Signed 08 Dec 1999

Signature verified by: A. S. Taylor Accession verified by: S. J. Taylor



27647

MFI-306B

Liberian Bank for Development and Investment Checking Account Signature Cards –dated
08 and 15 December 1999

27648

The Liberian Bank For Development & Investment

LBDI CHECKING ACCOUNT SIGNATURE CARD - Update

Account Title: H.E. Charles G. Taylor Account Number: 00-201-32851-01

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

Name

Official Title

Specimen Signature

KADDIEYATU DARRAH

Klaniah

Number/Combination of Signatures Required: ANY ONE (1)

This is to confirm the Authenticity of the above Signatures:

Signed

Date:.....

Signature verified by:

Account verified by.....

15/12/99

✓

The Liberian Bank For Development & Investment

LBDI CHECKING ACCOUNT SIGNATURE CARD

Account Title: CHARLES G. Taylor

Account Number: 00-201-32851-01

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

Name

Official Title

Specimen Signature

Charles G. Taylor

✓

Number/Combination of Signatures Required:.....

This is to confirm the Authenticity of the above Signatures:

✓ Signed

Date:.....

Signature verified by:

Account verified by.....

08 DEC 1999

✓

27649

MFI-307

Liberian Bank for Development and Investment Debit Ticket 20656, 18 July 2000

27650

① THE LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEVELOPMENT & INVESTMENT 20656	
P. O. BOX 547, MONROVIA, LIBERIA	
DEBIT TICKET	② DATE <u>7/18/60</u>
DEBIT	OFFSET (CREDIT)
<u>Rands 21112</u>	<u>CHF 60.20; SAYOR 1-21</u>
DETAILS: <u>Bank R&D Ref # 1000199153501 160 Coce 610</u>	
<u>Natura Holding & PTE LTD As per Cheq 100 7/17/60</u>	
<u>One Million Nine Hundred Ninety Nine Thousand Nine Hundred</u>	
<u>Sixty Five</u>	
AMOUNT IN WORDS	
③	④
⑤ <u>US\$1,999,975.00</u>	AMOUNT IN FIGURES
MAKER <u>John</u>	CHECKER <u> </u>
OFFICER <u> </u>	
ORIGINAL	

27651

MFI-308

Liberian Bank for Development and Investment account statement for 1 July 2000 through
31 July 2000

27652

THE BRIAN PARK FESTIVAL OF THEATRE AND FILM
IN DUBLIN AND DUBLIN CITY

2020-07-26
2020-07-26
2020-07-26

30.201-22231-01 (2020-04-01)

TAYLOR, CHARLES G.
U.S. GOVERNOR

“**THE KING AND THE KID**”

A 3

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MR. & MRS. G. TAYLOR
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

1400000000000000

1962-1971 - 1200-12500

27653

MFI-309

The Association for the Legal Defence of Charles G. Taylor – How to Help, 24 April 2008

27654



Home

About Us

Taylor's Story

The Indictment

How to Help

Comments

HOW TO HELP *Financial Support / Moral Support and Comments / Other contributions and Donations*

All forms of Help and Support are much needed and appreciated for this association to adequately facilitate the task at hand. We are currently devising several ways to contribute to the cause and below is a list of the many ways you may lend your support.

If you would like to make a donation to The Association for the Legal Defense of Charles G. Taylor you may do so in any amount in remittances of any internationally recognized currency to the following banks or financial institutions listed below.

Coming Soon, donations through: PayPal / Credit Cards / Certified Checks / Money Orders / Western Union

We thank you sincerely for your willingness to support our cause and bring justice to the saga of Charles G. Taylor.

②

CITIBANK N.A.
111 WALL STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10043
TELEX ITT420392
SWIFT CODE CITIUS33
FOR CREDIT TO ECOBANK LIBERIA LIMITED
ACCOUNT NO. 3614 7565
SWIFT CODE ECOCLRLM
FOR CREDIT TO ACCOUNT #10210123822016
ASSOCIATION FOR THE LEGAL DEFENSE OF CHARLES G. TAYLOR

③

④

⑤

DEUTSCHE BANK
BANKERS TRUST COMPANY
130 LIBERTY ST.
NEW YORK N.Y. 10005
TELEX 02362922
SWIFT CODE BKTRUS33
FOR CREDIT TO ECOBANK LIBERIA LIMITED
ACCOUNT NO. 04 411683
SWIFT CODE ECOCLRLM
FOR CREDIT TO ACCOUNT #10210123822016
ASSOCIATION FOR THE LEGAL DEFENSE OF CHARLES G. TAYLOR

27655

⑥

BELGOLIASE
SUCCURSALE DE PARIS
6 AVENUE VALASQUEZ
F-75008 PARIS
SWIFT CODE BLGOFRPP
BANK CODE 13638
FOR CREDIT TO ECOBANK LIBERIA LIMITED
ACCOUNT NO. 000113002
SWIFT CODE ECOCLRLM
FOR CREDIT TO ACCOUNT #10210123822016
ASSOCIATION FOR THE LEGAL DEFENSE OF CHARLES G. TAYLOR

⑦

CREDIT SUISSE
ZURICH SWITZERLAND
SWIFT CODE CRESCHZZ80A
FOR CREDIT TO FIRST INTERNATIONAL BANK LIBERIA LIMITED
ACCOUNT NO. 0835 0849749 54 780
FOR CREDIT TO ACCOUNT NO.00 112 000860 01
ASSOCIATION FOR THE LEGAL DEFENSE OF CHARLES G. TAYLOR

⑧

ECOBANK LIBERIA LTD.
ASSOCIATION FOR THE LEGAL DEFENSE OF CHARLES G. TAYLOR
ACCOUNT #10210123822016

⑨

FIRST INTERNATIONAL BANK LIBERIA INC.
ASSOCIATION FOR THE LEGAL DEFENSE OF CHARLES G. TAYLOR
ACCOUNT NO.00 112 000860 01

15th Street at Tubman Blvd, Monrovia, Liberia. Tel: +2316480068

27656

MFI-310

Citigroup Response to Commissioner's Subpoena including LBDI's Most Current Authorized Signatures for Account 3600-6105.

27657

citigroup

Citigroup Inc.
399 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10043

10

③ [May 19, 2004

Privileged and Confidential

BY OVERNIGHT MAIL

Paralegal Specialist Vilda Iris Vera
U.S. Attorney's Office
Southern District of New York
1 Saint Andrew's Plaza
New York, New York 10007

Re: **Commissioner's Subpoena, dated March 18, 2004;
Request from the Special Court for Sierra Leone**

Dear Ms. Vera:

Pursuant to the subpoena described above, I am producing the enclosed documents on behalf of Citibank, N.A.

7 ③

Please do not hesitate to call me at 212-559-0825 if you have any questions.

Very truly yours,

J Fortier Imbert

Encls.

27658

(Page 2 of 6)



THE LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEVELOPMENT & INVESTMENT

Tel: (231) 327140/227141

Fax: (231) 226359

CABLE: DEV BANK

TELEX: 44345 & 44323

4/C. 36006105

July 3rd 1998

AMERICAN EXPRESS

Mrs. Julie So
U. S. ACCOUNT MANAGER
Citibank, N. A.
19th Floor/Zone 1
New York, NY 10043
U.S.A.

FAX: (601) 212-657-1157

④

Dear Mrs. So:

⑤

Please find attached, our most recent list of authorized signatures for your record. Please therefore be governed accordingly and make the necessary adjustments to your records.

Best regards,

Very truly yours,

Elisieka Stewart Tamba (Mrs.)
COMPTROLLER

Francis A. Dennis, Jr.
PRESIDENT

RANDALL & ASHMUN STREETS, P.O. BOX 10-0547, 1000 MONROVIA, LIBERIA, WEST AFRICA

27659

(Page 3 of 6)



THE LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEVELOPMENT & INVESTMENT

Tel: (231) 227140/227141
Fax: (231) 226359

CABLE: DEVBANK
TELEX: 44345 & 44323

RECEIVED JULY 16, 1998
LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEVELOPMENT & INVESTMENT

LBDI'S MOST CURRENT AUTHORIZED SIGNATURES

CLASS	OFFICERS	SIGNATURE	INITIAL
AA	Francis A. Dennis PRESIDENT		M
	Mildred B. Reeves GENERAL MANAGER		P
	Elfreda Stewart Tamba COMPTROLLER		E
A	Gloria Y. Menjor COMMERCIAL MANAGER		A
	Matthew N. Clarke MANAGER Credit Department		M. N. Clarke
	Peter T. Smith MANAGER Consumer Marketing Dept.		P
B	Thomas B. Barcon ASST. COMPTROLLER Procurement & Gen. Services		T.B.
	Johnson K. Baysahwala ASST. MANAGER Commercial Banking Dept.		J.K.B.

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Two signatures are required for Checks and/or Commitments
2. At least one signature must be "A" or "AA"
3. One signature must be "AA" for checks and/or Commitments above US\$25,000.00

APPROVED:

COMPTROLLER

PRESIDENT

DATE: July 3, 1998

RANDALL & ASHMUN STREETS, P.O. BOX 10-0547, 1000 MONROVIA, LIBERIA, WEST AFRICA

27660

(Page 4 of 6)

Citibank, N.A.

33 Wall Street
New York, NY
10041

CITIBANK

DATE: 7/6/98
CUST. #:

July 6, 1998

Roslyn Edge
Citibank Delaware
Business Accounts
2 Penn's Way
New Castle, Delaware

Dear Roslyn:

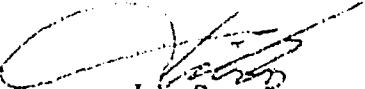
Please find attached an update to the signature list for:

The Liberian Bank for Dev & Investment

A/c 36006105

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at (212)657-0169.

Thanks and regards,


Julie So

US Account Manager

27661

MFI-311

Page from an Account Activity Report for LBDI Account 3600-6105 covering 1 July through 31 July, dated 01 August 2000

27662

①

REPORT DATE 08/01/00

②

ACCOUNT 3600-6105 RULE OFF FRC 07/01/00 TO 07/31/00

STATEMENT

RUN DATE 08/01/00 TIME 03:11
PAGE 44

DATE	REFERENCE #/ BATCH TRACK	TRANSACTION DESCRIPTION	DEBITS	CREDITS	LEDGER BALANCE
07/14/00	30019625454 650000000262	SAME DAY DR TRANSFER OUR REF NUM: E10196004701 DETAILS: LESS CHARGES SREF:LBDI1516565000714 BENEFICIARY: 4851771807 SAMUEL PEABODY ORDER PARTY: CORA PEABODY CREDIT PARTY: 29107001 TCF MPLS ORDER BANK: LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEVELOPMENT MONROVIA, LIBERIA	1,000.00		306,006.71

07/14/00	30019625452 650000000262	SAME DAY DR TRANSFER OUR REF NUM: E120196004901 DETAILS: LESS CHARGES SREF:LBDI1716565000714 ORDER PARTY: ELFRIEDA S. TAMBA CREDIT PARTY: 39479653 ELFRIEDA S. TAMBA ORDER BANK: LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEVELOPMENT MONROVIA, LIBERIA	260.00	305,746.71
----------	-----------------------------	---	--------	------------

07/14/00	20019625436 650251671262	SAME DAY CR TRANSFER OUR REF NUM: G0001961100201 DETAILS: FAO LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEVELOPMENT AND D 071400 SWEEP INT AT 05.25000 PCT YOUR REF: CITI310086LBLBL1 OTHER REF: 0330494570091118 ORDER PARTY: IBF FUNDING UNIT DEBIT PARTY: 36047943 IBF TREASURY IBF ACCOUNT	160.42	305,907.13
----------	-----------------------------	---	--------	------------

000574173

880574173

15,047.00
1,999,975.00
2,290,835.13

07/14/00	2 PAID CHECKS	290,860.13
----------	---------------	------------

(A)

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07/17/00	20019925463 650000380262	SAME DAY CR TRANSFER OUR REF NUM: C0001991535601 DETAILS: /RFB FOR FURTHER CREDIT TO// ACCOUNT 0020132851-01 25.00 FEE DEDUCTED YOUR REF: CB/17JUL/001 OTHER REF: 00071700224 ORDER PARTY: NATURA HOLDINGS PTE LTD DEBIT PARTY: 0159 AMERICAN EXPRESS	1,700,000.00	590,835.13
----------	-----------------------------	--	--------------	------------

1,700,000.00
590,835.1307/17/00 30019925488 ACT TRANSFER DR
ACT TRANSFER ---- ACCOUNT 36076795 LBDI - LIBERIAN
BANK FOR DEV'T FROM YOUR ACCOUNT TO ACCOUNT 36076795

2417 J 8

27663

MFI-312

Page from Account Activity Report for LBDI Account 3600-6105 covering 1 March 2000
– 31 March 2000

REPORT DATE 04/03/00

ACCOUNT 3600-6105 RULE OFF FROM 03/01/00 TO 03/31/00

RUN DATE 04/01/00 TIME 05:11

PAGE 106

27664

ACCOUNT NAME - LBDI - LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEV'T

STATEMENT

REFERENCE #/
DATE BATCH TRACK TRANSACTION DESCRIPTION

DEBITS

CREDITS

LEDGER BALANCE

03/29/00 20008924041 SAME DAY CR TRANSFER

650458527262 OUR REF NUM: G000892319901

DETAILS: FAO LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEVELOPMENT 032
900 SWEEP INT AT 04.87500 PCT

YOUR REF: 620502160025

OTHER REF: 36047543 IBF FUNDING UNIT NEW YORK

ORDER PARTY: 36047543 FI TREASURY IBF ACCOUNT

03/29/00 03/30/00 30009024076 ACT TRANSFER DR

ACT TRANSFER --- ACCOUNT 36076795 LBDI - LIBERIAN

BANK FOR DEV'T FROM YOUR ACCOUNT TO ACCOUNT 36076795

60,000.00

209,838.64

4,100,000.00

-3,890,161.36

03/30/00 20009024071 SAME DAY CR TRANSFER

OUR REF NUM: F06009000F0201

DETAILS: FURTHER CREDIT TO CHARLES G. TAYLOR /

AC-00.201-32851-01

DC0003030032

OTHER REF: EMBASSY OF THE ROC MONROVIA, LIBERIA

ORDER PARTY: DEBT'T PARTY: 026009085 ICBC NYC

3,500,000.00

-390,161.36

A || O []] C]] ③ []]

03/30/00 20009024063 SAME DAY CR TRANSFER

OUR REF NUM: G1900900150901

DETAILS: REVERSAL OF PREVIOUS DAY SWEEP INTERE

ST PAYMENT TO FOLLOW

1,200,000.00

809,838.64

03/30/00 30009024074 SAME DAY DR TRANSFER

650000000262 OUR REF NUM: E1200900005301

DETAILS: LESS CHARGES

OTHER REF: LBDI216272000330

BENEFICIARY: 8900237909 THOMAS COOK

ORDER PARTY: LBDI

CREDIT PARTY: 021000018 BANK OF NEW YORK

ORDER BANK: LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEVELOPMENT MONROVI

505,000.00

304,838.64

03/30/00 30009024076 ACT TRANSFER DR

650458527262 OUR REF NUM: G000892319901

DETAILS: FAO LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEVELOPMENT 032
900 SWEEP INT AT 04.87500 PCT

YOUR REF: 620502160025

OTHER REF: 36047543 IBF FUNDING UNIT NEW YORK

ORDER PARTY: 36047543 FI TREASURY IBF ACCOUNT

DEBT'T PARTY: 026009085 ICBC NYC

60,000.00

216.67

269,838.64

03/30/00 30009024076 ACT TRANSFER DR

650458527262 OUR REF NUM: G000892319901

DETAILS: FAO LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEVELOPMENT 032
900 SWEEP INT AT 04.87500 PCT

YOUR REF: 620502160025

OTHER REF: 36047543 IBF FUNDING UNIT NEW YORK

ORDER PARTY: 36047543 FI TREASURY IBF ACCOUNT

DEBT'T PARTY: 026009085 ICBC NYC

60,000.00

216.67

269,838.64

27665

MFI-313

Liberian Bank for Development and Investment account statement covering 1 August 2000 through 11 September 2000

27667

1978-1979 學年第一學期
中大學生會

Glossary

15.222.13

Customer service and customer support are two different areas of our business. We believe that improving the customer experience through better customer service will help us to increase our revenue.

27668

MFI-314

Liberia Bank of Development and Investment Transaction report

27669

LIBERTY BANK FOR DEV&INV 5599

DETAIL ACCOUNT INQUIRY

RUN DATE: 28/02/2004 SYSTEM 28/02/2004 11:29 PAGE 1

FROM ACCOUNT 02210/232851/01
TO ACCOUNT 02210/232851/01

ALL TRANSACTIONS

ACCOUNT NUMBER : 02210/232851/01

CHARLES B. TAYLOR
CHARLES G. TAYLOR

CONGO. TOWN

BOOK BALANCE:	0.00	MATCHING A/C: Maturity :	SIGNATURE CD: 0	USD	54.0000000
CLEARED BALANCE:	0.00				
UNCLEARED AMT :	0.00				
LIMIT :	100CR ** EXCESS **			1 2 3 4 5	
INTEREST RATE %:	0.6 CR	0.0 DR		INDICATORS : 00 00 00 00 00	
ACCR. INT GROSS:	0.00	NETT:	0.00	MEMO 1: 00000000000000000000	
Y-T-D INTEREST :	532.26DR			MEMO 2: 00000000000000000000	
SERVICE CHARGE :	0.00			MEMO 3: 1000	

DATE	VALUE DATE	TYPE	REFERENCE	AMOUNT	BALANCE	INTEREST	NARRATIVE
22/09/2000	22/09/2000	CCE		16,020.16CR	16,020.16CR	0.00	BALANCE TAKE ON
02/10/2000	02/10/2000	SF		1.00DR	16,019.16CR	0.00	SERVICE FEE
30/10/2000	30/10/2000	DRV	0000007689	10.25DR	16,008.91CR	0.00	DEL MIN BAL
30/10/2000	30/10/2000	DRV	0000007690	2,715.90DR	12,293.03CR	0.00	INT ON CD & ADV
30/10/2000	30/10/2000	DCC	0000007901	1.10DR	13,291.93CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
30/10/2000	30/10/2000	DCC	0000007902	1.10DR	13,290.83CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
31/10/2000	31/10/2000	SF		1.00DR	13,289.83CR	0.00	SERVICE FEE
30/11/2000	30/11/2000	SF		1.00DR	13,288.83CR	0.00	SERVICE FEE
04/12/2000	05/12/2000	CRV	0000023911	2,000.00CR	2,813,288.83CR	0.00	RAD IND C. TAYLOR
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	CWC	00048593	51,000.00DR	1,962,288.83CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048593
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	CWC	00048501	100,000.00DR	1,862,288.83CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048501
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	CWC	00048592	47,000.00DR	1,815,288.83CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048592
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	CWC	00048429	56,000.00DR	1,755,288.83CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048429
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	CWC	00048500	53,000.00DR	1,715,288.83CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048500
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	DRV	0000024810	5.50DR	1,715,283.33CR	0.00	COMM. ON CHQ. BOOK
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	DCC	0000025214	1.10DR	1,715,282.23CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	DCC	0000025215	1.10DR	1,715,281.13CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	DCC	0000025216	1.10DR	1,715,280.03CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	DCC	0000025217	1.10DR	1,715,278.93CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	DCC	0000025247	1.10DR	1,715,277.83CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	DCC	0000025265	1.10DR	1,715,276.73CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
05/12/2000	07/12/2000	DRV	0000025417	80,000.00DR	1,635,276.72CR	0.00	LBDI CK#48507 IFD ROSE- LINE K. GBELLY
05/12/2000	07/12/2000	DRV	0000025469	27,000.00DR	1,608,276.73CR	0.00	COM ON RAD IND C. TAYLOR
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	HCD	48509	170,000.00DR	1,438,276.73CR	0.00	LBDI CK #: 48509
05/12/2000	07/12/2000	DRV	0000025617	50,000.00DR	1,388,276.73CR	0.00	LBDI CK#48505
05/12/2000	07/12/2000	DRV	0000025618	25,000.00DR	1,363,276.73CR	0.00	LBDI CK#48506
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	DCC	0000025884	1.10DR	1,363,275.63CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	DCC	0000025887	1.10DR	1,363,274.53CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	DCC	0000025888	1.10DR	1,363,273.43CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	DCC	0000025889	1.10DR	1,363,272.33CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
05/12/2000	05/12/2000	DCC	0000025890	1.10DR	1,363,271.23CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
07/12/2000	07/12/2000	CWC	00048512	20,000.00DR	1,343,271.23CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048512
07/12/2000	07/12/2000	CWC	00048510	12,950.00DR	1,330,321.23CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048510
07/12/2000	08/12/2000	DRV	0000026504	1,300,000.00DR	30,521.23CR	0.00	LBDI CK#48511
07/12/2000	07/12/2000	DCC	0000026723	1.10DR	30,520.13CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
07/12/2000	07/12/2000	DCC	0000026743	1.10DR	30,519.93CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
07/12/2000	07/12/2000	DCC	0000026754	1.10DR	30,517.93CR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
09/12/2000	09/12/2000	CWC	00048504	35,620.00DR	317.93CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048504

(A)

27670

LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEV&INV 5599

DETAIL ACCOUNT INQUIRY

RUN DATE:28/02/2004 SYSTEM 29/02/2004 11:39 PAGE 2

FROM ACCOUNT 02210/232851/01

TO ACCOUNT 02210/232851/01

ALL TRANSACTIONS

05/01/2001	05/01/2001	LMT		0.00	315.83DR	0.00	ACCT LMT CHANGED
08/01/2001	08/01/2001	CWC	00050248	150,000.00DR	149,684.17DR	0.00	CASH CWD: 00050248
08/01/2001	08/01/2001	MST	0000011011	3,000.00DR	152,684.17DR	0.00	COMM RECD ON TOD
08/01/2001	08/01/2001	DCC	0000011469	1.10DR	152,685.27DR	0.00	PER DEBIT CHARGE
09/01/2001	09/01/2001	IAP		119.22DR	152,804.49DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
10/01/2001	10/01/2001	IAP		119.31DR	152,923.80DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
10/01/2001	11/01/2001	CDP	0000012328	150,000.00CR	2,923.80DR	119.41DR	CASH DEPOSIT- C/A
11/01/2001	11/01/2001	IAP		119.41DR	3,043.21DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
12/01/2001	12/01/2001	IAP		2.38DR	3,045.59DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
15/01/2001	15/01/2001	IAP		7.13DR	3,052.72DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
16/01/2001	16/01/2001	IAP		2.38DR	3,055.10DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
17/01/2001	17/01/2001	IAP		2.39DR	3,057.49DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
18/01/2001	18/01/2001	IAP		2.39DR	3,059.88DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
19/01/2001	19/01/2001	IAP		2.39DR	3,062.27DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
22/01/2001	22/01/2001	IAP		7.17DR	3,069.44DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
23/01/2001	23/01/2001	IAP		2.40DR	3,071.84DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
24/01/2001	24/01/2001	IAP		2.40DR	3,074.24DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
25/01/2001	25/01/2001	IAP		2.43DR	3,076.64DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
26/01/2001	26/01/2001	IAP		2.40DR	3,079.04DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
29/01/2001	29/01/2001	IAP		7.21DR	3,086.25DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
30/01/2001	30/01/2001	IAP		2.41DR	3,088.66DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
31/01/2001	31/01/2001	IAP		2.41DR	3,091.07DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
31/01/2001	31/01/2001	SF		1.00DR	3,092.07DR	0.00	SERVICE FEE
31/01/2001	31/01/2001	SF		15.25DR	3,107.32DR	0.00	SERVICE FEE
01/02/2001	01/02/2001	IAP		2.43DR	3,109.75DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
02/02/2001	02/02/2001	IAP		2.43DR	3,112.18DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
05/02/2001	05/02/2001	IAP		7.29DR	3,119.47DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
05/02/2001	05/02/2001	IRC DR RATE	26.500000	TO 18.000000%		0.00	
05/02/2001	06/02/2001	IAP		1.54DR	3,121.81DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
07/02/2001	07/02/2001	IAP		1.54DR	3,122.55DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
08/02/2001	08/02/2001	IAP		1.54DR	3,124.09DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
09/02/2001	09/02/2001	IAP		1.54DR	3,125.63DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
13/02/2001	12/02/2001	IAP		4.62DR	3,130.25DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
14/02/2001	14/02/2001	IAP		3.09DR	3,133.34DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
15/02/2001	15/02/2001	IAP		1.55DR	3,134.89DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
15/02/2001	16/02/2001	IAP		1.55DR	3,136.44DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
19/02/2001	19/02/2001	IAP		4.64DR	3,141.00DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
20/02/2001	20/02/2001	IAP		1.55DR	3,142.63DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
21/02/2001	21/02/2001	IAP		1.55DR	3,144.18DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
22/02/2001	22/02/2001	IAP		1.55DR	3,145.73DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
23/02/2001	23/02/2001	IAP		1.55DR	3,147.28DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
26/02/2001	26/02/2001	IAP		4.66DR	3,151.94DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
27/02/2001	27/02/2001	IAP		1.55DR	3,153.49DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
28/02/2001	28/02/2001	IAP		1.55DR	3,155.05DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
28/02/2001	28/02/2001	SF		1.00DR	3,155.05DR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
01/03/2001	01/03/2001	IAP		1.56DR	3,157.61DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
02/03/2001	02/03/2001	IAP		1.56DR	3,159.17DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
05/03/2001	05/03/2001	IAP		4.67DR	3,163.84DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
06/03/2001	06/03/2001	IAP		1.55DR	3,165.40DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
07/03/2001	07/03/2001	IAP		1.55DR	3,166.95DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
08/03/2001	08/03/2001	IAP		1.56DR	3,168.52DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
09/03/2001	09/03/2001	IAP		1.56DR	3,170.09DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
12/03/2001	12/03/2001	IAP		4.69DR	3,174.77DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE

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LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEV & INV 55599

DETAIL ACCOUNT INQUIRY

RUN DATE: 28/02/2004 SYSTEM 28/02/2004 11:39 PAGE 3

FROM ACCOUNT 02210/232851/01
TO ACCOUNT 02210/232851/01

ALL TRANSACTIONS

20/03/2001	20/03/2001	IAP	1.57DR	3,187.31DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
21/03/2001	21/03/2001	IAP	1.57DR	3,188.89DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
22/03/2001	22/03/2001	IAP	1.57DR	3,190.45DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
23/03/2001	23/03/2001	IAP	1.57DR	3,192.02DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
26/03/2001	26/03/2001	IAP	4.72DR	3,196.74DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
27/03/2001	27/03/2001	IAP	1.58DR	3,198.32DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
28/03/2001	28/03/2001	IAP	1.58DR	3,199.90DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
29/03/2001	29/03/2001	IAP	1.58DR	3,201.48DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
30/03/2001	30/03/2001	IAP	1.58DR	3,203.06DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
30/03/2001	30/03/2001	SF	1.00DR	3,204.06DR	0.00	SERVICE CHARGE
02/04/2001	02/04/2001	IAP	4.74DR	3,209.80DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
03/04/2001	03/04/2001	IAP	1.58DR	3,210.38DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
04/04/2001	04/04/2001	IAP	1.58DR	3,211.96DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
05/04/2001	05/04/2001	IAP	1.58DR	3,213.54DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
06/04/2001	06/04/2001	IAP	1.58DR	3,215.12DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
09/04/2001	09/04/2001	IAP	4.76DR	3,219.88DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
10/04/2001	10/04/2001	IAP	1.59DR	3,221.47DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
11/04/2001	11/04/2001	IAP	1.59DR	3,223.06DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
12/04/2001	12/04/2001	IAP	1.59DR	3,224.65DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
16/04/2001	16/04/2001	IAP	6.36DR	3,231.01DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
17/04/2001	17/04/2001	IAP	1.59DR	3,232.60DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
18/04/2001	18/04/2001	IAP	1.59DR	3,234.19DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
19/04/2001	19/04/2001	IAP	1.59DR	3,235.78DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
19/04/2001	19/04/2001	CNC 00059783	1,000,000.00DR	1,003,235.78DR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00059783
19/04/2001	19/04/2001	RAD 2653	1,500,000.00CR	496,764.22CR	0.00	PROC. OF RAD
19/04/2001	19/04/2001	DCC 0000003680	1.10DR	496,763.12CR	0.00	DEBIT/CREDIT CHARGE
20/04/2001	20/04/2001	MST 0000003804	2.00DR	496,761.12CR	0.00	COM. ON COUNTER CK 4/18/01
20/04/2001	20/04/2001	MST 0000004009	15,000.00DR	421,761.12CR	0.00	CCR. TRANSFER DD 4/17/01
23/04/2001	23/04/2001	CNC 00048513	154,020.00DR	327,741.12CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048513
23/04/2001	23/04/2001	CNC 00048514	100,000.00DR	227,741.12CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048514
23/04/2001	23/04/2001	DCC 0000001460	1.10DR	227,740.02CR	0.00	DEBIT/CREDIT CHARGE
23/04/2001	23/04/2001	DCC 0000001461	1.10DR	227,738.92CR	0.00	DEBIT/CREDIT CHARGE
25/04/2001	25/04/2001	CNC 00048516	5,000.00DR	222,738.92CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048516
25/04/2001	25/04/2001	DCC 0000002357	1.10DR	222,737.82CR	0.00	DEBIT/CREDIT CHARGE
26/04/2001	26/04/2001	CNC 00048515	45,000.00DR	177,737.82CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048515
25/04/2001	26/04/2001	CNC 00048517	68,000.00DR	109,737.82CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048517
26/04/2001	26/04/2001	MST 0000003693	50.00DR	109,687.82CR	0.00	COMM ON TT IND D. MERRON
26/04/2001	26/04/2001	T/T 0000002758	15,050.00DR	94,637.82CR	0.00	TT IND EMBASSY OF LIB.
26/04/2001	26/04/2001	T/T 0000002759	50,050.00DR	44,587.82CR	0.00	TT IND PREM. MISSION UN
25/04/2001	26/04/2001	MST 0000002763	50,050.00CR	94,637.82CR	0.00	REV. OF ENT DD 4/26/01
26/04/2001	26/04/2001	MST 0000002764	15,050.00CR	109,687.82CR	0.00	REV. OF ENT DD 4/26/01
25/04/2001	26/04/2001	DCC 0000002811	1.10DR	109,696.72CR	0.00	DEBIT/CREDIT CHARGE
26/04/2001	26/04/2001	DCC 0000002841	1.10DR	109,685.62CR	0.00	DEBIT/CREDIT CHARGE
30/04/2001	30/04/2001	HCD 48519	21,000.00DR	88,685.62CR	0.00	LBDI CKA 48519 DEP.
30/04/2001	30/04/2001	CNC 00048520	50,000.00DR	38,685.62CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048520
30/04/2001	30/04/2001	DCC 0000004213	0.50DR	38,685.12CR	0.00	DEBIT/CREDIT CHARGE
30/04/2001	30/04/2001	DCC 0000004244	0.50DR	38,684.62CR	0.00	DEBIT/CREDIT CHARGE
30/04/2001	30/04/2001	SF	2.00DR	38,682.62CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
17/05/2001	17/05/2001	CNC 00048522	25,000.00DR	13,682.62CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048522
17/05/2001	17/05/2001	DCC 0000011786	0.50DR	13,682.12CR	0.00	DEBIT/CREDIT CHARGE
31/05/2001	31/05/2001	SF	2.00DR	13,680.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
05/06/2001	05/06/2001	CNC 00048523	10,000.00DR	3,682.12CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048523
05/06/2001	05/06/2001	DCC 0000019878	0.50DR	3,679.62CR	0.00	DEBIT/CREDIT CHARGE

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LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEV&INV 5299

DETAIL ACCOUNT INQUIRY

RUN DATE: 28/02/2004 SYSTEM: 28/02/2004 11:39 PAGE 4

FROM ACCOUNT 02210/232851/01
TO ACCOUNT 02210/232851/01

ALL TRANSACTIONS

19/07/2001	19/07/2001	CNC	00048525	50,000.00DR	453,677.62CR	0.00	CASH CHQ: 00048525
19/07/2001	19/07/2001	HCD	0349015	450,000.00DR	3,677.62CR	0.00	
19/07/2001	19/07/2001	MST	0000043295	450,000.00CR	453,677.62CR	0.00	REV. OF CK DEP. INTO GOL
19/07/2001	19/07/2001	HCD	0349764	450,000.00DR	3,677.62CR	0.00	CK#48524 DEP. IFO-GOLTAX
19/07/2001	19/07/2001	DCC	0000043553	3.50DR	3,677.12CR	0.00	DEBIT/CREDIT CHARGE
19/07/2001	19/07/2001	DCC	0000043556	6.50DR	3,676.62CR	0.00	DEBIT/CREDIT CHARGE
19/07/2001	19/07/2001	DCC	0000043577	6.50DR	3,676.12CR	0.00	DEBIT/CREDIT CHARGE
20/07/2001	20/07/2001	CBP	0000043976	11.00DR	3,665.12CR	0.00	DEBIT/CREDIT CHARGE
31/07/2001	31/07/2001	SF		2.00DR	3,663.12CR	0.00	CHEQUE BOOK PURCHASED 2
31/08/2001	31/08/2001	SF		2.00DR	3,661.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
29/09/2001	29/09/2001	SF		2.00DR	3,659.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/10/2001	31/10/2001	SF		2.00DR	3,657.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/11/2001	30/11/2001	SF		2.00DR	3,655.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/12/2001	31/12/2001	SF		2.00DR	3,653.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/01/2002	31/01/2002	SF		5.00DR	3,648.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
28/02/2002	28/02/2002	SF		5.00DR	3,643.12CR	0.00	SERVICE CHARGE
30/03/2002	30/03/2002	SF		5.00DR	3,638.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/04/2002	04/04/2002	IRC	DR RATE 1	16.000000 TO	16.500000%	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
04/04/2002	04/04/2002	IRC	DR RATE 1	16.000000 TO	18.500000%	0.00	
30/04/2002	30/04/2002	SF		5.00DR	3,633.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
01/05/2002	01/05/2002	IRC	DR RATE 1	18.500000 TO	14.350000%	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/05/2002	31/05/2002	SF		5.00DR	3,628.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
29/06/2002	29/06/2002	SF		5.00DR	3,623.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/07/2002	31/07/2002	SF		5.00DR	3,618.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/08/2002	31/08/2002	SF		5.00DR	3,613.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/09/2002	30/09/2002	SF		5.00DR	3,608.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/10/2002	31/10/2002	SF		5.00DR	3,603.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/11/2002	30/11/2002	SF		5.00DR	3,598.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/12/2002	31/12/2002	SF		5.00DR	3,593.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/01/2003	31/01/2003	SF		5.00DR	3,588.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
28/02/2003	28/02/2003	SF		5.00DR	3,583.12CR	0.00	SERVICE CHARGE
31/03/2003	31/03/2003	SF		5.00DR	3,578.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
15/04/2003	15/04/2003	IRC	DR RATE 1	14.350000 TO	14.250000%	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/04/2003	30/04/2003	SF		6.00DR	3,572.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/05/2003	31/05/2003	SF		6.00DR	3,566.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/06/2003	30/06/2003	SF		6.00DR	3,560.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/07/2003	31/07/2003	SF		6.90DR	3,554.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
29/08/2003	29/08/2003	SF		6.00DR	3,548.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/09/2003	30/09/2003	SF		6.00DR	3,542.12CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
29/10/2003	29/10/2003	MST	PAUT-431		3,542.12DR	0.00	REPMT AGAINST D/D LIB. FOR JESUS

END OF REPORT

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LIBERIAN BANK FOR DEV INV 15539

DETAIL ACCOUNT INQUIRY

RUN DATE: 09/04/2008 SYSTEM 09/04/2008 11:25 PAGE 1

FROM ACCOUNT 02215/159234/01
TO ACCOUNT 02216/159234/01

ALL TRANSACTIONS

ACCOUNT NUMBER : 02216/159234/01

CHARLES G. TAYLOR EDUCATION FO CAPITAL HILL
CHARLES G. TAYLOR EDUCATION FO

BOOK BALANCE:	353.75DR	MATCHING A/C:	USD	63.00000000
CLEARED BALANCE:	353.75DR	MATURITY :		
UNCLEARED AMT :	0.00	SIGNATURE CD:	1 2 3 4 5	
LIMIT :	0 ** EXCESS **	INDICATORS :		
INTEREST RATE %:	0.0 CR	NETT:	0.00	MEMO 1:
ACCR. INT GROSS:	0.00			MEMO 2:
Y-T-D INTEREST :	38.66DR			MEMO 3: 1000000000
SERVICE CHARGE :	0.00			

DATE	VALUE DATE	TYPE	REFERENCE	AMOUNT	BALANCE	INTEREST	NARRATIVE
31/12/2003	31/12/2003	B/F		191.00CR	191.00CR	0.00	BROUGHT FORWARD BALANCE
31/01/2004	31/01/2004	SF		6.00DR	185.00CR	0.00	SERVICE CHARGE
28/02/2004	28/02/2004	SF		6.00DR	179.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/03/2004	31/03/2004	SF		6.00DR	173.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/04/2004	30/04/2004	SF		6.00DR	167.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/05/2004	31/05/2004	SF		6.00DR	161.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/06/2004	30/06/2004	SF		6.00DR	155.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/07/2004	31/07/2004	SF		6.00DR	149.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/08/2004	31/08/2004	SF		6.00DR	143.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/09/2004	30/09/2004	SF		6.00DR	137.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/10/2004	30/10/2004	SF		6.00DR	131.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/11/2004	30/11/2004	SF		6.00DR	125.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/12/2004	31/12/2004	SF		6.00DR	119.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/01/2005	31/01/2005	SF		6.00DR	113.00CR	0.00	SERVICE CHARGE
28/02/2005	28/02/2005	SF		6.00DR	107.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/03/2005	31/03/2005	SF		6.00DR	101.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/04/2005	30/04/2005	SF		6.00DR	95.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/05/2005	31/05/2005	SF		6.00DR	89.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/06/2005	30/06/2005	SF		6.00DR	83.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/07/2005	30/07/2005	SF		6.00DR	77.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
26/08/2005	26/08/2005	IRC	DR RATE 1 14.250000 TO 15.000000%			0.00	
31/08/2005	31/08/2005	SF		6.00DR	71.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/09/2005	30/09/2005	SF		6.00DR	65.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/10/2005	31/10/2005	SF		6.00DR	59.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
30/11/2005	30/11/2005	SF		6.00DR	53.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/12/2005	31/12/2005	SF		6.00DR	47.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/01/2006	31/01/2006	SF		6.00DR	41.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
28/02/2006	28/02/2006	SF		6.00DR	35.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/03/2006	31/03/2006	SF		6.00DR	29.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
29/04/2006	29/04/2006	SF		15.00DR	14.00CR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
31/05/2006	31/05/2006	SF		15.00DR	1.00DR	0.00	MONTHLY SERVICE CHARGE
13/05/2006	13/05/2006	IAP		0.01DR	1.01DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
26/05/2006	26/06/2006	IAP		0.01DR	1.02DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
05/07/2006	05/07/2006	DRV	59969	15.00DR	15.02DR	0.00	JUNE 2006 MONTHLY SERV CH
07/07/2006	07/07/2006	IAP		0.01DR	15.03DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
05/07/2006	09/07/2006	IAP		0.01DR	16.04DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
10/07/2006	10/07/2006	IAP		0.01DR	16.65DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
12/07/2006	12/07/2006	IAP		0.01DR	16.05DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE
13/07/2006	13/07/2006	IAP		0.01DR	16.07DR	0.00	INTEREST TO DATE

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MFI-315A

Excerpt from the Liberian TRC Report, Volume II (Page 115)

By 1985 Doe had eliminated more than half of the 17 men who along with him upstaged the TWP Government and attempted to institutionalize an ethnic-based hegemony of his own ethnicity; crack down on his political opponents including the violent invasion of the University Campus in 1984 by the military under his infamous "move or be removed" orders to the military. With the momentary exercise of "force majeure," military leader Samuel K. Doe hijacked the elections of 1985 and declared himself winner after handpicking a 25-man committee to recount the ballots when it became clear he was losing. The US Reagan Administration supported the outcome and validated the results as a "movement toward democracy". Doe has won the first round. The political contest spilled into the streets on November 12, 1985 when General Thomas Quiwonkpa mounted his second bid to unseat Doe. Even though it appeared that the entire security network caved in on hearing the General's announcement on radio, Doe had prior knowledge of the General's adventures, commanded his loyal forces to play low why they lay in wait for the General to strike and exhaust himself. The insurgent General announced that the government had been overthrown, by the National Patriotic Forces (NPF), Doe was in hiding and surrounded without any chance of escape.

Meanwhile, the entire top brass of the Police with the knowledge of its Director, Wilfred Clarke, decided to surrender itself at the BTC to the insurgents without any evidence that the Commander-In-Chief, Samuel K Doe was captured, has surrendered or dead. Lt Col Jimmy Smith was instructed to take the officers to the BTC and proceed to the Director's residence to pick him up. Officer Smith arrived at the Director's and was instructed to take him, Police Director Wilfred Clarke to the Executive Mansion to meet General Quiwonkpa and "everything will be alright". Enroute, the Minister of National Security, Christopher Minikon was picked up. To their shock and bewilderment General Smith greeted them at the entrance of the Executive Mansion and told them President Doe was on the ground floor and will receive them. Officer Smith dropped off the Director and went away only to hear on police radio that we was a traitor and was wanted for arresting the Director of Police, Wilfred Clarke. Arrested, he was taken to Director Clarke who sent him away to the Executive Mansion where he was listed for execution as part of a fourth batch of "traitors" being executed by Col Harrison Pennue and Youbo Tailey. The first three batches were executed in their presence on the grounds of the executive mansion and taken away for burial. Included in the batch of four was General Zayzay in whose interest a rescue mission by General Roudolph Kolako appeared and threatened both Tailay and Pennoh that they themselves will be executed on the spot if they shot anyone. Officer Smith was saved but remanded in prison for over nine months at the same time as Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and subsequently released but dishonorably discharged from the service of the National Police.

27676

MFI-315B

Excerpt from the Liberian TRC Report, Volume II (Cover Page)

27677



REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

FINAL REPORT



1

unedited

VOLUME II: CONSOLIDATED FINAL REPORT

This volume constitutes the final and complete report of the TRC of Liberia containing findings, determinations and recommendations to the government and people of Liberia

27678

MFI-316

Profile of Charles M. Taylor from Case No. 84-1251R, U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts, 27 July 1990

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(A) || Charles M. Taylor

This profile of Charles M. Taylor is based on information from court records in U.S. v. Charles M. Taylor, Magistrates Docket, No. 84-1251R in the United States District Court for the District of Massachusetts, and attorney files. For additional information, or inquiries, contact Ramsey Clark or Lawrence W. Schilling, 36 E. 12th Street, New York, NY 10003. Tel. 212-475-3232.

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virtually all Liberian groups and activists in the United States.

(E) It had 50,000 members in 1979.

Mr. Taylor was a very active Chairman of the Union and focused its activities on conditions in Liberia, primarily the absence of democratic institutions, the stagnant economy and political repression.

II. Charles Taylor's Return to Liberia and Service as a Cabinet Member.

(F) On January 8, 1980, Mr. Taylor returned to Liberia with a widely publicized delegation from the Union of Liberian Associations to discuss democratization, economic reforms and human rights with the Tolbert government.

At the time of his return to Liberia, Mr. Taylor had never heard of Samuel K. Doe who was then a sergeant in the Liberian Army. While his delegation was in Monrovia, Sgt. Doe staged a coup d'etat and seized power.

(G) Mr. Taylor began immediately after the coup to try to stop the wave of executions that shocked the world. President Tolbert was killed in the executive mansion. His ministers were tied to poles and publicly executed on the beach front without trials. A son was dragged from the French Embassy and killed in the streets.

Because his long, outspoken opposition to the Tolbert government, his pre eminence among Liberians in the United States, his organizational skills and his education in economics

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were well known, Charles Taylor was quickly recruited by the Doe military government. He was made Director of the General Services Administration in June 1980, a position he held until August 1983.

While in the United States, Mr. Taylor had always planned to return to Liberia, hoping to help it establish democratic institutions and achieve economic progress under the rule of law. Because of his activities in the U.S. protesting the Tolbert government, it was not safe for him to return while it was in power. Even his trip with the Union of Liberian Associations involved personal physical risk.

When the coup d'etat occurred, Mr. Taylor felt a patriotic duty to remain in Liberia and help his people at a very difficult, dangerous, but hopeful time of change. He was appalled by the violence of the coup and acts in its aftermath. Like everyone living there, he was aware of the executions, disappearances, torture, arbitrary arrests and exile inflicted by the military government, but he chose to stay and try to help.

As Director of the GSA, a major, cabinet level position which conducted all government purchasing, Mr. Taylor wielded significant power. He was one of only three Americo-Liberians in a top or middle level position. The Americo-Liberians, descendants of the American slaves, while less than 3% of the population of the country, had dominated the country politically, economically and socially since the 1840s. Sgt. Doe executed most Americo-Liberian leadership that did not flee the country.

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Despite his known opposition to the Tolbert regime and his valuable skills, Mr. Taylor remained in Liberia at great personal risk. His wife gave birth to their two children in the United States in the early 1980s for safety as well as health reasons.

K As Director of GSA, Mr. Taylor became painfully aware not only of the violent lawlessness of the military government which was general knowledge, but also of official corruption which he observed first hand because purchases and investments were made through his office. He had close regular contacts with Doe, not only as a cabinet minister, but as the person through whom Doe made extravagant purchases and investments.

L Mr. Taylor was under suspicion as an Americo-Liberian. This prejudice grew because of his criticisms of purchases by Doe and his military colleagues and because of his well known positions on democracy, economic reform and human rights. In a well publicized, if not unusual episode in 1981, Mr. Taylor was arrested in his office, stripped naked, paraded through the streets, beaten and placed in a maximum security jail for allegedly spreading anti-revolutionary documents against the government. While Mr. Taylor denied publishing the documents, they were similar to what he had said in opposition to the Tolbert government. He was released on the intervention and order of General Thomas Quiwonkpa, among others, a close personal friend and relative of his wife. After three weeks of medical treatment for injuries, cuts and bruises, he was reinstated at GSA though he required continuing medical care.

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It was later discovered that Dhillon Brothers had transferred \$100,000 from the \$900,000 to an account maintained by Taylor in the U.S. to cover unrelated moneys they had received from Taylor in Liberia for transfer to his account in New York. These moneys belonged to a number of people whom Taylor refused to identify because their lives would be endangered in Liberia if the government knew who they were and that they were transferring money out of the country through Taylor. Apparently Dhillon Brothers had retained the \$100,000 received from Taylor in Liberia, or transferred it elsewhere, and replaced it with \$100,000 from the \$900,000 on the parts contract. The government of Liberia never claimed the \$100,000 was illegally transferred to Taylor. It claimed Taylor took the entire \$900,000, a fact disproved by bank records.

In the extradition proceedings, Taylor urged the obvious that the reason for the extradition was political and that he would be killed if returned to Liberia. Indeed, he specifically declined to seek release on bail for reasons of safety of himself and his family. He presented volumes of evidence including U.S. State Department country reports, Amnesty International reports, scores of newspaper clippings, letters, documents, videotapes and testimony including that of J. Thomas Woewiyu, then Chairman of the Union of Liberian Associations, to prove Head of State Doe would kill him if he were extradited to Liberia.

In contrast, the government of Liberia presented only a handful of documents bolstered later by bank records secured by

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the FBI in an unprecedented effort to assist a foreign government in an extradition proceeding. [The importance of the extradition to Liberia was underlined by the presence in the back of the courtroom of its Justice Minister Scott Jenkins who did not participate in the proceedings.] [LG]

(P) There can be no question that the motive for the extradition was to secure the return of a political enemy. There was no merit to the money claim. While Charles Taylor was in jail in the U.S., Doe increased repression in Liberia. In August scores of protesting students were shot on the campus of the University of Liberia by Doe's soldiers.

(T) Taylor was kept in jail in Plymouth, Massachusetts for over six months while the extradition proceeding droned on. During this time he spoke by telephone with General Thomas Quiwonkpa who was in Aberdeen, Maryland. [He was visited by scores of friends, supporters and family.]

Before the United States District Court ruled on his petition, he escaped on September 15, 1985. The escape was almost surely accomplished through the efforts of U.S. intelligence agents. Neither the United States which arrested Mr. Taylor only on an extradition request for Head of State Doe, nor the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has ever charged Mr. Taylor with any offense, including escape, to the knowledge of counsel.

(V) Within months of his escape, Taylor was in West Africa assisting General Quiwonkpa in a major military effort to overthrow Doe, [one of the most violent military dictators in



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recent African history. General Quiwonkpa appears to have actually seized key military positions including the government TV-radio station and the Doe executive headquarters when he was killed in a surprise attack. He was beheaded, castrated, his body cut into pieces and publicly eaten by Doe troops. A large force waiting to invade Liberia to consolidate his victory was disbanded when key leaders were assassinated. In the wake of this failure thousands of Gio and Mano Liberians were killed. Charles Taylor escaped, but continued efforts to overthrow Doe, which led four years later to his invasion of Liberia in December 1989 which seems destined to remove Samuel K. Doe from power.

Ramsey Clark

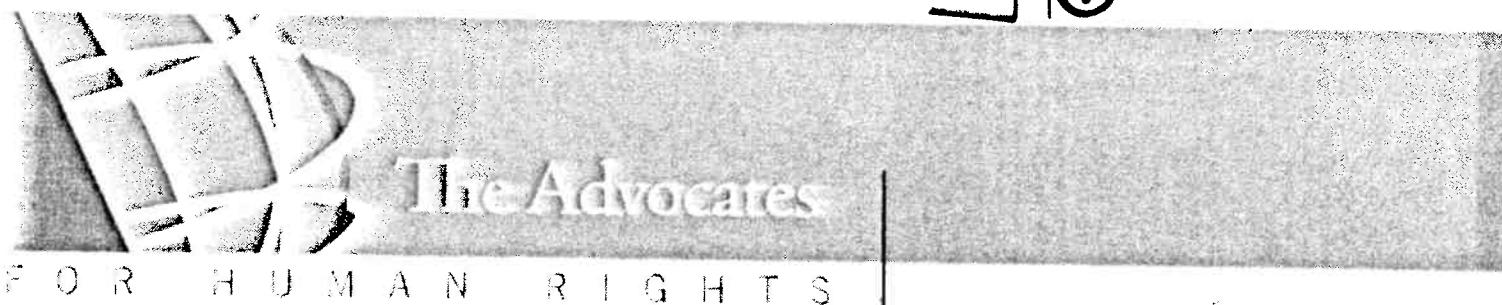
July 27, 1990

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MFI-317

Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission Diaspora Project – Appendix D, Key Events in Liberian History from 1979-2003

(1)


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ADD THIS

(2)

1979

Liberia enters into a treaty of mutual defense with Guinea.

April 14, 1979 – President Tolbert's proposal to increase the price of rice provokes the Rice Riots. Later, Tolbert grants general amnesty to those charged with instigating the events of April 14.

July 1979 – Liberia hosts the 16th annual Organization of African Unity summit meeting.

1980

April 12, 1980 – Master Sergeant Samuel Kanyon Doe launches a bloody coup with a group of other noncommissioned officers, executing President Tolbert in the Executive Mansion.

April 22, 1980 – A firing squad publicly strips and executes 13 government officials at a beachside military base in Monrovia. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, along with other members of the educated elite, flee the country.

1985

October 15, 1985 – Amid claims that the voting was rigged, the Doe government holds and wins multi-party general elections.

November 12, 1985 – General Thomas Quiwonkpa stages a failed coup, invading Monrovia and securing the national radio station before being overtaken by Doe's military reinforcements. Within days, Quiwonkpa is executed, his corpse is mutilated by Doe's soldiers, and his body is paraded around Monrovia amid celebrations by loyalist soldiers.

January 6, 1986 – Samuel Doe becomes the president of the Second Republic, inaugurating a new constitution.

December 24, 1989 – Charles Taylor, leading the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), instigates a civil war upon launching an invasion from Côte d'Ivoire into Liberia's northeastern Nimba County, supported by guerrilla fighters trained in Libya.

1990

May 30, 1990 – The Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOWAS) heads of state convene in Banjul, Gambia on the Liberian civil war and institute a five-member Standing Mediation Committee to bring about a peaceful settlement to the conflict.

June 1990 – Clashes in Monrovia between the NPFL and Doe's forces result in indiscriminate killings and mass displacement.

July 1990 – Roughly 600 men, women, and children who sought refuge from the violence are massacred at a Lutheran church in Monrovia by government soldiers.

July 6, 1990 – ECOWAS leaders gather in Banjul and approve sending a multinational peacekeeping force into Monrovia.

July 1990 – The Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL) forms under Prince Johnson after breaking from Charles Taylor and enters Monrovia.

August 7, 1990 – ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee establishes a Military Observer Group (ECOMOG)

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MFI-318

Excerpts from a BBC Interview with the NPFL Leader, Charles Taylor, In Gbarnga, West Africa, No. 3892, 20-26 April 1992

LIBERIA-1

Excerpts from an interview with the head of Ecomog, General Ishaya Bakut

Who's delaying peace?

WHY WAS IT was not possible to implement the Yamassoukro 4 peace accord within the 60-day period?

Many of us here are from different countries. The mission that we were given is very clear, bringing peace to Liberia, which has today resulted into the Yamassoukro accords to which the leader of the NPFL, Mr Charles Taylor is a signatory. We were told to implement the Yamassoukro accords on terms dictated by the NPFL that are not provided for in the accord. This is unacceptable to us.

The NPFL leader is saying that Ecomog is the obstacle to peace, as they were expecting Ecomog deployment of troops and Ecomog never showed up?

They were saying two basic things that were out of tune with the accord. That all the entry points will have to be manned on a one-to-one basis. That is for every Ecomog soldier, they should provide one NPFL soldier. This is at variance with the terms of the accord which clearly states that all the warring factions must abandon their positions and arms for Ecomog.

The second point is that they were stating that disarmament is an in-house activity. Ecomog is insisting that the accord provides that Ecomog do the disarmament and encampment as well as supervise and maintain security throughout Liberia.

Could one be correct to state that Taylor is playing delay tactics?

Surely. He deliberately told his technical committee team at the joint Ecomog/NPFL meetings to change some of the wordings in the accord to suit him. For instance, he changed the word "supervise" to "monitor". The accord provides that Ecomog supervise security throughout Liberia. But Taylor is emphasising that Ecomog was mandated to monitor and not to supervise security.

It has been ascertained that the Ulimo factor is a serious obstacle to the peace process; what are your views?

That claimed my attention from the time I took over as head of ecomog. I went to Free-town and conferred with the Ulimo leadership and the head of the Sierra Leone Army, Major

General Mohammed Tarawali. They all promised to cooperate with Ecomog by observing complete ceasefire, as long as Taylor was prepared to cooperate with the peace process. But Taylor has not been cooperating with Ecomog, otherwise an Ecomog buffer zone would have been created long ago and Ulimo attacks would have been averted.

How can the Ulimo problem be resolved?

It is a complex one. Ulimo has been accusing me of siding with Taylor and the NPFL has been accusing me of siding with Ulimo. But I think the solution to the Ulimo problem was taken care of by the Yamassoukro 4 accord. It is a perfect document which depends on trust and confidence in Ecomog. Unfortunately Taylor does not trust Ecomog. He did not trust the Nigerian and Ghanaian contingents and hence called for the Senegalese. Now he is uneasy with the Senegalese contingent.

Why do you consider deployment difficult?

It is not difficult if we conform to the rules of the game. I cannot drive freely to Gbarnga because of the many NPFL checkpoints. I can only freely move about when accompanied by an NPFL official. Sometimes when we ask for permission to go into NPFL areas they refuse. Again for the peace process to work, Taylor needs to put confidence in us as neutral peace keepers.

Interview by John Momoh

LIBERIA-2

Excerpts from a BBC interview with the NPFL leader, Charles Taylor, in Gbarnga

Taylor explains

WHAT HAS BEEN responsible for the stalemate between the NPFL and the interim government in moving the peace process forward towards the holding of general elections?

The leaders of ECOWAS countries sent us back to continue a process of dialogue for lasting peace, like organising the Elections Commission, Ad-hoc Supreme Court, after the Yamoussoukro Four summit last October. But surprisingly it was the interim government that began the provocative acts designed to derail the peace process when they imposed the trade embargo. The embargo has no real value as we have everything we want.

How do you react to charges made by other political parties that the NPFL and the National Patriotic Party are monopolising political activities in NPFL areas, as attempts by them to come over and engage in politicking have been greeted by constant harrassment at the various checkpoints by armed men?

Those are false charges. We have not stopped any of the Monrovia-based political parties from campaigning in our areas. In fact a few of them have been coming and we welcome more of them to do so.

We are confident that our National Patriotic Party will win the ensuing elections.

Why did the NPFL invade Sierra Leone and what is your relationship with Foday Sankoh and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone (RUFS)?

We have always denied involvement in the invasion of Sierra Leone and will continue to do so. But we have concrete evidence that President Joseph Momoh of Sierra Leone is behind the invasion of Liberia by the forces of the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (Ulimo). Some of the captured prisoners of war have confessed that to us. As soon as President Momoh and myself could sit down and talk the better things will be for all of us. I don't know Foday Sankoh and the RUFS.

Is it true that the NPFL is delaying the peace process so that it can get more time to pillage the nation's economic resources?

I am committed to the peace process because I know that our people are tired of war. We will do everything possible to give the necessary support to the Elections Commission. In our view it is Ecomog that is stalling the peace process by failing to implement those aspects of the Yamoussoukro 4 agreements that we have all agreed on. Why have they failed to deploy troops throughout Liberia and created buffer zones at Liberia's borders with Sierra Leone and Guinea? Because of this and the

massive troop build-up by the Senegalese contingent a crisis of confidence has evolved which has kept us alert. And we are ready to defend the sovereignty of Liberia at all costs and at all times.

What is the current relationship of the NPFL government with the US?

We reached a point during the war whereby we could have taken over Monrovia. The US told us to wait because it would be too costly in material and human lives. They lied to us. The problem we have now is that the US, especially Mr Herman Cohen, the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs is starting demobilisation, which is wrong as the arms and ammunition are for us. After the US wrote to us to have the Senegalese, I never expected them to bring in such a high amount of arms and ammunition and troops. We thought we could trust them but they appear to be more dangerous than the Nigerians. The US is using the Senegalese for their surrogate activities in Liberia.

Recently President Amos Sawyer went to your traditional friends, Libya, Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast to seek their support for the implementation of the Ecowas Peace Plan. What are your views?

The concept of people coming to take arms and slaughter my head for public display while my friends sit idly by cannot work. It is a big joke as my friends will remain my friends. Blaise Campaore is a personal friend in both private and public life.

If I go today many more Charles Taylor will come. Not even Sawyer's visits can stop my relationship with my friends.

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BBC Clip – Mary Harper Interview of Charles Taylor

A: Clip

B: Unofficial Transcript

TIME: 34:49

HARPER:

But Mr. Taylor, what's happening now in Sierra Leone, many people have accused you of having a big hand in the destabilization of Sierra Leone. They say...I haven't been to those counties, so I can't see for myself, but I've been told by people that have been there, that RUF people come and go happily across the border, that even Liberians [who have] killed people go into Sierra Leone. So how can you say that you wouldn't permit one of your neighbours to destabilize you, when *you* have been accused of having a hand in destabilizing Sierra Leone?

TIME: 35:19

TAYLOR:

You see, that's the whole point—they are accusing me and that's not true. On the border, there's a refugee camp and I think you can speak to the UNHCR people. There are several NGOs that work on the borders in the refugee camps.

The Sierra Leonean situation is very simple to explain. It is obvious—you know, Africa is a very, very peculiar continent. There's a new breed of African leaders. I'm one of those leaders that feel that I have to tell the truth, and you just heard me talk over there about business as usual. It's not going to be business as usual. If you look at my speech that I made in France, I was very, very serious about it. Some of the conflicts in Africa are as a result of people using tribal and ethnic affinity to do what they want to do. This is also true of the Sierra Leonean situation. Look, when the war started in Sierra Leone, my good friend and brother, President Kabbah, was not a part of that war.

HARPER:

But he's not really a good friend and brother of yours because people accuse you of desperately trying to get rid of him

TIME: 36:27

TAYLOR:

No, no, that's what I'm trying to say. He's my good friend and brother. He is not a part of that war. He let this war.

What has happened was that [the] international community did not support President Kabbah sufficiently following his fresh election, and so everyone should have known that Kabbah was going to be in trouble. After he was overthrown, it is known by everyone that I've been friendly with Foday Sankoh for many years, before the revolution. That is true in the case of Britain—there was a case where the British government contacted me at one point to get some people freed, and I tried to intervene to get them free and they were being held by Foday Sankoh some time ago.

27692

MFI-321

BBC Monitoring Report: Taylor Sets up Interim National Assembly, 23 October 1990

Peace-keeping and International Enforcement in Liberia

to the NPFL which had caused the ECOWAS peace-keeping force to launch an air offensive against the rebels. He also said that his government would install itself in Monrovia "as soon as ECOMOG is able to establish a military perimeter which the Interim Government will use as a zone of operation to effect its influence". He added that he had received pledges of support from General David Nimley, head of the late President Doe's presidential guard, and from rebel leader Prince Johnson. Nimley's support for the Interim Government was also reported by Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (Accra) on the 9th.

The Guinean embassy in Sierra Leone was closed on 8 October after it was stormed by "hundreds of hungry Guinean refugees from war-torn Liberia anxious to get home", AFP reported on the 8th, citing "officials". Those involved in the incident were among the 3,000 refugees who had arrived in Freetown from Monrovia on the 7th aboard the Ghanaian merchant ship *Tano River*.

BBC Monitoring Report, 15 October 1990

**88. Report: ECOWAS Chairman Will Not Attend Meeting of ECOWAS Nations.
13 October 1990**

Sir Dawda Jawara, Gambia's President and the current chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) would not attend a two-day summit of ECOWAS nations on Liberia, to be held in Yamoussoukro starting on 15 October and convened at the request of Côte d'Ivoire's President, Félix Houphouët-Boigny, AFP reported on the 13th, citing a spokesman for Sir Dawda. The Gambian President felt that any ECOWAS summit could only be called by its chairman, the spokesman said. The agency added: "His [Sir Dawda's] decision seemed to crystallise the deepening rift in the 15-year-old regional organisation between its five English-speaking member countries and its 11 French-speaking members. Several French-speaking countries are believed favourable to the Liberian rebel army of Charles Taylor and many oppose the attempts by an ECOWAS force to impose a government on Liberia."

The Nigerian President, Ibrahim Babangida, would not attend the meeting in Yamoussoukro "because it was not properly constituted", Radio Nigeria (Lagos) reported on the 13th, citing "an authoritative source in Dodan barracks".

BBC Monitoring Report, 23 October 1990

89. Report: Taylor Sets Up Interim National Assembly, 22 October 1990

According to AFP on 22 October, Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor set up on 21 October the interim National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly in Gbarnga, 95 miles north of Monrovia, swearing in 24 members, five from the NPFL, one representative from each of the 13 Liberian counties and a designate from each of six political parties. Three seats were left open for members of Prince Johnson's faction.

27694

MFI-322

BBC Monitoring Report: Liberian Rebel Leaders Visit West African Countries, 14 March
1991

Peace-keeping and International Enforcement in Liberia

BBC Monitoring Report, 14 March 1991

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125. Report: Liberian Rebel Leaders Visit West African Countries; Mali Troops Join ECOMOG, 11 March 1991

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NPFL leader Charles Taylor returned to Liberia on 11 March following visits to Senegal and Guinea-Bissau, Radio ELBC (Gbarnga) said on the 12th, in a report which referred to Taylor throughout as "President Taylor". He had discussions on the Liberian peace process with the leaders of the two countries and said that "the visit was also to forge African unity and ... to seek advice from all African big brothers on the conflict in Liberia".

In a dispatch from Lagos on 11 March, AFP reported that INPFL leader Prince Johnson had that day had his second meeting within four days with Nigerian President Babangida "to discuss peace in Liberia" and had then gone to Freetown. AFP reported from Monrovia on 12 March that leaders of Liberia's six political parties had warned their members that day "against what they called a bid by rebel leader Charles Taylor to 'manipulate' them to allow him to install a 'military dictatorship' in Liberia". Taylor was said to be mobilising members of political parties in territory under his control to send them to Monrovia for the start of the national conference, scheduled to begin on 15 March, where he wanted support for "his demand to lead the new Interim Government to be named at the conference". The leaders had expressed their readiness to continue support for the Interim Goverment led by Amos Sawyer.

The arrival in Monrovia on 11 March of the first contingent of Malian troops to join the ECOMOG force was reported by Radio France Internationale (Paris) on 12 March. AFP reported on the 12th that NPFL defence spokesman Tom Woewiyu had announced that "he was prepared to co-operate with West African peace-keeping troops in the country". ECOMOG troops were making "confidence visits" to areas held by the NPFL during the run-up to the national conference and in preparation for the reopening of all roads to help relief operations, AFP noted.

Radio ELBC, Monrovia, 14 March 1991

126. Report: Liberian Interim President, Amos Sawyer, Speech Urges "Magnanimity of Spirit" at Conference, 14 March 1991

[Text of Speech:]

Fellow citizens, ladies and gentlemen, tomorrow, 15 March, is a very important day for our country. On that day, the All-Liberia Conference will begin. As you already know, the purpose of the conference is to reach the ultimate political accommodation that will constitute a lastby [as heard], bringing our long nightmare to a close. I need not remind you of the death and destruction, [word indistinct] human spirit, and the misery brought about by this conflict, for not a single Liberian has remained (?untouched) by the conflict. We are all victims of this war. We are all losers.

However, we are indeed fortunate that with an abundance of goodwill and assistance from our sisters and brothers in our sub-region, we have been given a chance to turn a glimmer of hope into an opportunity for recovery. ECOWAS has left no stone unturned in seeking a solution for peace, and has provided ECOMOG which has performed excellently as a peace-keeping force. With a cease-fire agreement now secured, ECOMOG is in the process of ensuring that our roads are open once again. It is now securing our borders and our ports and entry. Our country, which was on the verge of being partitioned, is unified once again. Thank God for ECOMOG.

Well, ECOWAS is on its [word indistinct]. Now, we must do ours. I appeal to all Liberians to ensure that this conference is held in an atmosphere conducive to the search for peace and a lasting political settlement. I appeal to all warring factions to realise that the days of belligerence are over

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MFI-323

"My Husband Must Head Government", The Inquirer, Vol. 1, No. 19, Monrovia, Liberia,
19 March 1991

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VOL. I No. 19

THE INQUIRER, TUESDAY, MARCH 19, 1991

MONROVIA, LIBERIA

\$1.00

The**IN****QUI****R****E****R****AS ALL-LIBERIAN CONFERENCE CONTINUES TODAY**

CHEAPOO, OTHERS MAY BE REJECTED

By Philip N. Wesseh & S. Togba Slewion

As the All-Liberian Conference enters its fourth day today, it has been recommended that the application of former Chief Justice, Chea Cheapoo, to contest the Interim Presidency as independent candidate be rejected as it is not in conformity with the ECOWAS Peace Plan.

Also recommended for rejection were the applications from the Movement of the Redemption of Liberian Muslims headed by Alhaji Kromah, former Director General of the Liberia Broadcasting Corporation, and the

Movement for Popular Democracy in Liberia to participate in the Conference.

The recommendations to reject Counsellor Cheapoo and the two organizations were contained in a report of the Credentials

Committee headed by Counsellor Johnny Lewis, Dean of the Louis Arthur Grimes School of Law,

cont'd on page 3



Cllr. Chea Cheapoo

JAMES MORRIS

I'm Here To Stay -SAYS TIPOTEH

Dr. Togba Nah Tipoteh, one of several politicians who returned home recently after being in exile for many years, says he is "back home to stay."

Speaking to journalists at the Unity Conference Center (UCC) during the All-Liberian Conference, Dr. Tipoteh said although he was forced into exile by the late Samuel Doe regime, he is now back home to contribute his quota to the recon-

struction of Liberia which has been ravaged by the 15-month-old civil war.

He called on

all Liberians to let by-gones be by-gones and pull all their resources together for the improvement of their country.

Dr. Tipoteh who is President of the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), said his organization has already drafted a document known as "Four Rs" which he named as rehabilitation, reconstruction, reconciliation and resettlement.

He asserted

cont'd on page 3



DR. TIPOTEH

Inside today

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Mr. Alhaji Kromah

'My Husband Must Head Govt.'



Mrs. Agnes Taylor, wife of Charles Taylor, at her Gbarnga presidential palace. See Story on page 3.

Photo: James Morris

00102717

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SOUND THINKING

Cont'd from page 4

In Liberia, Liberians need a breathing space—schools need to be reopened—business activities need to resume.

If doing the whole election over would bring that much needed relief, so it had to be. The mass-oriented thinking also made it a necessity to exclude heads of the warring factions from vying for the interim presidency or vice presidency.

Nothing could have been more well-meaning for the safety of the people and the country, and re-focusing on the provision that those heads will be allowed to participate in the 1992 general election. That is following the one-year interim government, any head of the warring factions should be able to see the logic, namely, that at least a one-year break from the destructive hand-to-hand battles could give room for more sober thinking on the part of the warring heads and increased sympathies and understanding on the part of the Liberian people.

DISTURBING QUESTION MARK

Yet it is the December 12, 1990 Banjul Conference document which has raised the disturbing question mark. In that document, the warring factions agreed to "form a future interim government." I must quickly add that one clear thing about the August and December Banjul documents is that they do not give any head of the warring fac-

tions the right to run for the presidency or vice president of the interim government which is to be elected at the All-Liberian Conference. Also true is that Chapters V and VI of our Constitution have been suspended for the life of the inter-

im government.

On legal grounds, the members of COTNAF present knew or ought to have known that the December 1990 document provisions on the formation of a future interim government cannot be implemented. In August 1990, if they did not find that reading:

Cont'd on page 5

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Around Liberia**'My husband must head Govt.'**

Mrs. Agnes Taylor, wife of Charles Taylor, leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, said anyone who heads the government will have

a serious problem with young com-

batants of the NPFL.

She said this problem will develop because the young fighters do not lis-

ten to anyone else except to her and her husband.

As a result of this Mrs. Taylor said that the government must be headed by "Agnes and Taylor." She was speaking in an interview with the BBC recently.

God IS SOVEREIGN.

Death ANNOUNCEMENT

The Late
Edward Nebbett

We regret to announce the sudden death of Mr. Edward A.H. Nebbett a professor of the Mass Communication Department of the University of Liberia and an employee of the J.P.K. Hospital. This sad event occurred on March 11, 1991 at his Carey Street residence.

He is survived by eight (8) children, 1 (one) grand child, a host of relatives and friends.

The body will be taken from the St. Moses Funeral Parlour on Tuesday March 19, 1991 at 12:30 p.m. to the First United Methodist on Ashmun Street for wake keeping from 2 - 5:00 p.m. funeral services will be at the same church, 2:00 pm. Anyone wishing to pay tribute through floral designs may do so with cash.

Signed: Edna Nebbett and Ravah Nebbett-Tueh and wife for the family.

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State Department Noon Briefing, 21 July 2003

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07/22/2003

State Department Noon Briefing, July 21, 2003

Department, Liberia, Mexico, Cuba, North Korea/China, Cyprus, Iraq, Kenya, Turkey, Venezuela, Sao Tome/Principe

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Deputy State Department Spokesman Phil Reeker conducted the July 21 briefing.

Following is the State Department transcript:

(begin transcript)

U.S. Department of State
 Daily Press Briefing Index
 Monday, July 21, 2003
 2:07 p.m. EDT

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DAILY PRESS BRIEFING

MONDAY, JULY 21, 2003
 (ON THE RECORD UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED)

2:07 p.m. EDT

MR. REEKER: Good afternoon. Welcome to the State Department. I do have one announcement I would like to make and we will put out a written statement following the briefing; that is that Secretary Powell has today announced the selection of Mitchell B. Reiss as the new Director of the Office of Policy Planning.

Dr. Reiss is currently the Dean of International Affairs and Director of the Reves Center for International Studies at the College of William & Mary, and Professor of Law and Government at the college. He has extensive experience in issues relating to nuclear nonproliferation, including work on North Korea. He is published widely in the field of International Affairs and Arms Control. Dr. Reiss has degrees from Williams College, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Oxford University and the Columbia Law School.

Dr. Reiss has served previously in government, including as Special Assistant on the National Security Council and as a consultant to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and as a consultant here at the Department of State, as well as with the Congressional Research Service and the Los Alamos National Laboratory.

So we will put that statement out as well as a full copy of Dr. Reiss's bio after the briefing.

QUESTION: Phil, do you know if that appointment is going to be -- as it was, as it was with Haass, he was confirmed by the Senate even though he did not need that confirmation as an Ambassador-at-Large. Is that the same deal with this guy?

MR. REEKER: I would have to check on that. We can see once he gets started, but I don't know this is obviously a decision the Secretary's made consulting with the White House and we look forward to Dr. Reiss joining us in due course.

Eli.

QUESTION: Will Dr. Reiss be taking on the diplomatic duties, it's not a question about the title, but Haass often was not just the director of the State Department's think tank but was also sort of an Ambassador-at-Large who would -- went to see Chavez and would, sort of, carry important messages. Is Reiss going to have that role or is he going to be focusing more just on the long-range planning?

MR. REEKER: I would say at this point that Dr. Reiss will be doing exactly what the Secretary and he decide he will be doing. We will let him get started in that and the Secretary can determine what specific assignments --

QUESTION: You know, Haass was a special envoy to Northern Ireland --

QUESTION: He still is.

MR. REEKER: Indeed. And he still is --

QUESTION: He worked with the Iranians.

MR. REEKER: And so what we are announcing today is the Secretary's selection of Mitchell Reiss as the new Director of Policy Planning and we will look forward to him joining us here at the State Department and in due course as special assignments or anything else comes forward, he certainly has an impressive background to be able to deal with any number of issues in service to his country and his government and to the Secretary of State.

QUESTION: There's probably a lot of questions about Liberia --

MR. REEKER: Sure.

QUESTION: Let me please kick it off with asking you to tell us what's going on in the embassy compound, whether Americans are leaving, being evacuated, embassy functions and any damage or, I hope, not anybody hurt.

MR. REEKER: Well, as I think you have seen widely reported, a stray mortar round hit an apartment building on the main embassy compound earlier today and a mortar round hit a house on the embassy's Greystone Annex compound, which is actually a separate compound away from the embassy and not currently being occupied by embassy personnel in Monrovia.

(4)

Obviously, we are keeping in close touch with our embassy there and monitoring very carefully the situation. There were no injuries reported from the strike on the main compound but we do understand there are several dead and wounded at the Greystone compound, among the internally displaced people who have been residing there.

(5)

There was a separate incident some of you have seen reported, in which an embassy local guard was injured in front of the main compound, and one private American citizen who was running to enter the compound also received some minor shrapnel wounds in the arm. We are strongly condemning the rebel group, Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy, for their continued reckless and indiscriminate shelling of Monrovia.

(6)

They need to think about the plight of the civilian population, the humanitarian workers, who are there to alleviate suffering, and this breaking of the ceasefire is something we call on them to end. The ceasefire needs to be upheld. The talks in Ghana are an important decision point. And Liberia's only way forward is through the peace process under the auspices of the Economic Community of West African States. So we are watching very carefully.

As you know, we earlier yesterday announced that we would be reinforcing security at our embassy, which was done, and we are keeping in close touch with the Ambassador. Some private American citizens were assisted by the embassy in departing. I believe some journalists had departed, and some third country nationals as well.

Jonathan.

QUESTION: Yeah, what are you doing to persuade ECOWAS to interpose a peacekeeping force?

MR. REEKER: Certainly we are keeping in very close touch with the United Nations. The Secretary has spoken with Secretary General Kofi Annan of the United Nations, and we have been in close contact with regional leaders. We have been -- as the President said, we have been discussing what we can do to help the peacekeeping troops, the ECOWAS peacekeeping troops, that will move into Liberia.

We want to see that action take place. And so we will continue to carry out those discussions, those contacts, and to see that they move as quickly as possible. But it is incumbent upon the parties in Liberia as well, to keep their commitments, the commitments they have made to the United States and to the international community, to the neighboring states and abide by the terms of the ceasefire, and to operate along standard principles of human rights and diplomatic conventions.

If we are to trust them in the future to participate in the democratic governance of Liberia, we need to be able to see them keep their commitments now. So as I said, we are calling upon the leader of the LURD group to immediately halt that offensive and for all Liberians to reenergize their efforts in achieving a peaceful negotiated settlement through the Accra talks taking place in Accra, Ghana.

We would also remind the leaders of Guinea and neighboring states of their international obligations and responsibilities to control their borders and prevent the flow of weapons and combatants into Liberia. So we keep monitoring this situation closely. It remains a major concern for us. I think you saw the President's remarks a short time ago.

QUESTION: Phil, do you have any evidence that there are -- there are flows of ammunition and people across borders from neighboring countries?

MR. REEKER: At this point I don't know that I could get into any details on that, but it is something we want to keep an eye on and we want neighboring countries to do that as well so that everybody takes all steps possible to control this, as well as putting the onus on the different groups within Liberia to stick with the ceasefire and live up to their responsibilities.

to the United States, to the international community, to the countries in the region and to the people of Liberia that they would hold to a ceasefire and allow this process to move forward.

Clearly we want to see the ECOWAS troops deploy as they have discussed. We want to do what we can to support that. The President will make appropriate decisions at the time, but I think first and foremost, once again, is these groups need to stop shooting their guns, need to stop firing their mortars, need to focus on the process going on in Accra and let that process take place. That's what will guarantee a better future for the people of Liberia. And so that is where we are focusing.

QUESTION: On a possible evacuation of the embassy, is it a decision hasn't been made because you feel that these people are safer in the embassy compound now than if you were to move them or that you're not sure that the situation warrants an evacuation?

MR. REEKER: I suppose it is "c"-- none of the above, that we will monitor the situation and make any decisions that we need to in that realm. Obviously we are in touch with Ambassador Blaney as I already said, watching carefully. It is clearly a dangerous situation on the ground. We did move in the additional security troops who are on the ground there, but we are concerned about our people and about the people of Liberia. But at this point, I don't have anything to announce.

Still on Liberia?

QUESTION: No.

MR. REEKER: I don't know. Anybody else on Liberia?

Adi.

QUESTION: So if I'm hearing you correctly, of the two mortar shells that were at the American Embassy today, only one American citizen injured in those two shell attacks?

MR. REEKER: The best reports, based on our conversations with people there at the embassy are that a stray mortar round hit an apartment building on the embassy compound and there were no injuries reported from the strike on the compound.

In a separate incident, there was a local hire guard who was injured in front of the main compound of the embassy, and one private American citizen, who was coming to enter the embassy compound, received a minor shrapnel wound in the arm.

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[But I don't want to forget about those that were killed and wounded among the internally displaced persons, the Liberians, who are -- have taken up residence at the Greystone compound near the embassy, where mortar rounds went in, and there are reportedly several dead and wounded there.

QUESTION: I realize you can't talk specifics regarding security protocol, but this is now the second time that a mortar shell -- if I understand it correctly -- has hit the Greystone compound. Were there any additional security perimeters put in place after the first attack there, which I believe killed a couple of Liberians?

MR. REEKER: I don't believe the Greystone compound, as I said, is part of our secured perimeter.

QUESTION: But, I mean, it's -- there weren't any additional security perimeters put in place there? Isn't it part of the American --

MR. REEKER: No, it's not part of the American embassy compound that is being -- that is secured now and being part of that. It has not been.

QUESTION: Philip, the one American, the private American who was wounded, was that a photographer?

MR. REEKER: I don't know.

QUESTION: Phil, you said that -- I want to get the word -- that the mortar shell that hit the apartment complex on the embassy ground was a stray. Do you know that? How do you know that it wasn't aimed there?

MR. REEKER: I guess completely I don't.

QUESTION: I mean, if they're aiming at the Greystone next door --

MR. REEKER: I didn't say they were aiming at Greystone next door. There is a lot of indiscriminate shelling that appears to be going on. And, as I say, that's what we

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MFI-325

IRIN News article - Liberia: More than 100 killed in Monrovia fighting, 22 July 2003

IRIN

humanitarian news and analysis

a project of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

① [

LIBERIA: More than 100 killed in Monrovia fighting

Soto/IRIN/UN

Defense Minister Daniel Chea.

MONROVIA, 22 July 2003 (IRIN) - At least one hundred people have been killed and 300 injured in the Liberian capital Monrovia since rebels launched their latest attack on the city five days ago, hospital officials and relief workers said on Tuesday. Magnus Wolfe-Murray, country manager in Liberia for the UK medical charity Merlin, said the situation in the city of one million people was "horrific, with dead bodies lying on the streets." Liberian defence Minister Daniel Chea was quoted by international news agencies as saying that over 600 people, both civilians and combatants, had been killed. But this figure was at odds with more modest casualty reports from Monrovia's main hospital and the Liberian staff of Merlin and Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF). The latest heavy fighting has seen the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) rebel movement advance further than ever before into the very heart of Monrovia. The sounds of heavy bombardment died down in Monrovia on Monday night, but two mortar shells landed near the eastern suburb of Sinkor on Tuesday morning, prompting displaced people in the area to start trekking in heavy rain towards the neighbouring suburb of Congo Town, further away from the city centre. The UN Office for the

] ②

Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) estimates that over 200,000 people in Monrovia had been displaced by fighting. Mohamed Sheriff, the chief medical officer at Monrovia's main John F. Kennedy hospital, told IRIN on Monday that over 200 patients, mostly women and children, had received treatment for gunshot and shrapnel wounds. The hospital morgue was full with 48 bodies, he added. "Most Liberian doctors have abandoned the hospital. We are short of everything - medical supplies, fuel to run the generator and personnel," Sheriff said. The only help the hospital was getting was from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), he added. The local head of MSF-France, Pierre Mendihamat, told IRIN that 13 people of the 144 war-wounded treated by MSF doctors and nurses during the latest battle had died. The intensification of fighting had forced MSF to close down two of its five health centres, he added.

③ [

On Monday, angry demonstrators had carried the bodies of 18 people killed by mortar fire to the gates of the US embassy, demanding US military intervention to restore peace to the country. The dead were among 25 people killed when mortar shells fell on the nearby Greystone compound, a residential annex to the embassy, where thousands of displaced people have sought refuge. Merlin, whose staff are providing health care at Greystone, said around 25,000 people had sought shelter in the compound. LURD's third attack on Monrovia in less than three months forced the UN refugee agency (UNHCR) to suspend the repatriation of Sierra Leonean refugees by boat to Freetown. UNHCR said in a statement that its chartered Danish ferry, the MV Overbeck, was unable to dock at Monrovia Freeport on Saturday because of the fighting. The ship, which has already evacuated 950 Sierra Leonean refugees in a series of four voyages, was forced to wait offshore and was still standing by on Monday night, it added. LURD, which was one of two rebel movements that signed up to a June 17 ceasefire with the government of President Charles Taylor, said it was determined to fight on until it captured Monrovia outright. "What we have to do is now to take over the whole town," LURD chairman Sekou Damate Conneh told the French news agency AFP in neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire. "It shouldn't take too long because too many people are suffering." "This time we will not withdraw," Conneh stressed. Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, who has put a battalion of 770 troops on standby to lead the vanguard of a West African peacekeeping force into Liberia, flew to Abidjan on Monday for talks with Ivorian President Laurent Gbagbo. It was not clear whether he also met the LURD leader during his visit. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan warned on Monday night that Liberia was "poised between hope and disaster" and called on West African states and the United States to urgently deploy a peacekeeping force in Liberia to salvage the situation. He appealed to the rebels, particularly the LURD, "to respect the ceasefire and understand that they would be held accountable for any humanitarian disaster the fighting causes in Monrovia." The US government, which has demanded that Taylor stand down and leave Liberia to pave the way for a peace

27706

MFI-326

Peace Agreement Between the Government of Sierra Leone and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone, Lome Accord, 7 July 1999

**① [PEACE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF SIERRA LEONE AND
THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT OF SIERRA LEONE]**

00004349

**② [THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SIERRA LEONE and
THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT OF SIERRA LEONE (RUF/SL)]**

③ [Having met in Lome, Togo, from the 25 May 1999, to 7 July 1999 under the auspices of the Current Chairman of ECOWAS, President Gnassingbe Eyadema;

Recalling earlier initiatives undertaken by the countries of the sub-region and the International Community, aimed at bringing about a negotiated settlement of the conflict in Sierra Leone, and culminating in the Abidjan Peace Agreement of 30 November, 1996 and the ECOWAS Peace Plan of 23 October, 1997;

Moved by the imperative need to meet the desire of the people of Sierra Leone for a definitive settlement of the fratricidal war in their country and for genuine national unity and reconciliation;

Committed to promoting full respect for human rights and humanitarian law;

Committed to promoting popular participation in the governance of the country and the advancement of democracy in a socio-political framework free of inequality, nepotism and corruption;

Concerned with the socio-economic well being of all the people of Sierra Leone;

Determined to foster mutual trust and confidence between themselves;

Determined to establish sustainable peace and security; to pledge forthwith, to settle all past, present and future differences and grievances by peaceful means; and to refrain from the threat and use of armed force to bring about any change in Sierra Leone;

Reaffirming the conviction that sovereignty belongs to the people, and that Government derives all its powers, authority and legitimacy from the people;

Recognising the imperative that the children of Sierra Leone, especially those affected by armed conflict, in view of their vulnerability, are entitled to special care and the protection of their inherent right to life, survival and development, in accordance with the provisions of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child;

Guided by the Declaration in the Final Communiqué of the Meeting in Lome of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of ECOWAS of 25 May 1999, in which they stressed the importance of democracy as a factor of regional peace and security, and as essential to the socio-economic development of ECOWAS Member States; and in which they pledged their commitment to the consolidation of democracy and respect of human rights while reaffirming the need for all Member States to consolidate their democratic base, observe the principles of good governance and good economic management in order to ensure the emergence and development of a democratic culture which takes into account the interests of the peoples of West Africa;

Recommittting themselves to the total observance and compliance with the Cease-fire Agreement signed in Lome on 18 May 1999, and appended as Annex I until the signing of the present Peace Agreement;

HEREBY AGREE AS FOLLOWS:

PART ONE

CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES

ARTICLE 1

CEASE-FIRE

The armed conflict between the Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF/SL is hereby ended with immediate effect. Accordingly, the two sides shall ensure that a total and permanent cessation of hostilities is observed forthwith.

ARTICLE II**CEASE-FIRE MONITORING****00004350**

1. A Cease-fire Monitoring Committee (hereinafter termed the CMC) to be chaired by the United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (hereinafter termed UNOMSIL) with representatives of the Government of Sierra Leone, RUF/SL, the Civil Defence Forces (hereinafter termed the CDF) and ECOMOG shall be established at provincial and district levels with immediate effect to monitor, verify and report all violations of the cease-fire.

2. A Joint Monitoring Commission (hereinafter termed the JMC) shall be established at the national level to be chaired by UNOMSIL with representatives of the Government of Sierra Leone, RUF/SL, CDF, and ECOMOG. The JMC shall receive, investigate and take appropriate action on reports of violations of the cease-fire from the CMC. The parties agree to the definition of cease-fire violations as contained in Annex 2 which constitutes an integral part of the present Agreement.

3. The parties shall seek the assistance of the International Community in providing funds and other logistics to enable the JMC to carry out its mandate.

PART TWO**GOVERNANCE**

The Government of Sierra Leone and the RUF/SL, recognizing the right of the people of Sierra Leone to live in peace, and desirous of finding a transitional mechanism to incorporate the RUF/SL into governance within the spirit and letter of the Constitution, agree to the following formulas for structuring the government for the duration of the period before the next elections, as prescribed by the Constitution, managing scarce public resources for the benefit of the development of the people of Sierra Leone and sharing the responsibility of implementing the peace. Each of these formulas (not in priority order) is contained in a separate Article of this Part of the present Agreement; and may be further detailed in protocols annexed to it.

Article III Transformation of the RUF/SL Into a Political Party

Article IV Enabling Members of the RUF/SL to Hold Public Office

Article V Enabling the RUF/SL to Join a Broad-Based Government of National Unity Through Cabinet Appointment

Article VI Commission for the Consolidation of Peace

Article VII Commission for the Management of Strategic Resources, National Reconstruction and Development

Article VIII Council of Elders and Religious Leaders.

(4)

ARTICLE III**TRANSFORMATION OF THE RUF/SL INTO A POLITICAL PARTY**

1. The Government of Sierra Leone shall accord every facility to the RUF/SL to transform itself into a political party and enter the mainstream of the democratic process. To that end:
2. Immediately upon the signing of the present Agreement, the RUF/SL shall commence to organize itself to function as a political movement, with the rights, privileges and duties accorded to all political parties in Sierra Leone. These include the freedom to publish, unhindered access to the media, freedom of association, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, and the right to mobilize and associate freely.
3. Within a period of thirty days, following the signing of the present Agreement, the necessary legal steps shall be taken by the Government of Sierra Leone to enable the RUF/SL to register as a political party.
4. The Parties shall approach the International Community with a view to mobilizing resources for the purposes of enabling the RUF/SL to function as a political party. These resources may include but shall not be limited to:
 - (i) Setting up a trust fund;

(ii) Training for RUF/SL membership in party organization and functions; and

(iii) Providing any other assistance necessary for achieving the goals of this section.

6

ARTICLE IV

ENABLING MEMBERS OF THE RUF/SL TO HOLD PUBLIC OFFICE

00004351

1. The Government of Sierra Leone shall take the necessary steps to enable those RUF/SL members nominated by the RUF/SL to hold public office, within the time-frames agreed and contained in the present Agreement for the integration of the various bodies named herein.

2. Accordingly, necessary legal steps shall be taken by the Government of Sierra Leone, within a period of fourteen days following the signing of the present Agreement, to amend relevant laws and regulations that may constitute an impediment or bar to RUF/SL and AFRC personnel holding public office.

3. Within seven days of the removal of any such legal impediments, both parties shall meet to discuss and agree on the appointment of RUF/SL members to positions in parastatals, diplomacy and any other public sector.

7

ARTICLE V

ENABLING THE RUF/SL TO JOIN A BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY THROUGH CABINET APPOINTMENTS

1. The Government of Sierra Leone shall accord every opportunity to the RUF/SL to join a broad-based government of national unity through cabinet appointments. To that end:

2. The Chairmanship of the Board of the Commission for the Management of Strategic Resources, National Reconstruction and Development (CMRRD) as provided for in Article VII of the present Agreement shall be offered to the leader of the RUF/SL, Corporal Foday Sankoh. For this purpose he shall enjoy the status of Vice President and shall therefore be answerable only to the President of Sierra Leone.

3. The Government of Sierra Leone shall give ministerial positions to the RUF/SL in a moderately expanded cabinet of 18, bearing in mind that the interests of other political parties and civil society organizations should also be taken into account, as follows:

(i) One of the senior cabinet appointments such as finance, foreign affairs and justice;

(ii) Three other cabinet positions.

4. In addition, the Government of Sierra Leone shall, in the same spirit, make available to the RUF/SL the following senior government positions: Four posts of Deputy Minister.

5. Within a period of fourteen days following the signing of the present Agreement, the necessary steps shall be taken by the Government of Sierra Leone to remove any legal impediments that may prevent RUF/SL members from holding cabinet and other positions.

ARTICLE VI

COMMISSION FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE

1. A Commission for the Consolidation of Peace (hereinafter termed the CCP), shall be established within two weeks of the signing of the present Agreement to implement a post-conflict programme that ensures reconciliation and the welfare of all parties to the conflict, especially the victims of war. The CCP shall have the overall goal and responsibility for supervising and monitoring the implementation of and compliance with the provisions of the present Agreement relative to the promotion of national reconciliation and the consolidation of peace.

2. The CCP shall ensure that all structures for national reconciliation and the consolidation of peace already in existence and those provided for in the present Agreement are operational and given the necessary resources for realizing their respective mandates. These structures shall comprise:

(i) the Commission for the Management of Strategic Resources, National Reconstruction and Development;

(ii) the Joint Monitoring Commission;

2. The Council shall designate its own chairperson from among its members. All of its decision shall be taken by the concurrence of at least four members, and shall be binding and public, provided that an aggrieved party may appeal to the Supreme Court.

PART THREE OTHER POLITICAL ISSUES

00004354

The Part of the present Agreement Consists of the following Articles

Article IX Pardon and Amnesty

Article X Review of the Present Constitution

Article XI Elections

Article XII National Electoral Commission

⑩ [

ARTICLE IX

PARDON AND AMNESTY

⑪ [1. In order to bring lasting peace to Sierra Leone, the Government of Sierra Leone shall take appropriate legal steps to grant Corporal Foday Sankoh absolute and free pardon.

2. After the signing of the present Agreement, the Government of Sierra Leone shall also grant absolute and free pardon and reprieve to all combatants and collaborators in respect of anything done by them in pursuit of their objectives, up to the time of the signing of the present Agreement.

3. To consolidate the peace and promote the cause of national reconciliation, the Government of Sierra Leone shall ensure that no official or judicial action is taken against any member of the RUF/SL, ex-AFRC, ex-SLA or CDF in respect of anything done by them in pursuit of their objectives as members of those organisations, since March 1991, up to the time of the signing of the present Agreement. In addition, legislative and other measures necessary to guarantee immunity to former combatants, exiles and other persons, currently outside the country for reasons related to the armed conflict shall be adopted ensuring the full exercise of their civil and political rights, with a view to their reintegration within a framework of full legality.

⑫ [12

⑬ [13

ARTICLE X

REVIEW OF THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION

⑭ [In order to ensure that the Constitution of Sierra Leone represents the needs and aspirations of the people of Sierra Leone and that no constitutional or any other legal provision prevents the implementation of the present Agreement, the Government of Sierra Leone shall take the necessary steps to establish a Constitutional Review Committee to review the provisions of the present Constitution, and where deemed appropriate, recommend revisions and amendments, in accordance with Part V, Section 108 of the Constitution of 1991.

ARTICLE XI

DATE OF NEXT ELECTIONS

The next national elections in Sierra Leone shall be held in accordance with the present Constitution of Sierra Leone.

ARTICLE XII

NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION

1. A new independent National Electoral Commission (hereinafter termed the NEC) shall be set up by the Government, not later than three months after the signing of the present Agreement.
 2. In setting up the new NEC the President shall consult all political parties, including the RUF/SL, to determine the membership and terms
- <http://www.sierra-leone.org/lomeaccord.html>

2771

MFI-327

An Act to Grant Immunity from Both Civil and Criminal Preceedings *[sic]* Against All Persons Within the Jurisdiction of the Republic of Liberia from Acts and or Crimes Committed During the Civil War from December 1989 to August 2003, dated 8 August 2003

27712

AN ACT TO GRANT IMMUNITY FROM BOTH CIVIL AND
CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST ALL PERSONS WITHIN
THE JURISDICTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA FROM
ACTS AND/OR CRIMES COMMITTED DURING THE CIVIL
WAR FROM DECEMBER 1989 TO AUGUST 2003

①

APPROVED AUGUST 7, 2003

② []
PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MONROVIA, LIBERIA
AUGUST 8, 2003

AN ACT TO GRANT IMMUNITY FROM BOTH CIVIL AND CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST ALL PERSONS WITHIN THE JURISDICTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA FROM ACTS AND OR CRIMES COMMITTED DURING THE CIVIL WAR FROM DECEMBER 1989 TO AUGUST 2003

WHEREAS, the Special Election of July 1997 with subsequent inauguration on August 2, 1997 marked the end of a seven year civil war which brought into being a Government of inclusion with all former Warring Factions and Political parties on board; and,

WHEREAS, some former contestants of the July 1997 Special Elections and members of Warring Factions left the Government and exiled themselves in neighboring countries; and,

WHEREAS, these individuals grouped into separate Warring Factions namely Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEI) and launched a fratricidal, ethnic and religious war against the NED led government and the peace-loving and war-weary Liberians from August 1999 and up to present; and,

WHEREAS, these events have led to another civil war which has uprooted all Liberians, killed some, thus bring back tribal and religious hatred; and,

WHEREAS, there is a need for total reconciliation among Liberians of all ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds, within and out of Liberia.

NOW THEREFORE;

It is enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature assembled:

SECTION I

WHEREAS before the Special Election of July 1997, all former warring factions: NPFL, AFL, ULIMO-K, ULIMO-J, LPC, Liberia Defense Force were engaged in a seven year old civil war; and,

That from and immediately after the passage of this Act, immunity hereby granted from both civil and criminal proceedings against persons, Officials of Government, Representatives of War

27713

Factions and combatants within the jurisdiction of the Republic of Liberia from all acts, and or crimes committed by them during the 13 (thirteen) years and 8 (eight) months of the civil wars covering from December 1999 to August 2003.

SECTION II:

This Act shall take effect immediately upon the publication in hand bill.

ANY LAW TO THE CONTRARY NOTWITHSTANDING,

(3)

27715

MFI-328

News article: "Star Radio Obtains Controversial Immunity Act", 15 July 2009

27716

Star Radio obtains controversial immunity act (1)

Written by Julius Kanubah

Wednesday, 15 July 2009 (2)

Star Radio has obtained the controversial act passed by the 51st Legislature during the demise of the regime of former President Charles Taylor.

[It is titled an Act to grant immunity from both civil and criminal proceedings against all persons within the jurisdiction of the Republic of Liberia from acts and crimes committed during the civil war from December 1989 to August 2003.

The controversial Act was approved on August 7 2003 and published by the authority of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on August 8 2003.

The Act which has a blue cover contains four pages and details the reason for the granting of amnesty from civil and criminal proceedings for the war period.

According to the Act the reason for the amnesty was to ensure total reconciliation amongst Liberians of all ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds.

The former Majority leader of the House of Representatives Sando Johnson provided the copy of the Act and said it remains enforceable.

Mr. Johnson confirmed that the Act was hastily passed by the 51st Legislature but said it was done to protect all Liberians.

The former Bomi County lawmaker said the Act was sent to the Legislature by the Executive, then headed by President Charles Taylor.

3W The President Hotel
4 Star Hotel in historical part of Istanbul.
Free Airport Shuttle.

Quran Listen Online
Can't Drive Kids to the Mosque? Quran Listening With Live Tutor.

Comments (2)

Follow the Due Process

Written by qsmulbah, on 2009-07-16 11:06:06

If Liberians are no longer satisfied with a law enacted by their representatives at one time or another, can they act to the contrary while the law stands on the record? By no means. The best way forward for those who are against the "Amnesty" act of 2003 is for them to petition the current legislature to repeal the act. Unless this is done, bear in mind that that law cannot be simply "trashed".

Let's strive to do the right thing!

Disregard this Act

Written by Truth can pierce, on 2009-07-16 02:28:35

this act is a cleared indications of how the perpetrators was covering up to escape justice. Liberian love each other and want to move forward but we can cover/bury justice for the sake of love. This Act should be trashed in the bin.

Only registered users can write comments.
Please login or register.

27717

MFI-329

UN Document S/1995/1042 - Fourteenth Progress Report of the Secretary-General on
the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia, 18 Dec. 1995

27718

UNITED
NATIONS

S



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S/1995/1042
18 December 1995

(1)

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

FOURTEENTH PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA

(2)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted in pursuance of Security Council resolution 1020 (1995) of 10 November 1995, in which the Council adjusted the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and welcomed the recommendations for its new concept of operations outlined in my report of 23 October 1995 (S/1995/881). In that resolution, the Council also requested me to submit by 15 December 1995 a progress report on the situation in Liberia. Accordingly, the present report provides an update on the main political, military and humanitarian developments since my last report, as well as on the implementation of the mandate of UNOMIL.

II. POLITICAL ASPECTS

2. The Liberian peace process remains generally on course and some progress has been made during the reporting period. However, implementation of the military aspects of the Abuja Agreement has fallen behind schedule. On 27 October 1995, I co-chaired with the Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, and the Chairman of the Liberian Council of State, Prof. Wilton Sankawulo, a Conference on Assistance to Liberia held at United Nations Headquarters. More than 100 participants, including representatives of Member States, the European Community, the Organization of African Unity, United Nations agencies and the Bretton Woods institutions, attended the conference. A total of \$145.7 million was pledged for humanitarian assistance, demobilization, rehabilitation and for the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG).

3. As part of my efforts to sustain the momentum of the peace process, I visited Ghana from 26 to 29 November 1995 for consultations with the Chairman of ECOWAS, President Rawlings, who expressed his disappointment that the international community had not provided adequate assistance, especially for ECOMOG, during the pledging conference for Liberia. None the less, despite the lack of resources, President Rawlings said he had decided to increase Ghana's contribution of troops.

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S/1995/1042

English

Page 2

4. On 29 November 1995, I proceeded to Monrovia where I met with members of the Liberian Council of State. During our discussions, I told them that they needed to demonstrate their full commitment to the peace process by ensuring respect for the cease-fire and implementing in a timely manner the Abuja Agreement, especially the provisions relating to disarmament and demobilization. I stressed that such action would encourage the international community to disburse some of the funds that had been pledged at the Conference on Assistance to Liberia.

5. The members of the Council of State assured me of their commitment to the peace process. They noted that, despite the differences that had existed between them a few months ago, they were now working together as a team and the Council of State was taking all decisions by consensus. The members also assured me that, while some minor skirmishes were unavoidable, they would not allow the peace process to be derailed and were determined to hold presidential and national elections on schedule in August 1996. However, they deeply regretted the lack of support for ECOMOG from the international community, which they felt could delay and even jeopardize the peace process.

6. During the reporting period, ECOWAS and my Special Representative, Mr. Anthony Nyakyi, have encouraged the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) and the faction leaders to make every effort to contain the skirmishes that emerged during the first two months of the cease-fire, particularly between the wing of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy headed by Mr. Alhaji Kromah (ULIMO-K) and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by Mr. Charles Taylor. In that connection, the Council of State designated Councilman Mr. George Boley, leader of the Liberian Peace Council (LPC), to mediate between NPFL and ULIMO-K. On 30 November 1995, Mr. Taylor and Mr. Kromah signed a Memorandum of Understanding agreeing to cease all hostilities, to create a buffer zone between their forces in the St. Paul River Bridge area of Lofa County, to guarantee the free movement of civilians and commercial activity in the areas under their control and to cooperate fully with relief organizations. They also called on ECOMOG to deploy immediately to the buffer zone.

7. The Memorandum of Understanding prompted the other factions to withdraw their allegations of cease-fire violations and to reaffirm their commitment to resolve their differences peacefully. It also prompted the faction leaders to begin reopening major roads to inaccessible areas of the country. This initiative resulted in the opening of roads linking Monrovia to Lofa, Nimba and Grand Gedeh counties through Bong County. NPFL, ULIMO-K and LPC forces have since worked together to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the newly accessible areas. It is hoped that roads leading to the south-east will also be opened soon.

8. My Special Representative has encouraged leaders of the factions personally to visit their combatants in order to inform them about the peace process and prepare them for disarmament and demobilization. Where possible, he has provided the faction leaders with transportation facilities and accompanied them on such visits.

/...

9. LNTG has continued to fill outstanding appointments in the various governmental bodies, particularly in the Transitional Legislative Assembly (TLA). To date, 12 of the 13 members of TLA, representing the various counties, have been inducted.

III. MILITARY ASPECTS

Status of the cease-fire and disengagement of forces

10. Although the cease-fire has generally held and no widespread or protracted fighting has been reported, recurrent skirmishes were reported between NPFL and ULIMO-K in the areas around Suacoco, Gbarnga and St. Paul River Bridge in October. Since the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding between Mr. Taylor and Mr. Kromah on 30 November, hostilities between the factions have reportedly ceased. (4)

11. Other reported cease-fire violations include the harassment of a UNOMIL Military Observer, who was detained and robbed by fighters from Mr. Roosevelt Johnson's wing of ULIMO (ULIMO-J) along the Kakata-Borg Mines road on 21 October 1995. In related incidents on the same day, a Médecins Sans Frontières vehicle was seized and its occupants harassed and three ECOMOG soldiers were disarmed and robbed by ULIMO-J combatants. Tension mounted again in Kakata on 27 November when ULIMO-J fighters harassed ECOMOG soldiers. In November, reports were also received of harassment of civilians by IPC fighters in Grand Bassa and Rivercess counties.

12. In accordance with the Abuja Agreement, the factions were to have disengaged their forces by 26 September. There has been no change in the status of disengagement since my last report, when I indicated that little progress had been made. While, as noted above, NPFL and ULIMO-K have agreed to disengage their forces in the St. Paul River Bridge area, they have not actually done so. The factions continue to maintain that they will disengage and dismantle their checkpoints only when ECOMOG deploys to their areas of control.

Deployment of UNOMIL and ECOMOG

13. Major-General Mahmoud Talha (Egypt) assumed the duties of Chief Military Observer of UNOMIL on 7 December 1995. In its resolution 1020 (1995), the Security Council authorized a maximum deployment of 160 military observers. The total military strength of UNOMIL is currently 71 observers (see annex). Recently arrived observers have enabled UNOMIL to strengthen its presence at the field stations in Buchanan and Kakata and to create mobile teams for Monrovia and Tubmanburg. While the Monrovia team has started operating, the Tubmanburg team has not yet been deployed, pending the rehabilitation of infrastructure at the team site. Further deployment of UNOMIL military observers will depend on the deployment of ECOMOG troops and progress in the peace process. (5)

14. In accordance with the schedule of implementation of the Abuja Agreement, the deployment of ECOMOG and UNOMIL was to have commenced on 2 October and to have been completed by 14 December 1995. Owing to the lack of logistic resources, ECOMOG troops were not able to deploy beyond their present area of

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English
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Annex

Composition of military component of the United Nations
Observer Mission in Liberia as at 15 December 1995

	Observers	Others	Total
Bangladesh	5	7 a/	12
China	5		5
Czech Republic	6		6
Egypt	6		6
Guinea-Bissau	5		5
India	5		5
Jordan	6		6
Kenya	8		8
Malaysia	8		8
Pakistan	6		6
Uruguay	4	-	4
Total	64	7	71

a/ Medical staff.

/...

27722

MFI-330

Excerpts from Liberia's Civil War by Adekeye Adebajo (Cover page, publication page, and pp. vii, ix, xiv, 91, and 187)

27723

LIBERIA'S CIVIL WAR

Nigeria, ECOMOG, and
Regional Security in West Africa

1

Adekeye Adebajo



27724

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FOREWORD

David M. Malone

It is with great pleasure that I commend to readers this outstanding volume by the director of the International Peace Academy's (IPA) Africa Program.

Dr. Adekeye Adebajo has been studying conflict in West Africa for the better part of a decade, interspersed with periods of duty for the United Nations (UN) in South Africa, Western Sahara, and Iraq. His in-depth knowledge of the conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau—raging successively and simultaneously in some cases throughout the 1990s—is rare indeed. The UN has had occasion to draw on his analysis and views, as have several governments.⁴ Dr. Adebajo is one of the outstanding representatives of a new, exciting global crop of scholars of international relations and a singularly promising African academic.

In this volume, Dr. Adebajo delves into the complex diplomacy of the Liberian civil war between 1989 and 1996 and examines the postwar years under Charles Taylor's presidency. As a student and advocate of regional approaches to conflict resolution in Africa, Dr. Adebajo pays particular attention to the role of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), as well as to the leadership of Nigeria, the aspiring subregional hegemon. He is also attentive to the role of several other international actors, not least the United States, the United Nations, and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). In keeping with the IPA's focus on policy-relevant research, this inquiry is rich in lessons for the United Nations, the OAU, ECOWAS, African and other governments, and civil society activists (both Liberian and international). This story is both comprehensive and succinct, representing a tour de force of a conflict much studied but little understood.

We are particularly happy that Professor Amos Sawyer, the only (but very) distinguished recent president of Liberia, has contributed to this volume

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

(6)

First, I must acknowledge the enormous support of Gavin Williams at Oxford University. This book has been strengthened in structure, substance, and style as a result of his guidance, and my debt of gratitude to him is immense. I would also like to thank another mentor at Oxford, A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, who encouraged me to study regional security and peacekeeping. In my youthful exuberance, I at first refused to listen to the voice of age and wisdom, but thankfully I heeded this advice and remain forever grateful for it.

I wish to thank the following colleagues, friends, and teachers who read or commented on various chapters of the book: Ladipo Adamolekun, Kweku Ampiah, Daniel Bach, Mats Berdal, Geoffrey Best, Francis Deng, Louise Fawcett, Page Fortna, John Hirsch, David Keen, Chris Landsberg, David M. Malone, James Mayall, Raufu Mustapha, Michael O'Hanlon, Shehu Othman, Donald Rothchild, Amos Sawyer, Stephen Stedman, John Stremlau, W. Scott Thompson, Augustine Toure, Margaret Vogt, Kaye Whiteman, Douglas Yates, and Marie-Joelle Zaher. These individuals gave me invaluable advice that greatly strengthened the work. Any errors that remain are, of course, solely my own.

Amos Sawyer deserves special gratitude for reading the entire manuscript, correcting some factual inaccuracies, and generously contributing a foreword to the book. I wish also to extend a special gratitude to my family, "Auntie," Tilewa, Kemi, and Femi, who were a source of constant encouragement and affection. David Keen was a pillar of support throughout my time at Oxford.

I wish to thank the staff at the Economic Community of West African States and the United Nations secretariats who provided me with primary

(7)

xiv Acknowledgments

documents and interviews without which this work would have been less authoritative. I also extend my profound gratitude to the many officials who patiently shared their valuable experiences with me in Liberia, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Iraq, Western Sahara, and the United States, particularly at the U.S. State Department. Most of these diplomats and soldiers spoke on the record, but I must also acknowledge the contribution of sources who for now must remain unnamed. I thank Lynne Rienner and her dedicated staff for their friendly efficiency.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge my good fortune in securing generous financial and other assistance from several institutions for the completion of this study. St. Antony's College, Oxford, offered me an academic home to begin the journey with generous funding provided by the Rhodes Trust, including funding for two research trips to West Africa. Research fellowships at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., and at Stanford University's Center for International Security and Cooperation provided additional funding and stimulating academic homes to complete the journey. The International Peace Academy (IPA), where I now work, and particularly its president, David M. Malone, who did the most to ensure that this book was published, was extremely understanding in allowing me the time to complete the final revisions to the manuscript. The government of the Netherlands also funded an additional research trip to West Africa through a grant to the IPA. The governments of the Netherlands and the UK's Department for International Development provided funding to the IPA's Africa Program, which facilitated the publication and dissemination of this book. I wish to express my deepest appreciation to these institutions for supporting so generously the work of a young scholar.

—Adekeye Adebajo

month for iron ore exports, and logging levies for exports through Greenville fetched Taylor an estimated \$500,000 in the first half of 1991.¹¹⁰ This reduced his incentive to disarm his fighters and surrender areas under his control to ECOMOG.

The United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy was founded on 29 May 1991. It described itself as "a non-tribal and non-sectarian organisation born out of the desire of displaced Liberians to return home and continue their search for democratic freedom"; its members aimed to free Liberia "from the plunder of Charles Taylor."¹¹¹ ULIMO was a coalition of former AFL soldiers and mostly Krahn and Mandingo anti-NPFL refugees in Sierra Leone; it had an army of some 3,000 men, and most of its key commanders were former AFL soldiers. ULIMO helped defend Sierra Leone against RUF attacks and launched military attacks against NPFL positions beginning on 5 September 1991, two months before the end of the Yamoussoukro peace talks. Having been excluded from Yamoussoukro, ULIMO objected especially to Côte d'Ivoire's role in the peace process and considered Houphouët-Boigny to be less than an honest broker due to his earlier support of the NPFL.

ULIMO's leadership included Alhaji Kromah, an ambitious former assistant minister for information under Doe who controlled the Conakry-based Movement for the Redemption of Liberian Muslims consisting largely of Mandingos. Having earlier fallen out with Doe, Kromah had appeared in Nimba County at the start of the Liberian civil war to urge Mandingos to support Doe.¹¹² He accused the NPFL of killing 10,000 of his kinsmen at the start of the conflict. The Mandingos have a large ethnic presence in Guinea, whose government provided support and a base for Kromah. ULIMO also had two Freetown-based Krahn leaders who had served in Doe's cabinet: General Albert Karpeh, who led the Liberia United Democratic Force, and George Boley, who later formed the Liberia Peace Council.

The president of the IGNU, Amos Sawyer, was a pragmatic intellectual who felt that he had to do *something* to help his country. As the only interested party in Liberia who had no army, he was totally dependent on ECOMOG to provide security in Monrovia, creating the perception that the IGNU was an instrument of ECOMOG's political control. But Sawyer felt that this dependence was preferable to leaving the future of the country to be determined by power-seeking warlords like Charles Taylor and Prince Johnson. Sawyer tried to exert influence on ECOMOG through its field commanders. Under pressure from Ghana, he urged General Dogonyaro to halt his attacks on NPFL positions and adopt a defensive posture, and he warned General Kupolati of the dangers of intimacy with Charles Taylor.¹¹³

Sawyer moved the interim government from Banjul to Monrovia on 22 November 1990 and, as he took the oath of office, told Liberians: "We must now find a way to bring ourselves up before we despair and do greater

A month later, Ivorian leader Henri Konan Bédié declared the western region of his country a military zone to be controlled by military *préfets*. He also sacked his powerful minister of security, General Gaston Ous-sanan Koné, and provided 2.4 billion Communauté Financière Africaine (CFA) francs for border security.²³ Some Liberian refugees were forcibly moved from border areas to facilitate monitoring.²⁴ There were reports of Liberian refugees being killed by heavy-handed Ivorian security forces.²⁵ Ivorians were finally feeling the social effects of their earlier military and political support for the NPFL. Abidjan now realized that it had a concrete interest in stopping a war it had done so much to fuel.

Regarding the domestic difficulties in Liberia, the idea of a council of warlords that would bring peace was rapidly becoming an embarrassing fiasco. The cantankerous council of warlords continued to squabble. Boley accused Kromah of unilaterally appointing his supporters to two key posts in the finance ministry and the National Bank of Liberia and threatened grave consequences. Kromah accused Boley of improperly installing Ignatius Clay, an LPC ally, as governor of the same National Bank of Liberia.²⁶ These political differences hampered the smooth functioning of the Council of State.

On 2 March 1996, the executive council of ULIMO-J removed Roosevelt Johnson as chairman and replaced him with William Karyee while insisting that Johnson retain his LNTG post as minister for rural development. Two days later, the Council of State held an emergency meeting. Council members condemned ULIMO-J's attack on ECOMOG in Tubmanburg, ordered it to return the peacekeepers' confiscated heavy weapons, and invited Johnson and Karyee to a meeting at the Executive Mansion the next day. Though Karyee attended, Johnson did not. Charles Taylor and Alhaji Kromah led the council to recognize Karyee as ULIMO-J's new chairman, suspended Johnson from his cabinet post, and requested that ECOMOG search Johnson's Monrovia home for weapons.²⁷ The council also removed Ignatius Clay, the ULIMO-J nominee who had George Boley's backing, from his post as governor of the National Bank of Liberia.

On 7 March, the ECOMOG High Command, still smarting from the events in Tubmanburg, acceded to the council's request to send troops to Johnson's home. Johnson loyalists abducted a UN observer and threatened to kill him if Johnson was harmed. Two foreigners were also abducted. The hostages were released following negotiations between UN Special Representative Anthony Nyakyi and Johnson.²⁸

By March 1996, ECOMOG's 7,500 troops were deployed in Monrovia, Gbarnga, Buchanan, Greenville, Kakata, Suehn, and Konola; UNOMIL's ninety-three military observers were deployed in Monrovia, Buchanan, and Suehn. But logistical support for ECOMOG remained elusive: in the six months after the October 1995 pledging conference, the peacekeepers

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MFI-331

News article from West Africa magazine: "Recourse to Arms?" by James Butty, 24-30 June 1991

2773,

WEEKLY AFRICA

24 - 30 June 1991

PUBLISHED WEEKLY SINCE 1912

The rise of rice

Conflict and famine

WAR
and
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Russia Ruble 100.00
USA US\$10.00
West Germany DM 10.00
Nigerian Naira 500

LIBERIA

Charles Taylor given 15 days ultimatum to surrender or risk being attacked

Recourse to arms?

James Butty

A NEW RESISTANCE group calling itself the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) has been formed and given Mr Charles Taylor and his NPFL rebels 15 days to surrender to the West African peace-keeping force (Ecomog) or risk being attacked.

(3) A ULIMO news release issued on June 11 in suburban Washington, DC and signed by spokesman Tarty Teh said Mr Taylor and his rebels had 15 days from June 11 to surrender or "ULIMO will strike at all NPFL bases to have Charles Taylor and his collaborators arrested and tried."

According to the release, a resolution adopted on May 29 in Conakry, Guinea, declared ULIMO as "a non-tribal and non-sectarian organisation born out of the desire of displaced Liberians to return home and continue their search for democratic freedom." Its basic objective is to mobilise the "sons and daughters of Liberia to free their country from the plunder of Charles Taylor."

Mr Teh, a former press counsellor at the Liberian embassy in Washington, DC told *West Africa* that ULIMO was prepared to carry out its threat because Charles Taylor has been an embarrassment to the West African community. He denied suggestions that ULIMO was just another splinter group trying to get a piece of the chaotic Liberian political pie. He said ULIMO would not shift from its main objective like Charles Taylor, who originally said he only wanted to drive Doe out of power but who now insists on being the president.



Charles Taylor: surrender ultimatum

Mr Teh said the question of shifting priorities would not apply to ULIMO. "You get caught when you begin by setting up apparatus and calling yourself president, foreign minister. Before you know, you find yourself unwilling to step down." ULIMO was not a government, and the question of government was for the Liberian people to decide. "There is a conventional way of determining the government."

Mr Teh said that ULIMO was a coalition of different Liberian groups, including the Movement for the Redemption of Liberian Muslims, an organisation formed in Conakry in 1990 by former information minister Al-haji Kromah. Other ULIMO members, according to Mr Teh, include former presidential affairs and education minister in the Doe administration George Boley and his "Peace Council" movement, former Grand Gedeh representative William Glay, Abraham Kolie and former Liberian Ambassador to the US, George Toe Washington.

Mr Teh said emphatically that ULIMO supported the Ecowas peace plan, but he went on to explain that Ecomog started "cold", and that if such a plan is allowed to prevail for long, Liberia will continue to be partitioned. He said that with more and more Liberian refugees returning to Monrovia and Charles Taylor laying claim to the interior, Liberians would continue to "eat corn meal" unless something was done.

The fallout from the June OAU summit in Abuja, where interim president Dr Sawyer was seated and Taylor denied a hearing, has yet to be seen. But unconfirmed reports from Liberia say that Taylor might have already begun to heed the message from Abuja by calling on his rebels to return to camp. Taylor might have also agreed to allow Ecomog to monitor checkpoints, something he agreed to in the February Banjul Agreement but has reneged on since.

Whether the formation of ULIMO and its 15-day ultimatum was a coincidence or an attempt to beat an already dead goat, thereby carving for itself a niche in the already chaotic Liberian political scene is yet to be discovered.

One thing seems clear, however. As the stalemate over a negotiated political settlement of the Liberian conflict continues, due mainly to Taylor's intransigence, the prevailing discussion among Liberians these days is not about negotiated settlement but about some kind of military action to flush Taylor out of the countryside. There are reports now of a "People's Army" being formed in Monrovia to do battle.

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Two pages from DCT-258 – Description page from the atlas of maps introduced by the Defence – Generalized Geologic Section between Monrovia and Buchanan

UNIT	AGE	TYPE OF CONTACT
Unconsolidated sediments (clays, sandy clays, peat)	Quaternary	
Edina Sandstone (coarse grained & well sorted)	Tertiary(?)	Disconformity
Farmington River formation (graywacke and conglomerate)	Cretaceous	Disconformity
Monrovia diabase	early Jurassic	Unconformity
Paynesville Sandstone (fine grained & well sorted)	early Paleozoic(?)	Intrusive Contact
Crystalline Basement	late Pre-Cambrian	Unconformity

GENERALIZED GEOLOGIC SECTION BETWEEN MONROVIA AND BUCHANAN

Rocks found in Liberia have been of economic importance and should continue to be in the future. Crystalline rocks (igneous and metamorphic) are used locally in the construction industry as road-bed material in road construction and as foundation stones in building construction. The possibility of using some of these rocks in an ornamental stone industry also has been discussed; to date, however, no meaningful decision has been reached. Post Pre-Cambrian rocks are used in the building industry where beach and river sands form the major constituent in the manufacture of cement blocks. The use of quarried sandstone blocks from Paynesville for the construction industry has been explored but the overburden was too thick to make the project economical. It has since been abandoned. Sedimentary rocks within the two onshore basins are similar and of the same age as those offshore. These latter were explored (drilled) for hydrocarbons in the early 1970's and are of considerable interest (see below).

1.1.2 Mineral Resources [①]

The economic usefulness of the mineral deposits within the various rock units is of considerable importance for the formulation of development options. For over 15 years, Liberia's mineral industry has been of dominating importance and iron ore is the country's principal export earner (see Chapter 4). The existence of other minerals is well established but quantification and subsequent exploitation have been inadequate. Part of the reason for this low level of mineral extraction has been the inaccessibility of large sections of the country. Mineral exploration and geological mapping are carried out from river traverses and along motor roads and major bush trails. Furthermore, nearly all of the exploration work carried out over the last 45 years has been of a reconnaissance nature with only occasional follow up.

¹) Except for few very important tables included in the body of the text, all other tables will appear in the appendix.

The need for Liberia to evaluate and subsequently commercialize many of her non-traditional minerals such as manganese, bauxite and barite, and move away from a monomineral iron ore economy, cannot be overemphasized.

Liberia needs more than ever before to attract sincere and serious minded investors to develop also her more attractive diamond and gold deposits and to evaluate more closely other potential major mineral resources.

The first large-scale mineral exploration program carried out in Liberia was by the Holland Syndicate in 1934/35, when most of western Liberia was prospected in search for the continuation of the Sierra Leone diamond field. A few kimberlites were identified, but in general success was limited. A major byproduct of these investigations was the granting of a concession for development of the Bomi Hills iron ore deposit. Since that time other systematic exploration and basic geologic work have been undertaken (Table 1.1).

In the following paragraphs major minerals are described and their locations identified on Map MINERAL RESOURCES AND MINING.

Iron Ores

The iron formations, similar to those in Brazil and Venezuela, are found within the Pre-Cambrian stratigraphic sequence. Except for the Putu Mountain deposit, all are located within the rocks of Liberian age.

Deposits currently being exploited are those at Mano River along the Sierra Leone-Liberia border approximately 95 miles (150 km) northwest of Monrovia; the Bong Range, located about 12 miles (70 km) northeast of Monrovia; and the Nimba Range located near the Guinea-Liberia border, approximately 172 miles (275 km) northeast of Monrovia (see Chapter 4).

Other major iron deposits are the Wologisi Range in Lofa County about 140 miles (230 km) north of Monrovia; the Bea Mountain northwest of Monrovia; the Bassa Mountains in Grand Bassa County about 60 miles (96 km) east of Monrovia; and the Putu Mountains in Grand Gedeh County approximately 180 miles (290 km) northeast of Monrovia.

Liberia's iron ores generally are of the itabiritic type, a finegrained, finely to coarsely banded, quartz hematite rock averaging 35-60 % Fe-content.

Diamonds

(3)

Diamond mining is a small-scale but widely distributed industry undertaken by local miners working the alluvial deposits using crude methods. More sophisticated methods using a separator plant were applied by a Swiss-British-Liberian syndicate in Lofa County near Lofa Bridge Town which was in part a response to this large-scale operation.

Principal deposits are found in lower Lofa County near the Sierra Leone border, in the Guma and Gbarma districts, northwest of Monrovia along the lower Lofa River, and in Nimba County within the Sanniquellie and Zoe (Bahn) districts. Other diamondiferous areas are Gbarama northeast of Bomi Hills; the rest of the Lofa River and Kakata, northeast of Monrovia (see Map MINERAL RESOURCES AND MINING).

Numerous Cretaceous or Jurassic Age kimberlite bodies striking N-NNE have intruded the Liberian Age rocks of western Liberia; however, none has warranted the economic exploitation currently taking place in neighbouring Sierra Leone, where the kimberlitic bodies are predominantly E-W in strike.

(4)

Local miners in Liberia use detrital corundum and the Kimberlitic indicator minerals magnetite, ilmenite, and garnet as guide minerals in prospecting for alluvial diamonds. In the Sanniquellie-Zoe (Bahn) area however, a Pre-Cambrian source may be responsible for the alluvial diamonds mined there. A Pre-Cambrian diamond bearing graphitic schist has been reported and the quartz minerals to those alluvial diamond deposits are staurolite and chromite.

Gold

Until recently, all known economic gold deposits in Liberia have occurred as placers derived from the prolonged weathering of certain basement rocks, in which the gold is finely disseminated, and from small quartz veins. The lone exception are the auriferous veins currently being mined by Bentley International in their mineral concession in northeastern Grand Gedeh County (see Map MINERAL RESOURCES AND MINING).

Liberia's gold generally has a purity that ranges from between 850 and 900 fine, and a grain size from flour to pea size nuggets. Larger nuggets are occasionally recovered from the alluvial material. It has been reported that Lofa River gravels contain flour gold wherever they occur with a content of 0.23 to 1.66 g/m³.

Through the early 1950's, alluvial gold was mined widely throughout Liberia. However, when diamonds were discovered in several localities in western and central Liberia, the gold mining areas were abandoned by miners leaving to mine diamonds. With the recent increase in the gold price, more enthusiasm is being generated for working some of the old mining areas. Between 1971 and 1978 no statistically registered gold exports took place because of the extremely low price of gold. In 1979 the price improved which seems to have stimulated gold extraction.

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Excerpt from the Liberian TRC Report, Vol. 2 (Cover page & Page 125)

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REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

(1)

FINAL REPORT



unedited

VOLUME II: CONSOLIDATED FINAL REPORT

(2)

This volume constitutes the final and complete report of the TRC of Liberia containing findings, determinations and recommendations to the government and people of Liberia

NPFL breached the holding ceasefire and attacked all AFL positions around the Executive Mansion in a bid to seize power. Over the next four days, the NPFL, INPFL, AFL and ECOMOG were involved in combat. Taylor accused the American Embassy and ECOMOG of orchestrating Doe's death. On November 21, 1990 IGNU was installed in Monrovia. A new ECOMOG Commander, Joshua Dogonyaro⁵, repelled the NPFL from within striking range of Monrovia, confined the AFL to the BTC Barracks and the INPFL to the remotest Caldwell Base on its Bushrod Island territory. By the time of the next peace conference in Lome, Togo in 1991, two *de facto* regimes were recognized in Liberia- IGNU of Dr Amos Sawyer and NPRAG of Mr. Charles Taylor. The US recognized none even though IGNU of Dr Amos Sawyer bore the standards of the Presidency and the Government of Liberia and represented the Republic of Liberia to the rest of the world.

7.1.3. Securing Peace with Additional Warring Factions

Taylor was relentless and resistant; and unpopular. His personal agenda to become President of Liberia became very clear as was his disregard for the heavy toll on human life and suffering his ambition had on the people of Liberia. Increasingly unpopular, he lost the popular support of the Liberian people and his traditional political allies and financiers in Liberia, including Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, as the entire nation was held at ransom by Taylor and company. A marathon process of peace conferences and brokered peace agreements ensued as new warring factions emerged and became entangled in hostilities in desperate pursuit of power and wealth – hitherto monopolized by Taylor - in the name of peace and democracy for Liberia. The capture and brutal killing of Doe sent his Krahn and Mandingo followers in disarray. ECOMOG assisted hundreds of the remnants of Doe's loyalists to leave the country. Two trucks filled of native Krahn and Mandingoes convoy were captured from ECOMOG by the INPFL and apparently killed since they were never accounted for. Prominent Krahn intellectuals like Sam Todee were amongst those captured, detained in a container and killed. Languishing in Sierra Leone and Guinea, these vanquished supporters of Doe wanted revenge. A Mandingo faction, Movement For the Redemption of Muslims (MRM) founded by Alhaji Kromah and a Krahn faction, Liberia United Defense Force (LUDF) organized by a US trained Special forces officer who was also once Doe's Minister of Defense and Ambassador to Sierra Leone, Albert Karpeh, together, merged into the United Liberation Movement for Democracy (ULIMO) on May 29, 1991 in the Republic of Guinea. Karpeh was murdered by Kromah's supporters for questioning and disputing Kromah's leadership of ULIMO.

⁵ A Nigerian who replaced the first ECOMOG force commander from Ghana Albert Quinoo. All subsequent force commanders were Nigerians. Nigeria provided the largest contingent of ECOMOG.

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MFI-334B

News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, December 1998 (Page 1)

2774D

29 December: 1,000 additional Nigerian soldiers arrived in Sierra Leone on Tuesday, bringing the total strength of the ECOMOG force to over 14,000, according to an ECOMOG spokesman. "This batch of 1,000 men brings the total of Nigerian troops flown into Freetown to 3,000 since Sunday," he said. "Several thousand more men will be flown in within the week." The Agence France-Presse (AFP), quoting "reliable sources", said ECOMOG had some 9,500 troops in Sierra Leone, 7,000 of them Nigerian, prior to the arrival of additional Nigerian soldiers on Sunday. Nigeria has also brought in three warplanes, increasing the number operating in the country to at least seven. A senior Ghanaian Defence Ministry official said ECOMOG troops were now concentrating on defending Freetown. "We have sent some men and officers to help beef up what is already on the ground," he said.

ECOMOG sent 300 troops toward Lunsar Tuesday as RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie claimed his forces had captured the town. Bockarie said the rebels seized Lunsar on Tuesday after heavy fighting with ECOMOG troops. "We have captured Lunsar, and ECOMOG soldiers are now on the run," Bockarie said. He added that 60 Nigerian soldiers had been killed in the fighting. An ECOMOG official dismissed the claim "pure propaganda," adding: "There was no fighting in Lunsar today." Local journalists reporting from Port Loko said the rebels had overrun villages between Lunsar and Makeni, and reported hearing explosions and gunfire around Lunsar on Tuesday. A member of the United Nations Military Observer Force in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) said that as of mid-day Tuesday the ECOMOG unit had reported no military confrontation. A "U.N. humanitarian official" said there had been reports of "civilian movements" from Lunsar. Bockarie said his forces would continue to head toward Freetown despite calls by ECOWAS for negotiations. "The issue is not laying down arms. The issue is dialogue and getting our leader Foday Sankoh released from prison," Bockarie said. "This is our ultimatum. If a dialogue is not started we will have to invade Freetown. They have 48 hours." He repeated his call for Burkinabe President and current OAU Chairman Blaise Compaore to mediate between the rebels and President Kabbah. "We are still appealing to the OAU chairman to prevail on ECOWAS and the Tejan Kabbah government to respond positively to our demand for dialogue," Bockarie said. "But we will not stop shelling Freetown until we see the Tejan Kabbah government out."

Gambian President Yahya Jammeh has repeated his offer to mediate between the Sierra Leone government and the rebels, and has reportedly called on the U.N., the OAU, and ECOWAS to let him handle the crisis. Referring to the conflict in Guinea Bissau, Jammeh said, "I initiated and handled the negotiations in Bissau before involving the full support of the international community," adding that only a peaceful settlement of the crisis will work in Sierra Leone. Jammeh first offered to mediate during President Kabbah's four-day state visit to Banjul in early December, but he said he had heard nothing since Kabbah returned to Freetown.

The United Nations Security Council issued a statement Tuesday condemning renewed fighting and atrocities by AFRC/RUF rebels in Sierra Leone. "The members of the Council are gravely concerned about the situation in Sierra Leone. Council members condemn atrocities by rebel forces, assisted by external factors to those rebel forces," the Council said in a statement read out by its current president, Ambassador Jassim Mohammed Buallay of Bahrain. "They call upon states concerned to take immediate action to cease the interference in Sierra Leone's domestic affairs," he said in an apparent reference to Liberia. The Council called on U.N. member states to strengthen the arms embargo against AFRC/RUF rebels and against Liberia, where a U.N. arms embargo remains in effect.

The Liberian government has reacted to scathing criticism of its alleged role in aiding AFRC/RUF rebels fighting in Sierra Leone by threatening to withdraw from the ECOWAS Committee of Five on Sierra Leone, which is charged with finding a solution to the country's civil conflict. A statement issued by the Liberian government on Tuesday said it "views with disappointment and indignation" suggestions that the Liberian government is backing rebels fighting to overthrow Sierra Leone's civilian government. It said Liberia was being destabilised by the use of Liberian mercenaries by a succession of Sierra Leonean regimes to increase their security. "The government of Liberia considers this situation as grave," it said, and called on President Kabbah to open a dialogue with the rebels as the only way to guarantee peace in Sierra Leone. "The Liberian government further calls on the United Nations to establish a commission of inquiry with immediate effect to establish the circumstances leading to the involvement of foreign nationals, including Liberians, in the Sierra Leone civil war," it added. The statement said the accusations had created a crisis of confidence, compromising its participation in the ECOWAS Committee of Five. "As a result of the situation, Liberia may be prepared to reclude (sic.) itself from the process until such a time when the crisis of confidence is resolved," it said.

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MFI-334C

News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, 19 November 1998 (Page 1)

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19 November: The Revolutionary United Front will destroy "every living thing" if anything happens to their leader, Corporal Foday Sankoh, RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie told the newspaper For di People in a report published on Wednesday. Sankoh is currently being held at Pademba Road Prison in Freetown where he is preparing an appeal against his conviction and death sentence on treason charges. "I am a ruthless commander," Bockarie said in a telephone interview. "I am ready to damage thing and building. To my God, I'll fight. I'll kill and kill, and the more they tell me to stop, the more I'll kill. Only Sankoh can tell us to stop." Bockarie rejected a call by United States Special Envoy to Africa Rev. Jesse Jackson for the RUF to lay down its arms. "(The U.S. is) a big hypocrite whose intention is to steal our natural resources rather than bring peace to the country," he said. "America and the world should know that we shall not lay down arms, because only a defeated man can do so."

ECOMOG troops on Monday attacked suspected rebels on Tasso Island, 12 miles from Freetown, and captured 35 of them, an ECOMOG officer said on Thursday. Witnesses who fled the island said at least five rebels had been killed in the raid. "The rebels had suddenly re-emerged on the island, training and planning to carry out attacks on Freetown," one ECOMOG commander said. "We captured 35 of them and inflicted casualties." He gave no further details.

ECOMOG officers said Thursday they were committed to ending the Sierra Leone conflict militarily, and displayed five "hard core" rebel leaders captured recently in Lungi. Among them was a Lieutenant Kargbo, a member of the disbanded Sierra Leone Army, who had opposed disarming the army after the signing of the Conakry Peace Accord.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said Tuesday it had suspended the airlift repatriation of Sierra Leonean refugees from Kissidougou, Guinea on November 13 after discovery of several cases of meningitis in refugee camps in the Prefecture of Gueckedou, where candidates had registered for a return to Freetown. The UNHCR had begun a second phase of the operation on November 11, returning 305 persons on several flights. All returnees undergo medical screening before returning to Freetown. The operation, for which 1,800 persons have registered so far, will be restarted if no further cases of meningitis are identified in the refugee camps.

President Kabbah raised the possibility Thursday of an amnesty for five key rebel leaders if they would lay down their arms and agree to leave Sierra Leone for a period of time. In an ECOMOG security briefing, Chief of Defence Staff Brigadier-General Maxwell Khobe identified the five as Captain SAJ Musa, Sam "Maskita" Bockarie, Eldred Collins, Dennis "Superman" Mingo, and AFRC Chairman Major Johnny Paul Koroma. Kabbah said he would be willing to consider allowing them to depart "to a third country that is not neighboring Sierra Leone for awhile," and to later be resettled in Sierra Leone. "But I cannot do that as long as they go on committing the crimes that they've been committing, and chopping off people's limbs, and all the rest of it, burning homes, and above all always threatening, just a bluff, bluffing that they're going to kill everybody in this country," Kabbah told the BBC. He stressed, however, that rebel leaders who "have committed very, very serious crimes will have to face the law." General Khobe confirmed at the security briefing that the government has been in constant contact with rebel leaders, particularly with Captain SAJ Musa. He said the entire sub-region was interested in peace in Sierra Leone, and if what was needed was to provide safe passage for rebel leaders to depart so that Sierra Leoneans could live peacefully, the entire sub-region would be prepared to provide refuge for them. Minister of Information, Communications, Tourism and Culture Dr. Julius Spencer stressed that no negotiations had taken place. He said the rebel leaders must be prepared to lay down their arms, and that then the possibility exists for them to live elsewhere in the sub-region.

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News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, December 1998 (Pages 5 & 6)

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acknowledged that the rebels had captured part of Makeni. Sources in radio contact with the area earlier on Saturday that the fighting was continuing.

Minister of Information, Communication, Tourism and Culture Dr. Julius Spencer said Saturday that Freetown was calm, and maintained that the security situation in Sierra Leone was firmly under the control of ECOMOG and other security forces. "As far as Government is concerned, we remain faithful to the position adopted by the United Nations Security Council with respect to the conflict in Sierra Leone, which is to simultaneously pursue the military option and dialogue," he said in a press release. Spencer said that despite media reports to the contrary, "Makeni town is in the hands of ECOMOG, although there are continuing rebel attacks on the township. With regard to Kono, no military occupation has been established in the area by the rebels. Rather, the area was invaded by marauding gangs of illegal miners, among whom are rebels. This situation is being addressed by the security forces." Spencer said that of the twelve districts in Sierra Leone, the rebels were known to operate in parts of only three. "It is also important to stress here that the rebels are currently under severe pressure in the Eastern part of the country where they have their main base," he said. "All other parts of the country are calm and secure."

British Foreign Office Minister of State for Africa Tony Lloyd reiterated Saturday Britain's support for Sierra Leone's civilian government. He made the statement as British nationals evacuated from Freetown arrived in London. "But our strong support for the democratically-elected government of President Kabbah remains undiminished," Lloyd said. "We continue to lead international support for the legitimate government in Sierra Leone, and we are in close touch with our partners in the Security Council and elsewhere on how to take things forward."

Minister of Information, Communication, Tourism and Culture Dr. Julius Spencer, in a BBC interview on Saturday, called "absolutely false" rebel claims to have captured Makeni. "It is simply propaganda that they are trying to mount," he said. "They have been trying to take control of Makeni. They have been attacking the place for the past three days. They have not succeeded. They have not taken control of Makeni. Indeed, there has been fighting going on around Makeni, not right inside the town. They have been trying to get into the town and up to this point that I am talking to you they have not succeeded...ECOMOG hasn't gone on an offensive in that area. They are simply holding defensive positions, ECOMOG and the Civil Defence Forces in that area, and very soon they will be thrown out of the area completely." Spencer rejected a suggestion that the civilian government might be overthrown a second time by the rebels. "That is absolutely impossible. What we are going to see in the new year is the total elimination of rebel activity in this country. That I assure you. Let them wait and see. Nobody is going to run away anywhere. Even the women are saying they are going to stand up. Nobody is running away. For the Kabbah government to be removed is absolutely impossible, totally out of the question. Anybody who thinks that is dreaming."

The ECOWAS Committee of Five foreign ministers charged with finding ways to end the Sierra Leone conflict will convene in Ivory Coast on Monday, an Ivorian official was quoted as saying on Saturday.

Thousands of demonstrators turned out in Freetown Saturday to show support for President Kabbah and to denounce rebel attacks and Liberian President Charles Taylor, whom they accuse of backing the rebels. The demonstration, called by the Citizens' Security Movement, ended outside the law courts in the center of the capital. Witnesses said youths caught and burned to death two suspected rebels during the rally.

25 December: ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi said Friday he could see no reason for the evacuation of foreign nationals from Sierra Leone. He said there had been no significant rebel activity around the city since the rebel raid on Waterloo on Tuesday. "I heard foreign diplomats reported 2,000 rebels around Waterloo and when I asked my commanders on the ground they laughed. There are just local people salvaging their belongings," Shelpidi said. "I cannot speak for foreign governments and if they want their citizens out then very well, but my personal view is that the international community should not abandon Sierra Leone at this crucial time." Shelpidi said AFRC/RUF rebels had attacked near Makeni on Friday. Makeni was under ECOMOG control, he said, but outlying villages were in rebel hands. "ECOMOG cannot be in every settlement everywhere. We don't have the manpower so sometimes there are attacks when these rebels raid villages for food,"

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then we go there as soon as we can and they run away," he said. "We have appealed for the public to cooperate and mostly they are giving us very good cooperation but sometimes they connive with the rebels and give them food and shelter." Shelpidi also said ECOMOG had killed 14 rebels Wednesday in a clash near the Benguema training barracks.

Two British Royal Air Force planes found only one person waiting to be evacuated when they returned to Lungi International Airport on Friday. One businessman who was evacuated on Thursday explained that the lack of interest was probably due to an improving security situation in Freetown. "There is tension in Freetown and the embassy brought in planes to take us out. We did so but I don't think the rebels can take Freetown," he said. Another evacuee said there had been panic in Freetown following rebel attacks on Tuesday, but added: "I don't think the evacuation was necessary." Britain had sent its two aircraft back to Freetown on Friday to evacuate more British and other foreign nationals in the wake of recent rebel activity near the capital. "Two Royal Air Force Hercules aircraft went back to the airport in Freetown to pick up any stragglers," a Foreign Office spokesman said. "They brought out around 80 people last night. The majority were Britons, although there were a fair smattering of European nationals. He said that while the measure was precautionary, Britain was strongly advising its nationals in Sierra Leone to take advantage of this offer to leave. "The situation is very volatile," he said. "I don't say they would be targeted just because they were British, but the rebels have a pretty awful history of atrocity. We don't want any of our nationals put at risk." British High Commissioner Peter Penfold and one staff member would remain in Freetown for now, he said, but they may also have to leave. He added that Britain was still "strongly supporting" the Sierra Leone government. "We are very anxious to make it clear that the fact that we have evacuated as a precautionary measure doesn't diminish our very strong support for President Kabbah's democratically elected government," he said.

RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie threatened on Friday to attack Freetown on New Year's Day, then moved up the deadline claiming the arrival of ECOMOG reinforcements, unless the government agreed to negotiate with the rebels. "If Kabbah does not agree to respond to our request to open dialogue, then in 48 to 72 hours we will enter Freetown," Bockarie told the Agence France-Presse (AFP). "We are going to march into Freetown on New Year's Day unless the government agrees to our terms," Bockarie said in a separate Reuters interview. "We have the will and the way." Bockarie claimed that AFRC/RUF rebels had captured Makeni and were battling for Kenema. He also claimed to have captured Waterloo, about 20 miles from southeast of Freetown, and nearby Benguema, where he said rebel forces had seized the military training barracks. There has been no independent confirmation of his claims. (3)

24 December: Kamajor militiamen arrived in Freetown Thursday to reinforce ECOMOG troops defending the capital. Reuters reporter Christo Johnson put the number of Kamajors at around 2,000, while BBC correspondent Winston Ojukutu-Macaulay reported the arrival of "about 5,000 dare-devil Kamajors." According to Ojukutu-Macaulay, the militiamen have been deployed "across Freetown along the peninsula from Waterloo and right across the west, the entire Western Area." The militia reinforces an estimated 5,000 ECOMOG troops deployed around the capital, according to figures provided by the United Nations Military Observer Force (UNOMSIL). UNOMSIL chief, General Subashi Joshi, told aid workers on Wednesday that more than 1,000 additional ECOMOG troops had been flown in from Liberia to increase security. ECOMOG officials have not confirmed the reinforcements nor provided information on how many troops it has deployed within and outside of the capital.

ECOMOG reopened the main highway to the interior, closed since rebel attacks on Tuesday. An ECOMOG spokesman said vehicles can now travel without fear, as all highways leading to the provincial capitals are under air and ground military surveillance.

Hundreds of residents returned to Waterloo in trucks and busses Thursday after ECOMOG troops had cleared the area of rebel fighters. One resident told the Agence France-Presse that: "Over 40 houses were burnt down, including one of our popular nightclubs after it was heavily looted." ECOMOG troops in Waterloo staged a military parade through the town on Wednesday evening. The procession, which lasted for several hours and continued on toward Freetown, was led by ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi. Chief of Defence Staff Brigadier-General Maxwell Khobe, along with other top officials, also took part.

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MFI-334E

News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, December 1998 (Pages 3 & 4)

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providing them support. The communiqué called on the rebels "to cease fighting immediately, to lay down their arms and to recognize the government of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah as the legitimate government of Sierra Leone," and "strongly condemned the activities of the countries which are providing support to the rebels." Sierra Leone's Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Dr. Sama Banya, and ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi "implicated Liberia in providing military support to the rebels," the communiqué said. Shelpidi, in an interview, said arms for the rebels "are coming from Liberia and through Liberia," and accused Liberia of supporting the rebel insurgency. "I maintain my position that Liberia is aiding the rebels," he said. "We have a destabilising situation in the sub-region, and if it's allowed to continue, it's going to be very, very serious. It won't end in Sierra Leone, it's going to spill over and affect every country in the sub-region," Shelpidi said. Delegates said Britain, Nigeria, and the United States also accused Liberia of aiding the rebels in their current offensive. "There is a growing body of evidence in support of Liberia's involvement in Sierra Leone," the Director of the U.S. State Department Office of West African Affairs and Special Envoy to Liberia, Howard Jeter, was quoted as saying. Liberian Foreign Minister Monie Captan countered by demanding proof of his government's involvement, and called for an international investigation. "I don't deny that there are Liberians in Sierra Leone, but the Liberian government is not involved," he told reporters. ECOWAS General Secretary Lansana Kouyate called for additional troops for ECOMOG, and deplored the "lack of military backup" for the force despite the "good will" of ECOWAS countries. Togolese Foreign Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh, who chaired the talks, called on Western countries to provide logistical equipment while maintaining the key to peace in Sierra Leone was national reconciliation. "We must insist on the necessity to organize a true dialogue -- a frank and sincere dialogue between Sierra Leone's feuding brothers," Koffigoh said. "But dialogue demands, above all, a halt in fighting," he added, urging delegates to "work together to convince belligerents to agree to a ceasefire." Koffigoh said the United Nations and the Netherlands had "given the green light" to finance 400 troops from Mali and 100 from Gambia.

The U.S. Department of State, in a strongly-worded statement issued by Acting Spokesman M. Lee McClenney on Monday, said the United States "condemns in the strongest terms the brutal RUF insurgency" in Sierra Leone. "The United States Government stands firmly with the democratically elected government of President Kabbah," the statement said. "We can not countenance any renewed attempt to overthrow the Kabbah government by force. Nor will the people of Sierra Leone accept another coup d'état as was demonstrated yesterday in Freetown by their march in support of the legitimate government." In a reference to allegations of Liberian support for rebels fighting in Sierra Leone, the statement said the United States Government "is especially concerned about external regional support for the RUF insurgency. We continue to urge the Government of Liberia to take all necessary measures to stop support for RUF activities emanating from its territory."

Liberian officials say they arrested eight Sierra Leoneans inside Liberia over the weekend, accusing them of being members of the Kamajor militia. According to a press report in Monrovia, two were arrested at Bo Waterside, while the remaining six were taken into custody at Dambala. Military sources at Bo Waterside said heavily armed Kamajor fighters had crossed the Mano River at Mowahn in the Wednesday evening in search of food. The sources, quoting villagers, said the Kamajors stole twelve bags of seed rice and a large quantity of palm oil before fleeing. Kamajors in canoes were reportedly seen near the abandoned mining town of Kongo, on the Liberian side of the border. There has been no direct confrontation between the Kamajor militiamen and Liberian troops, but Liberia has stepped up patrols along the border.

ECOMOG Press Secretary Malam Buhari Ali, in a statement issued in Abuja, Nigeria on Monday, claimed rebel faction leader and former AFRC Chief Secretary Solomon "SAJ" Musa was killed December 24 during an attack on Benguema Military Training Centre. There has been no independent confirmation of the claim.

27 December: ECOMOG troops fought AFRC/RUF rebels on Sunday for control of Makeni, an ECOMOG official said in Freetown. He said about 50 rebels were killed Saturday when Nigerian Alpha jet fighters attached to the ECOMOG force bombed rebel positions in the town. The official said he expected the planes to return to take action against the rebels, who had regrouped at Makeni Teachers College. The college, which is on the outskirts of the city, is close to ECOMOG's main military base in northern Sierra Leone. "Most of the civilians in Makeni and the surrounding area have fled so we are only left face to face with the rebels," the official said. Communications links to Makeni have

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been cut, and no independent assessment of the situation in Makeni could be made, Reuters reported. Makeni residents who reached Freetown on Saturday confirmed that ECOMOG was in control, although some reported that the rebels were in parts of the town or that ECOMOG was defending the military barracks. RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie also made claims that his fighters had captured the town, saying Saturday that the rebels had killed 60 ECOMOG soldiers and dragged their bodies through the streets "as an example to everyone." Bockarie, who has threatened an AFRC/RUF rebel assault on Freetown, called on President Kabbah to resign. "Failure of Kabbah to resign, and we will start bombarding Freetown and will not stop until victory is won," Bockarie told the Associated Press.

Hundreds of people have reached Freetown, saying they were forced to flee rebel attacks between Thursday and Saturday on the fishing village of Tombo, just south of the capital.

A delegation headed by Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Dr. Sama Banya arrived in Abidjan, Ivory Coast on Saturday night for a meeting of the ECOWAS Committee of Five on Sierra Leone. In Freetown, Minister of Information, Communication, Tourism and Culture Dr. Julius Spencer said the Sierra Leoneans will plead for additional troops to reinforce ECOMOG. A "senior Western diplomat" told Reuters that the Sierra Leone government may come under increased pressure to negotiate with the rebels. "There is a growing fear in the region that a new civilian government taking over in Nigeria in May next year may not want to shoulder the burden of peacekeeping in Sierra Leone," the diplomat said. "The Sierra Leone government may need to look at what happened in Mozambique in 1992. The government there concluded a successful accord with Renamo rebels, and Renamo were just as vicious as the Sierra Leone rebels." Committee members include the foreign ministers of Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, and Liberia. The foreign ministers of Burkina Faso and Togo will also attend, as their countries hold the presidencies of ECOWAS and the OAU, respectively. The United States is sending its Director of the State Department Office of West African Affairs and Special Envoy to Liberia Howard Jeter, and Ambassador to Sierra Leone Joseph Melrose. Britain will be represented by its High Commissioner to Sierra Leone, Peter Penfold. ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi will also be present.

The Sierra Leone government has condemned the mob killing of two suspected rebel spies during a demonstration in Freetown on Saturday. "Mob justice cannot be a solution to our problems as it could lead to the loss of innocent lives," a government statement broadcast over SLBS (state radio) said. "While government understands the cause of anger among the majority of Sierra Leoneans, it will not condone people taking the law into their own hands. All cases of rebels and suspected rebels must be referred to ECOMOG or the law enforcement bodies." According to news accounts, the two men were severely beaten before some in the crowd put petrol-filled tires around their necks and set them on fire. The charred bodies were taken away by police, who did not interfere with the killings.

United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan has condemned the upsurge in fighting in Sierra Leone and attempts by ARC/RUF rebels to overthrow the country's civilian government. "The Secretary-General is extremely concerned by the latest news of rebel armed activities in Sierra Leone," Annan's spokesman said in a statement issued in New York. "He condemns the refusal of the RUF and junta remnants to lay down their arms, as well as their continuing military actions...He wishes to take this opportunity to emphasise the unacceptability of attempting to overthrow duly-elected governments by force. He appeals to the rebels to lay down their arms at once and to enter the peace process without preconditions."

The government, in a radio broadcast, has condemned the evacuation of British nationals from Sierra Leone, saying it played into rebel plans to spread panic.

ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi has called on the international community to "rally round and support Sierra Leone, which is trying to restore democracy."

26 December: ECOMOG troops have turned back a rebel attack on Makeni, an ECOMOG spokesman said on Saturday. "The rebels can never take Makeni from us, even though they are heavily armed and in quite large numbers," he added. AFRC/RUF rebels and ECOMOG had battled for control of the town since Thursday. A Catholic priest who was in Makeni on Friday said most residents had fled, and that rebels controlled parts of the town. A Ministry of Defence spokesman quoted by Reuters

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News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, December 1998 (Page 2)

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Liberian President Charles Taylor repeated his call Tuesday for the Sierra Leone government to negotiate with the rebels rather than to try to defeat them militarily. "I call on the leadership in Sierra Leone to show real statesmanship by engaging in dialogue with the joint RUF and ousted junta rebels rather than using force," Taylor said on his private radio station. "We believe this is the only way to achieve genuine peace in Sierra Leone...We realize that if there is no peace in Sierra Leone, there is no peace in Liberia."

The United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) said Tuesday that escalating hostilities could jeopardise relief programmes in the provinces. "Those most likely to be affected by the lack of food are displaced persons who were living in camps and urban areas in the north and the east," Sierra Leone's WFP representative Patrick Buckley said in a statement. He said food shipments to Makeni and other areas had been halted, affecting close to 24,000 people. Food stocks in the town are now depleted. At estimated 80,000 Sierra Leoneans have been displaced by the recent upsurge in fighting. The WFP expressed particular concern about the fate of some 8,000 civilians who fled Koidu during a rebel attack two weeks ago. "We are gravely concerned about the situation of people fleeing the Kono region. We estimate that a total of 40,000 displaced persons are either hiding in the bush in the region or moving towards other towns spared by the fighting," Buckley said. "WFP and its food aid partners have sufficient food stocks for all the country in Freetown but with the increased rebel activity, trucking companies face serious security constraints to deliver our food to vulnerable people in the interior." On Monday, the WFP sent 90 metric tons of food to Bo and Kenema. As of late Tuesday, the food had not arrived.

United Nations Special Envoy to Sierra Leone Francis Okelo has said that the Sierra Leone government may have no choice but to negotiate with "those who have grievances" sooner rather than later. The situation on the ground is getting worse," he said. "The government has to take this seriously. It can't stand back and wait for things to get better."

A boat carrying African refugees has been rescued by a Libyan ferry boat in the Mediterranean near Malta, Honourary Sierra Leone Consul in Malta J. A. Dougall said on Tuesday. The refugees are thought to come from Sierra Leone, Ghana, and Algeria, although their identities have not yet been confirmed. "All of these are in a bad shape and are all receiving medical attention," Dougall said. Police authorities postponed interviewing of the refugees as they were suffering from exhaustion, Dougall added.

Military officials say they have detained 25 suspected rebels, along with eight Ukrainians suspected of being mercenaries. The Ukrainians are being questioned, they added. According to the Agence France-Presse, SLBS (state radio) had announced that eight Ukrainians who entered the country last week should report to the police.

28 December: AFRC/RUF rebels reportedly seized control of Makeni from retreating ECOMOG troops on Monday, but ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi, attending the ECOWAS Committee of Five foreign ministers conference in Abidjan, refused to concede that the town had fallen to the rebels, describing it instead as a "no-man's land." "Our troops have pulled back from Makeni," he said. "We had to make a tactical withdrawal in order not to stretch our communication lines." Shelpidi said the Kamajor militia would defend the town against the rebels. Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Dr. Sama Banya, declined to say who controlled the town but confirmed that all of Makeni's residents had fled. He said Nigeria had sent two battalions to Freetown on Sunday night, reportedly some 600 additional troops, to reinforce ECOMOG, bringing the force's estimated strength in Sierra Leone to about 12,000.

RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie claimed Friday to have captured Waterloo and Benguema, 20 and 30 miles from Freetown, respectively. ECOMOG commander Major-General Timothy Shelpidi denied the rebel claim, saying ECOMOG troops were "in control of the area." In an interview on Sunday, Bockarie said the rebels "were no longer seeking dialogue," adding it was "too late now."

No new initiatives emerged from a one-day emergency meeting of the ECOWAS Committee of Five foreign ministers on Sierra Leone in Abidjan on Monday, but delegates issued a communiqué following the conference demanding that AFRC/RUF rebels cease fighting, and condemning those who were

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News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, 26 January 1999

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26 January: ECOMOG bombarded suspected rebel positions overnight in the hills overlooking Kissy and in the wooded areas beyond Lumley before dawn on Tuesday. Shelling was also reported Monday night around Calaba Town. ECOMOG officers said they were targeting "rebel infiltrators," Reuters reported. The Agence France-Presse (AFP) reported "relatively little shooting" overnight, but said tension in Freetown remained high. A military source said ECOMOG troops were "moving south, and would start bombarding adjacent hills in the next 48 hours." In conflicting reports, Reuters quoted medical staff at Connaught Hospital Tuesday as saying that the number of wounded arriving there had decreased substantially, while the AFP said wounded victims, many of them mutilated, continued to arrive at the city's five hospitals. The AFP, quoting hospital sources, reported more than 3,000 persons are known to have died during nearly three weeks of fighting between ECOMOG troops and AFRC/RUF rebel forces, with the final death toll expected to be much higher. No estimate of military casualties has been released.

The Agence France-Presse (AFP) reported Tuesday that some 60 people were killed Sunday in an attack on Waterloo. The number is based on reports by residents of 25 civilian deaths and a claim by Guinean ECOMOG sources that 35 rebels were killed during clashes in the town. Some 17 houses at Waterloo were reported to have been burned down. On Monday, ECOMOG said rebels were present at Wellington, but claimed to have surrounded the rebels on all sides. "We have blocked all known routes and are patrolling the coast," said ECOMOG spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Jimoh Okunlola, adding that rebel forces were caught between ECOMOG troops at Kissy and in Waterloo. Okunlola said the rebels' supply lines had been cut and that they were running out of ammunition. ECOMOG spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Chris Olukolade said Tuesday that neighbourhood vigilante groups which have sprung up in Freetown have the support of ECOMOG. "We encourage that but there should be orderliness. They should be organised enough to help ECOMOG in countering the movement of suspicious characters or likely rebels in the society," he said in a radio broadcast.

RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie threatened Tuesday that the RUF would make Sierra Leone ungovernable unless the movement was given a share of power. "No government can rule. We'll make the country ungovernable," he said. "We are demanding a political role." Bockarie said ECOMOG troops would be "unable to provide security" for the Sierra Leone government. "We are negotiating the liberation of (RUF leader Corporal) Foday Sankoh, and we want a new government of inclusion," he said. "No government can succeed in this country if it doesn't include Foday Sankoh." Bockarie ridiculed ECOMOG claims to have "trapped" rebels southeast of Freetown. "Can you trap a rebel in the bush?" he asked.

The Spanish foreign ministry said Tuesday that the BBC had interviewed French journalist Patrick Saint Paul who, along with Spanish reporter Javier Espinosa, was kidnapped by rebels on Monday. Saint Paul was released with a message which the rebels have demanded be read over the BBC as a condition for Espinosa's release. As reported by Madrid EFE (radio), the BBC said stressed that its broadcasts could not include communiqués from guerrilla groups anywhere in the world, adding that it could not "shape its news programmes as dictated by violent groups of any kind," the interview closely paralleled the rebel statement. Saint Paul said the rebel group wanted to assure the international community that in no case would it harm the civilian population. Earlier, the Spanish foreign ministry said RUF commander Sam "Maskita" Bockarie had given assurances to Spain's ambassador to the Ivory Coast that he would order the release of Espinosa, who allegedly was being held by a "Colonel Rambo." The Spanish foreign minister confirmed that Spanish embassies in Nigeria, Senegal, and Ivory Coast, as well as the French secret service, were working to secure Espinosa's release. ECOMOG press spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Chris Olukolade called the two journalists "irresponsible" Wednesday, adding they had put "their lives in danger to publicise people who have committed the worst atrocities." He said the journalists had ignored all the rules of caution in entering a zone believed still to be occupied by the RUF.

Freetown experienced fuel shortages Tuesday, a day after a fire at the Kissy fuel terminal on Monday further reduced already diminished supplies. "This is what we expected to happen. There has not been any supply for weeks and oil companies have had to supply ECOMOG with lots of fuel," said an engineer close to Safecon. "We don't know when the next shipment is coming in as no insurance company will cover any tanker docking at Kissy," he added.

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MFI-334I

News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, 25 January 1998

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25 January: AFRC Chairman Lieutenant-Colonel Johnny Paul Koroma said Sunday he was "holding out an olive branch" to the Kamajor militia, inviting them to join the junta in the process of nation building. "Any Kamajors who give up their arms will not be harmed and will be amnestied," Koroma said. He said the junta would "embark on the registration of the (RUF) People's Army" and would absorb "willing and fitted" RUF fighters into the national army. "We have no doubt learned our lesson this bitter way and we must now keep and maintain an army with teeth strong enough to bite if and when our hard won freedom is threatened," Koroma said.

Some 40 members of parliament living in exile said Sunday they would return to Sierra Leone to convene parliament in the country for the first time since the May 25 coup. In view of the security situation, the session will be held on ECOMOG-controlled territory at Lungi, the M.P.'s said. Exiled President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah has reportedly given his full backing to the exercise. The AFRC's Under Secretary of State for Information, Allieu Kamara, called the move "cosmetic."

Four civilians were reported killed at Malanchor village in Yoni Chiefdom by armed militia members. A traveller reaching Freetown on Sunday said many residents identified the attackers as Kamajors, described as wearing green uniforms and carrying rocket-propelled grenades and new AK-47 rifles. The towns of Mafallah, Ronetta, Rogbanke, and Rorucks, all in Yoni Chiefdom, were said to have been abandoned because of fears of an imminent Kamajor attack. A military spokesman in Freetown confirmed that many villagers with "deep machete wounds" had been taken to Masiaka to be seen by the military before being sent to the government hospital at Port Loko.

Former ECOMOG force commander Major-General Victor Malu told the Nigerian Vanguard newspaper Sunday that Liberian President Charles Taylor had opposed ECOMOG using Liberia as a base for its operations in Sierra Leone because he wanted "to surround himself with proteges in neighbouring African states who would do his biddings." Malu denied that ECOMOG had provided assistance to the Kamajor militia. "That runs counter to our mission which is to restore democratic rule to that country," he said. "We cannot be seen to support parochial interests there." Malu said that the "main objective" of the Kamajors was to take control of the mineral-rich areas of Sierra Leone, and not to restore President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah to power. Only the use of force would compel the junta to cede power to the civilian government of President Kabbah as agreed in the Conakry Peace Accord, Malu said.

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MFI-334J

News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, 30 October 1997

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30 October: An AFRC military spokesman on Thursday accused ECOMOG of violating last week's peace agreement, saying Nigerian soldiers "are harassing, disarming, and searching all Sierra Leonean soldiers" passing through the Jui Checkpoint on their way up-country. The spokesman said a senior army officer, Colonel Yirrah, was "harassed and searched" at the checkpoint on Wednesday evening. "When we got the news, some soldiers and the People's Army personnel were so angry that they suggested military action to redress the situation, but we were able to calm them down," the spokesman said. Civilians passing through the checkpoint have also complained that their belongings have been offloaded from commercial vehicles and searched. A Nigerian major explained that "we are only being on the alert to stop dangerous weapons coming into the city."

An aide to deposed President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah accused the AFRC of violating the peace accord agreed to last week in Conakry, Guinea, and importing truckloads of arms into Sierra Leone from Liberia. "We are having information that Charles Taylor's government in Liberia is working with the junta to undermine the peace plan," Joseph Williams is reported as saying. Williams warned that the import of arms and ammunition in preparation for an all-out offensive against ECOMOG troops in Sierra Leone. He said there are arms-laden ships off the Sierra Leone coast and that "they are offloading two ships." Williams, who had been running the clandestine pro-democracy radio station 98.1, said that the junta was trying to jam the radio station's frequency.

Nigerian ECOMOG military commanders and senior Sierra Leonean army officials will meet Friday for a first round of talks on modalities for the upcoming month-long disarmament program of former RUF fighters, according to diplomatic sources.

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MFI-334K

News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, 14 March 1998

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14 March: The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) will hold a summit in Ouagadougou in early June to discuss the formation of African-operated peacekeeping forces, OAU Council of Ministers Chairman and Tanzanian Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Jakaya Kikwete said Friday. Kikwete said the Council, which met in Addis Ababa last month, had revised an earlier report by OAU Chiefs of Defence forces who met in Harare in October. That report suggested that African peacekeeping forces should be organised in regional groupings, instead of by individual countries. "The Council resolved that the African Crisis Response Initiative should look African instead of being foreign oriented and should be under the auspices of the United Nations Security Council and the OAU," said Kikwete.

Liberian Deputy Minister of Information Arthur Massaquoi said Saturday that the poor reception accorded to a Liberian delegation in Freetown was due to the work of detractors who had succeeded in misrepresenting Liberia's position in the Sierra Leone crisis. A low-ranking Liberian delegation made up of Deputy Speaker of the House Patrick Williams and officials of the Foreign Ministry and Ministry of Internal Affairs were jeered at the reinstatement ceremony for President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah on Tuesday. Massaquoi told Liberian Star Radio Tuesday that relations between the two countries remain cordial, and suggested that it was time for the two countries to work to revitalize the Mano River Union, which also includes Guinea.

(1) An Egyptian foreign ministry spokesman said Saturday that Egypt was following events in Sierra Leone with concern, and welcomed the return of "the legitimate and democratically-elected president, Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, to Sierra Leone." Egypt called on the international community, governmental and non-governmental organisations to assist victims and support the legitimate government, the spokesman said, adding that Egypt "will participate in easing the suffering of the Sierra Leonean people."

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MFI-334L

News article from Sierra Leone Web – SL News Archive, 10 July 2000

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10 July: The Sierra Leone government has ordered the "West Side Boys" — ex-SLA soldiers loyal to AFRC leader Johnny Paul Koroma — to report to Masiaka on Monday and Tuesday to be disarmed by UNAMSIL. The government statement, read several times over state radio — follows allegations of indiscipline as well as recent clashes between the West Side Boys and Sierra Leone Army soldiers. According to the statement, those who surrender to U.N. peacekeepers will be screened and then either allowed to enter the British military training programme at Benguema military training camp or, if found ineligible, will enter the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) programme. UNAMSIL spokeswoman Hirut Befecadu told reporters in Freetown Monday that U.N. military observers had already been deployed at Masiaka in preparation for the disarmament exercise. She did not say



how many of the West Side Boys had turned up at the reception centre, but said UNAMSIL's action came in response to a call by the government. Koroma told the Sierra Leone Web late Monday that he supported the government's decision to disarm and demobilise the West Side Boys. "They have to take them to Benguema for retraining," Koroma said. "Some of them will have to go to the DDR programme." He added: "Some politicians are playing games; they want to use the West Side Boys to pull me down." Koroma declined to provide names, but referred to his call in May for all pro-government troops to assemble in the face of an RUF advance toward the capital. "That's what they are fighting against — when I mobilised all the fighting forces," he said.

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African leaders opened their three-day OAU summit in Lomé, Togo on Monday, with the conflict in Sierra Leone expected to rank high on the agenda. Organizers said 24 heads of state and foreign ministers were attending the summit, which is being held at Lomé's Hotel Deux Fevrier — the same venue where the Lomé Peace Accord was negotiated last year. According to the Pan African News Agency (PANA), the OAU's Council of Ministers, which met in advance of the summit, has urged the leaders "to take appropriate measures" to try RUF leaders for "crimes against humanity and human rights violations." They also expressed support for ECOWAS' appeal to the United Nations Security Council that UNAMSIL's mandate be changed from peacekeeping to peace enforcement. The ministers called on the rebels "to immediately stop" all atrocities, including summary executions, rapes, and the abduction of civilians, and called on them to free all hostages, including those abducted before the signing of the peace agreement. The ministers also welcomed a decision by ECOWAS to conduct an investigation into the illicit trade in Sierra Leonean diamonds, and expressed support for the Security Council's decision to impose a global embargo on the sale of diamonds originating in Sierra Leone.

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UNAMSIL has been unable to re-supply 222 U.N. peacekeeping troops and 11 military observers surrounded by RUF forces at Kailahun since May for a considerable length of time, a U.N. spokeswoman said in New York on Monday. "The situation there is that the rains have flooded the roads in the area. That's made transportation by road very difficult to resupply this area," said spokeswoman Marie Okabe. "We also had an added complication on Friday in which a helicopter resupply to the troops there was also denied, so there was an escalation of obstacles in trying to resupply them." Okabe said the peacekeepers had only ten days worth of rations left. "We are taking this situation very seriously and every effort is being made to re-supply them by any possible means," she said.

UNAMSIL has discovered a large cache of arms near Lungi, U.N. spokeswoman Marie Okabe said on Monday. She added that an investigation was underway. Okabe said the general military situation in Sierra Leone was "calm."

United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan said the near-collapse of the UNAMSIL force in May resulted because the RUF "more-or-less tore up the (peace) agreement and behaved in a manner that was inconsistent with their undertaking that they had made in Lomé." Annan told the BBC that the U.N. had now stabilised the situation in Sierra Leone and would work with the government to restore peace in the country. "In time we expect to work with the government to extend its administration throughout the territory and eventually take over the diamond mining area so that this resource, this natural gift that has been given to the people of Sierra Leone, will be exploited for the benefit of the people and nation, not for RUF to wage a war against people of Sierra Leone," he said. Annan insisted that the U.N. force's problems were not the result of its mandate. "I don't think the mandate was weak; I think the mandate was adequate," he said. "They had a robust rules of engagement. They had a mandate that was adequate and they had the right use force to defend themselves and their



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"No Lawyer Willing to Defend Rebel Leader," by Lansana Fofana, Inter Press Service, 7 September 1998



1 of 99 DOCUMENTS

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September 7, 1998, Monday

LENGTH: 823 words

HEADLINE: POLITICS-SIERRA LEONE: NO LAWYER WILLING TO DEFEND REBEL LEADER

BYLINE: By Lansana Fofana

DATELINE: FREETOWN, Sep. 7

BODY:

No Sierra Leonean lawyer appears willing to defend Cpl. Foday Sankoh, Sierra Leone's rebel leader who has been charged with treason here.

Most lawyers contacted by IPS today, and who declined to be identified, said they would not stick out their necks to defend the rebel leader, who is widely regarded here as Sierra Leone's "enemy number one".

Sankoh, who is in his mid-sixties, was extradited from Nigeria about six weeks ago on allegations of illegally entering that country with ammunition.

Two weeks ago, 16 people -- including five journalists -- were sentenced to death for collaborating with Sierra Leone's defeated military junta.

Immediately after the judgment, Sierra Leone's exiled opposition described the trial as flawed, claiming that no "independent" lawyer was allowed to defend the accused. But the government has rejected the claim.

Sankoh, who was paraded before a magistrate here in handcuffs last week, questioned Sierra Leone's legal system, and the peace which the government claims is now prevailing in the west African country. "Is this the peace you are persecuting me for?" he asked, after court registrar Mildred Solomon, read out the charges against him on Sept. 4.

Attorney General Solomon Berewa appeared for the state and would be leading the prosecution when the rebel leader makes another appearance on Sept. 11.

Sankoh started his rebellion in March 1991, attacking Sierra Leone's eastern border towns from Liberia, with his Revolutionary United Front (RUF), allegedly backed by the former National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL).

Within four years, the rebels succeeded in advancing 48 kilometers to the Sierra Leonean capital of Freetown, with the rebellion spreading into Sierra Leone's three provinces of the east, south and north. The trail of destruction left behind is colossal as rebel forces burned down towns and villages.

An estimated 15,000 people are believed to have died since the war broke out and about a quarter of the country's 4.5 million population forced into exile in neighboring countries.

POLITICS-SIERRA LEONE: NO LAWYER WILLING TO DEFEND REBEL LEADER IPS-Inter Press Service
September 7, 1998, Monday

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However, in November 1996, a peace accord was signed in Abidjan, Cote D'Ivoire, between president Ahmed Tejan Kabbah and the rebel leader under the auspices of the international community.

Although the deal was meant to end hostilities between Sierra Leone's belligerents, RUF rebels intensified their military campaign mostly against civilian populations in the interior of the country, prompting the peace accord to collapse.

The situation deteriorated when renegade soldiers of the now-disbanded Sierra Leonean army overthrew the government of President Kabbah in May 1997, and invited RUF forces from the bush to help form a government.

The rebel/military alliance, known as the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), headed by Maj. Jonny Koroma, ruled for nine months, before it was toppled by a Nigerian-led West African peacekeeping force, "ECOMOG", in February.

Sankoh, who was then in detention in Nigeria was named vice chairman of the AFRC. He never served that junta as he arrived in Sierra Leone after the junta's overthrow, and as a prisoner.

Even as Sankoh was being whisked from the courtroom, to an undisclosed place of detention, on Sept. 4, RUF's second in Command Col. Sam Bockarie, alias "Mosquito", threatened to wage a campaign of genocide, if the rebel leader was not immediately released.

"I will order my troops to kill every living thing including chickens if our leader is not released," he was quoted as saying by a leading European radio station, monitored here.

Refusing to be intimidated, presidential spokesman Septinus Kaikai told journalists last week that: "Cpl. Sankoh is a Sierra Leonean and like all else, he is subject to the laws of this country. He would be tried and if found guilty, would be dealt with accordingly".

Kaikai also ruled out negotiations with the rebels. "ECOMOG and the pro-government forces are currently on top of the war situation and by all indications, rebel elements still holding out in the bush will soon be flushed out," Kaikai said.

His hardline stance has been welcomed by most Sierra Leoneans here. "Foday Sankoh should be tried and killed", said Joseph Tucker, a government official here. "His wrists should first be amputated, his eyes gouged out and then butchered with a machete, as his rebels have been doing to innocent civilians".

Ismail Sillah, a businessman here, wondered, "why the government has to go through this legal waste of time?", instead of having "this monster publicly tortured and executed".

No wonder lawyers are unwilling to defend Sankoh, who today warned that he would not make any statement to the police or in court if international monitors were not present to witness the legal proceedings.

The government has assured that international observers would be allowed to monitor the trial.

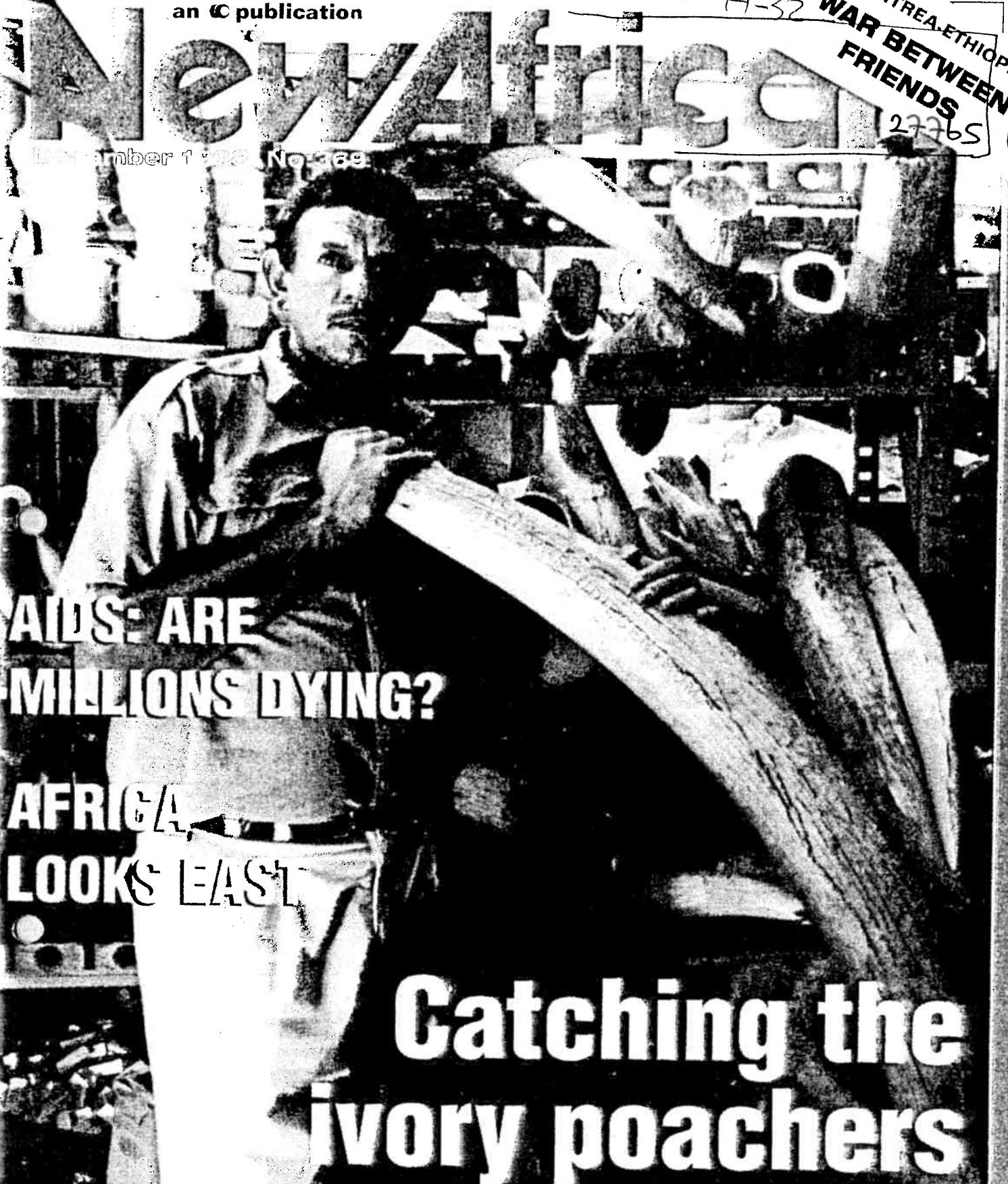
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27764

MFI-337

News article from New African magazine, No. 369: "Nigerians Execute Sierra Leone Coupists", December 1998 (Cover Page & Page 24)

Number 1 1986 No. 38



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12>



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Nigerians execute Sierra Leone coupists

Twenty four officers who were part of the former military government forces have been executed by Nigerian ECOMOG soldiers. Death sentences are also hanging over the heads of 28 civilians found guilty of collaborating with the former regime. The government is bent on taking its revenge and the RUF is already retaliating. Sheku Saccoh reports.

MOHAMMED SHERIF SANUSI



The RUF is still active in the bush and taking its terrible revenge

(3)

The reinstated government of President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah is hell bent on taking revenge on members of the former military government, the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC).

Twenty four of the 34 military officers found guilty by court martial on seven counts of treason, mutiny, murder and arson were executed by firing squad on 19 October despite pleas for clemency by Western countries and human rights groups. They were the first judicial executions by firing squad in Sierra Leone's 37-year history!

The 10 officers who received clemency from Kabbah had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment. Unfortunately for the government, only two of the original coupists — the man who announced the coup, Corporal Tamba Gborie and Sgt Abu Sankoh, the AFRC public liaison officer, were among those executed.

Their 15 other colleagues are still holding out in the bush. They are not likely to

surrender under Kabbah's amnesty, given that their colleagues have been executed.

So-called "collaborators" have also been executed including the former Army Chief of Staff, Brigadier Hassan Karim Conteh; the former Chief of Defence Staff, Col James Kanga and Col Sam Koroma; the elder brother of the AFRC leader Johnny Paul Koroma, and one woman, Major Kula Samba. There was no appeal. Another batch of 16 officers are awaiting trial.

Executed by ECOMOG

The executions were carried out at the 7th Battalion Headquarters at Goderich village, on the outskirts of Freetown, by 24 Nigerian soldiers from the ECOMOG peacekeeping force. Nigeria's military regime is still doing the dirty work of Sierra Leone's civilian government!

One of the executed men, Col Daniel Anderson's last words as he was being led to the stake was: "So you Nigerians came here

to kill us while you have more coups in Nigeria than any other country?"

However, the executions reflected the wishes of the vast majority of Sierra Leoneans who have been hearing the news of further atrocities by the RUF guerrillas in the parts of the country they still control. The people continue to urge Kabbah to execute the guilty soldiers.

Kabbah justified the executions by saying that the accused had been executed because of the degree of their involvement in the mutiny of May 1997 and the level of human rights abuses perpetrated by them when in power.

Kabbah said the executions were intended to act as a deterrent, not as retribution. But sympathisers of the AFRC see it as a reprisal against the minority Limba tribe which had enjoyed power under the rule of President Siaka Stevens and the former President Joseph Momoh.

Meanwhile, the civilian trials of the AFRC collaborators have continued with death sentences passed on 28 of them including the RUF leader, Corporal Foday Sankoh; the AFRC Attorney General Ajibola Manly Spaine and the MP Victor Foh.

Sankoh defended himself through his long trial as no defence lawyer was prepared to represent him. He told the court: "I am a victim of internal and international conspiracy and manipulation to get rid of me and destroy the RUF." After the death sentence was passed on him by the Nigerian judge Samuel Ademusu, Sankoh broke into war songs. He was still singing as he was hustled out of the court room.

The government has already recalled from retirement the hangman at the Pademba road prison, indicating its determination to deal equally ruthlessly with the civilians found guilty of treason by the civil courts. There have been four separate trials.

But news of Sankoh's death sentence immediately provoked retaliation by the RUF rebels who beheaded several men and women and chopped the arms off others, including children in a small village called Alikalia. The rebels told the survivors that the killings were in retaliation for the death sentence passed against Sankoh. The bloody war continues. ■

27767

MFI-338

"West Africa According to Mr. Taylor", Africa Confidential Vol. 40, No. 2, 22 January
1999

AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL

LIBERIA

2

SIERRA LEONE

Mr. Taylor's West Africa

Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria, Britain and the USA believe that Liberian President Charles Taylor has trained and armed the rebels of the Revolutionary United Front. Nothing could be further from the truth says Taylor but his fellow West African leaders find him unconvincing and alarming.

CONGO-KINSHASA 3

Central Africa's schism

Few take seriously President Nujoma's claims that a ceasefire in the Congo-Kinshasa war could be signed within a fortnight but there are growing signs that Kabila's foreign backers, beset by domestic problems, are looking for a face-saving exit.

MALI 5

Trial and error

Backstabbing for the succession is getting more vicious among barons of the ruling Adema coalition although few doubt that it will easily win the 2002 elections.

CAR 6

Dubious democracy

The UN's Minurca deployment is supposed to monitor CAR's questionable elections. Yet it can't do much about Patassé's military alliances designed to forestall any challenges from his opponents.

POINTERS 8

Sudan/Iraq, Algeria/Niger, Britain/France, Côte d'Ivoire

Political chemistry; hornets' nest; autre entente; Abidjan's Anglos.

No surrender, no deal

President Kabbah has narrowly missed being overthrown again and still lacks a political strategy to deal with the RUF rebellion

Prospects for a political solution to Sierra Leone's rebel war seem to have perished along with the more than 2,000 civilians officially reckoned to have been killed in the Revolutionary United Front's assault on Freetown. Indeed, local sources say the death toll could be nearer 8,000 (at the height of the fighting 550 bodies were cremated on one day) and that excludes the current round of revenge killings and summary executions by the Kamajor hunter-militias and soldiers from the West African peacekeeping force, Ecomog.

While many Westerners and expatriate Sierra Leoneans argue that the RUF's brutal assault on Freetown and operations in the diamond-rich eastern region make negotiations unavoidable for President **Ahmad Tejan Kabbah**'s government, the mood inside the country has hardened. 'No surrender, no negotiations' is the view on the Freetown streets, even among those who a month ago were pushing for a dialogue with RUF leaders and a pardon for leader **Foday Sankoh**, who was convicted of treason in October and is now held under **Nigerian** guard in Conakry, **Guinea**.

In Freetown, politicians have taken to walking around in army fatigues and toting guns, vowing vengeance against the RUF; perversely, the RUF assault may have helped the credibility of the Kabbah government, and the Kamajor and Civil Defence militias which are the people's last backstop against the RUF rebels. This time, with a few exceptions - such as the ruling Sierra Leone People's Party parliamentary leader, **Sana Marrah** - most of the government resisted the temptation to run when the RUF invaded Freetown. Politicians such as Energy Minister **Thaimu Bangura** and Trade and Industry Minister **Allie Bangura**, who had been advocating a political strategy to end the war, have now joined hawks such as Foreign Minister **James Jonah** and Information Minister **Julius Spencer**.

Crossed lines

For now, the determination of the predominantly Nigerian Ecomog forces matters most. Their commanding officers appear to have taken the RUF assault as a personal slight. Another problem is the apparently confused lines of communication between Nigeria's most senior officers: Ecomog Force Commander Major General **Timothy Shelpidi**, Sierra Leone Task Force Commander Brigadier Gen. **Ahmed Ahmadu** and the Chief of Defence Staff of the (virtually non-existent) Sierra Leone Army (SLA), Brig. Gen. **Maxwell Khobe**. Of the three, Khobe has the most hands-on experience in Sierra Leone but was overruled by the other two more senior officers.

Khobe's other problem was the loyalty of his Sierra Leonean forces. He had some 3,000 Sierra Leonean troops under his command, mainly drawn from forces which had surrendered to Ecomog after the West African force had dislodged Maj. **Johnny-Paul Koroma**'s junta in Freetown last February (AC Vol 39 Nos 3 & 4). Khobe had warned in an address in Lungi in early December that divided loyalties among the SLA troops under his command was crippling anti-RUF operations. As the problem of SLA collaboration with rebels worsened, Ecomog was forced to withdraw from strategic towns in the interior such as Makeni. There also appeared to be critical failures of intelligence and security among some of Ecomog's senior officers.

The involvement of some Nigerian officers in diamond-mining operations in the east did not just distract them from peace-keeping operations and frustrate their troops (whose pay was months in arrears) but also caused major security breaches. Several clandestine RUF militants, male and female, offered their services to the Nigerian officers in their diamond-mining operations as a means of gathering information about Ecomog troop deployments.

Just as serious were the divisions within Kabbah's government over how to combat the RUF's growing fire power for four months prior to the RUF's near capture of Freetown on 6 January, reports had been circulating among ministers warning of such an operation. But the cabinet's decision-making was paralysed by its lack of influence over Ecomog on security issues, together with its generalised distrust of local militias such as the Kamajors and Civil Defence Force. Ministers widely

West Africa according to Mr. Taylor

(2)

Among others, **Ghana**, **Nigeria**, **Sierra Leone**, **Britain** and the **United States** believe Liberian President Charles Taylor has trained and armed the brutally effective rebels of Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United Front. Nothing could be further from the truth, says Mr. Taylor at tedious length on *Radio France Internationale* and the BBC. He insists that since his landslide election victory in July 1997, he has been working tirelessly for peace, democracy and national reconciliation.

Alternative versions are circulating. Firstly, that Taylor won his election mainly because voters were intimidated by his National Patriotic Front of Liberia, amid international indifference. Secondly that his ruling circle has in fact spent the past 18 months building up an impregnable network of overlapping domestic security agencies, training and re-equipping the RUF. And thirdly that a business empire is growing up, based on smuggled Sierra Leonean diamonds, and logging companies in south-east Liberia using child labour forcibly recruited by former NPFL commanders.

(3) Taylor recently boasted to journalists that Liberia has the most effective guerrilla fighters in Africa. His 'vision' of West Africa extends beyond a Greater Liberia, which initially incorporated large and diamond-rich chunks of eastern Sierra Leone. It seems Taylor and his key ally, Burkina Faso's President Blaise Compaoré, envisage a string of military-style states from Niger through to Guinea, Guinea Bissau and Gambia. They would be led by younger, authoritarian leaders, happy to build a network of informal (often criminal) business operations, and grateful to Monrovia and Ouagadougou.

Many West African leaders find Taylor unconvincing and alarming. They are less worried by his failure to bring peace and development to Liberia than by his regional ambitions. The latest diplomatic assault started on 13 January when the US government announced it had categorical evidence of Taylor's material and logistical support for the RUF, and warned him to stop. Nigerian and European Union diplomats repeated that they had clear proof that Taylor had supplied and helped to coordinate RUF operations in Sierra Leone.

The evidence, we understand, is based on intercepts of satellite and mobile telephone conversations between Taylor's office and RUF commanders, including Sam Bockarie (alias 'Mosquito') and military coordinators close to Compaoré. Bockarie and his commanders have also been sighted cruising around Monrovia (where he has a house), protected by Liberian security. Sierra Leone's Chief of Staff, Brigadier

Maxwell Khobe (seconded from the Nigerian army), says Taylor sent some 2,000 former NPFL fighters into Freetown alongside the RUF. Even the shadowy Brigadier Brobleh, who runs a freelance guerrilla outfit called *Kuta Kuta* (Krio for 'confusion'), reckons there were at least 500 of Taylor's men in the Freetown attack. After they have wreaked vengeance on the RUF in their own country, many Sierra Leoneans demand that 'the war should be taken to Taylor.'

Taylor's envoys are hearing the message. Liberian Vice-President Enoch Dogolea arrived in Accra on 14 January to tell President Jerry Rawlings that the US and Nigerian accusations were all lies. The Ghanaian leader bluntly told him that Taylor was stabbing West Africa in the back, adding that the US evidence indicated the close involvement in the assault on Freetown not just of Taylor but of another West African leader (Compaoré) plus a North African (Libya's Moammar el Gadaffi). Rawlings ordered all Liberian refugees out of Ghana, telling Dogolea that if Taylor could afford a war against Sierra Leone, he could afford to look after his own migrants.

Rawlings, who gaoled Taylor in Accra in the mid-1980s, takes a particularly hard line. He had difficulty persuading his soldiers to join another Ecomog (West African peacekeeping force) operation but on 18 January, 500 extra Ghanaian troops were airlifted by a US troop carrier into Wilberforce Barracks in western Freetown to join the 18,000 Ecomog troops, most of them Nigerian.

Taylor had negotiated a brief rapprochement with the late General Sani Abacha and Foreign Minister Tom Ikimi. Abuja now thinks it was a huge mistake to appease Taylor, rushing through the 1997 elections and allowing him to build up a new securocracy. Some military sources favour much tougher action, perhaps stretching to military support for Taylor's growing band of opponents. Yet most believe that restarting the Liberian war, with its multiplicity of warring factions, would be worse than letting Taylor stew in his own juice.

Immediately threatened by Taylor's vision of West Africa is President Lansana Conté of Guinea, shaky after winning a rigged election. Up in Liberia's north-east, Ahmed Touré, son of Guinea's first President Ahmed Sékou Touré, is assembling and training a rebel force helped by Liberian and Burkinabé soldiers. In turn, Conté is happy to accommodate anti-Taylor forces on his eastern borders. Now that Taylor's enemies include Guinea, Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, some of his fellow Liberians may be emboldened again to turn their fire on the man who claims to be West Africa's greatest guerrilla leader.

regard the Kamajors as a vehicle for Deputy Defence Minister Sam Hinga Norman's own political ambitions and so were reluctant to boost and update their firepower.

However, the speed of the RUF advance across Freetown in the week-ending 9 January surprised everyone. Within four days, on 6-10 January, RUF forces had captured all of eastern and central Freetown and about 70 per cent of the west of the city. The operation was a replica of Operation Octopus, the 1995 invasion of Monrovia by Charles Taylor and his National Patriotic Front of Liberia. For months before, RUF forces and their mercenary allies had been infiltrating Freetown and sneaking in weaponry and supplies past the poorly run check points, easily circumventing the main Ecomog checkpoint at Kossoh town, some twelve miles from the centre on the eastern route in.

The Ecomog counter-offensive, which got under way on 7 January, was codenamed 'Death before dishonour' in a bid to stiffen the poor morale of Nigeria's troops, who lacked both enthusiasm for a dangerous mission and respect for many senior officers. Within a week, Ecomog had dislodged the RUF from most

of its strategic positions, such as State House, but were not able to forestall the rebels' scorched earth tactics. One of our correspondents counted 500 buildings burned to ashes in central Freetown: the destroyed structures include the Korean-built City Hall, the famous Central Prison at Pademba Road, the headquarters of the Criminal Investigation Department, Central Police station, Defence Ministry (close to State House) and the British-built Big Market dating back to 1878.

By 19 January, Ecomog claimed total control of Freetown, including the Queen Elizabeth docks and the Kissy suburb. And Ecomog commander Shelpiti spoke optimistically of encircling the remaining rebel enclaves on the fringes of the capital, having inflicted a devastating blow on the RUF command structure. Khobe says the RUF will be crippled by the loss of four of its most effective commanders: Brig. 'Saj' Musa, Col. Aka Atim, Col. 'Five Five' Sesay and Col. Jibril Massaquoi. He also reported substantial progress against the RUF in the diamond areas where Ecomog had regained control in Kenema, Bo and Pujehun, but conceded that half of Kono District and all of Kailahun District

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MFI-339A-B

BBC Focus on Africa clip, Kwabena Mensah, 30 December 1998

A: Clip

B: Unofficial Transcript

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OIP Unofficial Transcript

D0000550
BBC Focus on Africa
Clip from Track 2: 30/12/1998

(1)

TRACK 2

Mensah: BBC World Service at 17:05 Greenwich Mean Time. This is Kwabena Mensah with Focus on Africa.

Music plays.

TIME: 35:31

Leonard: The United Nations Security Council has condemned the upsurge of attacks by rebels in Sierra Leone. A statement adopted by the Council also called on countries supporting the rebels to stop interfering in Sierra Leone's internal affairs. It didn't name any country in particular, but correspondents say Liberia has been accused by several regional countries of backing the rebels fighting to overthrow the democratically elected government of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah. Following a series of recent advances, the rebels have said they are poised to attack the capital, Freetown, which is defended by a Nigerian-led West African intervention force.

TIME: 36:08

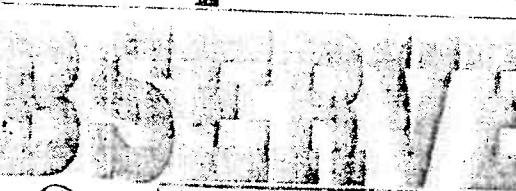
27772

MFI-340

"We Don't Want Charles Taylor Here Tomorrow", Independent Observer, Vol. 1, No. 31,
9 March 1998

27773

INDEPENDENT OBSERVER



(2)

ESTABLISHED 1989

March 9, 1998

Vol. 1 No. 31

Peace & Democracy are two sides of the same coin

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Kabbah in tomorrow's edition
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Sierra Leoneans Condemn Taylor's Coming Say...

They Didn't Want Charles Taylor Here Tomorrow'

Several distinguished African personalities and representatives from the United Nations and the Commonwealth are expected to grace the second phase of the restoration of constitutional order in Sierra Leone when president Alhaji Dr. Ahmad Tejan Kabbah will be returning home tomorrow. Among the big names Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe. The Africa's Nelson Mandela who first denounced the illegal May 25 coup of the AFRC.

Another prominent personality is the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and leader Yayah Jammeh who

Nelson Mandela also played an active role in frustrating the illegal AFRC from holding on to power.

Meanwhile, investigations conducted by the *Independent Observer* revealed that there has been wide spread criticisms over

the coming of the Liberian leader Charles Taylor who is also reported to be expected here tomorrow. These criticisms are mainly centred on Taylor's commitment and support to the illegal

AFRC junta. It could be recalled that Taylor was the only President who called for the release of the RUF leader Corporal Foday Sankoh adding that only his release would further the peace process.

Taylor also attempted to restrict the flight of all ECOMOG jets from Liberia to Sierra Leone and gave some of his fighters to beef up the security network of the junta.

AFRC, RUF Fight Each Other

Reports reaching *Independent Observer* indicate that there were heavy clashes between

soldiers of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) and their allies the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). The tone of contention

between the two factions was to surrender or not to surrender.

Independent Observer gathered that soldiers attached to the Daru Barracks, Eastern province came under heavy artillery attack from the RUF, better known as the People's Army after

RUF Leader Sankoh

suspecting that large number of the soldiers had surrendered to the West African Peace Keeping Forces (ECOMOG). The clashes were reportedly lasted for three days as the RUF embarked on their hit and run tactics. For them (RUF) the

soldiers have betrayed them by surrendering to ECOMOG. They wanted them to continue the fight against ECOMOG. Over fifty casualties were said to have occurred including some civilians who were trapped during the course of the fighting.

Independent Observer was reliably informed that local

forces of the AFRC continue to surrender in large numbers to ECOMOG forces. Meanwhile, latest reports from Kabala say that the West Africa forces are continuing to consolidate their hold on the township which they captured last Friday with little or no resistance from junta forces.

27774

MFI-341

"Liberia Blamed in Sierra Leone Conflict", by Jeff Cooper, Inter Press Service, 18 January 1999



6 of 100 DOCUMENTS

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 IPS-Inter Press Service

January 18, 1999, Monday

LENGTH: 885 words

HEADLINE: AFRICA-POLITICS: LIBERIA BLAMED IN SIERRA LEONE CONFLICT

BYLINE: By Jeff Cooper

DATELINE: ACCRA, Jan. 18

BODY:

As the fighting between the West African Peacekeeping Force (ECOMOG) and rebels continues in the Sierra Leonean capital of Freetown, neighboring states are openly pointing fingers at Liberia as the power behind the Sierra Leone rebels.

President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana has been one of the most outspoken West African leaders in blaming Liberian President Charles Taylor for the Freetown carnage that has claimed more than 2,000 lives.

Rawlings told a Liberian delegation during a recent visit to the country that it was disappointing that Liberia, which now enjoys relative peace as a result of ECOMOG's peace role in its seven years civil war that ended in 1997, was now supporting rebels against the very peacekeepers in a neighboring country.

"I am receiving you with difficulty, because we find it difficult to believe you," President Rawlings told the delegation referring to Liberia's denials that it is involved in the Sierra Leonean conflict.

"Lives are at stake and Ghana is not going to take any treachery lying down," Rawlings told Liberian Vice President Enoch Dogolea, who delivered a special message to the Ghanaian leader from Taylor on Sierra Leone.

Rawlings warned Liberia to stop supporting the rebels or risk facing the full might of the sub-region. The Ghanaian leader also claimed that Ghana has access to intelligence reports on the rebels movement from Liberia, their support, and information on the supply of sophisticated weaponry now being used against ECOMOG in Freetown.

"Liberia's support for the RUF (Revolutionary United Front) is a stab in the back of countries contributing troops to ECOMOG...I am talking as a military man who is risking the lives of his troops on the field and that gives no room for diplomatic talks," President Rawlings said.

He added that he would "not clothe his feelings in diplomatic niceties".

Ghana's Foreign Minister echoed the president's sentiments. "We cannot hide our outrage and disappointment, because we cannot have a relationship that presumes friendship and manifests in back stabbing," Foreign Minister James Victor Gbeho said.

(1)

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27776

MFI-342

Government of Sierra Leone, Political Settlement of the Crisis in Sierra Leone, 14 January
1999

2777

Government of Sierra Leone
Government of Sierra Leone
14 January 1999

①

Political settlement of the crisis in Sierra Leone
14 January 1999

②

The Government of Sierra Leone has taken note of recent statements from many sources, including governments and members of the United Nations Security Council, stressing the importance of dialogue and the need for a political rather than a military solution to the conflict in Sierra Leone.

The Government would like to assure the international community that it is still committed to a political settlement. Indeed, this is why it is actively and in good faith involved in current diplomatic efforts within the West African sub-region, by the Foreign Ministers of Cote d'Ivoire and Togo, under the auspices of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and by the Secretary-General of the United Nations through his Special Representative in Sierra Leone.

However, the Government of Sierra Leone would like to state categorically that while those diplomatic initiatives are underway, it will never abdicate its responsibility for the safety and security of the people of Sierra Leone who have been brutalized by rebels of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and the

former military junta, with the support of various breeds of the proverbial 'dogs of war'. In this context, the Government of Sierra Leone is pleased that the Security Council, albeit belatedly, and some of the major Powers, have at last decided to name names, and to identify some of these 'dogs of war', their kennels, and their objectives. We hope that the Council and other governments would muster the courage not only to expose all those who supported and continue to support the rebels, including the supply of arms, but also to take all necessary measures to put an end to their conspiracy in this systematic destruction of Sierra Leone.

③

No government, democratic or otherwise, would stand idly by while its citizens are being butchered, raped, terrorized, and while their homes and farms are being scorched. The same concern which motivates some affluent governments to evacuate their citizens from areas of conflict in foreign lands, including Sierra Leone, has compelled the Government of Sierra Leone to take appropriate action, including military, to protect its people, the majority of whom have no means of escaping the rebel onslaught or of being evacuated to other countries. In this regard, the ultimate objective of the Government is self-defence.

The offensive against the rebels and their vicious allies, is not merely a struggle to uphold the principle of democracy or to bolster the democratically elected Government of President Kabbah. It is designed to protect by all means necessary the very lives of the people of Sierra Leone, and to prevent the total destruction of Sierra Leone as a nation. While pursuing dialogue, the Government of Sierra Leone, with the assistance of ECOMOG and the Civil Defence Force (CDF), is trying to ensure that the same RUF and its allies who had launched vicious military campaigns such as one

27778

MFI-343

Letter dated 19 January 1999 From the Charge D'Affairs A.I. of the Permanent Mission of Sierra Leone to the UN addressed to the Secretary-General, S/1999/73, 25 January 1999.

27779

UNITED
NATIONS

S



Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/1999/73
25 January 1999

(1)

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 19 JANUARY 1999 FROM THE CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES A.I.
OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF SIERRA LEONE TO THE UNITED NATIONS
ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Upon instruction from my Government, I have the honour to forward herewith
a letter dated 5 January 1999 from His Excellency President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah,
concerning the current situation in Sierra Leone (see annex).

(2)

I should be grateful if the present letter and its annex would be
circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Fode M. DABOR
Ambassador/Deputy Permanent Representative
Chargé d'affaires, a.i.

27780

S/1999/73
English
Page 2

Annex

Letter dated 5 January 1999 from the President of Sierra Leone
addressed to the Secretary-General

Current security developments obliged me to revert to a matter which was the subject of my communications to you dated 13 October 1998. You may recall that, upon receipt of my letter, you strongly urged that my Government adopt a conciliatory approach in dealing with the situation. I immediately acted in accordance with your suggestion and my spokesman even made a public statement to the effect that President Charles Taylor and I were doing everything possible to ameliorate the situation.

Regrettably, it would appear that my conciliatory approach and persistent efforts to maintain friendly and cordial relations with President Charles Taylor are being interpreted by him as a sign of weakness and a lack of resolve on my part. There is a mountain of evidence that the current rebel offensive in Sierra Leone has been initiated and sustained by the Government of Liberia. I am aware that President Charles Taylor has publicly denied most categorically that his Government is involved in the rebellion in Sierra Leone. For my part, I can emphatically affirm that these denials of President Charles Taylor are not credible. We have concrete proofs that arms, personnel, logistics and moral support for the rebels emanate from the Government of Liberia with the clear intention to destabilize Sierra Leone. We know for certain of the five camps in Liberia which are used to train rebels who are then sent across the border to fuel the rebellion, commit atrocities and retard our economic development programmes.

We also know that the large number of mercenaries who are actively engaged in the current offensive entered the territory of Sierra Leone from Liberia. Our natural resources, particularly diamonds, are handed over to President Taylor by the rebels, and this is the means by which the rebellion is financed and fuelled in Sierra Leone.

My Government is gratified that the deepening involvement of the Government of Liberia in the rebel activities in my country is at the present time being fully appreciated by the wider international community.

For some time we have been warning about this, but is only now when the involvement has greatly increased, with greater and destructive damages, that alarm is being expressed by many Governments.

As you are aware, I personally have done everything humanly possible to reach an understanding with President Charles Taylor so that he can leave my country and people in peace. Your own efforts, as Secretary-General at Abuja, and those of the Reverend Jesse Jackson, the Envoy of the President of the United States of America, are glaring examples. However, we cannot allow ourselves to be swayed, by denials and unworkable proposals about border surveillance and joint patrols, from realizing the enormous dangers ahead for all of us. There is grave risk that, should my Government respond in kind to President Taylor's continued activities, the resulting escalated conflict would

/...

certainly destabilize the subregion. This is why my Government urgently expects the Security Council, through you, to take urgent action to arrest this deteriorating security situation. The Security Council has shown determination to deal firmly with the rogue States in other regions of the world. Our subregion deserves no less.

Please be informed that my Government is prepared to leave no stone unturned to avoid a cataclysmic development in our subregion. That is why my Government has responded most favourably to all initiatives aimed at a speedy resolution of the situation in Sierra Leone. The recently concluded emergency meeting of the Committee of Six of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) made further suggestions about contacts between President Charles Taylor and myself.

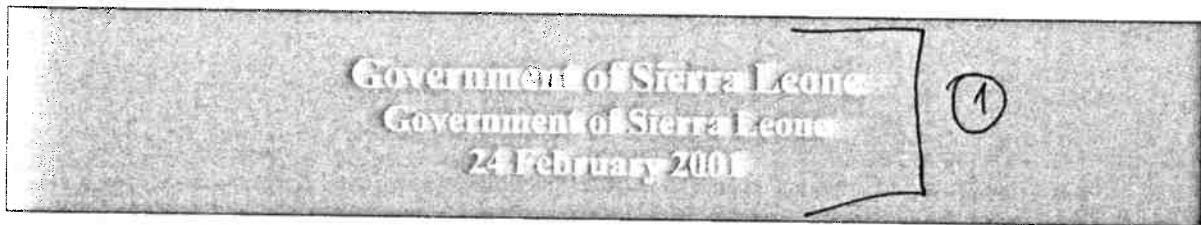
Despite my great disappointment over President Charles Taylor's behaviour, I will not hesitate to give serious consideration to suggestions emanating from the Committee of Six of the ECOWAS countries.

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27782

MFI-344

Government of Sierra Leone, Statement on UN sanctions against Liberia, 24 February 2001



GOVERNMENT OF SIERRA LEONE

Statement on UN sanctions against Liberia
24 February 2001

It is now almost a month since the United Nations Security Council discussed the report and recommendations of the UN Panel of Experts set up last year to conduct an in-depth study of the role of diamonds in fuelling the armed conflict in Sierra Leone.

Sierra Leone participated in that discussion, concurred with the findings of the Panel, and endorsed its recommendation that the Security Council impose sanctions against Liberia for actively supporting the RUF at all levels, in providing military training, weapons, logistical support, staging ground for attacks and a safe haven for RUF retreat and recuperation.

It is almost two weeks since the Council and an ECOWAS Ministerial delegation met privately in New York to consider the question of imposing a series of sanctions against Liberia. While there was overwhelming support for sanctions, ECOWAS felt that such measures should be delayed for at least two months to allow the Government of Liberia to comply with a number of commitments it had made to ECOWAS to address the problems.

The Government of Sierra Leone took note of the views expressed by both sides in the discussion, and looked forward to the Council's formal response to the ECOWAS request.

Conscious of the need to muster the widest possible support among members of the UN Security Council for the proposed sanctions, the Government of Sierra Leone was even prepared to consider a compromise. Namely, that should the Council decide to adopt a draft resolution on sanctions against Liberia immediately, but to have it take effect two months thereafter, Sierra Leone would go along with such a course of action.

However, the Government of Sierra Leone has since come to the conclusion that the basis on which ECOWAS had advocated a two-month delay in the imposition of sanctions is gradually being eroded by the Liberian Government itself. First of all, the least that the Government of Liberia could have done to strengthen the credibility of ECOWAS, and to justify the proposed two-month delay, was to have taken immediate and verifiable action within these two weeks, to fulfill some of those basic commitments that did not require technical or financial assistance from any international organization. It has failed for instance, to show proof and independent verification of the steps it claims it has taken to "disengage" itself from the RUF. It continues to harbour senior members of the RUF and their families. It continues to violate the arms embargo imposed by resolution 788 (1992); the provisions concerning the sale or supply of arms and related materiel imposed by

resolution 1171 (1998), as well as its obligations under the ECOWAS agreement on a moratorium on the importation, exportation and manufacture of small arms and light weapons in West Africa.

The Government of Liberia is also gradually eroding the credibility of ECOWAS by demonstrating a lack of understanding of the seriousness of the situation and its implications for peace and stability in the West African sub-region, including Liberia itself. (5)

Thirdly, the most disturbing aspect of the situation, is that the Liberian Government continues to demonstrate through complacency and delaying tactics, its belief that the Security Council is incapable of taking any action against that Government without the concurrence of ECOWAS. This belief is at the core of the whole question of whether or not the imposition of sanctions should be delayed.

In the view of the Government of Sierra Leone the Security Council should without further delay, take up this serious challenge to its responsibility under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Sierra Leone Government is convinced now, more than ever before, that at the end of any two-month delay in the Security Council's consideration of sanctions, Liberia plans to request the Council through ECOWAS, to allow it more time to comply with the ECOWAS commitments. It would also argue that it lacks the financial and technical resources required to comply with those commitments. (6)

While the Government of Sierra Leone is fully aware of the emerging international consensus that in imposing sanctions the Security Council should ensure, among other things, that such measures do not create unbearable humanitarian consequences for innocent people, it is of the view that this is no longer a convincing argument in terms of the scope of sanctions now under consideration for Liberia. In deciding on the nature, scope and timing of sanctions against Liberia, the Council should take into consideration the following:

All member states of ECOWAS support the imposition of sanctions against Liberia. As the current Chairman of ECOWAS, President Alpha Konaré of Mali told the Millennium Summit meeting of the Security Council, "sanctions form part of the means by which the Organization can take action. They must be adapted to their specific goals... The recent sanctions relating to the illicit exploitation of natural resources demonstrate how much more effective targeted sanctions can be." (S/PV.4194) No member of ECOWAS has argued that the proposed sanctions against Liberia would create serious humanitarian consequences for the people of Liberia. On the contrary, the people of Liberia have openly supported the adoption of sanctions resolution on their country. They cite the fact that only a handful of people who had been identified in the UN Expert Panel's report, and who benefit directly from privileges, would have their privileges suspended if sanctions were imposed on Liberia. (7)

Inaction by the Security Council against Liberia has in effect not only contributed to the prolongation of the conflict, but has exacerbated the humanitarian crisis that has overwhelmed the people in Sierra Leone for almost ten years.

The gravity of the crisis and its impact on neighbouring countries, particularly Guinea, are on the records of UNICEF, UNHCR, OCHA and other international organizations and agencies. As the representative of Mauritius vividly described it, when one reads the report of the UN Panel of

27785

MFI-345

Letter dated 28 November 2002 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia addressed to the president of the Security Council, S/2002/1304, 29 November 2002

27786

United Nations

S/2002/1304 (1)



Security Council

Distr.: General

29 November 2002 (2)

Original: English

**Letter dated 28 November 2002 from the Chairman of the
Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution
1343 (2001) concerning Liberia addressed to the President of
the Security Council**

On behalf of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a letter dated 25 November 2002 from the Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations.

I would appreciate it if this letter were issued as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Kishore **Mahbubani**
Chairman
Security Council Committee established pursuant
to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia (3)

02-71594 (E) 021202

O271594

Annex**Letter dated 25 November 2002 from the Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations addressed to the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia**

Upon instructions from my Government, I have the honour to transmit a letter dated 22 November 2002 addressed to you as Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) from Solomon Berewa, Vice-President of the Republic of Sierra Leone.

I should be grateful if the present letter and its enclosure could be issued as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ibrahim M. Kamara
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

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Enclosure

(5)

Please refer to our letter of 31 October 2002 in which the Permanent Representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations informed you, inter alia, that the Government of Sierra Leone was preparing its definitive official comments on the report of the Panel of Counsel on Liberia (S/2002/1115, annex).

The Government of Sierra Leone has taken note of the report and wishes to make the following observations on those parts that relate directly to the situation in Sierra Leone, and in particular to its continuing effort to consolidate the peace and establish a measure of justice and national reconciliation.

As far as Sierra Leone is concerned, the Liberian Government has offered no credible and convincing evidence that it has taken action, including legislative action, to expel all Revolutionary United Front (RUF) members and prohibit all RUF activities on its territory, as demanded by the Security Council in paragraph 2 (a) of its resolution 1343 (2001). It will be recalled that Sierra Leone, for its part, had taken the necessary legislative action to effect the transformation of RUF into a political party, namely, the Revolutionary United Front Party (RUFP). RUFP contested the recent parliamentary and presidential elections.

The symbolic declaration of the end of the rebel war in Sierra Leone and the completion of the so-called metamorphosis of RUF into a political party now known as the RUFP do not automatically render paragraph 2, subparagraphs (a) to (d), of resolution 1343 (2001) redundant.

A clear distinction should be made between RUFP in Sierra Leone and those armed members of RUF who refused to participate in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process — and who chose to settle outside the country, especially in Liberia. The existence of these hard-core remnants of RUF, especially in Liberia, has been and remains a matter of serious concern for the Government of Sierra Leone.

In this connection, the Government of Sierra Leone notes with deep concern the Panel's observations that:

- Reports still persist that hundreds of RUF members form the core of some of the offensive units on the side of the Government of Liberia;
- The hard-core elements of RUF had been integrated into the Anti-Terrorist Unit in Liberia, and the Unit's continued loyalty to Sam Bockarie is the latter's guarantee to continued Liberian patronage;
- RUF strength in Liberia is estimated at between 1,250 and 1,500 men, who represent the last coherent surviving structure of the armed RUF, are maintained by the Liberian Government and continue to play an important part in Liberia's military capability;
- Citizens and diplomats in Monrovia still regard the area where the Panel met Sam Bockarie's wife as an RUF stronghold and are frightened to go there.

The Panel reports that Sam Bockarie is thought not to be staying in Liberia and that his wife claims she had not seen him for at least six months. This in no way implies that the Government of Liberia has expelled Sam Bockarie from Liberia or that he no longer has any direct links, including military and financial ones, with the

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remnants of RUF presently in Liberia and with the Government Liberia. Furthermore, lack of information on his whereabouts does not imply that Sam Bockarie no longer enjoys the patronage of the Liberian Government.

(8)

In this connection, the Government of Sierra Leone notes that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Liberia was, until recently, reluctant to allow the Panel to talk to Mrs. Bockarie. The Sierra Leone Government also notes that one of the sources of the Panel's observation is a key former member of RUF, someone who among other things, is known to have been an RUF commander of operations; a signatory, on behalf of RUF, to documents negotiated with international organizations; and a known active participant in transactions involving rough diamonds from Sierra Leone, which were used to fuel the rebel war.

On the issue of diamonds, the Panel has not made any specific comment concerning implementation of paragraph 2 (c) of resolution 1343 (2001). However, the Government of Sierra Leone believes that until the introduction of a credible certificate of origin scheme for Liberia, a scheme that is compatible with the Kimberly Process, it would be very difficult to determine whether in fact the Government of Liberia has complied with the Security Council's demand that it cease "all direct or indirect import of Sierra Leone rough diamonds which are not controlled through the Certificate of Origin regime of the Government of Sierra Leone ..."

The Government of Sierra Leone is disturbed by the findings of the Panel concerning violations of the arms embargo provisions of resolution 1343 (2001). This, together with the continued presence in Liberia of the "last coherent surviving structure of the armed RUF" fighters, should **not** under any circumstances be taken lightly.

It is relevant to draw the attention of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) that for over three years in the course of vicious rebel attacks, the Government of Sierra Leone met its obligations under Security Council resolution 1171 (1998). The Government still continues to scrupulously implement the measures imposed by the resolution relating to transparency in arms imports.

Finally, the Government of Sierra Leone recalls recent developments in the Mano River Union subregion, including the effort of President Kabbah, to facilitate confidence-building measures for peace and stability in the subregion. These developments notwithstanding, the Government of Sierra Leone strongly urges the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) and the Security Council to take the above concerns into consideration in deciding on the next step towards fulfilment of the objectives of subparagraph (a) to (d) of paragraph 2 of the resolution. As the Panel itself observes, the demands contained in those subparagraphs were intended to lead to *the consolidation of the peace process in Sierra Leone* (emphasis added) and to further progress in the peace process in the Mano River Union.

(Signed) Solomon E. Berewa
Vice-President

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MFI-346

A Statement by His Excellency The President, Alhaji Dr. Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, Made before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 5 August 2003 (Pages 1, 2 & 4)

Exhibit 066

(1)

**A STATEMENT BY
HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT ALHAJI DR. AHMAD TEJAN KABBAH
MADE BEFORE THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION
ON TUESDAY 5TH AUGUST, 2003**

Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission, I am delighted to have been invited to make a statement at these public hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, particularly on the theme "Promoting Reconciliation and National Reintegration". In dealing with this theme, I take the view that it will be useful if I put within its proper historical perspective the situation prevailing in Sierra Leone, which makes the promotion of reconciliation and national reintegration an active and necessary element of State Policy.

INTRODUCTION

1. The peace achieved at the end of the eleven years of war in this country can be sustained only if there is reconciliation among the people and if national reintegration is actively and successfully pursued. Thus reconciliation and national reintegration are necessary ingredients in the peace building process which we need to embark upon in order to avoid the recurrence of war. Therefore to promote reconciliation and national reintegration we need to understand what were the root causes of the war itself and how those root causes are to be eradicated for good. It is for this reason that I have deemed it necessary to take the Commission back to an appropriate point in the history of this country to narrate the events and elements which, in my view cumulatively gave rise to the war. It is also important to narrate the role played by some of the actors in that war, and how they subscribed to the causes of the war or to the war itself. I will proffer no justification or explanation here for the conduct of any of the actors because there is no justification that can be found for their conduct. My concern here is merely to state the facts that occurred as a matter of history and the role my Government has played and continues to play not only to ensure that peace returns to the country but also to put in place measures to prevent another war, promote reconciliation and national reintegration.
2. Sierra Leone became independent from Britain on the 27th April, 1961. At that time and for some years thereafter good governance and the rule of law prevailed. Multi-party Government and democracy were the two systems bequeathed to this country. Both systems were valued and held in high esteem by the population until the advent of the APC Government in 1968. That Government from its inception systematically dismantled those two systems up to a point that not even a shadow of them remained. Thus for a period covering nearly three decades what prevailed in Sierra Leone was a one-party totalitarian form of Government starting as a de facto one party government in 1968 until it was formalized by the One Party Constitution of 1978 which remained in force up to 1991. The consequence was the disenchantment of the population with the state and the organs of government, the pervasiveness of bad governance and the total lack of accountability by public officers. Such public officers by and large held office by virtue of their membership of the only recognized party (the APC) or as a favour from that party which they regarded as their duty to serve if they were to retain their positions. The party in this situation became preoccupied with its own survival and for this reason it would not tolerate any dissent or opposition which it crushed by brutal force. What follows now will give details of what I regard as factors which cumulatively gave rise to the war.
3. Multi-Party political system continued to be practiced in Sierra Leone for some years even after Independence in 1961. After the controversial election of 1967 and the intervening one-year of military rule in 1967/68, the All People's Congress (APC) Party took over the Government from the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) in 1968. By diverse and often questionable constitutional

amendments, Sierra Leone was transformed from a monarchical democratic system of Government to a Republic in 1971, with a Ceremonial President, which, within less than 24 hours, was again changed to an Executive Presidential Government. By various electoral manipulations at bye-elections following successful election petitions filed by the A.P.C. Party against the SLPP and other devices such as the use of thugs and the rigging of those bye elections. From 1968 Sierra Leone as already mentioned became a de facto One Party State. By formalizing the one-party system in the 1978 Constitution the APC Party became the sole political party. The membership of that Party then became a necessary pre-condition for the participation by any person in the political life and indeed in the governance of this country. This was the situation that prevailed up to 1991 when the Government was obliged reluctantly to yield to popular outcry for the return to political pluralism. This resulted in the promulgation of the 1991 Constitution. A number of political parties including the SLPP and the People's Democratic Party (PDP) were registered in that year in readiness for the elections, which were to be held in 1992.

4. It needs to be mentioned here that sometime in 1966, Sir Albert Margai who had succeeded Sir Milton Margai as Prime Minister and leader of the SLPP, in 1964 proposed the introduction of a one party system of government. Because of the opposition received from all and sundry especially from the A.P.C. Party to any change from the multi-party democratic system of government, Sir Albert dropped the idea of a one party system and nothing was heard about it again until in 1978 when that system was formally introduced by the APC Government. By the promulgation of a ~~new~~ multi-party Constitution in 1991 the APC Party was merely grudgingly making good what it had formally deprived the country of for close to two decades.

THE A.P.C. PARTY'S ATTITUDE TO THE 1991 CONSTITUTION AND ITS DESIRE TO RETAIN ITS GRIP ON POWER AT ALL COSTS

5. The restoration of the 1991 multi-party Constitution resulted in the registration of a number of political parties, and with this the A.P.C. Party, which had been in office since 1968 felt its position threatened. A number of its previous supporters had reverted to the SLPP to which they originally belonged or had joined the PDP. So much for the state of affairs up to and immediately after 1991.

6. The rebel war in neighbouring Liberia had commenced in 1989 with the express objective of removing President Samuel Doe from office in that country. Charles Taylor, the current President of Liberia had come to Sierra Leone with the view of using this country as a springboard for staging a rebellion against Doe. The APC first received him and even encouraged him to do so. This initial encouragement for Charles Taylor, we are told, was as a result of some financial consideration paid by him to the higher echelons of the APC regime. The APC Government then failed to keep to its own part of the bargain. It had a change of heart and had Charles Taylor arrested, incarcerated at the Pademba Road Prisons for a while and then expelled from the country. This conduct by the APC regime is a factor that might have provoked the hostility of Charles Taylor and his active participation in the rebel war in Sierra Leone. He is known to have organized and sponsored the initial invasion into Sierra Leone by arming and directing the invaders and his support for them remained active all throughout the rebel war.

7. There is no attempt here to justify the attitude of Charles Taylor and the stance he took against the people of this country. But a salutary lesson can be learnt from the relationship that was forged between the APC Government then and this man and the transaction or deal that is imputed to have transpired between the two. That lesson is that matters of State should be embarked upon with greater caution and circumspection and the receipt of personal gain should never determine how important matters of State should be decided. It would have been quite proper for the then APC Government to have declined to allow Charles Taylor the use of Sierra Leone territory for hostile

Speaker EE:

APC is at a crucial point since we are not accountable to anybody now. Let us use the war front funds and national funds to persuade Honourable Members to vote in favour of counter motion as Honourable Sankoh is going to withdraw his private motion. We cannot afford to lose any steps now..."

10. I have decided here not to disclose the identity and names of those present at that meeting and the speakers because a number of them are now chastened and are currently engaged in activities beneficial to the governance of this country. No useful purpose will be served by disclosing their identity as this will only cause them embarrassment and the withdrawal by them of their services. But if the Commission is desirous to know the identity of these persons, I am prepared to disclose their names in confidence.

11. I have attempted here to give the Commission an idea of the state of affairs which prevailed in the body politic of this country in the run-up to the proposed elections of 1992, which was aborted by the NPPC coup d'etat of that year. This gives an idea of the level to which the APC Party was prepared to go to satisfy its greed for power and to do so even if it meant endangering the security of this nation by plunging it into a war not as a defensive measure but for the purpose of retaining power. It also gives a glimpse of the frame of mind and attitude of the ruling A.P.C. Government not only towards the proposed democratic elections, but more so and naturally towards the junta which ousted them, and towards my Government which succeeded them after the elections of 1996. In other words, my success at the elections of that year was not a matter the A.P.C. Party was willing to accept lightly. From the foregoing it is therefore reasonable to infer that the defeated A.P.C. Party was even prepared to be involved in machinations to cause problems for my government even if this meant creating further chaos in the country. This in fact turned out to be the case. Hence, the obvious hostility shown by that Party to my Government and the refusal of its leadership to accept my invitation to participate in the broad based national government, which I formed after the 1996 elections.

12. I have given this account not with any intention of casting aspersions on the A.P.C. Party, but merely to describe the political situation in this country at the time I became President, and the course of events that followed thereafter some of whose repercussions are still haunting us. To achieve national reconciliation we need to take due cognisance of these events and to prevent their recurring so that the appropriate atmosphere can exist for national reconciliation.

THE SECURITY SITUATION PREVAILING IN SIERRA LEONE BEFORE MY ELECTION AS PRESIDENT

13. The account following will give the Commission and idea of the prevailing precarious security position in the country at the time I first assumed office as President.

- a. Before I became President in March 1996, the RUF had already entrenched themselves in the war for close to five years both in combat and in their international contacts. They then continued to have active support principally from Liberia, Burkina Faso, and had haven in Ivory Coast.
- b. The Sierra Leone Military Forces were then unwilling and/or Unable to confront and engage the RUF in combat. On the contrary, there was clear evidence that their loyalty had been compromised to the extent that the civilian population had lost confidence in them, and because of their perceived collaboration with the rebels, they were nicknamed "sobels". This

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MFI-347

News article, "Kabbah – It's Difficult to Forgive Charles Taylor", All Africa.com, 9 August 2009

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THISDAY

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Sierra Leone: Kabbah - It's Difficult to Forgive Charles Taylor

Nseobong Okon-Ekong

9 August 2009

Lagos — Former President of Sierra Leone, Alhaji Teejan Kabbah, yesterday said forgiving former Liberian leader, Mr. Charles Taylor, over his "atrocities" against the people of Sierra-Leone, was a difficult thing for him to do.

Kabbah, a two-term leader of Sierra Leone, was President of the diamond-rich country when Taylor, then President of the neighbouring Liberia, was alleged to be sponsoring a guerilla group, Revolutionary United Front (RUF) that fought Kabbah's government from all fronts all through most of his tenure.

Taylor is currently being tried by the United Nations International Tribunal for War Crimes for allegedly sponsoring war and criminal activities in Sierra Leone.

Kabbah, who was in Nigeria at the weekend for the fifth edition of the Nigeria Telecommunications Awards, told THISDAY that it would be difficult for him to forgive Taylor if he continues to be unrepentant as he exhibited in recent interviews.

Speaking further at the Oriental Hotel in Lekki-Lagos, Kabbah said, "It is difficult to ask if I can forgive Charles Taylor because I spoke to him many times. I said what is going on in your name and with your knowledge and connivance is bad, not only for Sierra Leone but for West Africa and African children. I spoke to him, then, I followed that up with a letter. I sent my vice-president with a letter to him, pleading with him along those lines."

Narrating how he engaged the empathy of other African leaders to prevail on Taylor to desist from his alleged plundering of Sierra Leone, Kabbah recalled: "In fact, there was a meeting with the African Union in Accra and all the others (presidents) were there - all the leaders - yes, all the West African presidents were there but then we had Thabo Mbeki with us, somebody from outside the region. I tried hard. I spoke to him, I asked people to prevail on him."

According to Kabbah, trying to extract a promise from Taylor was very frustrating. "He would say this to me and he would be doing something else without my knowing. I will phone him. We got to the stage where I think we had to go to court on this. Well myself, I decided that perhaps it will be a good idea for us to have the special court in Sierra Leone so that if people see and know that even if a president does something which is not right there is some facility for the president to be questioned about that and for him to explain his own side of the story and that's how we went about setting up that court."

Kabbah, who was in the company of his wife, also said nemesis has caught up with Taylor. "It is so interesting when I remember all these things in retrospect. We were attending a meeting - ECOWAS meeting in Ghana and that morning, there was an agreement by my government and the UN that we would not interfere in the running of the special court. They didn't tell me that they were going to make him to appear in court and so on; but when I got to Ghana, I was told that this had happened and that they were going to try and see how best they could accelerate the process."

Stating that the harrowing experience of war that his country went through can be traced to Taylor, the former Sierra Leonean President revealed his last ditch effort to make Taylor stop the war. "I, in the presence of the other presidents, spoke to Charles (Taylor). I said try and do something to end this thing (war) and finish it up. That's how it happened ... How my people suffered, whatever problems we may be having still is borne through Taylor's machination and his supporters; so to ask me if I can forgive him, yes, we should try to forgive each other. I will forgive you if you have been giving me the opportunity to stop doing criminal act, committing criminal act or killing and getting involved in killing of people and I spoke to you and you said yes I made a mistake. I will not do this type of thing again, but Taylor never said that, you can hear his voice on radio during interviews. He still talks authoritatively, without showing any remorse. So asking me whether I will forgive him, I think I have to think about that."

Explaining why he honoured the invitation to the fifth anniversary of the Nigeria Telecoms Awards, Kabbah said, "I have brothers here doing what I consider to be a fantastic job, not only for Nigeria but the rest of Africa, particularly, West Africa and they asked me and I felt it was my duty to heed call. I am convinced that what they are doing is the best thing for Africa."

"I tell you why, many years ago before independence, you wanted to phone somebody in Guinea which is just next door to us you had to go from Freetown, you phone to London and from London they put you unto Paris and from Paris before you get back again to Guinea. Now you can see the type of inconvenience our people went through. In those days, telecommunications was a difficult thing."

He related a personal example of the difficulties: "when my father died, I was in England, I had gone there on some mission and they kept on trying to get me from one place to the other. It was so difficult. Now it was because of this difficulty that's why a lot of pressure was put on the international telecommunication system that this was too much. We must be in a position where African countries can communicate with each other. I think that's the way it started and Nigeria has perfected it. I hope the whole of Africa will benefit from this."

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UN Security Council, Statement by the President of the Security Council, S/PRST/1999/1,
7 January 1999.

27797

**UNITED
NATIONS**

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Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

S/PRST/1999/1
7 January 1999

(1)

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

At the 3963rd meeting of the Security Council, held on 7 January 1999 in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Sierra Leone", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council expresses its grave concern at the attacks by armed rebels of the former junta and Revolutionary United Front in the capital of Sierra Leone, and at the resulting suffering and loss of life. It condemns the unacceptable attempt by the rebels to overthrow by violence the democratically-elected government of Sierra Leone. The Council also condemns the rebels' continued campaign to terrorize the population of Sierra Leone and especially the atrocities committed against women and children. The Council demands that the rebels lay down their arms immediately and cease all violence. The Council reiterates once more its firm support for the legitimate and democratically-elected government of President Kabbah.

"The Security Council strongly condemns all those who have afforded support, including through the supply of arms and mercenaries, to the rebels in Sierra Leone. In this context, it expresses its grave concern at reports that such support to the rebels is being afforded in particular from the territory of Liberia. It reaffirms the obligation on all Member States to comply strictly with existing arms embargoes. In that context, the Security Council urges the Committee created pursuant to resolution 985 (1995) and the Committee created pursuant to resolution 1132 (1997) to pursue active measures to investigate violations of the embargoes and to report to the Council, with recommendations as appropriate.

"The Security Council stresses the importance of dialogue and national reconciliation for the restoration of lasting peace and stability to Sierra Leone. The Council welcomes the efforts to resolve the conflict being undertaken by the Government of President Kabbah, and further endorses the approach set out in the final communiqué of the meeting in Abidjan of the Committee of Six on Sierra Leone of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) of 28 December 1998 (S/1998/1236). It welcomes the offers made by leaders in the region aimed at resolving the conflict and in that context urges them, including the ECOWAS Committee of Six, to facilitate

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MFI-349

Security Council Report of the Security Council mission to Sierra Leone, S/2000/992, 16 October 2000

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S/2000/992

(1)

United Nations



Security Council

Distr.: General
16 October 2000

Original: English

Report of the Security Council mission to Sierra Leone

I. Introduction

1. By his letter dated 20 September 2000 (S/2000/886), the President of the Security Council informed the Secretary-General that the Council had decided to send a mission to Sierra Leone from 7 to 14 October. The terms of reference of the mission are annexed to that letter.
2. Following consultations among the members of the Security Council, it was decided that the composition of the mission would be as follows:

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock, head of mission)

Bangladesh (Ambassador Anwarul Karim Chowdhury, Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1132 (1997) concerning Sierra Leone)

Canada (Ambassador Paul Heinbecker)

China (Ambassador Wang Yingfan)

France (Ambassador Yves Doutriaux)

Jamaica (Ambassador Patricia Durrant)

Mali (Ambassador Moctar Ouane)

Netherlands (Ambassador Peter van Walsum)

Russian Federation (Ambassador Andrei Granovsky)

Ukraine (Ambassador Volodymyr Yel'chenko)

United States of America (Ambassador James B. Cunningham)

II. Activities of the mission

3. Prior to the departure of the mission, the Security Council met informally with United Nations agencies, non-governmental organizations and representatives of Member States contributing military or civilian police personnel to the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL). The purpose of these meetings was to hear a broad range of views on the situation in Sierra Leone and in the subregion.

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S/2000/992

Members of the Council also received briefings on the military and security situation in Sierra Leone as well as on the programme for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees wrote letters to the mission before departure.

4. The mission left New York on 7 October and visited Guinea (8, 9 and 12 October), Sierra Leone (9-12 October), Mali (12 and 13 October), Nigeria (13 and 14 October) and Liberia (14 October). The Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Oluyemi Adeniji, met the mission members at Conakry and travelled with them to all points except Monrovia. In Guinea, the mission met with President Lansana Conté and members of the Guinean cabinet. The mission also met with members of the diplomatic community in Guinea and received a briefing from the representative of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

5. In Sierra Leone, the mission held extensive discussions with the Special Representative and senior civilian and military personnel in UNAMSIL. Members of the mission visited various locations where UNAMSIL is deployed — Lungi, Port Loko, Rogberi Junction, Masiaka, Mile 91, Kenema and Daru as well as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration facilities and camps for internally displaced persons and child combatants. The mission held meetings with President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah and senior government officials, with members of the Commission for the Consolidation of Peace, and with representatives of political parties, civil society, United Nations agencies, international non-governmental organizations and members of the diplomatic community.

6. In Mali, the mission held discussions with President Alpha Oumar Konaré, current Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and with senior representatives of ECOWAS countries. In Nigeria, the mission met with President Olusegun Obasanjo and senior members of his Government, with the Minister of Defence and senior defence personnel, as well as with the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, Lansana Kouyaté and representatives of ECOWAS. Finally, the mission met in Monrovia with President Charles Taylor and received a briefing from the Representative of the Secretary-General in Liberia, Felix Downes-Thomas.

III. Findings of the mission

United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone

7. In accordance with its terms of reference, the mission spent much of its time with UNAMSIL discussing the ways to ensure the full application of the Security Council resolutions on Sierra Leone and the implementation of the measures taken by the Secretary-General to enhance the effectiveness of UNAMSIL. In this regard, the mission found that UNAMSIL had begun to make marked progress after the setbacks and pressures caused by the attacks by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) against peacekeepers and renewed fighting in May.

8. In the field the mission was impressed by the military professionalism and dedication of the peacekeepers on the ground. The mission was particularly impressed by the excellent work done by UNAMSIL battalions, often using their

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S/2000/992

Regional dimensions of the crisis

33. From the outset of the mission, when the members were briefed by the diplomatic community and United Nations agencies in Conakry, it became clear that the impact of the conflict in Sierra Leone on the situation in the region was increasing alarmingly. The mission heard from the Presidents whom they met the unanimous message that they were deeply disturbed by the deterioration and were keenly aware of the risks posed by a further spillover of the conflict in Sierra Leone, in particular to Guinea. In their meetings with the mission, the President and Government of Guinea showed deep concern about the attacks from Liberia and Sierra Leone, which had led to the deaths of hundreds of Guineans. In the view of President Conté, echoed subsequently by President Obasanjo, the destabilization of the subregion was being caused by Liberia, with the complicity of others in the region. He denied that Guinea had ever supported Liberian dissidents and he requested that the international community take steps to dissuade President Taylor from this course of action. In his view, there should be no negotiations with the rebels; the best approach would be to defeat them militarily.

(3)

34. President Conté welcomed the decision in principle of ECOWAS to deploy troops on his borders, but noted that resource constraints would hamper the implementation of that decision. Guinea therefore suggested that the United Nations assist in their deployment. The establishment of a buffer zone would be an alternative. When asked which role the Mano River Union could play in the conflict, the President answered that it was of little value when two of its member States were in conflict with the third.

35. President Obasanjo suggested that bilateral assistance in providing security along the borders could come from Nigeria and Mali, which would require support from the United Nations. ECOWAS was considering placing observers on the border, as well as a maritime contingent. This could perhaps also be done by the United Nations. He had counselled President Conté to give priority to internal reconciliation. It was vital for the international community to support Guinea since a breakdown in that country would have disastrous results.

36. Within Guinea, the recent statements issued by the Government had generated negative sentiments towards Sierra Leonean and Liberian refugees in the country, the majority of whom had been absorbed without difficulty into Guinean society. The presence of refugees within its borders and the potential influx of additional refugees in the future was clearly putting a heavy strain on the scarce resources available for humanitarian assistance. UNHCR supported the relocation of refugees away from the border, at the request of the Government of Guinea, which would require resources as well as a favourable political environment in Guinea. In spite of these pressures, President Conté assured the mission that he would do his best to provide protection and security for refugees and humanitarian workers.

37. The Government of Sierra Leone, for its part, was deeply concerned that the conflict was now destabilizing the subregion, with serious humanitarian as well as political and economic consequences. They asked for outside assistance to cope with the movements of refugees and internally displaced persons. They also asked for Security Council assistance in strengthening the Mano River Union and its institutions in order to enhance its cohesiveness and the security of its member States.

27802

MFI-350

Full text of the statement issued by the Federal Government of Nigeria on the situation in Sierra Leone as printed in The News, Monrovia, Liberia, 19 January 1999

27803

JANUARY 1999 MONROVIA, LIBERIA

EMBASSY OF NIGERIA

MONROVIA, LIBERIA

STATEMENT ON THE SITUATION IN SIERRA LEONE

Full text of the statement issued by the Federal Government of Nigeria on the situation in Sierra Leone.

The Federal Government views with serious concern the military and security situation in Sierra Leone, following the renewed rebel activities in the country-side and their infiltration of Freetown, on 5 January, 1999. This development is a serious setback to the peace and stability of the country, after the restoration of constitutional order in March 1998. The present situation has also adversely affected the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country. More importantly, it has undermined the process of national healing and reconciliation.

Government recalls that its commitment to the objectives of ECOWAS, the OAU and the United Nations on Sierra Leone had propelled Nigeria, in concert with like-minded countries in the sub-region, especially, Ghana and Guinea, to contribute troops to ECOMOG operations in that country. The present precarious situation must, therefore, not be allowed to persist in view of its adverse implications for the peace and stability of our sub-region.

It is regrettable that the rebels, in their misadventure, are receiving active support from a number of countries, some of which are members of ECOWAS and the OAU. The actions and policies of these countries not only subvert the principles and collective decisions of our organizations, but also jeopardize bilateral relations among states. In this regard, Government views with grave concern the nefarious role being played by Liberia and some other countries in and outside the sub-region, in Sierra Leone. It cannot be business as usual' with countries which provide the bullets that kill and maim our sons and daughters.

Sierra Leone is at the cross-roads. The efforts of all countries, both within and outside our sub-region, should be aimed at halting the atrocities of the rebels, stabilizing the military situation and addressing the serious humanitarian problems facing the country. Such efforts should help to create the conducive environment for the Government of Sierra Leone to pursue, with renewed vigour, the process of reconciliation.

Any sub-regional or other initiatives that genuinely aim at facilitating this reconciliation or promoting dialogue must necessarily take into serious cognisance the pivotal role of the three ECOMOG troop-contributing countries, including Nigeria, in Sierra Leone.

The situation in Sierra Leone is the problem of the international community. The Federal Government, therefore, urges the international community not to relent in its support for the country. The people of Sierra Leone are in dire need of urgent humanitarian and other assistance, following the wanton destruction which the rebels have wreaked on their country. Recognising that such assistance can only be meaningful in an atmosphere of security and stability, it is equally important that the international community should provide adequate support to ECOMOG to enable it complete its task early, effectively and definitively.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
NIGERIA.



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BBC News, World: Africa Commonwealth Supports Ceasefire, 8 January 1999

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Friday, January 8, 1999 Published at 12:38 GMT

World: Africa

Commonwealth supports ceasefire



Anyaoku: Nigeria should not have to shoulder so much of Ecomog burden

The Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, says he has met representatives of the rebels in Sierra Leone and encouraged them to support the ceasefire.

Emeka Anyaoku:

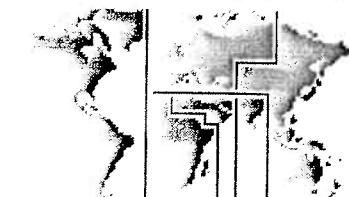
"Mounting evidence Liberia supports rebels"

In an interview with the BBC, Mr Anyaoku also urged the international community to throw its weight both behind the ceasefire and behind efforts to shore up Sierra Leone's embattled democratic government.

"Yesterday the representatives of the rebel group came to my office, had a discussion with us, and we are now encouraging them to support this ceasefire."

"And I hope the international community will come in support of that, as well as in support of shoring up democracy in Sierra Leone," he said.

The secretary-general said that up to now the burden of supporting the Freetown government had fallen too



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African Media Watch

Liberia names new army
chief



heavily on Nigeria, which has provided most of troops for the Ecomog peacekeeping force.

"The international community should do more to support peacekeeping efforts," he said.

Pressure on Liberia

Chief Anyaoku: "Mounting evidence that Liberia is supporting the rebels"

supporting the rebels.

Mr Anyaoku also called for international pressure to be put on Liberia to cease

(5)

"There is mounting evidence that Liberia has been supporting the rebel group," the Commonwealth leader said.

Asked whether the rebels should play a role in the government of Sierra Leone in terms of a possible peace settlement, Mr Anyaoku said "that is a matter for the democratically elected government of Sierra Leone to decide".

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BBC

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MFI-352

“Ex-Leader Stole \$100 Million from Liberia, Records Show,” The New York Times, 18 September 2003

The New York Times

Ex-Leader Stole \$100 Million From Liberia, Records Show

By DAVID WILDER

Associated Press Writer - Special to The Times

Charles Taylor, for six years the warlord president of Liberia, stole or diverted nearly \$100 million of his country's wealth, leaving it the poorest nation on earth, according to a close review of government records, an investigation by United Nations experts and interviews with senior Liberian officials.

Mr. Taylor stole government money to buy houses, cars and sexual partners, senior members of his government said. He illegally diverted many millions in government revenues to buy weapons in defiance of an international arms embargo, fueling a futile civil war, United Nations investigators say.

Mr. Taylor started his presidency "just ripping stuff off," said William Milam, United States ambassador here from 1995 to 1998. He ended it much the same way.

"You can safely say it was tens of millions," Alex Vines, who served on a United Nations panel of experts trying to enforce the arms embargo against Liberia. The embargo "failed miserably, with devastating human consequences," Mr. Vines said. But the United Nations investigators, who began tracing the missing millions two years ago, starting documenting that failure by following the money.

The total of close to \$100 million is an estimate of stolen and diverted government funds, excluding graft from private enterprise, since 1999. The sum far exceeds the amount of aid expected to flow to this ruined land in the next year or two. Much of the money came from a shipping network, set up by the United States at the dawn of the cold war to protect American military and economic interests, that Mr. Taylor took control of in 1999, interviews and government documents showed.

Mr. Taylor fled to exile in Calabar, Nigeria, on Aug. 11. Attempts to reach him there were futile.

But his flight allowed former senior members of his government to speak freely with a reporter, detailing what United Nations investigators also described. These interviews included talks with Mr. Taylor's finance ministers and the governor of Liberia's Central Bank, as well as with Western diplomats, American officials, and Monrovia bankers, shippers and civil servants.

The New York Times

toward the end of Mr. Taylor's tenure, total government revenues fell to \$500,000 a month.

"I know for a fact that not all those revenues have arrived here," said Mr. Saleeby, who worked at the World Bank for 16 years. Interviews and revenue figures produce an estimate of between \$20 million and \$30 million missing over the past two years.

Liberia's missing millions provide a pointed lesson, Mr. Vines said: if world powers want to stop the flow of arms to rogue states, they might start by deploying an army of accountants.

When he left Liberia on Aug. 11, Mr. Taylor was carrying \$3 million donated by the government of Taiwan to disarm and demobilize his private militias. This last theft brings the estimate of stolen and diverted public funds for the last four years of his presidency to \$90 million to \$100 million.

Almost nothing is left to steal. According to United States officials, Liberia is now the poorest nation on earth.

Though in exile, Mr. Taylor is in daily telephone contact with his allies in Monrovia.

Recently, Cyril Allen, chairman of Mr. Taylor's National Patriotic Party, sat on his balcony, overlooking his swimming pool and tennis court, next to his living room, decorated with leopard skins and a portrait of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, the Libyan leader.

He said Mr. Taylor would make out fine.

"Charles Taylor has good friends who will give him four or five million dollars, good friends like Colonel Qaddafi," Mr. Allen said. "He's living in style in Calaba. His state of mind is all right" -- with one exception.

"He likes power," Mr. Allen said. "He's missing it."

Correction: November 21, 2003, Friday An article on Nov. 10 about a \$2 million reward offered by the United States for the capture of Charles G. Taylor, the former president of Liberia, misspelled the name of the Nigerian city where he moved after resigning on Aug. 11. (The error also appeared in an article on Sept. 18 about the way Mr. Taylor enriched himself.) The city is Calabar, not Calaba.

MFI-353

“Human Rights C’ssion’s Existence Questioned, Cllr. Korkpor Addresses JPC W’shop”,
The Inquirer, Vol. 8, No. 66, 28 April 1999

es

at the fighting was MP Commander commanding General on the motorola dissident group had a through PHP fence, and that I my men," he

told the board ent with the idents at the that upon arrival at the embattled eavy weapons and ich the enemies withstand, the the residence of three where they Roosevelt Johnson at he recognized issidents, Major r.

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and eight other en charged with their alleged i the September lonrovia battle in dents loyal to D.

When the police was contacted, the Assistant Director for Press

the presence of three other soldiers and his newly-wedded wife, then added, "even if it has to do with my private life, I am still not supposed to talk to the press except the Chief of Staff or Philipbert Brown gives me the authority to do

attending a meeting.

Recently, it was reported in the media that former Health & Social Welfare Minister Fineboy Dakinah, was also sued for bigamy and he indicated that he will not compromise with his old wife.

Catholic Hospital

cont'd from back page

during the training process.

Brother Cras reminded the trainees that the knowledge acquired from the computers and other equipment must always be used in the service

of the patients since indeed the patients are the center point of focus at the hospital.

The trainers were Bro. Justino Izquierdo and Mr. David Reeves; reports, J. Moses Gray.,

LUBI Former Executive

cont'd from front page

taken aback when the SOD stormed her residence said, she was told by the officers that Director Tate instructed them to get the generator because "they said he told them that it was owned by LUBI Bank" saying, "I don't know what the bank authority told them because I used my legitimate money to obtain the generator."

According to Mrs. Brown, who said the matter is presently being handled by her lawyers, she paid 40% noting, "in fact the bank could not pay the money, so they asked me to pay the difference which I did."

But, the President of the Liberia United Bank, Inc. (LUBI), Samuel R. Divine, Sr., has rejected the claim of Mrs. Brown, and expressed surprise over her claim that the generator belongs to her, saying, "the generator is a property of the bank."

Mr. Divine who is the chief executive officer of LUBI, in an interview with our reporter confirmed that the bank offered the generator to the police since July last year and added, the gesture was intended to assist in the lightening of the city during the Independence Day Celebration last year.

He said at the time, the police did not take delivery of the generator until recently when he was approached by Police Director Joe Tate who told him that they were in dire need of the generator previously committed to the police, adding, "because of this, we wrote to her (Mrs. Brown) lawyers informing them that the generator was offered to the police and should be given to them."

On claims that the generator was obtained by Mrs. Brown legally the bank's top official responded saying, "we have two staff generators for the president and vice president, but the generator was in her position illegally after she had left the bank."

When the police was contacted, the Assistant Director for Press

and Public Affairs, Col. Singbe Johnson, said the generator was donated to the police by LUBI, but they did not take delivery of it at the time, because there was no document until recently when all documents surrounding it were obtained.

Contrary to the claim of Mrs. Brown that the police did not carry any document to justify the claim of the generator, Col. Johnson said all documents including the bill of sale were presented to the son of Mrs. Brown whom he said read it and later allowed them to take the generator which according to him, was done under a "mutual understanding."

"LUBI gave it to us as a gesture, because they want us to beef up our operation," he said, and continued, "we are just a recipient and so we cannot question as to whether there is a controversy something which does not exist at all."

Mrs. Brown has meanwhile expressed surprise over the action of the police for accepting a generator that was being used by a former vice president and is offered to the police saying, "I am afraid of my life, because if armed guys can come to my house upon the instruction of the bank president and forcibly take it, they could one day come and take away my life."

The former official of the bank was removed since March 5, 1998 by the chairman of the Board of Directors of LUBI for what was described as "insubordination." The action, according to investigation, was done "unilaterally" without the input of other members of the board.

Since her dismissal, Mrs. Brown has instituted two law suits for both illegal dismissal which is being heard at the Labour Law court while the second suit of defamation of character is being heard at the Temple of Justice. Mrs. Brown is reportedly demanding US\$500,000 for damaging her characters and 24 months salary and benefit.

the BBC and informed the world that he was not a part of any group and denied knowledge of the attack on Voinjama.

Speaking from an undisclosed location, Cllr. Supuwood, who is also an executive of the Unity Party, said he would not support any armed incursion into Liberia.

Also, Gayah Fahnbulleh, in a BBC interview yesterday, vehemently denied any linkage to the armed attack on Voinjama.

He described Mr. Tamba's claims as a "diabolic lie" which is intended to besmirch his hard-won reputation. He also denied ever knowing Mr. Tamba.

Mr. Fahnbulleh further told the BBC that he is a political figure and still intends to subscribe to those principles. He added that he believes in the rule of law and will never engage in any violent.

Speaking further, Mr. Fahnbulleh, who presently resides in the United States, said though there are problems in the

whole idea is absurd and like crazy that, I think that these people are crazy and I think they are trying to use this to get favor."

The attack on Voinjama claimed several lives. Some United Nations personnel including all expatriates, were held briefly and later released. Several of their vehicles were looted but some were later retrieved.

Meanwhile, one Albert Tamba, who is also resident of the United States called the Star Radio yesterday to disclaim the charge and said he was not the Albert Tamba who called BBC to claim responsibility for the attack.

The attack also displaced thousands of dissidents some of whom crossed the border to Guinea, whose government has already denied Liberian Government's allegation that the armed crossed from Guinea with the acquiescence of the government.

Human Rights Commission's

cont'd from front page

action in the premises.

The legal counsel made the statement on Monday when he addressed the ongoing paralegal training workshop organized by the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission at the St. Teresa's Retreat Center on Randall Street.

He spoke on the topic: "The Constitution, Local Remedies Available in Liberian Courts, Habeas Corpus, Prohibition, Injunction and the Process of Complaints, Briefs and Judicial Decisions."

The counsellor said the establishment of the commission was wholeheartedly welcomed not only by the people of Liberia, but also by the international community.

According to Cllr. Korkpor, the commission was, among other things, established to investigate complaints of violations of human rights and fundamental freedom as enshrined in the constitution and statutory laws of Liberia.

He indicated that there has been problems associated with the commission such as the authority that appointed the members of the commission, composition of membership and its method of making decisions, among others.

Cllr. Korkpor pinpointed that either by neglect or deliberate design, the National Human Rights Commission has not been made to function effectively.

With the inactivity of the commission, Cllr. Korkpor said Liberians are missing what could possibly be the cheapest and most accessible human rights enforcement mechanism in the country.

Speaking further, the Catholic Church's legal counsel said many persons, especially the vulnerable and less fortunate people, do not know their own rights.

He added that the people cannot afford the astronomical cost of lawsuits, adding that as a result, the category of people often linger in jail because they cannot afford to hire lawyers in their own defense.

Also speaking at the workshop, the administrative assistant to the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General, Mr. Desmond R. Parker, said the mass media plays an important role in guiding against human rights violations.

He said the mass media, like the local human rights groups, bringing into the limelight perpetrators of human rights violations through newspaper publications or radio programs, can effectively serve as deterrence.

He used the occasion to commend the mass media in its endeavor and urged it not to relent, adding that this is one of the way the media serves as a watchdog in the society.

Meanwhile, the workshop entered its second day yesterday with Mr. John H.T. Stewart, Regional Coordinator, Archdiocese of Monrovia and Tuata Ofusu addressing the forum.

The workshop continues today with several persons presenting papers. Among those expected to present papers included Mr. Roland Sidler, Country Representative, ICRC/Liberia Program and Mrs. Ophelia Hoff-Sayumah, Executive Director, Liberia National Red Cross.

The workshop brought together about 85 participants from several parts of Monrovia including Mr. Jerry Blessed Mitchell, Chairman of the Gardnersville subcommission of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission.

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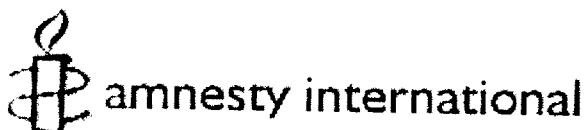
MFI-354

Amnesty International Report 2000 – Liberia, 1 June 2000

27814



Title	Amnesty International Report 2000 - Liberia	(1)
Publisher	Amnesty International	
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Publication Date	1 June 2000	(2)
Cite as	Amnesty International, <i>Amnesty International Report 2000 - Liberia</i> , 1 June 2000, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6aa1110.html [accessed 4 December 2009]	



Amnesty International Report 2000 - Liberia

Republic of Liberia

Head of state and government: Charles G. Taylor

Capital: Monrovia

Population: 2.6 million

Official language: English

Death penalty: retentionist

Human rights violations by Liberia's security forces, including torture and possible extrajudicial executions, continued to be reported. There were renewed outbreaks of fighting in Lofa county, during which further human rights abuses were reported, some of which were allegedly committed by members of the security forces. Human rights defenders, including journalists, continued to be at risk from the authorities. No significant effort was made to investigate recent violations nor to bring to justice the perpetrators of massive human rights abuses committed during the civil war which ended in 1997. No significant progress appeared to have been made in the restructuring and retraining of the security forces; many former combatants appear to have been included in security forces and paramilitary bodies without any meaningful attempt to rehabilitate or retrain them.

Background

(4)

During the seven-year civil war gross human rights abuses were committed by numerous armed factions including the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), the national army which often acted as an armed group outside government control, and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), whose cross-border attack started the war and which at times controlled most of Liberia.

All the warring factions committed serious human rights abuses, including deliberate and arbitrary killings of unarmed civilians, torture and ill-treatment of prisoners, summary executions, rape, hostage-taking and forced displacement of civilians. About 200,000 people were killed. Some 700,000 were forced to become refugees and an estimated 1.4 million people, half the pre-war population, were internally displaced. The UN estimated that some 15,000 to 20,000 children, some as young as six years old, had participated in the conflict.

The Abuja peace agreement which ended the civil war laid down a timetable for disarmament, demobilization and elections.

Disarmament and demobilization were delayed and not fully completed. According to the peace agreement, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was in charge of disarmament and the UN in charge of demobilization.

Despite delays, the transition to an elected constitutional civilian government was completed in 1997. Contested elections were won by Charles G. Taylor, former leader of the NPFL, and his party, the National Patriotic Party. The 1985 Constitution was reinstated and the Supreme Court reconstituted.

Once he was in power, President Taylor pressed ECOMOG to hand over responsibility for restructuring the army to him. Many former NPFL combatants were enrolled into the country's security forces without any significant attempt at retraining, which should have included training in international human rights standards. In addition, a number of special security units were created or restructured, largely manned by former NPFL combatants, including the Special Security Service, the Special Security Unit, the Special Operations Division (a special unit within the police), and the Anti-Terrorism Unit. These units have been accused of serious violations of human rights.

By mid-1999, the Liberian operations of ECOMOG had ended at President Taylor's insistence.

In mid-1999 a UN delegation visited Liberia to investigate events surrounding a renewed outbreak of fighting in September 1998 between forces loyal to President Taylor and supporters of Roosevelt Johnson, another former faction leader. The official death toll from the fighting in Monrovia was 52, with 49 people wounded, but independent and credible estimates suggested that the

victims, including the dead and injured, ran into several hundred. Some of the killings were apparently extrajudicial executions. The report of the UN delegation had not been made public by the end of 1999.

The government was widely accused of providing arms, ammunition and fighters to the armed opposition in Sierra Leone, in violation of a UN Security Council resolution, before the conclusion of a peace agreement between the government of Sierra Leone and rebel forces in Lomé, Togo, in July 1999. AI urged the Liberian authorities to prevent military supplies for rebel forces from crossing its borders into Sierra Leone.

The National Human Rights Commission, set up by law in 1998, remained inactive. Its five Commissioners were not approved by parliament until late 1999, and its powers were limited. The Commission could not order witnesses to appear nor initiate investigations.

(5)

Treason trial

At least 34 people were charged with treason following the fighting in September 1998. Nineteen were arrested, five of whom were released after becoming state witnesses. Among those held and tried were: Bai Gbala, former political adviser to President Taylor; former Senator James Chelly; former Presidential Affairs Minister Charles Breeze; former Transport Minister Armah Youlu; former Deputy Justice Minister David Gbala; and former commander of the State House under President Samuel Doe, Edward Slanger. Others were charged *in absentia*, including Roosevelt Johnson, former faction leader and subsequently a minister in President Taylor's government. Roosevelt Johnson sought refuge in the US embassy during the fighting in September 1998 and was subsequently flown out of Liberia.

In April, 13 of the defendants were convicted of treason, an offence carrying a sentence of death or life imprisonment. One defendant was acquitted. Those convicted were sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, and the judge declared that the reason for the lenient sentencing was the "need for genuine reconciliation in the country". Leave to appeal was granted both to the defence, which claimed that the prosecution had failed to prove its case, and to the prosecution, which claimed that the sentences were illegal.

AI sent a delegate to observe the trial and was concerned about the competence of the court and irregularities in the trial proceedings. Some of the defendants told the delegate that they had been ill-treated before and during the trial. Some appeared to have been beaten severely, and at least two had loss of hearing and broken limbs.

Sedition trial

27817

MFI-355

“Liberian Slayings Began Brutal Trend in Africa”, by Howard W. French, The New York Times, 4 February 1998

The New York Times**February 4, 1998**

Liberian Slayings Began Brutal Trend in Africa

By HOWARD W. FRENCH

When the militiamen arrived in this picturesque fishing village one August afternoon eight years ago, they quickly rounded up all of the Ghanaian immigrants they could find, marching them off together with Liberian friends and sympathizers for execution.

In the massacre that ensued, perhaps 1,000 people were shot to death. Survivors say that children were swung by their feet by laughing soldiers as their heads were smashed against palm trees. Many say they can still hear the screams of the countless others who drowned as they attempted to swim across a river for the safety of a nearby island.

"Two truckloads of fighters showed up here around three o'clock one Friday, and the shooting began almost immediately," said Kwesi Kayah, a 48-year-old fisherman who lost his wife, father, two children and an uncle. "The killing went on into the evening, and started again the next morning. Before they left, they rounded up seven survivors and began shooting us. I only escaped by playing dead."

Few in Liberia even remember the Marshall massacre today, so little does it stand out in a record of atrocities that grew thick during the country's seven devastating years of war. Fewer still, outside of the survivors who have drifted back here over the years, can recall what the killing was about, or even who its perpetrators were.

In retrospect, however, the disaster at Marshall stands out as one of the first mass killings in the Liberian civil war, a war that killed as many as 10 percent of Liberia's 2.5 million people, and made refugees of another 700,000, becoming, in the process, a prototype for other African conflicts in the 1990's.

As in the wars that were to follow in Somalia, Sierra Leone, the Central African Republic and the Congo Republic, the Liberian capital and other towns were heavily shelled for weeks at a time in a brand of fighting that blurred all distinctions between military and civilian targets.

As in the conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi that were to follow, ethnicity became a driving force behind gruesome bouts of killing, with individuals being shot or whole villages torched because the victims did not speak the same language as their attackers.

Liberia was also a pioneer in the use of children as soldiers, a prominent feature of so many recent African wars since.

But even beyond factors like these, the signal distinction of the Liberian war, and its most disturbing legacy for this continent, was the notion that combat may, or even should, be waged against unarmed civilians.

So common were attacks like these that the victims themselves often came to view wartime atrocities with fatalistic acceptance. "I lost my own son and all of his children to the N.P.F.L. boys," said Cecilia Bestman, a wrinkled peasant woman who appeared to be in her 70's, whose hair was

braided with safety pins and keys.

Asked if her son was a combatant, Mrs. Bestman replied with a resigned shrug: "He was a fisherman, not a fighter. But this was war."

The N.P.F.L., or National Patriotic Front of Liberia, was the militia of Charles G. Taylor, the man who began Liberia's war with an invasion from Ivory Coast on Christmas Eve 1989 that aimed to overthrow the country's then-dictator, Samuel K. Doe.

Mr. Taylor's militia attacked the Ghanaians at Marshall in reprisal for Ghana's deployment of soldiers in Liberia as part of a West African peace-keeping force that fought to stop Mr. Taylor from taking the capital, Monrovia, by force.

Mr. Taylor's troops set the tone for the war and determined its pace, twice laying siege to the densely populated capital with heavy artillery attacks, and waging scorched-earth campaigns in regions he identified with rival militia leaders.

The N.P.F.L. had no monopoly on atrocities, however. In one of the most infamous incidents of the war, and one of the few massacres that received more than a brief notice internationally, more than 600 people were slain inside Monrovia's downtown Lutheran Church in 1990 by soldiers of the late Mr. Doe's national army.

Their "crime," diplomats and human rights workers said at the time, was to have been born into the Gio and Mano ethnic groups of northeastern Liberia, the region from which Mr. Taylor drew most of his guerrilla fighters.

"People were killed here for the simple reason that they spoke the wrong language," said Joshua Iroha, Nigeria's ambassador to Liberia. "You could be killed just for looking healthy. People got killed because they had a brother or sister who worked for the Government."

If the Liberian bloodshed set the example for so many African conflicts that were to follow, in one important respect, Liberian and foreign human- rights experts say that this country is creating an equally negative precedent for the aftermath of war.

However slow or flawed the process, countries like Rwanda and the Congo Republic have created mechanisms to try war criminals and to give some accounting for their heavy tolls of victims.

But in Liberia, where the instigator of the war and leader of its largest faction won a presidential election last year, there has been virtually no movement for an accounting of past atrocities. "All of the factions killed civilians, looted civilians and raped civilians," said Janet Fleischman, the director for Africa for Human Rights Watch, the United States-based advocacy group. "And because they all took part in these kinds of acts, none of them have any interest in seeing any accounting for what happened."

Mr. Taylor announced the creation of a human rights commission with great fanfare after his inauguration last August, but the body still has no offices or budget. More important, its statutes do not provide for subpoena power, and allow investigations only when they are approved by the Government.

"No one in this country will be secure until the truth can be told about this war," said one unlikely advocate of a thorough investigation of atrocities, Roosevelt Johnson, leader of a faction that fought Mr. Taylor during the war, who is now Minister of Rural Development. "But if this Government has to give its approval for every investigation do you think anything will ever happen? Never."

Photos: In the village of Marshall, Liberia, perhaps 1,000 people were killed by guerrilla fighters in

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News Article from Allafrica.com, Panafrican News Agency, "Liberia: Attorney Rates
Liberian Judiciary as Rotten", 31 July 1998

HOME

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Panafrican News Agency

Liberia: Attorney Rates Liberian Judiciary as Rotten

Tepitapia Sannah, PANA Correspondent

31 July 1998

MONROVIA, Liberia (PANA) — A prominent Liberian lawyer, Varney Sherman, has described the judiciary and the criminal justice and legal system in the country as "rotten."

"The judiciary is rotten and ineffective my people, and no one trusts us - lawyers and judges," he told delegates attending the ongoing national conference on the future of Liberia Thursday night.

"If any one has trust in us, then put your hand up," Sherman asked delegates amidst laughter and long applause.

"As you see, you don't trust us," he added after no one in the audience raised a hand.

He said some of the clerks, judges and other judicial personnel "are not qualified, have no good character, and lack moral rectitude."

Blaming the government for doing "nothing to strengthen the judiciary," Sherman said: "The courts lack logistics, no stationery. You get frustrated seeing an outdated typewriter."

Another lawyer, Tiawon Gongloe, said "the crucial and major problem of the judiciary is the strong influence of the executive on the judiciary."

Chief Justice Gloria Scott, in an earlier address to delegates, complained about interferences in judiciary matters by the executive and legislative branches of the government.

She also said little support was given to the judicial branch of government, although it was one of the three equal branches of the state.

Scott cited that only 7 percent of the 1998 fiscal budget was allocated to the judiciary, while the executive carries the lion share of 89 percent.

In her intervention, the president of the Association of Female Lawyers of Liberia, Elizabeth Nouyenneh, recommended that the government ratify and implement all international and regional human rights conventions on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.

She further recommended the scrapping of laws that place traditional married women in Liberia in the category of chattels.

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AllAfrica - All the Time

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International Legal Assistance Consortium (ILAC) Report, Liberia, December 2003



International
Legal Assistance
Consortium



ILAC Report

Liberia, December 2003

ILAC is a global organisation, established and based in Sweden. ILAC is a consortium of NGOs throughout the world with experience in providing technical legal assistance in post-conflict situations. ILAC's more than 30 member organisations represent over 3 million judges, prosecutors, lawyers and academics.

thousands were displaced. Food shortages, rapid inflation, massive looting, and outbreaks of cholera and dysentery followed.

On 8 July 2003, as fighting between government forces and warring factions intensified, the UN Secretary-General appointed Jacques Paul Klein as his Special Representative (SRSG) in Liberia. On 29 July, the Secretary-General outlined a three-phase deployment of international troops to Liberia, on 1 August the UN Security Council authorised the establishment of a multinational force in Liberia, and on 11 August Charles Taylor resigned and went into exile in Nigeria.

On 18 August, the Liberian parties signed a Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Accra, Ghana. By that Agreement, the parties requested the UN to deploy a force in Liberia and to assist in the implementation of the Agreement. On 19 September, the Security Council authorised the establishment of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). Comprising up to 15,000 UN military personnel, 1,115 civilian police officers and a large civilian component, UNMIL is the UN's largest peacekeeping mission.

Since UNMIL's establishment on 1 October 2003, significant progress has been made in the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. Monrovia and surrounding areas are stabilising, disarmament has commenced, schools are reopening, and humanitarian assistance has reached rural areas.

UNMIL is committed to re-establishing the Liberian legal system as a matter of urgency. At the request of the SRSG, ILAC's assessment was designed to review the current status of the Liberian judicial system and to identify and prioritise reforms which may 'kick-start' that system in post-conflict Liberia. To do this, the ILAC team arrived in Monrovia less than seven weeks after UNMIL was established. It met with more than 150 Liberians, including members of the judiciary, lawyers, police, prison officers, legal academics, representatives of non-government organisations (NGOs), church leaders, human rights advocates, and ordinary Liberians.

Serious problems remain. Liberian society has collapsed, 150,000 are dead, 100,000 were displaced in Liberia, and a further 150,000 sought protection in neighbouring Sierra Leone, Guinea and Cote D'Ivoire. There is massive systemic corruption, the infrastructure is little more than a decaying shell, and under the terms of the amnesty granted to rebels by Comprehensive Peace Agreement, many of those who committed atrocities cannot be brought to justice.

There is an almost unanimous distrust of Liberia's courts and a corresponding collapse of the rule of law. Liberia's Constitution provides for an Anglo-American legal system, but in reality, there is no effective separation of powers, a limited understanding of the principles of transparency and accountability, little knowledge of contemporary notions of human rights, limited access to legal advice and defence counsel, and unconscionable delays. Taylor's government withheld salaries from judges, prosecutors, court staff, police, and prison officers for 2.5 years. Judgement, freedom, and even life itself, were often sold to the highest bidder.

(2)

But after 20 years of civil war, Liberians want change. Liberia has sufficient qualified and experienced jurists. Training in judicial and professional independence is a priority, criminal procedure requires a radical overhaul, prosecutors must be recruited, defence counsel must be made available to indigent defendants, and a detention centre must be built. Police and prison officers require comprehensive training in all aspects of their duties, and transparency and accountability must be integrated into all areas of government.

Liberia is likely to require significant long-term assistance from the international community, together with a sustained commitment to reform by the Liberian government and its people. It

the UN to deploy a force in Liberia and to assist in the implementation of the Agreement. On 19 September, the UN Security Council determined that "... the situation in Liberia continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security in the region, to stability in the West African sub region and to the peace process for Liberia" and authorised the establishment of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). Comprising up to 15,000 UN military personnel, 1,115 civilian police officers and a large civilian component, UNMIL is the UN's largest peace-keeping mission. UNMIL is currently mandated to remain in Liberia until a permanent government is elected in national elections, scheduled to be held in 2005.⁵

C. General Observations

Destruction of Infrastructure

Approximately 20 years of civil war have caused almost total destruction of Liberia's infrastructure. Monrovia has had no power or running water since the early 1980s. There is no postal or telephone service, few buildings are intact, roads are in a state of disrepair and Monrovia's one remaining hospital is operated by Medicine Sans Frontiers. Conditions in rural areas are reported to be worse.⁶ There have been outbreaks of cholera and dysentery, and many rural areas depend on international NGOs for food.

In mid 2003, at the height of the conflict, buildings in Monrovia were looted extensively, windows were broken, and records destroyed. Computers, office equipment, carpets, furniture, books, doors and even lavatories have been stolen from public buildings. Consequently, while there is a statutory framework within which the Liberian legal system can operate, the infrastructure on which it depends is nothing more than a decaying shell.

Corruption

There is an almost unanimously distrust of the legal system and a corresponding collapse of the rule of law.

The government of Charles Taylor withheld salaries from judges, court staff, police, prison officers and civil servants for approximately 2.5 years. Corruption is rife. The team was told that judges were often "paid" by means other than regular salaries, and that judgment was often given to the highest bidder, or was based on secret instructions from the Executive. Similarly, the police officers were often "paid" by those who required police protection for their dubious activities, or by those charged with offences that wished to be released from police custody. In the absence of functioning court and police systems, some Liberians took action with their own hands while others simply distanced themselves from the entire system.

(3)

Corruption is likely to continue until it is rebuked at all levels. Additionally, an adequate salary, paid regularly to all who work in the justice system is a necessary first step. Transparency of an operational judicial process will be key to building public confidence. Many people interviewed stressed that to further instill public confidence in the Judiciary, judicial officers should be selected based on academic qualifications, experience and credibility. All candidates should be vetted for corruption and those tainted by ills of the past should not be considered for judicial offices.

Strategic Planning and Donor Coordination

Lack of donor coordination is a frequently heard complaint in post conflict environments. To help avoid this in Liberia it will be key to have a Liberian Commission or Ministry take responsibility for providing a strategic long-term vision for rule of law as well as coordinate the

⁵ Security Council Resolution 1509 (2003), S/Res/1509 (2003).

⁶ The team visited Kakata in Margibi County but due to security concerns was prevented from assessing other outlying counties.

As appeal hearings from the lower courts are conducted de novo, it is unclear whether the transcripts are used in those hearings to cross-examine witnesses. It also appears that the transcript may form part of the appeal brief to the Supreme Court.

I. Decisions

The US DOJ undertook a programme to index and copy the last 30 years of judgments. Liberian Law Report is now available through to Volume 39. We were able to ascertain that Volume 40 covering the judgments from 2000 – 2002 has been compiled by a Liberian group in the US and is ready for print.

Due to numerous changes on the bench and the rampant corruption, many court decisions contradict precedent and are of a dubious nature. While these judgments have been complied they are not readily available in hard copy or on line. The DOJ had 100 copies printed and disseminated but very few remain publicly available in Liberia.

IV. JUDICIAL POWERS

A. Jurisdiction

With the exception of traditional courts and presidential pardons, the judiciary has exclusive jurisdiction over all cases concerning: civil rights and liberties; criminal matters; civil matters; administrative appeals and challenges; and family matters.

B. Reversal of Court Decision

On paper, with the exception of a pardon by the President, judicial decisions cannot be reversed outside of the judicial appellate system.³¹

The Executive has advised us that in practice there was a great deal of interference in the judicial system, in addition to interference in the execution of judgments.

C. Judicial Procedure

There exist published uniform rules of criminal and civil procedure.³²

D. Immunity

Article 73 of the Constitution states that no judicial official shall be summoned, arrested, detained or prosecuted, or tried civilly or criminally on account of judicial statements or acts done in the course of a trial, whether in court or in chambers, with the exception of treason or other felonies, misdemeanor or breach of the peace. Again, we were informed that there was a great deal of interference by both the Executive and Legislature during the last government. Judicial officials were not encouraged to contravene such interference. Immunity was a constitutional protection that was not always observed.

The immunity does not expressly relate to matters, other than trial matters, although it is presumably applied to other types of proceedings before the courts, such as bail, sentence and preliminary hearings.

³¹ See Articles 59 and 76

³² With the exception of traditional courts

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The Carter Center, Liberia Elections: Carter Center Plays Key Role in Historic Presidential and Legislative Oct. 11 Vote, 4 October 2005



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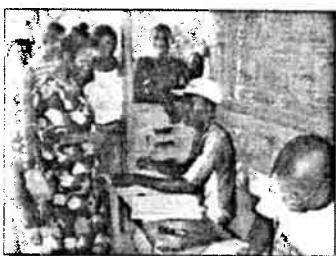
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Liberia Elections: Carter Center Plays Key Role in Historic Presidential and Legislative Oct. 11 Vote

4 Oct 2005



An outdoor center provides base of voter registration for Liberians.



Liberians stand in line to register to vote in the Oct. 11, 2005, presidential and legislative elections.



A Liberian woman's voter registration card (above) is checked by an election worker.



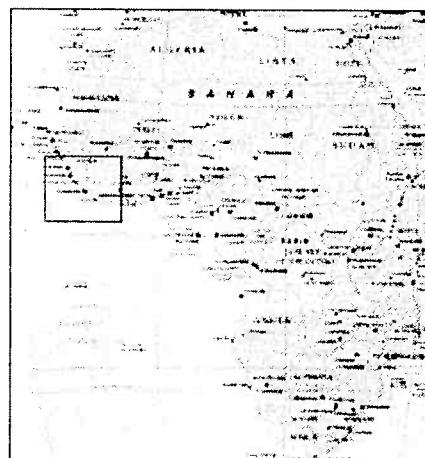
Names declared Who is Over and Under Now are displayed at one of the voter registration centers.

After a generation of civil war and instability, Liberia's citizens will go to the polls Oct. 11, 2005, to elect a president and legislative representatives in what could be the first genuine democratic elections in Liberia in almost two decades.

The Carter Center, involved in the West African country's peace and democracy efforts since 1991, has actively engaged in the 2005 electoral process in Liberia, and will organize an international observer delegation in partnership with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) to monitor the October election.

The 2005 elections represent a historic opportunity for Liberia and its people, according to Carter Center Democracy Program Director David Carroll.

"If successful, the Oct. 11 elections could provide a critical foundation for Liberians to strengthen democratic governance and move beyond the shadows of the civil war," he said.



Liberia (highlighted above), Africa's oldest republic, will hold its first presidential and legislative elections in almost two decades Oct. 11, 2005. The Carter Center's Liberia Election Observation Project, officially launched in July, will continue through November to monitor all post-election developments. Learn more about the Center's work in Liberia.

PRE-ELECTION PREPARATIONS

The elections follow a two-year transition for the country. In August 2003, a comprehensive peace agreement ended 14 years of civil war. It also led to the resignation of President Charles Taylor, who was exiled to Nigeria. In October 2003, The National Transitional Government of Liberia assumed control, with Gyude Bryant as interim leader. Composed of rebel, government, and civil society groups, the transitional government was given a two-year mandate to oversee efforts to rebuild Liberia and to steer the country towards elections.

"The Carter Center has been among a number of international groups working with the transitional government during this interim period," according to Tom Crick, Carter Center senior political adviser. "While the Center and others have focused on electoral assistance and observation, the U.N. has maintained a large peacekeeping force, and the international community has worked with the Government of Liberia to negotiate an economic governance package to guide development," Crick said.

The Carter Center opened an office in Monrovia in June 2005, to launch its ongoing Liberia Election Observation Project, supported by grants from Development Cooperation Ireland and the United States Agency for International Development. The project has included the

Deployment of a team of long-term observers throughout the country to monitor electoral institutions in the run-up to the Oct. 11 elections.

Carroll said the outlook appears good for competitive elections in Liberia.

"In spite of enormous logistical challenges and post-conflict conditions, electoral preparations to date have been good and the prospect for competitive elections seems high," Carroll said. A Carter Center delegation visited Liberia in August in advance of the campaign period, and in September the Center joined a second delegation in partnership with the National Democratic Institute. During the week of the elections, the Center and NDI will deploy short-term international observers throughout the country. A small team of observers will remain through the end of November to monitor all post-election developments.

In addition, The Carter Centre U.K., - an independent registered organization in the United Kingdom that closely collaborates with the Atlanta-based Carter Center's peace and health efforts - joined with Electoral Reform International Services (ERIS) and the European Union to implement The European Commission Bilateral Election Programme in Liberia in March 2005. This separate project provides technical assistance for voter and civic education, domestic election monitoring, and for Liberian political parties in Monrovia and in rural Liberia.

CARTER CENTER HISTORY IN LIBERIA

President Carter's commitment to Liberia extends to 1978, when he visited Liberia as part of the first state visit to sub-Saharan Africa by a sitting U.S. president. The Carter Center has worked to foster peace and democracy in Liberia since March 1991, when invited by all sides in Liberia's civil war to assist in the peace process.

READ LIBERIA ELECTION WATCH

This series of reports is being compiled jointly by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and The Carter Center on Liberia's electoral process. (*All reports PDF, posted in descending chronological order.*)

- [Issue No. 6, Nov. 2, 2005](#)
- [Issue No. 5, Sept. 26, 2005](#)
- [Issue No. 4, Sept. 16, 2005](#)
- [Issue No. 3, Aug. 26, 2005](#)
- [Issue No. 2, Aug. 12, 2005](#)
- [Issue No. 1, Aug. 4, 2005](#)

The Carter Center and the Liberia Elections: Background

- **28 August 2005**
Pre-Election Statement on the 2005 Liberian National Elections, Aug. 28, 2005
- **15 August 2005**
Liberia Elections: President Carter Calls for Clean Campaign
- **25 July 2005**
Carter Center Observers Arrive in Liberia in Advance of October Elections
- **30 June 2005**
Stories from Liberia: Field Officer Reflects on Election Prep in a War-Torn Land
- **19 August 2003**
Statement on the Liberian Peace Agreement by Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter

President Carter made numerous trips to the region to meet with interim governments as well as faction leaders in the conflict, to assist the country's movement toward peace and democracy. Subsequently, Center staff undertook projects to protect human rights, strengthen the capacity of Liberian NGOs and the independent media, and to support a democratic electoral process (Read more about the Center's work in Liberia.)

Following the 1996 Abuja II Peace Accords, the Center observed the July 1997, special elections. Many Liberians told observers they saw the election as a choice between Charles Taylor and war, and it is one of Liberia's tragedies that this fragile hope for peace was betrayed. In 2000, the Center closed its office in Monrovia, as President Carter publicly criticized President Taylor for no longer sharing the goals of a democratic society and for inciting conflict in the region.

1991 - All sides in Liberia's civil war invite The Carter Center in March to assist in the peace process.

1992- Center opens Monrovia office, closes during full-scale fighting in April 1996, reopens in April 1997



Jimmy Carter and President William Tolbert of Liberia engage in a toast during a state dinner held April 3, 1978, in honor of Jimmy Carter and Rosalynn Carter.



Debbie Hakes



Jeff Austin

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The Carter Center, Letter to President Taylor from Mr. Jimmy Carter, 6 November 2000

THE CARTER CENTER

November 6, 2009

To President Charles Gbarkay Taylor

I write to inform you that The Carter Center has decided to end our work in Liberia because prevailing conditions and the actions of your government have made it increasingly difficult for the Center and others to be effective in supporting democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.

I am very disappointed about the course of events in Liberia over the last three years, especially given the hopeful opportunities that were present after your election in 1997 following a terrible seven-year civil war. Since then, and in consultation with your government, the Center has tried to work with civil society groups, the media, government officials, and others to strengthen respect for human rights and the rule of law, in the hope that this would help consolidate peace and reconciliation in Liberia. This work, of course, could only succeed if the Government of Liberia supported these goals in word and deed, and created an environment in which fundamental rights were upheld, and in which individuals and institutions could work freely and openly.

For a period following your election, you and I maintained a dialogue in which I repeatedly offered to assist you in efforts to demonstrate your commitment to building a genuine democracy in Liberia. On several occasions I raised serious concerns about developments in Liberia and unsuccessfully suggested specific actions your government could take to address problems. Unfortunately, however, the dialogue seems to have ended, and it has become clear that your government does not share the same goals.

Much to our dismay, Liberia is a country where reports of serious human rights abuses are common, where journalists, human rights organizations, and political activists work in an atmosphere of fear and intimidation, and where there is little political space for meaningful democratic debate. Instead of being used to improve education, infrastructure, and development, Liberia's resources have been diverted toward extra-budgetary uses. In addition, it is increasingly evident that Liberia's role in the conflicts of the sub-region has been a destructive one.

Over the years, I have committed a great deal of personal resources, in addition to the resources of The Carter Center, to promoting a just and stable peace and democratic government in Liberia. I am therefore deeply saddened by the situation that has led to this decision. Nonetheless, we remain committed to assisting Liberia and hope that there may be more fruitful avenues to support her in the future.

Sincerely,

His Excellency Charles G. Taylor
President of the Republic of Liberia
Executive Mansion
Monrovia

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Excerpt from the Liberian TRC Report, Vol. 2 (Page 249 & Cover Page)

regional power led to chilly relations between the two states. As a result, France had discouraged its former colonies, such as Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire, from engaging in any peace agreements which would have raised Nigerian influence in the region.

The Ivorian government also provided Taylor and his rebels with other material goods and services, including cantonment, "military intelligence, transportation facilities, safe haven for retreating rebels, and medical assistance for wounded rebels." It also played a role in Liberia's diamond and arms trade. Côte d'Ivoire facilitated the smuggling of diamonds from Liberia, as well as weapons shipments into Liberia. Also, Taylor's financial backers used Abidjan as a venue to convene and cut their deals on arms, communication resources and training. Further, Côte d'Ivoire provided protection to Taylor's relations who resided there.

After Houphouet-Boigny's death in 1993, Taylor maintained close relationships with both his successors, Henri Konan Bedie and Robert Gueï, which enabled him to continue the arms transfers and other activities. When Gueï was ousted from the presidency after the 2000 elections, the alliance shifted toward plotting a coup against Ivorian President Laurent Gbagbo. Taylor opposed Gbagbo who had developed relationships with and recruited combatants from LURD, and sought to destabilize the Côte d'Ivoire. Also, Taylor purportedly wanted to establish a base in Côte d'Ivoire should he need to leave Liberia; gain control over Ivorian seaports that were vital to Liberia's timber exports; and establish an armed line of defense to stop LURD and MODEL incursions into Liberia. Thus, Taylor supported two rebel groups, the Popular Movement of the Ivorian Great West (MPIGO) and the Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP), which launched an offensive on Danané from Liberia on November 28, 2002. While the Liberian government denied any involvement, Danané residents reported that Liberian security, ATU or former NPFL fighters constituted 90 percent of the rebels.

Burkina Faso

Burkina Faso played a supporting role to Taylor and the NPFL, and the president Blaise Compaore, was a significant figure in the events leading up to Taylor's rebellion. It is likely that at least part of the motivation for Burkinabe support for Taylor was personal. Accounts suggest that Compaore ordered former Burkinabe President Thomas Sankara's assassination and that Taylor, who arrived in Burkina Faso at approximately the time of President Sankara's assassination in October 1987, was involved in the murder. Compaore was also married to Ivorian President Houphouet-Boigny's daughter, the widow of Adolphus Tolbert. Given the strong relationship between Compaore and Houphouet-Boigny and their shared hostility toward Doe, there is a perception that Houphouet-Boigny persuaded Compaore to support Taylor's efforts to overthrow Doe as revenge for Tolbert's murder.

Compaore continued his support for Taylor despite international pressure and the humanitarian disaster that ensued in Liberia: "He kept going because he had an

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REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

FINAL REPORT



(4)

unedited

VOLUME II: CONSOLIDATED FINAL REPORT

This volume constitutes the final and complete report of the TRC of Liberia containing findings, determinations and recommendations to the government and people of Liberia

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International Crisis Group, Africa Report No. 62, Tackling Liberia: the Eye of the Regional Storm, 30 April 2003

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TACKLING LIBERIA:
THE EYE OF THE REGIONAL STORM

30 April 2003

1



Africa Report N°62
Freetown/Brussels

2

northern-based MPCI rebels needed help in opening a western front to obtain access to the rich cocoa/coffee belt and the port of San Pedro. Most likely Taylor's initial involvement was indirect, conducted through his old links with Côte d'Ivoire and his relationship with Burkina Faso's President Blaise Compaoré. His involvement intensified, however, once the coup failed, his friend Gueï had been killed, and problems inside Liberia gave him reasons to actively support rebel movements in the West.

Just before this report went to press, on 26 April 2003, the governments of Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia announced agreement to deploy a joint force with help from French and ECOWAS troops to end border incursions between the two countries.⁹⁶ It remains to be seen if, and how, this agreement will be implemented.

A. TAYLOR'S IVORIAN WAR

A useful starting point in understanding Taylor's involvement in Côte d'Ivoire is his insurgency against the government of President Samuel Doe. President Houphouët-Boigny allowed him to launch his rebellion from Côte d'Ivoire on 24 December 1989. That decision was closely tied to the murder by Doe during his 1980 coup of Houphouët-Boigny's close friend, the Liberian president William Tolbert, and Tolbert's son, Aldophus, who was married to Houphouët-Boigny's goddaughter, Désirée Delafosse.⁹⁷ Houphouët-Boigny essentially used Taylor to take revenge against President Doe.

The involvement of Ivorian soldiers in his movement brought Taylor close to Houphouët-Boigny's Chief of Staff, General Robert Gueï, who played a significant role in funnelling arms to Taylor once he entered Liberia. The Taylor-Gueï link was strengthened by the close ethnic affinities between Taylor's fighters and those from General Gueï's home in Gouéssesso, north of the western city of Man and surrounding areas in western Côte d'Ivoire. Many of Taylor's fighters, including key

commanders such as Benjamin Yeaten and Roland Duo, were from the Gio ethnic group in Nimba County, Liberia, where Taylor began his insurgency. The Gios are closely linked to the Yacouba in western Côte d'Ivoire. Gueï was a Yacouba, and many from his ethnic group supported Taylor's war. The Gio fighters in Taylor's rebel movement have remained "grateful for the support Gueï" gave during Liberia's war.⁹⁸

Côte d'Ivoire remained an important business and arms route for Taylor's wars when Henri Konan Bédié became president in 1993 on Houphouët-Boigny's death, and the relationship with Gueï was rekindled when the general became head of the military junta that toppled Bédié in December 1999. Taylor was the first head of state whom Gueï visited, in early 2000.⁹⁹ As Côte d'Ivoire's leader, Gueï was able to provide Taylor with further arms and materiel in return for manpower from Sierra Leone's RUF insurgency and soldiers from Taylor's former NPFL rebel group. An unknown number of these were apparently installed in the elite Brigades Rouges (Red Brigades), a part of the Ivorian Presidential Guard.¹⁰⁰

A "pact" was reportedly agreed whereby Taylor would support a Gueï coup if he lost the October 2000 Ivorian presidential elections.¹⁰¹ Reports emerged in the latter half of 2000 that soldiers loyal to Gueï and supervised by a top Taylor commander, Kuku Dennis, were training at least 500 fighters from Liberia, the Sierra Leone RUF, and Burkina Faso near River Gbeh in River Gee County, Eastern Liberia.¹⁰² The key training commandant was reportedly the long-time regional diamond dealer and gun-runner, Ibrahim Bah, who was assisted by Bockarie.¹⁰³ Gueï's soldiers were said to be "waiting

⁹⁸ ICG interview, February 2003.

⁹⁹ ICG interview with Liberian refugee, Abidjan, March 2003.

¹⁰⁰ ICG interviews with Liberian refugees based in Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire, March 2003.

¹⁰¹ ICG interview with Liberian refugees from Danané who fled to Bossou, Guinea, January 2003, confirmed by other Ivorian and Liberian military sources, Abidjan, March 2003. ICG interview, February 2003.

¹⁰² ICG interviews with a Guinean journalist, Conakry, October 2001, and a Western military official and a number of private sources, Abidjan and Conakry, February-March 2003.

¹⁰³ Senegalese commander Ibrahim Bah (or Balde) has played a direct role in numerous West African conflicts. He was involved in rebel activities in Guinea-Bissau, the Casamance

⁹⁶ "Ivory Coast, Liberia Back Force for Chaotic Border", Reuters, 26 April 2003.

⁹⁷ Adekeye Adebajo, *Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau* (Boulder, 2002), p. 48 and Stephen Ellis, *The Mask of Anarchy: The Destruction of Liberia and Religious Dimensions of an African Civil War* (London, 1999), pp. 53-54.

on the ground" in his home town for the Liberian group to finish training. Part of the "agreement" was that Gueï's troops would commute between River Gee and Man to provide information on the Ivorian terrain. The operation to support Gueï also enabled President Taylor to pay soldiers who had been "harassing government ministers for money".¹⁰⁴

On 24 October 2000, General Gueï stopped the vote count when early indications were that Gbagbo was in the lead. He dissolved the National Electoral Commission and declared himself winner. Gbagbo responded by telling his supporters from the Front Populaire Ivoirien party to lead demonstrations. These soon became violent as gendarmes loyal to Gueï fired on the demonstrators. ICG was informed that at least 100 trained soldiers of various nationalities on standby in Abidjan after having been flown in by helicopter from Liberia fought the Gbagbo supporters and defectors from the Ivorian military who had turned against Gueï.¹⁰⁵ Defeated, Gueï flew to exile in Benin for about two months before returning home. The 100 foreign troops who had fought for him in Abidjan stayed with him. Additional training took place in early 2001 in Grand Gedeh County close to River Cavally on the Ivorian border. Once again, this was supervised by Commander Kuku Dennis, who was based in that county.¹⁰⁶

President Gbagbo, and a number of Western military officials, knew of the movement of Gueï loyalists and the presence of Liberian military officials inside Côte d'Ivoire from late 2000 through mid 2001. A

separatist war in southern Senegal, and Sierra Leone as a member of the RUF. His main undertaking was training fighters and diamond trading. He has also been involved in supplying arms to Taylor's fighters in Liberia and Gueï's soldiers in Côte d'Ivoire. Bah is said to have had his own "road runners", who provided consignments of diamonds from Kono District in eastern Sierra Leone to his diamond business base in Monrovia, and to have brought many rebel leaders together in various criminal and clandestine activities, including illegal diamond sales, that extend beyond the region as far as the Middle East. ICG interview with RUF insider and other sources, March-April 2003. See also Report of the Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to Security Council resolution 1408 (2002), paragraph 16, concerning Liberia, 7 October 2002, paras. 2-3, 52, 87, 131 and 135, pp. 7, 15, 22 and 31, which acknowledged Bah's links to RUF fighters.

¹⁰⁴ ICG interview, February 2003.

¹⁰⁵ ICG interview, March 2003. For an analysis of the violence that unfolded during the elections, see Human Rights Watch, "The New Racism: The Political Manipulation of Ethnicity in Côte d'Ivoire", vol. 13, N°6 (A), August 2001.

¹⁰⁶ ICG interview, Abidjan, March 2003.

Western military official said, "We knew that Gueï was training in 2000, it was an official fact and not a secret. Gueï did not only rely on Ivorians. We knew that he had a number of Liberians with him".¹⁰⁷

Gbagbo might have decided not to react publicly to the military preparations in what was increasingly dubbed "Gueiland" because he had already developed links with several LURD personalities based in Côte d'Ivoire.¹⁰⁸ However, suspicion that Gueï was plotting another coup persisted, even after a National Forum for Reconciliation was held in October 2001 and Côte d'Ivoire's four "big" leaders met in January 2002 in Yamoussoukro.¹⁰⁹

Gueï's murder on the morning of the attempted coup has led many to maintain that he was unaware of the plot or at least of its timing.¹¹⁰ Following his death, Gueï's Yacouba supporters in Man and Danané announced that the country would see in 45 days (after the period of mourning) how the people of the West would react.¹¹¹ On 26 and 27 September, Taylor's notorious general, "Jack the Rebel", reportedly came on a "tour" of Danané.¹¹² Liberian refugees told ICG that a number of Gio from Liberia were going back and forth to "spy" on the situation in Côte d'Ivoire following the attempted coup.¹¹³ Liberians in Nimba County said that their countrymen recruited for the Ivorian operation were trained in Belegaly, the home of Taylor's frontline

¹⁰⁷ ICG interview, March 2003.

¹⁰⁸ ICG interview, March 2003.

¹⁰⁹ The four leaders were President Laurent Gbagbo, former President Henri Konan Bédié (1994-1999), General Gueï and former Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara (1990-1993).

¹¹⁰ ICG interviews with Western military officials, Ivorian citizens and Liberian refugees, Abidjan, March 2003. Gueï was killed near his house, wearing sweatpants, a t-shirt and sandals, despite government claims that he was "killed in a shootout" on his way to the television to announce he was taking power. Western security officials confirm that he, his wife and members of his family were killed by security forces close to the presidency. While the timing of the coup clearly took many people by surprise, members of the government and leading opposition members had all been informed that "something" was about to happen. The attacks, which had clearly been underestimated, had been announced in intelligence circles every day for the previous ten days. Such announcements are not, however, uncommon, and the regime had been fearful of a coup attempt for nearly two years.

¹¹¹ ICG interview with Western military official, Abidjan, March 2003.

¹¹² ICG interview, March 2003.

¹¹³ ICG interview with Liberian refugees, Nzérékoré, January 2003.

commander, Roland Duo, as well as Ganta.¹¹⁴ The attacks into Côte d'Ivoire took two months to unfold. At least 500 fighters from Taylor's former NPFL rebel group, from the Sierra Leone RUF and "able bodied men and women trained in Nimba County" apparently crossed into Danané to join fighters that had been loyal to General Gueï.¹¹⁵ Liberians in Nimba County reportedly saw Taylor commanders Benjamin Yeaten and Roland Duo take truck loads of Liberian fighters recruited in Nimba County to Danané late at night every week following Gueï's death.¹¹⁶ A pick-up truck believed to belong to Kuku Dennis was also seen carrying recruits to Danané.

Two Ivorian rebel groups, the MPIO and the MJP, emerged to attack Danané on 28 November 2002. Eventually, the MJP headed toward Man¹¹⁷ while the MPIO went on to capture Blolékin, Touba, and the south of Toulépleu. The compositions of MPIO and MJP remain unclear. Several sources state that the former is largely comprised of Gueï loyalists and Liberians as well as Sierra Leonean fighters. Most observers present in the area at the time and shortly thereafter claim that the MJP, the smaller of the two, is a satellite of the northern-based MPCI, but does indeed include Liberian and Sierra Leonean fighters.¹¹⁸

MPCI commanders and materiel were identified by eyewitnesses in Man in early December. Travellers in the region held by the MJP note that MPCI and MJP laisser-passer are interchangeable but both often pose problems at MPIO checkpoints on the road to Danané. In any case, it is clear that both movements have many Liberian and Sierra Leonean

¹¹⁴ ICG interviews, March 2003.

¹¹⁵ ICG interviews, February-March 2003

¹¹⁶ ICG interview, February 2003. Not all recruitments are necessarily tied to the Ivorian mission. Recruitment in Nimba County could have been associated with defence against LURD attacks in Northern Liberia. There has been heavy recruitment in the area for the last two years, and the recruitment camps in Belegaly are widely known by residents of Nimba County. Young men and women from various towns are often brought there for at least seven to ten days of "intensive training" before they are sent to the front. Most Liberians interviewed stated that recruitment for an operation in Côte d'Ivoire started in 2001 but became widely known in 2002 and early 2003.

¹¹⁷ ICG interview with private source, confirmed in interviews with humanitarian agency and international NGO representatives, February-March 2003.

¹¹⁸ ICG interviews with Liberian refugees and a number of private sources, Nzérékore and Abidjan, January-March 2003.

fighters, as well as mercenaries of various West African origins.¹¹⁹

It is less clear how much control Monrovia wields over military operations. The western rebels could not have launched their attacks from Liberia without Taylor's consent.¹²⁰ The MJP would have needed a significant quantity of weapons to intervene, probably more than it could have gotten from the MPCI alone. The timing of those MJP attacks at Danané and Man coincided with the arrival in Liberia of six cargo aircraft containing 200 tons of weapons and ammunition. As mentioned earlier, Taylor's troops would have used those old Yugoslav stocks to repel the LURD in Northern Liberia¹²¹ but some may well have been passed on to the Ivorian rebels. In a recent report, Global Witness pointed to numerous arms movements in December 2002 from Harper Port in Maryland County to the training camps in the River Gbeh region under the control of Taylor's Chairman of Joint Security in the southeast of Liberia, General William Sumo.¹²²

The weapons used by Ivorian insurgents could also have come from President Taylor's old ally, President Blaise Compaoré of Burkina Faso. A number of Liberian government soldiers interviewed by ICG claimed that weapons arrived at the Presidential Executive Mansion in July 2002 directly from Burkina Faso.¹²³ The claims of continued arms

¹¹⁹ In a sarcastic reference to the diverse origins of the insurgents, a humanitarian worker said in early January 2003, before the deployment of ECOWAS peacekeepers, "the ECOWAS forces have been on the ground for over a month already!" ICG interview, January 2003.

¹²⁰ ICG interviews with humanitarian agency representative, March 2003.

¹²¹ Report of the Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to Security Council resolution 1408 (2002), paragraph 16, concerning Liberia, 7 October 2002, paras 64-74, pp. 18-20.

¹²² Global Witness, "The Usual Suspects: Liberia's Weapons and Mercenaries in Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone. Why it's Still Possible, How it Works and How to break the Trend", March 2003, p. 31.

¹²³ ICG interviews, February-March 2003. Also see Global Witness, "The Usual Suspects", op. cit., pp. 10, 22, 26, which highlights Burkina Faso as an arms traffic route. This was confirmed in ICG interviews with senior Burkinabé officials..A number of officials in Ougadougou said that planes loaded with weapons were leaving Ouagadougou airport every day for Bouaké and that everybody knew. Payments to Burkinabé fighters involved in the Liberian and Sierra Leone conflicts are the subject of a public debate in the Burkinabé parliament, as is the question of compensation for truck companies that were hired to bring weapons to Liberia and Sierra Leone and lost their vehicles there. ICG interviews

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News article, Frontline World: "Liberia – No More War, A Political Survivor: Interview with Daniel Chea", May 2005

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Liberia - In More War, May 2005

(D) || A Political Survivor: Interview with Daniel Chea

(2)



Daniel Chea
embraced.

How do you explain Charles Taylor's reign in Liberia?

Charles Taylor took this country [in a] frenzy. To appreciate the Charles Taylor story, one must first of all understand our history. There's a general state in this country where people are more or less separated from government. There's a great deal of suspicion between people in the government because of past abuses. When Taylor came, people saw him as the new breed. People saw him as a symbol of genuine change, and he was

But what happened later during the course of the war following the [1997] elections is really hard to explain. Perhaps because he did everything to win favor with the locals, his policies did not go down well with the international community. He did not receive a lot of assistance ... there was a rumor that the Liberian government was involved with the RUF [Revolutionary United Front] in Sierra Leone and subsequently in Ivory Coast. That was the turning point. ... He was singled out as the most destructive element within the region and perhaps it was best for him to leave. ...

The fight for us was that this man was very popular. In the history of elections, he is the only individual to have won with more than 85 percent -- unofficially. If his exit from this country was not done in a proper context, it could ripple into some devastating circumstances. The international community understood that very well. Led by the United States and the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States], a lot of negotiations went on behind the scenes, and finally we saw an exit of Mr. Taylor from this

country.

(E)

What kind of a leader was this man who was elected by such a wide margin?

Initially, he was worshipped. A lot of people had high hopes for his administration. They thought that he could change things around for this country. But Mr. Taylor had his own problems, his own suspicions, and one of those suspicions -- and I thought this was a big mistake -- was his suspicion of the military Because of his own suspicion of the army, he decided to transfer most of the responsibility of the army into militia groups. I thought that was a mistake. And, of course, when the militia groups began to act disorderly the people began to reject them -- they rejected the whole idea of not empowering the armed forces, which is a constitutional entity, and instead Taylor empowered militia forces. ...

(3)

You also have to understand that he [Taylor] had his own alibi. He created a wall around himself where he repeatedly denied his own involvement. I remember on many occasions when we met with American diplomats who told him, "You are involved." He said, "I am not involved. If you have proof, bring it."

(F)

The Ministry of National Defense [Chea] did not get involved in the policies of other countries. We were involved in the defense of our own corridor. President Taylor had his own disjointed militia that he ran from his own mansion....

(4)

On the Ivorian issue, when I realized that militia forces from Liberia were involved, I talked to him one day, and I said, "Look, before going into one area, you must have an objective, either military or political, and in this case, we have none. We have our own issues; we are under attack by LURD [Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy] forces." And he said to me, "Well, Dan, sometimes there are things that you do not understand. There are too many things happening in this region, and sometimes you get consumed. And you can be assured that whatever it is it will get under control."

In most African countries, if you are assured by the head of state that he's in control, that he knows what he's doing, if he tells you, "Look, I will never do anything to harm my nation," you have to give him the benefit of the doubt.

Why did you choose to stay in Liberia working under Taylor?

I knew that we were going to get to such times in this country as we did in May, June and July of last year [the three last battles of 2003 were so horrific they were dubbed "World War I," "World War II" and "World War III" by the Liberians]. At that time, we needed someone levelheaded to be in control. ... Even though it caused me some embarrassment and some frustration as minister of defense, sometimes things would happen that I did not know, but I felt a compulsion to stay on board and that the time would come when some kind of control mechanism would have to be introduced to save the day. I have no remorse.

If we had left, there would have been a total breakdown. LURD forces would have [crossed], the Liberian people would have been slaughtered in the midst of all these forces. ... And don't forget in those last days, Taylor could not get out of his compound, I was the only one in the streets -- the streets that are going to be virtually lawless, and it was going to be anybody's game. Thank God we didn't get to that. It nearly did. But it didn't.

As the minister of defense, and as Taylor's friend, weren't there times when you questioned his actions?

I don't like to talk about myself and what I did. But if you recall, sometime in

2002, I was placed under house arrest. A lot of Liberians don't know, but I will take this opportunity to tell you why. One time I came from Lofa [County] and I asked him [Taylor], "I'd like to talk to you as my friend, as my big brother," and I asked him two questions. One of the questions was simply put: "Why do you think that you are the only one in this country who is right and everyone else is wrong?" The other question I won't tell you.

The day after, he said I was being arrogant and he ordered me under house arrest. I was placed under house arrest for 72 hours. Of course, there was a lot of intervention, and he reinstated me.

Everybody else was like, "If he puts his own defense minister and friend under arrest, there's no telling what he would do to those he didn't know."

... If only for once he had stopped in his tracks to recheck, his government would still be here. Even today, there is a popular belief in this country that Charles Taylor had the ability to turn this country around. He just let the people down. ... If you talk about smart presidents that we've had in this country, he would be written among them. But he made all the wrong decisions -- put himself at loggerheads with the international community, with his own community. You just can't fight on too many fronts. We don't have the resources. We are fighting the international community; we are fighting civil disagreements. We had our own disagreements with the United States, with the United Kingdom -- we just opened too many fronts that we could not keep open.

Did you ever consider quitting?

No, I never thought about quitting. I always felt that quitting would have been disastrous. In the midst of all this disjointed militia command, he [Taylor] needed a levelheaded person. If I had decided to quit, it would have been over an ego problem "I'm minister of defense, why don't I know this, why don't I know that?" ... I could have said to him one morning, "Please, I'm gone." But it would have been a negative impact, so I stayed on. I played a role that I always envisioned. ... In the final analysis, someone with a level head had to be around, so I look back now and I'm glad I stayed on board.

There were protests when you were named the defense minister of the transitional government because you had held the same post under Taylor and were a friend of his. What do you say to the people who are critical of your role in this government?

You are right, there are a lot of criticisms -- "Daniel Chea is still beholden to Charles Taylor." I don't know why. My loyalty has always been to this country. Sometimes it landed me in trouble with Mr. Taylor; sometimes it landed me in trouble with friends. As a man, you should be able to speak your mind on issues, whether your views are accepted or not. I am here for one thing, for peace. Enough is enough. This country has seen enough war. And clearly we do know that war is not the answer to our inherent problems.

What are you doing personally to improve the situation in Liberia?

The situation is very simple, and our message has been consistent. We must now take Liberia back for the better. It was a stupid thing in the first place to fight, and we realize the folly of our actions. Let's change. There is more to gain from a peaceful Liberia than a warring Liberia.

We have disarmed to UNMIL [United Nations Mission in Liberia], and we have to give Liberians a chance of peace so that opportunities will happen for them. And they know that. Like I say to most of them, "If fighting a war would make anybody rich, a lot of us would be millionaires by now." But what have we reaped from years of fighting? Deprivation. Degradation. Poverty. I have a few of them [ex-combatants] now who are in the program

-- having gone through disarmament and demobilization. ... I have three or four kids who now live in my house. I make sure they go to school. When they come home, I make sure they're doing their work. I want that to serve as an example, and I wish other commanders and other officials would do that because there has to be a mental transformation. You are looking at kids, some of whom were only 5 or 6 years old when the war started in 1989. Fifteen years later, some are in their 20s. No formal schooling. They have only known one former life, that of violence. It will take a lot of work to transform them.

How would you qualify the overall state of the union in Liberia today?

We are getting there. It may not be at the pace that some people would love to see, but then, nobody said it would be easy. Especially after 14 years of war, of misunderstanding, confusion, tribalism. It's going to take a while to put this country back on course. But you were here last year, and you have to state the fact that where we are today is a lot different than where we were last year.

(H)

JS

What about the security situation?

The security situation I think is good. We are working around the clock with UNMIL. The armed forces are going through restructuring. We have our own intelligence working with other members of our joint security. ... We definitely know that attempts have been made to get former combatants to take interest in what is happening in Côte d'Ivoire [to recruit Liberian mercenaries to fight across the border]. We are totally opposed to that ... and as soon as we get that person, we are going to turn him in to UNMIL. We are trying to demilitarize the minds of our young people. ... Anyone who tries to encourage [combatants] into another war situation is an enemy of peace. ...

When UNMIL first arrived in this country, they told us they were here to disarm an estimated 40,000 people ... I told them be prepared to disarm twice that number. The reason is very simple: The disarmament of 1995 was a fiasco. There was no disarmament. ... It was a haphazard attempt.

Unofficially, they [the United Nations] will tell you that their own program was a big disappointment. And I think they learned a lot of lessons, and this time around, I think they came quite prepared. And the program drawn up by the UNDP [United Nations Development Program] is quite outstanding. We'll use it as a model for other places in the future.

⑥

At the end of the day, this country must be totally disarmed so that the peace we are building with the help of the international community will be sustained.

(I)

JS

Can you tell me what you think of Force Commander Daniel Opande and the quality of the work he has done here?

My answer to your question could be a little bit too personal because Opande and I have known each other since the first war. I think he's a first-class gentleman and a soldier, a real soldier. And if you ask him, he'll tell you he came to visit the first time because he's always been concerned about Liberia. He was a little disappointed that things didn't go the first time as he would love to have seen them go.

I remember on one occasion he traveled back from the States, and on his way back to Kenya, he stopped by Monrovia at my office, and I said to him, "General Opande, I was in Sierra Leone a few days ago, and they are having a problem with a commander, the force commander there. ... I was wondering why they didn't give you, someone with your experience, your background in this region, the opportunity." He said, "Well, I don't know." Two weeks later he told me he has been offered the job in Sierra Leone. And while he was in Sierra Leone, I kept in contact with him.

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Excerpt from the Liberian TRC Report, Vol. 2 (Page 186 & Cover Page)

May, 2000: The summary execution of 42 captives in Voinjama by Joe Gbala. The victims were presumed to be Government of Liberia (GOL) soldiers who had surrendered in a battle between John Town and Zorzor.

June, 2000: The murder of Enoch Dogolea. Dogolea was a vice president when he died.

September, 2000: The attacks by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) on Guinea. The RUF was accompanied by Liberian fighters and Guinean dissidents including General Zoumanigui. The RUF eventually captured Gueckedou and Macenta at a high cost of human lives.

March, 2001: The summary execution of fourteen (14) persons in Kormia, Lofa County on the orders of Momo Jibba. Jibba ordered the executions after the GOL recaptured the town from the Liberian United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD). He also planned and executed the death of Francois Massaquoi, the Youth and Sports Minister at the time.

May, 2001: The massacre of seven (7) Mandingo individuals by Daniel Gweh and Tony Gonyor of GOL forces in Saclepea, Nimba County.

June 9, 2002: The massacre of 110 young men and women in Bopolu, Gbarpolu County by LURD combatant Oforie Diah (a.k.a Iron Jacket). The victims were accused of being GOL sympathizers.

July 20, 2002: The massacre of 175 persons on the orders of Benjamin Yeaten at Mahir River Bridge, Tubmanburg, Bomi County. The victims were accused of being LURD sympathizers.

September 18, 2002: The summary execution of Isaac Gono in Congo Town, Monrovia on the orders of Charles Taylor, Jr. He ordered the death of Gono, his driver, because he hit a dog with the car.

October 21, 2002: The incursion by Benjamin Yeaten, Joe Tuah, Edwad Zamay, Joe Walloe, Osebeo Dehmin, and Matthew Karn into the Ivory Coast on the mandate of Charles Taylor. The purpose of the incursion was to act as mercenaries for Philip Doh. A number of people died in the operation including those who refused to sign on.

2003: The abuses against Kissi civilians in Lofa County by LURD members were widely reported.



REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

FINAL REPORT



(2)

unedited

VOLUME II: CONSOLIDATED FINAL REPORT

This volume constitutes the final and complete report of the TRC of Liberia containing findings, determinations and recommendations to the government and people of Liberia

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International Crisis Group, Africa Report No. 72, Cote D'Ivoire: The War is Not Yet Over, 28 November 2003 (Page 18)

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CÔTE D'IVOIRE:
“THE WAR IS NOT YET OVER”

28 November 2003

1



ICG Africa Report N°72
Freetown/Brussels

2

Santos and Gbagbo have denied the involvement of Angolan forces in the conflict, but the presence of Angolan troops was persistently pointed out to ICG by Western diplomats and security officers.⁸⁷ Israelis and Angolans continue to handle presidential security.⁸⁸ A contract signed between the Ivorian government and a British private security company, Northbridge Services, involving both arms and men, created international concern, and UK authorities publicly warned the company against sending mercenaries on 1 April 2003.

The most dangerous alliance, whose effects are still being felt, was made by Gbagbo and the armed Liberian anti-Taylor Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy, LURD, and its later offshoot, MODEL. Having stepped up his longstanding contacts with Krahn anti-Taylor forces before the western rebellion broke out on 28 November 2002, Gbagbo not only gave Taylor a motive to support the rebellion, but together with the MPCI, opened the door for Liberia's war to move onto Ivorian territory.

(3)

IV. THE WILD, WILD WEST

Apart from enabling both sides to arm and recruit, the ceasefire and negotiation process after October 2002 also saw the opening of a new front in the west. Two additional organisations, MPIGO and the MJP, appeared with the direct assistance of Liberia's then president, Charles Taylor, thus further regionalising the conflict.

Taylor and Burkina Faso's Compaoré had been close allies in many previous coups, wars and destabilisation campaigns, from the murder of Burkina Faso's President Thomas Sankara in 1987, through the creation of war zones in Liberia and Sierra Leone in the 1990s, to attacks on Guinea at the start of the present decade. For these reasons, many observers wondered whether MPCI, MPIGO and the MJP might not all represent another chapter in this relationship. However, although there were elements of cooperation between the three anti-government movements, MPIGO in particular was intended as a strategic buffer force to protect Taylor against what he considered to be a threat from the creation of an MPCI-held zone in northern Côte d'Ivoire.

MPIGO was from the outset organised by some of Taylor's most senior commanders, including Kuku Dennis, Adolphus Dolo and the late Jack the Rebel.⁸⁹ Ivoirians in MPIGO included many of the late General Gueï's men, while the majority were Liberian and Sierra Leonean fighters. MPIGO's official leader, Felix Doh (real name: N'dri N'guessan), had been in exile in Liberia since Gueï was ousted from office in Côte d'Ivoire in 2000. The Sierra Leonean warlord Sam Bockarie and his forces actively assisted MPIGO until just after the killing of Felix Doh in late April 2003.

Although the relationship between Charles Taylor and Blaise Compaoré has ebbed and flowed, the presence of troops loyal to Charles Taylor in the west of Côte d'Ivoire demonstrates the continued collaboration between Taylor and Compaoré in regional destabilisation. From the December 1999 coup onwards, Taylor and Compaoré gradually

⁸⁷ ICG interviews, Abidjan, March 2003. The MPCI accused Angolans of placing anti-personnel mines in three localities. ICG received confirmation from Western security sources that mines had been placed around Gbagbo's village, Mama. An article in *Jeune Afrique l'Intelligent*, December 2002, cited some 500 mercenaries: Angolan, Israeli, around 30 Bulgarians holding Angolan passports (pilots and technicians for the MI-24 helicopters), black South Africans with Special Forces training, and approximately 60 French, five of whom were injured in the battle for Man. See also "L'enfer ivoirien: paradis des mercenaires", *Le Figaro*, 16 December 2002.

⁸⁸ ICG interviews with Western diplomats and security officers, Abidjan, March and May 2003.

⁸⁹ Jack the Rebel, also known as "General Mission" and whose real name was George Douana, allegedly died in late March 2003 during fighting in Ganta, Nimba County. ICG Africa Report N°62, *Tackling Liberia: The Eye Of The Regional Storm*, 30 April 2003, p. 8.

(4) developed divergent interests in Côte d'Ivoire. Taylor became an ally of General Gueï, leader of the Ivorian military junta in 1999-2000; their relations dated back to the early 1990s, when Gueï, as a senior army officer, had supported Taylor's war effort from rear bases inside Côte d'Ivoire. Taylor continued to help Gueï when the latter, after losing power in 2000, retreated to his fiefdom close to the western border with Liberia. Gueï, himself a Yacouba, recruited fighters from that group's ethnic cousins, the Gio of Liberia, who formed the main element in Taylor's own armed forces. Gueï's private force in Gouéssesso near Man included many Liberians, and Ivorian soldiers who trained in Liberia in 2000-2001.⁹⁰ Compaoré, on the other hand, was increasingly identified in Ivorian politics with Alassane Ouattara.

The early days of the rebellion developed into a strategic threat for Taylor⁹¹ after MPCI declared a unilateral ceasefire on 17 October 2002 following the seizure by government troops of Daloa, in the heart of cocoa country, with help from Angolan fighters.⁹² First, he lost his closest Ivorian ally when General Gueï was murdered on 19 September 2002. Secondly, he received information that the MPCI was recruiting Liberian combat veterans from refugee camps in Ghana, including some whom he considered as enemies. After the MPCI had taken the northern Ivorian town of Ouangolodougou, the rebel movement had a direct supply route from Burkina Faso. Taylor learned of a meeting in early November 2002 between MPCI leaders, including IB Coulibaly and his brother Ishmael; a close military aide to President Compaoré; a dissident from Guinea; Sam Bockarie from the Sierra Leonean RUF; and at least one former fighter from Taylor's own forces. This group hatched a plan to launch a three-pronged attack on Danane, San Pedro and Abidjan in December 2002, and to use the territory they secured to re-start wars in Sierra Leone and Guinea. Alarmed not least by the

number of Liberian opponents that MPCI had under arms, Taylor established the MIGO to protect him from MPCI intrusion.

(5) Thirdly, Taylor was threatened by President Gbagbo's own recruitment of Liberian exiles in the form of the Krahn 'wing' of LURD, which later hived off into a new movement, MODELI. These anti-Taylor forces had bases in Abidjan and numerous supporters in the FPI. The need to find new sources of revenue and especially to block Gbagbo from access to rents from cocoa provides another explanation for the opening of a new front in the west. Whether Robert Gueï had a hand in the original coup is unknown, but his men in the west were not prepared to accept his murder. While further investigation is needed into the exact circumstances that gave birth to MIGO and MJP, it has become clear that to varying degrees, MPCI, Compaoré, and especially Taylor were all party to the creation of these new rebel groups.

The western front fundamentally changed the nature of the war. Until the arrival of the Liberian and Sierra Leonean fighters, relatively few civilians had been victims of violence in the rebel zones. By December 2002, the number of civilian victims of the "death squads" in Abidjan and loyalist security forces in Daloa was reportedly higher than those of civilians killed by the MPCI.⁹³ Uncontrolled by their respective Ivorian allies, Liberians and Sierra Leonean fighters, together with marauding bands of looters, spread death and destruction among the local Guéré, Yacouba and Dioula populations.

Beyond the indiscriminate violence perpetrated by these fighters, the political manipulation of local populations has led to a growing inter-ethnic conflict. Caught in the cross-fire and accused by both sides, Liberian refugees in Côte d'Ivoire have become the tragic victims. Gbagbo's forces in particular have deliberately targeted civilian populations thought to sympathise with the rebellion. Gbagbo and FANCI spokesmen have persistently denied the obvious use of helicopters and of Liberian fighters, and exactions committed against the Yacouba and Dioula populations, despite abundant evidence to the contrary. Although the ceasefire was signed on 3 May 2003, in late June 2003 the western refugee transit camp

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 15-18.

⁹¹ ICG interviews with former close aide of Charles Taylor, June-August 2003.

⁹² MPCI accused Gbagbo of using Angolan mercenaries to help liberate Daloa, and of planting land mines. Some 500 Angolans were already present on Ivorian soil before 19 September 2002, officially as trainers in a military co-operation program. Their presence at Daloa has been confirmed by Western intelligence officers. Figures cited by officials indicate 2,000 Angolans on rotation, 122 of whom were part of the Presidential Guard. ICG interviews, Abidjan, March 2003.

⁹³ ICG interviews with Ivorian and international human rights organisations and Western diplomats, Abidjan, December 2002, March 2003.

documents used to obtain his nationality certificate. RDR marches are repressed, and leading RDR officials are arrested and imprisoned.

23/24 December 1999 Non-commissioned officers, led by Staff-Sergeant Ibrahim ("IB") Coulibaly, oust Bédié in a bloodless coup d'état. General Gueï is asked to lead the junta.] K

The Military Junta

4 January 2000 General Gueï proclaims that he has come to "sweep the house" and put an end to *ivoirité*, then quickly return power to civilians.

21 January 2000 The *Commission Consultative Constitutionnelle et Electorale* (CCCE) is created by decree to propose a new constitution and electoral code. Press attention focuses on the conditions of presidential eligibility. At the end of March, the President of the CCCE hands a finished text to Gueï in which the initially exclusive conditions of eligibility have been replaced by the formula "born to mother or father of Ivorian origin" and from which other prejudicial language has been dropped.

January 2000 Creation of a special military unit by Gueï and other informal parallel groups by the NCOs who led the coup. Denounced by Amnesty International in May, Gueï's group is disbanded, while the others continue to operate.

March 2000 The FPI press launches campaigns against the "massive fraud" of nationality cards held by foreigners, accusing the RDR, and against allies of Ouattara.

12 May 2000 General Gueï accuses the RDR of attacks against state security and on May 18 dissolves the government. Seydou Diarra is named prime minister.

27 May 2000 Publication of the new constitution, which, however, has had some of the prejudicial language directed at Ouattara restored.

17 July 2000 General Gueï modifies the constitution in a further attempt to exclude Ouattara from the presidential race.

23 July 2000 Referendum approves the constitution, with 86.53 per cent in favour and 56 per cent participation.

16 August 2000 General Gueï declares himself a "candidate of the people" for the presidency.

September 2000 Political violence breaks out, including attacks by soldiers against Gueï's residence in an apparent assassination attempt and failed coup. Staff-Sergeant Ibrahim Coulibaly refuses to return from his post at the Ivorian embassy in Canada and goes into exile in Burkina Faso. Generals Palenfo and Coulibaly, both thought to be close to the RDR, go into hiding in the Nigerian embassy. An arrest warrant is later issued against them.

6 October 2000 The supreme court rejects fourteen of the nineteen presidential candidates, including all six PDCI candidates and Ouattara.

22-25 October 2000 On Sunday October 22 the first round of Presidential elections takes place. The PDCI and the RDR have called for a boycott, and participation is only 34 percent. Gbagbo announces victory based on partial results. The military physically breaks up the electoral commission, which the Ministry of the Interior then dissolves and announces Gueï's victory with 53 per cent of the vote. Gbagbo's supporters take to the streets, military factions clash, and on 25 October Gueï leaves the country by helicopter.] 7

- 19 September 2002 Heavy shooting breaks out in Abidjan. The government says a coup attempt was foiled and accuses Gueï, who, with his wife and entourage, is killed. At least 400 people die including Minister of the Interior Boga Doudou. Having failed to take the commercial capital Abidjan, rebelling soldiers retreat to Bouaké and later announce formation of an insurgent group, the *Mouvement patriotique de la Côte d'Ivoire* (MPCI - Côte d'Ivoire Patriotic Movement).
- 22 September 2002 French troops arrive to protect foreigners.
- 24 September 2002 Gbagbo's ruling party, FPI, accuses Burkina Faso of being behind the "destabilisation" of Ivory Coast. Ouattara, who has sought refuge at the French ambassador's residence, tells a French newspaper that the soldiers who killed Gueï had also been after him. Loyalist troops launch an unsuccessful offensive on Bouaké.
- 27 September 2002 French troops evacuate some 1,200 foreigners from Bouaké.
- 28 September 2002 Abidjan calls for activation of the defence agreement with France.
- 29 September 2002 The Economic Community of West African states (ECOWAS) sets up a "contact group" and decides to send a peacekeeping force.
- 30 September 2002 ECOWAS creates a six-member mediation group to help resolve the Ivorian crisis.
- 4-8 October 2002 A first ECOWAS mediation attempt fails and fighting breaks out in Bouaké. People start fleeing rebel-held areas. Some West African migrants return home or go to third countries. This movement continues throughout October and November. Government forces are repulsed from Bouaké after intense fighting.
- 14 October 2002 Loyalist forces recapture Daloa 48 hours after it is taken by rebels; the number of people fleeing Bouaké rises to 2,500 a day.
- 15 October 2002 Staff-Sergeant Tuo Fozié reveals the existence of a rebel political leadership, and Guillaume Soro, one-time FPI sympathiser and recent RDR collaborator, announces himself as General Secretary of the MPCI.
- 17 October 2002 A ceasefire is brokered by the Senegalese President, Abdoulaye Wade, and signed unilaterally by the MPCI just after government troops recover Daloa with Angolan help. President Gbagbo accepts deal, asks France to police it. The ceasefire line runs east to west, dividing the country in half. Under "*Operation Licorne*", French troops brought in to reinforce the 700-strong French forces already in Abidjan are asked to supervise the ceasefire until ECOWAS troops can relieve them.
- 22 October 2002 France sends more troops to police the ceasefire. Demonstrators stage a violent protest outside the French military base in Abidjan, demanding that Ouattara be handed over.
- 24 October 2002 ECOWAS designates Togo's President Gnassingbé Eyadéma to lead talks between the MPCI and government.
- 28 October 2002 Following intense diplomatic activity by West African leaders and the French, peace talks are organised in Lomé under the leadership of President Eyadéma.
- 30 October 2002 First direct talks between government and rebels begin in Lomé.
- 1 November 2002 Government accepts principle of amnesty and reintegration of rebel forces into army.
- 18 November 2002 An advance team of ECOWAS peacekeepers arrives in Abidjan.

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UN Document S/2003/937: Letter dated 28 October 2003 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia addressed to the President of the Security Council, 28 October 2003

United Nations

S/2003/937

**Security Council**Distr.: General
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Letter dated 28 October 2003 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia addressed to the President of the Security Council

(1)

On behalf of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia, and in accordance with paragraph 25 of resolution 1478 (2003), I have the honour to submit the report of the Panel of Experts.

I would appreciate it if this letter, together with its enclosure, were to be brought to the attention of the members of the Security Council and issued as a document of the Council.

(Signed) **Munir Akram**
Chairman
Security Council Committee established pursuant
to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia



Côte d'Ivoire

41. By the end of September 2003 the Forces nouvelles had officially pulled out of the Government of National Unity of Côte d'Ivoire and retreated to their stronghold in the north. With this split the French-brokered peace agreement of January 2003 is threatened and parts of Côte d'Ivoire may once again become a haven for marauding bands of mercenaries and combatants.

42. This is of particular concern because political leaders of the Forces nouvelles acknowledged to the Panel that they had asked for and received support from Charles Taylor and that the President of Côte d'Ivoire, Laurent Gbagbo, had provided arms and logistical support from the armed forces of Côte d'Ivoire (FANCI) to Liberian rebel fighters. ②

43. Persistent media reports in Abidjan concerning Comstar telecommunications, financial misconduct and money-laundering by high-level Liberian and Ivorian politicians, and funding of LURD and MODEL have undermined the public's confidence in the Government of Côte d'Ivoire and the judiciary. This scandal is just one example of the destabilizing effects of the Liberian conflict throughout the region.

44. The Panel obtained information to the effect that an alleged representative of the Government of Côte d'Ivoire named Richard Tho was in charge of the coordination of the Lima rebel forces. Tho is said to have a business card with the seal of the Presidency of Côte d'Ivoire, and is allegedly responsible for making salary payments to the Lima forces. Information has been obtained that the Lima forces now number 1,000 and control the western part of Côte d'Ivoire.

45. Racketeering by police forces continues in Côte d'Ivoire. At least 24 taxi drivers have been killed in Abidjan over the past two years after refusing to pay bribes. A Panel member witnessed the police demanding bribes from taxi drivers.

Sierra Leone

46. Although the United Kingdom and UNAMSIL have focused their support on building security capabilities of the Government of Sierra Leone in order to prevent a repetition of the RUF insurgency, fears regarding the ability of the Republic of Sierra Leone Army to maintain territorial integrity have proved durable. However, the exile of Charles Taylor is likely to assuage these concerns, particularly after the expiration of the mandate of UNAMSIL in March 2003. Nevertheless security concerns remain, in particular in the eastern border town of Koindu in Kailahun District, where residents and researchers have observed a strong influence of elements of the former RUF.

47. There are high expectations in Sierra Leone about the end of the Liberian conflict. Sierra Leonians note with optimism the rapid return of many humanitarian relief agencies to Monrovia, many of which are now conducting needs assessments in the parts of the country that are accessible.

48. The body of Sam Bockarie, who faced charges of war crimes since 10 March 2003 by the Prosecutor of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, was returned to Sierra Leone and an autopsy was conducted on 2 June 2003 at Connaught Hospital, Freetown (see annex IV). It remains unclear who was responsible for his death. His

was contacted in August by telephone in his new home in California, United States of America. Once again, he was invited to disclose his financial relationship with Mr. Taylor. He declined and continued to claim that he related to Taylor in a strictly non-commercial friendship. Subsequently, an attorney based in Washington, D.C., claiming to represent Mr. Nassereddine contacted the Panel by telephone to discuss unspecified further matters. The Panel has declined to converse with Mr. Nassereddine through an intermediary but recommends extensive further investigations in regard to the question whether he acted as a front man for Charles Taylor or whether he simply used his well-known friendship with the former President to profit personally.

Fuel importation

61. The main reason why Liberians have paid an exorbitant \$3 per gallon for fuel is an agreement between Charles Taylor, Belle Dunbar and a private entity controlled by Ghassan Basma and Jamal Basma, which guaranteed Taylor a number of financial benefits. Nominally, LPRC set the price of fuel and collected some gains, designated as taxes.

62. Each month, Kadiyatou Dara collected additional taxes that amounted to between \$300,000 and \$600,000 in cash directly from the Basma operation. On direction from Taylor, she distributed those funds to ATU, SSS and other paramilitary services as salaries.

63. The Basma family had secured the exclusive five-year supply agreement in September 1998 against a \$10 million loan payment in goods, such as cars and earth-moving equipment, to Taylor. The payment was entered into the government accounts as a prepaid tax. One stipulation of the exclusive agreement ensured automatic renewal as long as the loan including interest was not repaid by the Government. Currently, the outstanding debt is approximately \$2 million. In other words, the \$10 million "loan" to Taylor, which secured the Basma family the lucrative fuel import contract, was allowed to be recorded as expenditure against taxes due to the Government.

64. The harmful effects of the fuel schemes continue. On 30 August 2003 the total fuel reserves of Liberia had dwindled to 800,000 gallons. On that date, a first shipment of 2,500 tons of gasoline, 1,800 tons of diesel and 1,342 tons of A-1 jet fuel was offloaded at the free port of Monrovia. Two weeks later, 5,500 more tons of gasoline were imported. These fuel deliveries, totalling 2.94 million gallons, went immediately on to the market at a price of \$2.90 per gallon for diesel and \$3 per gallon for gasoline. As explained in table 9 of the Panel's previous report (S/2003/498), these retail prices contain, after deducting "taxes", gains to importers of at least one third of the wholesale price. But the aforementioned deliveries of 2.94 million gallons of fuel went on the market at a time when government agencies such as LPRC, Customs and the Ministry of Finance were not fully operational. Consequently, there is a strong suspicion that the importers or others may have pocketed all taxes and gains totalling several million dollars just from those two most recent deliveries.

Rice importation

65. The original rice supply agreement, which secured exclusive rights for Bridgeway Corporation, owned by George Haddad, included the provision of

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Capproximately 72,000 bags of "free" rice deliveries to Charles Taylor for the year 2002. The free rice deliveries represented a value of \$1.3 million per year. Taylor distributed the rice among his military and paramilitary forces. According to witnesses, Bridgeway was authorized by the former President to charge the "free" rice to the Ministry of Finance, for which Bridgeway obtained "non-cash revenue certificates".

66. Even after deducting all official taxes, import duties and fees raised on the rice importation, the Panel and other authorities have calculated that approximately \$5 or \$6 in profits was built into the retail price of \$20 to \$22 per bag. These excess profits were collected by Taylor in cash or deposited in an account at Tradevco Bank, which is administered by Kadiyatu Dara and others.

67. Large enterprises that were exempt from buying rice through Bridgeway included the Oriental Timber Corporation/Royal Timber Corporation, Maryland Wood Processing Industries and Firestone. This led to indirect benefits for Taylor. MWPI regularly purchased almost double the quantity of rice required to feed its employees, the workers of the affiliated rubber plantation and the Cape Palmas port operation. The surplus imports of approximately 2,500 bags were sold by MWPI owner Abbas Fawaz to the local population and to feed ATU and SSS soldiers frequently stationed at his logging camps. The Fawaz side-trade netted additional gains of up to \$10,000 per month. In return, Mr. Fawaz, through his bank accounts in Switzerland and France, took care of expenses that Taylor incurred during his trips to Europe.

68. In 1999 the Council of Economic Advisers protested against Bridgeway Corporation's rice monopoly. Since then, a small percentage of rice imports has been handled by other firms.

Timber industry

Mismanagement

69. Charles Taylor justified his forest management policies by the need to optimize the economies of scale. As a consequence, a number of Liberians and other entrepreneurs either lost their logging concessions or had to switch to less attractive ones so as to allow the granting of large concessions, typically larger than 500,000 to 2 million acres, to new and better-funded operators. The Panel believes that Taylor's true motivation was to facilitate the extraction of larger sums of money from logging companies amenable to his coercive tactics.

70. Taylor's schemes have deprived the Liberian people of substantial income. Forests are Liberia's most valuable natural resource and Liberians have every right to the maximum benefit of their resources. No up-to-date inventories exist by which to estimate the full economic potential that the forest could represent to Liberians, but the mere fact that a substantial majority of the concession lands is controlled by non-Liberians reveals a deep inequity.

71. There are unresolved issues in regard to the size of concessions. An informal survey conducted by the Panel revealed that logging companies often exploit their concessions inefficiently. The reason given was that the concession areas were too large and that, to achieve a more efficient use, substantial additional investments in logging equipment, processing facilities, port facilities, reforestation programmes,

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Asia Trading Post Online, Russian Helicopter Sales.

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RUSSIAN HELICOPTER SALES

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We sell used and new Russian helicopters & deliver direct to you or you collect. All NEW helicopter sales we invite you to visit our manufacturing helicopter factory. We can execute your order for you either in Ulan-Ude or in Kazan. For this purpose you will need to inform us how many persons will be in your delegation. Those wishing to make purchases must send copies of their passports for travel abroad as all factories are military installations. This takes approx 2 weeks to seek approval then you are allowed to view and discuss your buy.

We can deliver to you via heavy lift plane to your country. We accept applications for repairs and sales of your helicopters.

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MILITARY / CIVIL VIP CONVERSIONS

Mi-2 RUSSIAN HELICOPTER SALES

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The Mi-2 powered by two turbine engines was the first Mi-2 helicopter manufactured in 1965. Until the end of the 1980s they sold over 5500 helicopters. The PZL-Kania helicopter is derived from the Mi-2 helicopter and made in Poland. The test flight of its prototype was performed on June 6th, 1979. The standard passenger version of Mi-2 helicopter has seating for 1 pilot and 8 passengers. The interior can be quickly converted for transport of 700kg of cargo. The range of the helicopter with external tanks, as standard, is 580km. This version is designed for transporting 2-4 casualties on stretchers and seating for medical attendants. It is equipped with stretchers, intensive care medical devices necessary during flight & other first aid equipment. Internal cargo carrier of loads up to 700kg (1544lb), or as a flying crane with cargo sling for loads up to 800kg (1764lb). The helicopter is equipped in standard with a set of load tiedown rings, load securing ropes and nets, protecting the load from movement during flight. Electric hoists can be installed for lifting loads of up to 120kg.

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Agricultural version of the helicopter is available in four basic variants designed for specific types of operations, e.g. LV spraying, ULV spraying, dusting and spreading. The total capacity of the hoppers (which can carry solid as well as liquid chemicals) is 1200 litres.

The Mi-2 found widespread fields of activity both with military, state and commercial operators. Besides transport of freight and passengers, the Mi-2 has also found work as ambulance, police and Search-and-Rescue helicopter. Although demand for its services has declined since the break-up of the USSR - especially in the agricultural sector - many Mi-2 still remain in service all around the CIS and in many of its former satellite states.

DIMENSIONS, WEIGHTS AND PERFORMANCE	Length of fuselage 11.94 m	Length overall rotors turning 17.42 m
Tail rotor diameter 2.70 m	Wheel base 2.71 m	Max. takeoff weight 3550 kg
Main rotor diameter 14.56 m	Basic helicopter empty weight 2410 kg	Standard fuel capacity 600 l
Max. fuel (with aux. tanks) 1076 l	Max. internal (cabin) load 700 kg	Sling load (limited) 800 kg

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Page from Sinodefence.com regarding Mi-17/171 Hip Multi-role Helicopter, 7 September 2009



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Mi-17/171 Hip Multirole Helicopter

(1)



Over 250 examples of the Russian Mi-17/171 (NATO reporting name: Hip-H) multirole helicopter are currently operational with the PLA. The helicopters carry out transportation of troops, supplies and equipment to the battlefield. Other roles include air-to-surface attack, medical evacuation, airborne command post, refuelling, mine laying, search and rescue, spacecraft recovery, disaster relief, etc. A licensed co-production of the helicopter has started in 2008 by a Chinese-Russian joint venture in Sichuan Province.

In 1990, the PRC placed its first order of military hardware from its old rival Soviet Union since the end of Cold War. The order came as 24 examples of the Mil Mi-17 multirole helicopters, a derivative of the Mi-8 transport helicopter developed by the Mil Design Bureau in the 1960s. The Mi-17 is the export designation, and the version in service with the Russian Army designated Mi-8MT. These helicopters were produced by the Ulan-Ude Aviation Plant and delivered to the PLA in 1991. The deal also marked the beginning of the multibillion dollars arms trade between PRC and Russia in the following decades.

The latest purchases have shifted to the Mi-17-V5/V7 variant manufactured by the Kazan Helicopter Plant JSC. The Mi-17 differs to the Ulan-Ude-built Mi-171 in its 'dolphin' nose, more powerful TV3-117VM engine with new auxiliary power unit, extra port door on the starboard side, and flat rear fuselage ramp for easier access. The improved Mi-17V7 variant features a more powerful VK-2500 engine for full performance in hot and high conditions.

Design

The Mi-17/171 has a conventional design, with a large five-bladed main rotor mounted over the powerpack at the fuselage midsection and a three-bladed tail rotor. Twin turboshaft engines are mounted on top of the fuselage with two round air intake

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just above the cockpit and rounded exhaust ports aft. The engine intakes of the Mi-17 series have deflectors to separate solid particles in the air (sand, dust etc.) and prevent them from ingestion. The tail boom tapers to the small, swept-back and tapered fin with rotor on the port side, with small flats mounted forward of the fin.

The Mi-17/171 has a round nose with glassed-in cockpit, a large sliding door forward on the portside, and a clamshell freight-loading door in the rear. The Mi-17-V5/V7 has a solid 'dolphin' nose, large sliding doors on both sides of the fuselage, and a single flat ramp giving easier access. The landing gear is a non-retractable tricycle type with a twin-wheel nose unit. On each side of the fuselage there is a pod for an external fuel tank. A box-shape device attached to the lower part of the rail beam houses the electronic countermeasures (ECM) system. Some Mi-17/171 helicopters in service with the PLA are fitted with an indigenous weather radar developed by 607 Institute of Wuxi, Jiangsu Province.

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The cockpit accommodates a crew of three (include pilot, co-pilot/navigator, and flight mechanic). The cockpit and the main cabin are heated with air condition as optional. The main cabin can carry up to 24 equipped soldiers, or 30 passengers, or 20 stretcher patients. The seats can be removed to carrying 4,000kg of cargo. Alternatively the helicopter can carry 3,000 large-size cargo externally under sling. The helicopter has internal winch facilities in its main cabin and tie-down rings on floor for cargo transport. An electrically-operated hoist (300kg) is fitted above the forward slide door on the port side for rescue missions. The helicopter is equipped with fire suppression and de-icing system to increase its survivability.

Armament

The Mi-17/171 helicopter is capable of carrying troops and cargo for air assault of infantry troops, special force team insertion, and reply of ground troops. The Mi-8 helicopters in Russian Army and many other countries have also often been used for conducting armed attacks and providing close air support with unguided rockets and machine guns. The Mi-17s sent to China were unarmed, but the PLA managed to fit these helicopters with external weapon pylons similar to those used by the Russian Army. External stores are mounted on weapons racks on each side of the fuselage, with a total of six hardpoints. So far Mi-17s in service with the PLA have been seen carrying the 12.7mm machine gun pod, 57/68mm unguided rocket launcher, 250/500kg free-fall bomb, or TY-90 air-to-air missile according to their missions.

Powerplant

The Mi-17 and Mi-171 are powered by two Klimov TV3-117MT turboshaft engines, each rated at 1,950hp. The helicopter can still take-off even with one engine shut down. An auxiliary power unit (APU) enables engine starts at altitudes up to 6,000m. The Mi-17-V5 is powered by two TV3-117VM(A) engines, each rated at 2,200hp. The latest Mi-17V7 has two VK-2500 turboshaft engines, each rated at 2,400hp. The VK-2500 engine also has a full-authority digital engine control (FADEC) for 'hot and high' conditions.

The helicopter carries 1,870 litres of fuel in two flexible internal tanks and two external tanks. The total fuel capacity can be increased to 3,700 litres by installing up to two ferry tanks in the cabin. Some Mi-17/171s in service with the PLA are seen being fitted with internal and external fuel tanks for extended range.

Licensed Co-Production

In March 2007, the Russian Mil Moscow Helicopter Plant JSC set up a joint venture "Sichuan Lantian Helicopter Co. Ltd." in Chengdu, Sichuan Province to repair and manufacture the Mi-17 series helicopters for both Chinese and international customers. In May 2008, Russian RIA Novosti reported that the Mi-17 production at Lantian had already begun. The plant will build 20 helicopters in 2008, using Russian Ulan-Ude-supplied kits. The production is expected to reach 80 helicopters per year eventually. The variants to be built by Lantian will include Mi-171, Mi-17V5, and Mi-17V7.

Mi-17/171 Deliveries to the PLA

Model	Quantity	Year of Contract	Year(s) of Delivery
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Amnesty International: "Sierra Leone: First Indictments before the Special Court for Sierra Leone", 2 April 2003 (Page 1)



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DOCUMENT - SIERRA LEONE: FIRST INDICTMENTS BEFORE THE SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Public Statement

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2 April 2003

SIERRA LEONE: First indictments before the Special Court for Sierra Leone

On 10 March 2003 the Special Court for Sierra Leone announced its first indictments. Seven people were indicted by the Special Court for war crimes, crimes against humanity and other serious violations of international humanitarian law falling within the jurisdiction of the Special Court. They are:

- Foday Sankoh, former leader of the armed opposition Revolutionary United Front (RUF);
- Issa Hassan Sesay, a former leading RUF member;
- Alex Tamba Brima, a former member of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) which allied itself to the RUF following a military coup in May 1997;
- Morris Kallon, a former leading RUF member;
- Johnny Paul Koroma, former leader of the AFRC, elected to parliament in May 2002;
- Sam Bockarie ("Mosquito"), a leading RUF member;
- Samuel Hinga Norman, Minister of Internal Affairs, former National Coordinator of the Civil Defence Forces (CDF).

Further indictments are expected. An eighth person, Augustine Gbao, a former RUF commander, has also been taken into the custody of the Special Court as a suspect but has not yet been indicted. The Prosecutor of the Special Court has 30 days to issue an indictment or request that the suspect be held for a further 30 days. If a suspect is not indicted after 90 days, they must be released.

Five of those indicted are now in the Special Court's custody. International warrants of arrest have been issued for Johnny Paul Koroma and Sam Bockarie. Johnny Paul Koroma evaded arrest in January 2003 following an attack on a military compound in the capital, Freetown. Sam Bockarie is reported to be in Liberia, where the government of President Charles Taylor has supported the RUF; reports also suggest that Sam Bockarie is associated with armed opposition groups in Côte d'Ivoire. The Prosecutor has called for them to be handed over to the Special Court as indicted war criminals.

Amnesty International welcomes the fact that the work of the Special Court has begun and that trials of those suspected of bearing "the greatest responsibility" for the crimes falling within the jurisdiction of the Special Court will proceed. This is an important and significant start of a judicial process which will contribute towards ending impunity for the grave human rights abuses which occurred during Sierra Leone's 10-year internal armed conflict.

Amnesty International is also encouraged that the first indictments by the Special Court reflect investigation of crimes committed by all parties to the conflict during the period of the conflict over which the Special Court has jurisdiction (that is, from 30 November 1996). Those indicted include not only former leading members of rebel forces of the RUF and the AFRC but also the National Coordinator of the government-allied CDF.

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BBC News Report, "Surprise at Sierra Leone arrests", 11 March 2003

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Surprise at Sierra Leone arrests

Sierra Leoneans have welcomed the speed with which the United Nations war crimes tribunal has indicted a senior government politician and two former rebel leaders.

Those detained are the Sierra Leone Minister of Internal Affairs, Sam Hinga Norman, and former rebel leaders Issa Sesay and Morris Kallon of the Revolutionary United Front.

The rebel leader Foday Sankoh, who was already in prison facing treason charges, was also transferred into the hands of the court. Sierra Leoneans had been expecting the first arrests to be made later this year.

The United Nations set up the Sierra Leone tribunal to indict and try those considered to have the greatest responsibility for war crimes committed during 10 years of brutal conflict.

The first hearings are due to start shortly.

Human Rights Watch also welcomed the indictments as key step forwards towards justice and accountability.

"We applaud the court for having the courage to indict persons who were on all sides of the conflict," said HRW official Peter Takirambudde.

'Unbelievable crimes'

A Freetown resident told the BBC: "These arrests came as a complete surprise to me. But as we all know justice has to take its course."

"Certain people have committed some terrible, unbelievable crimes against humanity, against children, against women. And somebody has to be held responsible."

Another said: "Now that the Special Courts have taken action then this has to continue. My appeal to every Sierra Leonean is to wait for subsequent judgement and see how the trials would be conducted."

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The BBC's Tom McKinley

"All five arrested were taken away by helicopter to a secure but undisclosed prison"

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"Today the people of Sierra Leone took back control of their lives and their future... The dark days of the rule of the gun are over," the chief UN prosecutor David Crane said.

Mr Norman, now minister of Internal Affairs, was a leader of the Kamajors militia, which supported the government during the civil war.



People detained when Foday Sankoh was first arrested two years ago

Limb amputations

Both the Kamajors and the rebels were accused of widespread brutality, including rape arson and plunder of civilian property.

The RUF are especially linked to the live amputation of limbs including those of young children.

The five arrested were taken away by helicopter to a secure but undisclosed prison outside the capital.

However the court fears unrest as a result of its actions.

Our correspondent also says Mr Norman is seen by many in Sierra Leone as a hero who stood up to the rebels.

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Extradition requests

The chief prosecutor has also called on West African countries harbouring the former rebel commander, Sam Bockarie, and the former military leader, Johnny Paul Koroma, to hand them over.

Mr Koroma ruled Sierra Leone during one of the bloodiest periods of the decade-long civil war.

He seized power from President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah in 1997, but was driven out again early in 1998.

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Sam Bockarie, known by his rebel name Mosquito is one of the country's most notorious rebel leaders.

He left Liberia in February last year where he had sought refuge following pressure on that country by the United Nations.

He was reported to be in Ivory Coast.

Sierra Leone's war crimes tribunal is different from those of Rwanda and Yugoslavia as it will be held in the country.

The court which is expected to last for three years is made up of both local and international prosecutors and judges.

Britain and the United States are among some 20 countries paying for the court's operations.

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UN Document S/2001/424: First Report of the Secretary General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1343 (2001) regarding Liberia, 30 April 2001

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United Nations

S/2001/424



Security Council

Distr.: General
30 April 2001

Original: English

First report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1343 (2001) regarding Liberia

I. Introduction

1. In paragraph 12 of its resolution 1343 (2001) of 7 March 2001, the Security Council requested me to submit to it a first report by 30 April 2001 and to report thereafter at six-month intervals from that date, drawing on information from all relevant sources, including the United Nations Office in Liberia, the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), on whether Liberia has complied with the demands in paragraph 2 of that resolution. I was also requested to report on any progress made towards the objectives set out in paragraph 3 of the resolution.

2. The present report is submitted pursuant to that request. It contains information regarding the measures taken by the Government of Liberia in response to the recommendations contained in the report of the Panel of Experts established pursuant to paragraph 19 of resolution 1306 (2000) and in compliance with resolution 1343 (2001), since its adoption on 7 March 2001.

II. Measures adopted by the Government of Liberia prior to resolution 1343 (2001)

3. Following the publication of the report of the Panel of Experts established pursuant to paragraph 19 of resolution 1306 (2000), the Government of Liberia announced a number of measures in response to that report. In resolution 1343 (2001), the Security Council took note of those measures and welcomed the

intention of ECOWAS to monitor their implementation, in close cooperation with the United Nations.

4. The measures that the Council took note of in resolution 1343 (2001) are the ones announced by the Government of Liberia on 12 January 2001. They include:

(a) The adoption of a new policy of disengagement by which the Government would no longer support the activities of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). It called on RUF to lay down its arms.

(b) The grounding of all aircraft registered under the Liberian flag until their owners produced documentary proof of their airworthiness under Liberia's civil aviation laws and standards based on those of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO).

(c) All persons connected with RUF were ordered to depart from Liberia.

5. On 7 February 2001, the Government of Liberia announced the departure from Liberia of Sam Bockarie, alias "Maskita" and the closure of the RUF liaison office in Liberia.

6. On 6 March, the Government of Liberia established an eight-person Presidential Task Force on Sanctions, jointly chaired by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the National Security Adviser, to oversee the Government's compliance with the demands of the international community, as specified in the report of the Panel of Experts pursuant to resolution 1306 (2000), and in anticipation of the adoption of resolution 1343 (2001).



MFI-371A-D

Excerpts from ECOMOG: A Sub-regional experience in Conflict Resolution, Management and Peacekeeping, by Festus B. Aboagye

- A: Page 101 (ERN 00043097)
- B: Page 105 (ERN 00043101, no footnotes)
- C: Pages 124-125 (ERN 00043118-00043119)
- D: Page 270 (ERN 00043261)

00043097

Political Progress and Setback, 1990-92

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which felt superior and arrogated to itself special treatment from ECOMOG.

Probably out of frustration over the lack of substantive progress at Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire suggested in September 1991 that ECOMOG should be replaced by UN forces in order to build confidence among the warring factions. This was categorically rejected by the UN Secretary-General and ECOWAS. At the same time, the former Nigerian Army Chief of Operations, Maj. Gen. J.I. Bakut (September 1991 - September 1992), took over as the new Field Commander of ECOMOG.

Yamoussoukro III, arrived at on 17 September 1991, achieved the formation of the Elections Commission and a Supreme Court by the Interim Government and the NPFL. Taylor was still insisting on disarming the NPFL into the AFL under ECOMOG supervision, but not to ECOMOG. On 24 October, he announced his intention to stand as a candidate for elections. The now famous Yamoussoukro IV Accord (Appendix A), which was finalised on 30 October 1991,¹⁴ provided for disarmament, encampment under ECOMOG supervision within a 60-day time frame before repatriation, rehabilitation and nation-wide elections. In addition to establishing a buffer zone on the border with Sierra Leone, ECOMOG was to control all air and sea ports, as well as border crossings.

The Accord was significant for the fact that it bridged the lingering chasm between the Anglophone bloc that endorsed the IGNU arrangement and the Francophone bloc that did not. It eventually culminated in the Geneva Ceasefire Agreement on 7 April 1992 at the request of Côte d'Ivoire. In the main, the Geneva meeting¹⁵ sought to reaffirm commitment to the Yamoussoukro Agreement (30 October 1991) and strengthen efforts for its implementation. This was to be done by creating a buffer zone between Liberia and Sierra Leone and the absolute responsibility of ECOMOG for security within the zone and at the entry points of Liberian territory. The proposals of the Carter Center that ECOMOG should remove all offensive weapons, be non-aligned and should refrain from involvement in the administration of Liberia were rejected, however, by the Community. Obviously taking its cue from the Carter proposition, Taylor in a BBC interview in October 1991 asked ECOMOG to reduce its strength from 8,000 to 1,500.¹⁶ This practically meant a reinforced ECOMOG battalion with additional logistics or at best, two battalions, to keep the peace that he had consistently undermined.

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ECOMOG

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another turning point in the peace process. Even though Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana and Togo later added their voices and urged UN intervention in African conflicts, especially in Liberia, they argued for more logistic and financial support and not the hijacking of the ECOWAS initiative as Taylor was requesting.

If Maj. Gen. R.M. Kupolati left Liberia partitioned rather than building it, the tour of Maj. Gen. Bakut was most frustrating, as he was compelled to deploy thinly in small widely dispersed pockets that left his forces vulnerable to attacks by rebels without any respect for agreements. Much of the problem could be blamed on Taylor, who played delaying tactics. Lacking adequate control over his rebel forces, he personally incited his rebels with his anti-ECOMOG campaign. By the time of Maj. Gen. Bakut's departure, the lightning success of ULIMO had apparently aroused fears in the INPFL. Prince Johnson therefore renewed his undertaking with the NPFL in September 1992.

Operation Octopus, October 1992

The peace process was to take a further dive in late 1992. Especially in September 1992, the NPFL received large shipments of weapons and equipment including four tanks, 20 armoured personnel carriers, tonnes of artillery pieces, anti-aircraft missiles, small arms and a number of French, as well as African mercenaries by both sea and air. All these were in serious violation of the ECOWAS peace plan.¹⁸ They were made possible by the fact that enforcing the sea and air blockade was difficult for a force that did not have enough naval and air assets. Even though it appears to have been an exaggeration, it was reported that Taylor had mobilised about 70,000 fighters for an offensive. Twenty thousand of them were positioned in the INPFL's Caldwell Base and another 6,000 in other areas in a noose around Monrovia. The NPFL maintained pinprick attacks on ECOMOG that led to the major attack on ECOMOG positions in Brewerville on 2 October 1992, coinciding with the relief of Maj. Gen. Bakut by Maj. Gen. A.I. Olurin (October 1992 - October 1993). On this occasion, the NPFL was pursuing ULIMO fighters when they suddenly changed their direction and attacked ECOMOG troops. The INPFL -- a faction of it -- was believed to have been involved in this attack that left 56 NPFL and three Nigerians killed. ECOMOG responded by issuing a "no fly" order to search all aircraft entering Liberian airspace, while the NPFL declared war on ECOMOG, which had seized the *Sea Rose*, a German ship believed to be ferrying supplies to Gbarnga.¹⁹

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Under the new accord, ECOMOG functions were to monitor the borders and man entry points by land, sea or air to ensure no arms or ammunition inflows, to assemble and disarm factional combatants, verify the movement of arms, assist in the return of refugees and IDPs and to conduct confidence patrols for free and fair elections. Its strength of about 7,269 as of October 1995 was projected to be increased to 12,000 in order to deploy at nine safe havens (6,600), 10-13 assembly sites (3,400) and 14 border crossing points (2,000).

Ceasefire Violations and Disarmament Committees were accordingly established by September 1995 in addition to the swearing in of the "Collective Presidency." The limited progress of the peace process was woefully shattered by two serious violations of the ceasefire. Initially, there was intermittent fighting between ULIMO-J and ULIMO-K, as well as between LPC and NPFL, and NPFL and ULIMO-K in December 1995. This situation was compounded by a ULIMO-J ambush of ECOMOG at Gbarma in Lower Lofa on 28 December 1995, followed by fighting between ECOMOG and ULIMO-J at Tubmanburg and attack on ECOMOG at Kle Junction on 2 January 1996. These hostilities resulted in serious casualties to both sides.¹ After the 15 January ULIMO-J advance at Sinje in Cape Mount, and further ULIMO-J rampaging in Paynesville, Monrovia, in February, ECOMOG withdrew from Gbarnga, Bo-Waterside, Tubmanburg, Tiene and Sinje.

The 6 April, 1996 Mayhem in Monrovia

Secondly, the volatile situation took a dive when Roosevelt Johnson was removed as Chairman of ULIMO-J and replaced by Brig. Gen. William Karyee in a development that was generally seen as orchestrated propaganda to break his hold on ULIMO-J. This, and an ultimatum by Maj. Gen. J.M. Inienger to Johnson to return captured weapons, emboldened the LNTG to remove him as the Minister of Rural Development. Unexpectedly, the isolation of Johnson brought elements of his faction closer to George Boley and the LPC, especially against attempts by the Rapid Reaction Unit of the Liberian National Police (LNP) backed by forces of the NPFL and ULIMO-K to effect his forcible arrest on 6 April 1996. The arrest of Roosevelt Johnson for murder was actually predicated on a warrant issued by the LNTG on 23 March.

These forces were counter-attacked by ULIMO-J and AFL elements leading to street fighting, complete breakdown of law and order and systematic looting in Monrovia between 7 and 17 April 1996. As Taylor infiltrated about 7,000 fighters into Monrovia by 11 April, Kromah

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brought in ULIMO-K fighters to counter the growing NPFL threat.² With no let-up in the fighting, Mohammed Domouya, ULIMO-J COS, was killed by Krahn fighters while carrying a flag of truce to the BTC. At the same time, Gen. *Salt and Pepper* and some of the best soldiers of ULIMO-K defected to the NPFL, thereby alarming Kromah, who paid an unauthorised visit to Guinea to secure more troops. In an atmosphere of increasing insecurity, more assassination attempts were made on some key personalities.³ Additionally, all the media facilities, except the NPFL-controlled Kiss FM radio station, were vandalised.

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It is widely reckoned that more destruction occurred in Monrovia during the factional fighting in April 1996 than at any time during the whole war. The massive looting of UN and NGO premises and property, as well as individual homes and property, the massacre and loss of life, and attacks on ECOMOG caused a total disruption of life in Monrovia. April 6 1996 is therefore as significant as Octopus 1992 in the annals of the Liberian civil war.

Despite the plight of the 3,000 refugees adrift on the *Bulk Challenge*, Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire turned the ship away until the UN and the US sent money to Sierra Leone, Guinea and Ghana to cater for them. Another ship, the *Zolotitsa*, was also allowed to drift in mid-June with 400 Liberians, as no country was prepared to accept the refugees. These actions, callous as they might appear, were rightly or wrongly aimed at impressing on Liberians that their neighbours could not indefinitely continue to accommodate their own savagery and insensitivity. It is doubtful whether this message was ever appreciated by the rank-and-file combatants who were, in many instances, still prosecuting their own little wars and campaigns.

Differences arose between the ECOMOG command and UNOMIL on the verification of the unilateral disarmament of the NPFL. The UNOMIL deployment without ECOMOG support and protection was eventually undermined by NPFL hostility. Taylor exploited these differences. It was a strategy calculated to counter his weakness owing to the loss of control over RIA, Harbel, Buchanan and Kakata and the substantial fall in business revenue and international support. In the background, the NPFL was augmenting its troops in Monrovia by infiltration tactics. Under an inimical military situation induced by more factional fighting, 88 of UNOMIL's 93 military observers were relocated to Freetown and Dakar. ECOMOG, argued Maj. Gen. Inienger, did not intervene "in view of its peacekeeping mandate not to do so in fighting between the factions" and also owing to its limited manpower and

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suitable sites for the projected training. This Board selected six sites at Camp Naama (two sites), Schiefflin (two sites), Camp Ramrod (72nd Battalion), Fendell University Campus and Nurses Quarters, Tubmanburg. Additionally, the Board refined the work of its predecessor in working out the fine details of all the training and logistic requirements required for the successful accomplishment of the restructuring and retraining of the new AFL.

Once again, enormous international finance and logistics were going to be required for this task, which ECOWAS was prepared to solicit for. Besides soliciting for international assistance, ECOWAS decided that the cost of retention of ECOMOG in post-war Liberia was to be borne by the Government of Liberia. This decision was curiously intriguing considering that the Government of President Charles Taylor was bequeathed with a domestic debt of about \$200 million and an external debt of more than \$2 billion.³ Under such economic strain, ECOWAS was obviously asking too much of a government which could have explored other alternatives for securing its own national peace and security with or without difficulties.

As time went on, however, it became apparent that Maj. Gen. Malu's intent was running at cross-purposes with the desires, intentions and projections of President Charles Taylor, a situation that sometimes resulted in unpleasant indirect exchanges. The FC was seriously disturbed that following the visit of President Taylor to South Africa in late 1997, the President was reported to have returned with a consignment of arms and ammunition of which ECOMOG should have been officially informed before they were quickly removed from the Freeport. At the same time, Nigerians in Liberia, including Nigerian ECOMOG troops, were being increasingly maltreated by Liberians. There was indeed no love lost between the President and the FC. Besides insisting on his prerogative of determining his own sovereign defence and security needs and arrangements, the President accused the FC of usurping his powers, and to that end, charged that there could not be two parallel powers in Liberia, the President and the FC.

Matters came to a head as President Taylor called for the replacement of Maj. Gen. Malu, a request that was quickly and suddenly effected on 8 January 1998. Gen. Malu did not hide his feelings when at his farewell parade at ECOMOG HQ, he indicated that, "*I thought we all could finish the job and leave together, but I am sad to be leaving suddenly.*" He was replaced by Maj. Gen. Timothy Shelpidi. By this time, though, it had become crystal

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Excerpts from Liberia's Civil War by Adekeye Adebajo

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tion of a new interim government were all behind schedule. With continued NPFL intransigence amid military losses to ULIMO, Taylor's erstwhile Ivorian backers, whose honor was at stake as hosts of the Yamoussoukro accord, seemed to be tiring of his failure to implement peace agreements. As Côte d'Ivoire's exasperated foreign minister, Amara Essy, warned: "Taylor cannot be taking everyone for a ride . . . we are prepared to act against him."¹

The first of only two ECOWAS peace conferences on Liberia held outside Africa took place in ailing Ivorian leader Félix Houphouët-Boigny's winter home in Geneva between 6 and 7 April 1992.² The meeting merely confirmed what had been agreed in Yamoussoukro, revised the timetables for the deployment of ECOMOG to 30 April 1992 and for the completion of disarmament to 8 June 1992; and acceded to Taylor's requests to send unarmed observers to the Liberia-Sierra Leone buffer zone and to maintain a personal security detail of company strength.³ The Geneva meeting was characterized by another clash between Taylor and Nigeria's Admiral Augustus Aikhomu. After Taylor made insulting remarks about Nigeria, its chief of general staff described him as a "rebel" who had no locus standi and should long ago have been tried and eliminated.⁴ Aikhomu went on to tell the self-proclaimed president of Greater Liberia that "Liberia lost [its] sovereignty during the civil war."⁵

(2) After the conference Taylor complained that he had been pressured to sign the Geneva agreement. As had become customary with other previous accords, within a week Taylor dismissed Geneva as a "rat-trap" that was as unbalanced as it was unsatisfactory; he described the agreement as "the colonisation of Liberia with the Field Commander of ECOMOG as the Governor-General."⁶ At a week-long national conference in Gbarnga that began on 21 April, Taylor repeated his call for a reduction of ECOMOG forces to 1,500 and insisted that his fighters retain control over disarmament sites. Houphouët's failure to deliver Taylor at Geneva was the final proof—if any was needed—that the NPFL puppeteer's residence was in Gbarnga and not Abidjan, Yamoussoukro, or Geneva. This lack of influence was confirmed in confidential correspondence between the U.S. Embassy in Abidjan and the State Department in Washington, D.C.⁷

From 27 to 29 July, ECOWAS held its annual summit in Dakar. Before the summit, Nigerian leader General Ibrahim Babangida had consistently called for economic sanctions against the NPFL.⁸ A new leader appeared at the summit in the form of twenty-seven-year old Captain Valentine Strasser, a former ECOMOG soldier who had seized power from Joseph Momoh through a military putsch in Sierra Leone. With Taylor obstructing disarmament, Strasser set the tone at the summit by telling his fellow leaders, "All we require now is to match force with force if that would bring peace to the country."⁹ By August 1992, Sierra Leone's civil war had displaced 417,500 persons internally and spilled 169,500 refugees into Guinea and 12,000 into Liberia.¹⁰ Guinea's

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Nigeria, ECOMOG, and
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Adekeye Adebajo

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A less serious split was the dismissal by Abass Bundu, ECOWAS executive secretary, of his Nigerian special representative, Ambassador Joshua Iroha, in October after nearly two years as political adviser. This followed an apparent row between the two. During his tenure, Iroha had exerted great influence on General Ishaya Bakut, the ECOMOG field commander, and was credited with the adoption of a firm approach toward Taylor, which had earned the Nigerian envoy a death threat from the NPFL leader. With Iroha's departure, ECOMOG lost an important political presence on the ground, leaving difficult negotiations in the hands of field commanders with little or no experience in diplomacy.

Soglo's unilateral decision to shelve automatic sanctions against the NPFL after expiration of the thirty-day ultimatum, coupled with his public call for UN peacekeepers to replace ECOMOG, led to the absence of the leaders of Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, and Senegal at the first joint meeting of the Committee of Five and SMC in Cotonou on 20 October.¹⁷ The meeting called on the NPFL and ULIMO to declare an immediate cease-fire, and a Committee of Nine (Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal, and Togo) was established to monitor the implementation of Yamoussoukro and to impose sanctions on the warring factions for noncompliance. Sanctions would include a blockade of all entry points into Liberia to deny factions access to the sinews of war and the export of commodities from Liberia.

Following former U.S. President Jimmy Carter's letter to ECOWAS members proposing that a UN observer group be sent to Liberia to monitor ECOMOG's neutrality, the October ECOWAS summit requested UN assistance for ECOWAS disarmament and electoral tasks.¹⁸ A month later, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 788, imposing an arms embargo on all factions in Liberia. France, however, resisted economic sanctions due to continuing commercial ties of French firms to the NPFL, mostly timber and iron ore.¹⁹ Trevor Gordon-Somers, a Jamaican economist with the UNDP, was also appointed as the UN Secretary-General's special representative for Liberia on 20 November 1992.

On 7 November, the ECOWAS Committee of Nine held an acrimonious meeting in Abuja. Babangida revealed Nigeria's continuing animosity toward the NPFL, telling his fellow leaders that "Taylor . . . represents the madness that we all really abhor and condemn."²⁰ Compaoré was widely criticized for his continued support of the NPFL, and Guinea's Lansana Conté openly attacked Houphouët, asking, "Why should we respect him just because he is old?"²¹ Host Babangida and the youthful Strasser reprimanded Conté for breaching the African tradition of respect for age.²² Despite such criticism, Abidjan had started to show concern over the destabilizing effects of the Liberian civil war on its territory, asking Washington for \$2.2 million to patrol its border with Liberia and then

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led by Francois Massaquoi, an economist trained at New York University and self-styled farmer. As Massaquoi noted, "There will never be peace between the Mandingos and the Lomas."¹⁷ Some of the LDF's military equipment had been obtained from the NPFL and Loma soldiers from ECOMOG's Guinean contingent.¹⁸ By early 1994, ULIMO had split into two factions, with the Mandingo-based ULIMO-K controlled by Alhaji Kromah and the Krahn-dominated ULIMO-J controlled by Roosevelt Johnson.

An important aspect of the armed clashes was that battles were fought in areas for control over resources. Alhaji Kromah restored the Mandingo trading links with Sierra Leone, from which his ethnic group had been excluded by the NPFL and RUF in March 1991. Charles Taylor was equally keen to regain control of western Liberia from ULIMO because he had been cut off from his illicit diamond trade in Sierra Leone.¹⁹ Taylor was earning an estimated \$200–250 million per year from sales of timber, iron ore, gold, diamonds, and rubber.²⁰ Roosevelt Johnson was involved in diamond-mining in Bomi County.²¹ George Boley captured the Liberian Agriculture Company's rubber plantation near ECOMOG-held Buchanan and enriched himself from these exports.²²

Even more pernicious were the human rights violations that every faction in Liberia's brutal civil war committed. The most gruesome occurred in the Carter camp near Harbel, where 600 refugees were massacred on 5 June 1993. Although ECOMOG and the IGNU initially blamed the massacre on the NPFL, a UN commission of inquiry placed the blame on members of the AFL in its 10 September 1993 report.²³ There were also reports of ethnic retribution carried out against civilians by the Krahn and Mandingo fighters of the two ULIMO wings in Tubmanburg. LPC fighters were accused of murder, rape, and torture during battles to gain control of the southeast from the NPFL.²⁴ With this difficult environment, it was clear that the efforts by ECOMOG, UNOMIL, and the OAU to keep peace would encounter serious difficulties.

Keeping Peace Where There Is None

By 28 January 1994, 773 Tanzanian and 796 Ugandan troops arrived in Liberia to join the expanded ECOMOG. They were part of the OAU's contribution to assist the disarmament process but were placed under ECOMOG command. The expected Zimbabwean contingent did not join ECOMOG due to financial disagreements with the UN. Charles Taylor gave a hint of the difficult times ahead for the peacekeepers when he warned that only the Liberian National Transitional Government had the power to supervise disarmament. This was contrary to the terms of the Cotonou agreement, which had given ECOMOG primary responsibility for disarmament.

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Nigeria, ECOMOG, and
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The ECOMOG field commander, General Mark Inienger, travelled to Gbarnga with Tanzanian Chief of Army Staff General Kiwelu to discuss the disarmament requirements of the Cotonou agreement with Taylor. At this meeting, the NPFL warlord bluntly told both generals that he would not disarm his men to the newly arrived Tanzanian and Ugandan ECOMOG troops until the LNTG had been installed. He also continued to call for a reduction of ECOMOG troops and heavy weapons. Before disarmament in 1992, Taylor had requested the presence of Senegalese troops to avoid disarming to Nigerian soldiers before attaching similar conditions to their deployment to NPFL areas once they arrived, frustrating their efforts.

Despite this early setback, Ineinger remained surprisingly optimistic about the prospects for disarmament. His confidence was palpable as he repeatedly assured the international community that disarmament would succeed even without the Zimbabwean contingent. Concomitant with the installation of the LNTG in Monrovia on 7 March 1994, ECOMOG started deploying its troops to the countryside accompanied by unarmed UN military observers: the Ghanaians and Guineans went to Bomi, Grand Cape Mount, Lofa, Margibi, and Montserrado; the Nigerians to Sinoe, Maryland, Grand Kru, Grand Gedeh, Bassa, and Rivercess; and the Ugandans and Tanzanians to the NPFL heartland of Bong and Nimba Counties. As in 1992, ECOMOG had not received the logistical and maintenance support it continuously requested from the international community before deploying.

Despite these deficiencies, the disarmament process started well. Three encampment and demobilization centers were established on 7 March 1994 for NPFL, AFL, and ULIMO combatants. As fighters from the three factions arrived in the camps, ECOMOG soldiers, observed by UNOMIL military personnel, took and registered their weapons before writing down information on the combatants' name, county, ethnic group, and prewar occupation. UNOMIL civilian staff then issued the demobilized combatants identity cards after a brief interview. The combatants underwent a medical examination before receiving clothes, shoes, food, agricultural tools, and transportation to their home communities. In the first month, 2,200 of the estimated 33,000 combatants had been demobilized. But as fighting erupted again and political disagreements among Liberia's factions hampered the implementation of the Cotonou agreement, the initial flood slowed to a trickle. By 22 August 1994, only 3,612 combatants had been disarmed.

ECOMOG went farther in implementing Cotonou than Yamoussoukro in 1992, when it did not even begin disarmament. But its peacekeepers suffered the same frustrating fate in trying to keep the peace in a volatile situation. ECOMOG started to encounter problems in early April 1994, when a hostile NPFL commander told ECOMOG's chief of staff, General Femi Williams, that his Nigerian troops were not welcome in Konola, forcing them to retreat to Kakata.

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In November 2000, 300 armed men vandalized the office of the Center for Democratic Empowerment in Monrovia and injured its directors, Amos Sawyer and Commany Wesseh, forcing both into exile shortly afterward. Members of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, like its director James Verdier and his exiled predecessor Samuel Kofi Woods, and the deputy director of Liberia Democracy Watch, Augustine Toure, have complained about threats on their lives.

Liberia's security situation remains precarious more than four years after the end of the war. Armed robbery, looting of food aid, and banditry have thrived in rural Liberia. Crime and insecurity plague Monrovia. The mobilization of armed ethnic groups in support of the agendas of rival warlords during the civil war has led to continuing political problems in post-war Liberia. Following intense fighting in Monrovia, a shooting incident involving Taylor's security men and his former Krahn minister of rural development, Roosevelt Johnson, at the U.S. Embassy in Monrovia in September 1998 led to fifty-two deaths and the evacuation of Johnson from Liberia. There were reports of the harassment of Krahn in Monrovia following this incident, forcing more than 4,000 Krahn to flee to Côte d'Ivoire.⁵ Another disturbing trend involved reports of Mandingos being violently attacked by Lomas in Lofa County and by Gios and Manos in Nimba County. These clashes are related to disputes over land and resources as refugees return to areas they abandoned during the civil war. By June 1998, arsonists had burned six mosques throughout the country. Liberia's ethnic and religious powderkegs may yet be reignited, with disastrous results, if these conflicts are not carefully managed.

Problems Abroad Come Home

Following the 1997 elections, instability on Liberia's borders soured relations between Taylor and ECOMOG. ECOMOG, along with the United States, Britain and others, criticized Taylor's continued military support of RUF rebels and dissident soldiers, who killed dozens of Nigerian troops in Freetown following the military coup on 25 May 1997. For his part, Taylor accused ECOMOG of supporting some of his rivals in Sierra Leone; refused ECOMOG jets permission to use Liberian airfields for missions into Sierra Leone; criticized ECOWAS and UN sanctions against the AFRC/RUF military junta in Freetown; and publicly opposed the Nigerian-led intervention in Freetown to restore the elected government of Ahmed Tejan Kabbah in February 1998.⁶ Taylor successfully pressured Abacha to remove ECOMOG Force Commander Victor Malu, who had resisted Taylor's plans to bring ECOMOG under his own command and insisted forcefully that

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E COMOG restructure Liberia's army.⁷ Malu was replaced by the mild-mannered General Timothy Sheipidi in January 1998. By the end of 1998, ECOMOG finally withdrew its peacekeepers from Liberia.

Following ECOMOG's departure, insecurity continued along Liberia's borders with Guinea and Sierra Leone. After 200,000 Sierra Leonean refugees flooded into Liberia after September 1997 following fighting in that country, Taylor sent troops to guard his border with Sierra Leone. Taylor had been hypersensitive about his borders ever since ULIMO launched its invasion against the NPFL from Sierra Leone; Taylor himself had invaded Liberia from Côte d'Ivoire. In an outbreak of violence that signified the start of Liberia's second civil war in a decade and reversal of ECOMOG's gains and sacrifices, Liberian dissidents invaded the towns of Voinjama and Kolahun, Lofa County, in April and August 1999. These attacks were launched from Guinea by a group calling themselves Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), thought to be mostly Mandingo and Krahn fighters of the former ULIMO-K and ULIMO-J militias. ULIMO-K leader Alhaji Kromah had close ties to Conakry during Liberia's seven-year civil war. Former ULIMO-J leader Roosevelt Johnson left Liberia after intense fighting with Taylor's security forces in 1998. Shortly before May 1999, Taylor-supported RUF rebels launched attacks into Guinea, destroying property and lives.⁸

In September 1999, two Guinean villages on the border with Liberia were attacked by Guinean rebels believed to be backed by Taylor.⁹ The acrimonious relationship between Taylor and the Guinean leader, Lansana Conté, dates to 1990, before the ECOMOG intervention, when Conté threatened to invade Liberia unilaterally following the NPFL invasion.¹⁰ In March 2001, Taylor announced the expulsion of the Guinean and Sierra Leonean ambassadors from Monrovia, accusing them of aiding rebels. He had withdrawn his own ambassador from Conakry three months earlier. The relationship between Liberia and Guinea worsened following renewed attacks into Lofa County by LURD rebels between July and November 2000, forcing thousands of refugees to flee the area. Guinea issued inflammatory statements against Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees, which led to xenophobic attacks against nationals of those two countries. Like Taylor, General Conté has scarcely been a paragon of democratic leadership: he had conducted deeply flawed elections and jailed his political rivals. By April 2001, heavy fighting raged between Taylor's army and Guinean-backed Liberian rebels near the Lofa towns of Foya and Kolahun, and violence spread into Nimba County.

Having already deployed troops in Lofa County, Taylor was forced to mobilize 15,000 former NPFL fighters to repel the rebels. The fighting and lack of funding made it impossible for ECOWAS to implement a plan to deploy 1,700 troops along the borders of Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea. Taylor's claims that his army was controlling the situation in Lofa County

2. Report of the Joint Review Mission on the United Nations Post-conflict Peacebuilding Offices, Department of Political Affairs/United Nations Development Programme, 20 July 2001, p. 14.
3. Ibid., p. 11.
4. See Norwood Langley, "The National Reconstruction Program in Liberia," in *State Rebuilding after State Collapse: Security, Democracy, and Development in Post-War Liberia* (Report of the Strategic Planning Workshop on Liberia dated 19 June 1998) (London: Center for Democracy and Development, 1998).
5. *Economist Intelligence Unit*, Country Report, "Liberia" (First Quarter 1999): 8.
6. On Sierra Leone, see Adekeye Adebajo, *Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2002), pp. 79–109; Eric Berman and Katie Sams, *Peacebuilding in Africa: Capabilities and Culpabilities* (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2001), pp. 111–128; and Robert Mortimer, "From ECOMOG to ECOMOG II: Intervention in Sierra Leone," in John W. Harbeson and Donald Rothchild, eds., *Africa in World Politics: The African State System in Flux*, 3d ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2000), pp. 188–207.
7. Personal interview with General Victor Malu, former ECOMOG force commander, Lagos, 2 October 2001.
8. "Final Communiqué," Meeting of ECOWAS Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Lomé, 24–25 May 1999, p. 5.
9. *Economist Intelligence Unit*, Country Report, "Liberia" (Fourth Quarter 1999): 36–40; and *Economist Intelligence Unit*, Country Report, "Liberia" (Second Quarter 1999): 36.
10. Personal interview with Professor Amos Sawyer, former President of Liberia, 1990–1994, Monrovia, 14 July 1999.
11. *Africa Confidential* 40, no. 4 (19 February 1999): 7.
12. Amos Sawyer, "Foundations for Reconstruction in Liberia: Challenges and Responses," in *State Rebuilding after State Collapse*, p. 69.
13. Jeffrey Bartholet, "Liberia's Charles Taylor—Inside the Mind of a Tyrant," *Newsweek*, 14 May 2001, p. 31.
14. "The West Wants to Suffocate Liberia" (Interview with Charles Taylor), *West Africa*, no. 4251 (6–12 November 2000): 11.
15. *Economist Intelligence Unit*, Country Report, "Liberia" (Third Quarter 1998): 11.
16. See Report of the Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1306 (2000), Paragraph 19, in Relation to Sierra Leone, 20 December 2000, S/2000/1195, pp. 32–34.
17. First Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1343 (2001) Regarding Liberia, 30 April 2001, S/2001/424, p. 3.
18. Ibid., p. 6.
19. See Ismail Rashid, "The Lomé Peace Negotiations," in David Lord, ed., *Paying the Price: The Sierra Leone Peace Process, Accord No. 9* (2000), pp. 26–35.
20. Report of the Security Council Mission to Sierra Leone, 16 October 2000, S/2000/992, p. 8.
21. *Economist Intelligence Unit*, Country Report, "Liberia" (March 2001): 49.
22. Ibid., p. 42.
23. Personal interview with General Timothy Shelpidi, former ECOMOG Force Commander, Abuja, 10 July 2001.

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MFI-373A-C

Excerpts from the Liberian TRC Report, Vol. 2

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Torture, Including Rape and Ill-treatment

Mid-1989: A suspected murderer and another man sentenced to death for murder in February both died at Buchanan Central Prison reportedly as a result of harsh conditions.

October, 1989: Henry B. Walker, a murder suspect, died at the Monrovia Central Prison reportedly as a result of harsh conditions.

October, 1989: Two murder suspects died at Monrovia Central Prison, apparently as a result of torture, ill-treatment or medical neglect. Following their arrest thought to have been in April or May, they had been held illegally and incommunicado in the Post Stockade, a military detention facility where political detainees have been tortured in the past.

January, 1992: While still formally allied to the Interim Government, the INPFL ill-treated and held two journalists - Isaac Bantu and Dan Brown - for three days under harsh conditions.

September, 1992: Nearly 600 ECOMOG soldiers were taken prisoner; some of whom were severely beaten by their NPFL captors.

January, 1993: ECOMOG beat and injured a British Broadcasting Corporation journalist, apparently because he had criticized ECOMOG in his reports.

December, 1993: 800 captured NPFL fighters held by the Interim Government at Monrovia Central Prison were reported to be suffering severe malnutrition and medical neglect; five were said to have died.

July, 1994: LPC fighters beat and detained, for five days, a civilian in Buchanan who resisted having his bicycle stolen.

July, 1994: LPC fighters at Barnabo Beach in Number Four District allegedly heated machetes in a fire and branded their captives, leaving large third degree burns on their victims.

September, 1994: The NPFL reportedly detained and ill-treated 30 civilians from the Bassa ethnic group in Butuo, Nimba County, accused of supporting the LPC.

September, 1994: Large numbers of civilians and refugees were beaten and raped and their property looted by the armed groups involved in the fighting around Gbarnga.

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REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

FINAL REPORT



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unedited

VOLUME II: CONSOLIDATED FINAL REPORT

This volume constitutes the final and complete report of the TRC of Liberia containing findings, determinations and recommendations to the government and people of Liberia

otherwise that the NPFL was the perpetrator of the massacre and survivals were taken to Gbarnga by NPFL forces. They were met by D. Museleng Cooper and Melvin Sogbandi amongst others, who told them, under threat of death, to implicate the AFL when asked by the international community. Charles Taylor visited the evacuated survivals pursuant to the scheme. Fellow perpetrators also admitted the NPFL responsibility and gave the TRC details on their role in the massacre and how they and others executed the mission and why. During this period, six Senegalese ECOMOG soldiers were also murdered by NPFL operatives in Vahun, Lofa County terrain.

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The relationship between IGNU and NPRAG was, as to be expected, tense. Liberia was effectively divided into greater Monrovia and Greater Liberia of Charles Taylor's NPRAG. This divide was re-enforced by the introduction of new bank notes (liberty) by IGNU to counter spiraling inflation resulting from the former bank notes (JJ) being looted from commercial banks and containers which were in the hands of warlords including, Prince Johnson who was bitter and angered when possession of large amounts of the JJ bank notes could not be justified for which exchange was often denied. Although Taylor countered this by forbidden anyone in greater Liberia to use the new currency, it was soon clear that this move was hopeless as the new currency indeed triumphed in parallel and black markets.

On March 7, 1994, the IGNU was replaced by the first of three, Liberia National Transitional Governments (LNTG). The IGNU, which for many reasons, did not live up to expectations, had long survived beyond its mandated period, and the factions needed to be in Monrovia and get involved directly in government rather than by proxies. More factions were formed, the LPC, The Central Revolutionary Council of NPFL (CRC-NPFL) of Thomas Woweyu, Samuel Dokie and Laveli Supuwood. LNTG I of Professor David Kpormakpor gave way to LNTG II of another Professor Wilton Sankawulo in August 1995 with faction leaders serving directly as members of the Council of State. Factional fighting which erupted in Monrovia on April 6, 1996, proved very destructive as Taylor, Kromah, and ECOMOG battled to subdue former ULIMO-J Leader, Roosevelt Johnson, in a power play bordering on revenge and the guise of enforcing the rule of law. The one hundred day fighting was notorious for its bloody impact, economic devastation and the resultant humanitarian disaster with over 80,000 internally displaced people seeking refuge at the US Grey Stone Compound in Mamba Point, Monrovia. The unresolved cross-factional issues of Kromah, combined with Taylor's political mischief, and miscalculation of Johnson's resistance, which, when combined with support from the LPC and the remnants of AFL soldiers in the BTC, proved most formidable for the big two and their accomplices. The untold suffering, property damage and death toll devastated Monrovia and collapse LNTG II. This was, perhaps, the worst fighting in three years. Death toll was high as all civil society activists in Monrovia went

underground to protect themselves. The prison was broken into⁶ as newspaper offices were burned. Monrovia was massively looted by all factions and the warehouses and offices of international relief organizations and the UN were not spared. A total of 489 vehicles commandeered from the UN and other aid agencies at value put at US\$8.2 million constraining further assistance to a population desperately in need. As ECOMOG appeared ill-prepared and reluctant to intervened, initially, hostages were taken by the ULIMO-J faction and the civilians had little security for property or life. Like in all episodes of the Liberian conflict, civilians were rendered homeless; they lost homes and properties, suffered hunger and disease. ECOMOG base was a source of refuge for another 20,000 civilians who also sought refuge in offices at Mamba Point in Monrovia, relief warehouses, hospitals, etc.

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The proliferation of armed factions only exacerbated the civilian sufferings and casualties. Prior to the April 6 fighting, all factions committed abuses including rape, murder, looting, assault, torture, etc. The burden carried by regional states in hosting up to 700,000 refugees from Liberia became apparent when thousands of Liberians seeking refuge in April and May on a poorly equipped vessel, the "bulk Challenge" remained trapped on high seas as no west African country would accept the vessel to dock in their waters. The US Government intervened and Ghana eventually accepted the ailing refugees, allowing the dilapidated vessel to dock.

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On September 3, 1996, Madam Ruth Sando Perry was later to head LNTG III which led the country to legislative and presidential elections based on the experimental proportional representational system. Charles Taylor won and became the 21st President of Liberia on August 2, 1997.

7.2. Taylor Becomes President

Far from being free and fair, as hailed by the world, the July 1997 elections which eventually saw Taylor in the Executive Mansion was held against the background of a devastating April 6 war just a year before. Also, these elections were held on the heels of a weary ECOWAS; over spent and anxious to be done with the Liberian imbroglio, and a wane population weary of war, was yearning for peace at all cost. Taylor literally threatened war if he was not elected president. "I spoiled it and it is I who will fix it", Taylor would say. Bill boards "behind Taylor lines" in greater Liberia, Taylor's held territories, which were not accessible to the opposition until barely months to the elections read "NO GHANGAY, NO LIBERIA". The fear of what Taylor might do if he were to lose the election apparently played a great role in consternating many to vote for him. Perhaps the best expression of the grim paradoxes that catapulted Taylor into power was indicated by the common electoral

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FINAL REPORT



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unedited

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- n) June 4, 2003 John Yormie and Isaac Vaye murdered by Benjamin Yeaten

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Under these tense conditions, Roosevelt Johnson entered the country secretly with the aid of ECOMOG in Free Town and Monrovia. Taylor became frantic and increased pressures on Roosevelt Johnson when the latter declined the calls and overtures of President Taylor. On September 18, 1998, he was attacked by combined forces of specialized government security outfits to "flush" Roosevelt Johnson and his followers out of Camp Johnson Road. Roosevelt Johnson ran to the US Embassy and was flown out of Liberia. Several of his Krahn followers and kinsmen were arrested, charged with treason and subsequently convicted and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. The Supreme Court, the Gloria Scott Bench, on appeal from the defendants sustained the convictions, and in a bizarre way, increased the sentences. Taylor was generous in the use of executive clemency. A declining state of insecurity led to inflation in the city and additional hardship on ordinary people. Taylor on the other hand proved even more frantic and paranoia. He reshuffled his cabinet twice without explanation. In late February 1999 he fired his ministers of finance, state for presidential affairs and lands, mines and energy.

Taylor was keen to minimizing or eliminating all challenges to his authority. Attacks on civil society and the purging of his cabinet were common place actions of the President. On February 22, 2002, the Director of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, Cllr. Frances Johnson Morris, was arrested at her offices and imprisoned in a criminal male cell by Police Director, Paul E. Mulbah, under the guise of "mistaken identity", while Taylor was prostrating at a "Liberia For Jesus" public rally, surrendering Liberia to the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. He authorized his Police Director, to close down two private radio stations, Radio Veritas, of the Catholic Church and Star Radio, for reporting that he was training Sierra Leone RUF fighters on his Gbatala training base. He said those two stations will never see the light of day again. Both stations are now operational. Taylor also came under keen international spotlight.

China broke relations with Liberia for its two China policy and the IMF scolded Taylor for unilaterally in a non-transparent way awarding "all previously unallocated mineral resources rights" in Liberia to a joint venture of Amelia Group of south Africa and the Liberian government known as Liberia Resources Corporation (Liberesco). Taylor succumbed [No sooner a disagreement arose between President Taylor and ECOMOG Commander Victor Marlu over Taylor's strategy for reconstructing the army. Marlu argued that under the peace accord it was the responsibility of ECOMOG to build the new army in an open and transparent manner.] Taylor disagreed, citing sovereignty and Executive authority of his to raise the army. ECOMOG withdrew from Liberia and the international community pointed out Taylor's support for RUF and admonished him to desist. Taylor denied

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REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

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UN Security Council Resolution 866 (1993), S/RES/866, 22 September 1993

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Security Council

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S/RES/866 (1993)
22 September 1993

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RESOLUTION 866 (1993)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 3281st meeting,
on 22 September 1993

The Security Council,

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Recalling its resolutions 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993 and 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General (S/26422 and Add.1) dated 9 September 1993 on the proposed establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Noting that the Peace Agreement signed by the three Liberian parties in Cotonou on 25 July 1993 calls on the United Nations and the Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to assist in the implementation of the Agreement,

Emphasizing as noted in the Secretary-General's report of 4 August 1993 (S/26200), that the Peace Agreement assigns ECOMOG the primary responsibility of supervising the implementation of the military provisions of the Agreement and envisages that the United Nations role shall be to monitor and verify this process,

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Noting that this would be the first peace-keeping mission undertaken by the United Nations in cooperation with a peace-keeping mission already set up by another organization, in this case ECOWAS,

Recognizing that United Nations involvement would contribute significantly to the effective implementation of the Peace Agreement and would serve to underline the international community's commitment to conflict resolution in Liberia,

Commending ECOWAS for its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

Commending also the efforts of the Organization of African Unity in support of the peace process in Liberia,

Stressing the importance of full cooperation and close coordination between UNOMIL and ECOMOG in the implementation of their respective mandates,

Taking note of the deployment of an advance team of United Nations military observers to Liberia as authorized under resolution 856 (1993),

Welcoming the establishment of the Joint Cease-Fire Monitoring Committee (JCMC) composed of the three Liberian parties, ECOMOG and the United Nations,

Welcoming also the formation in Cotonou on 27 August 1993 of the five-member Council of States representing all three Liberian parties, which, in accordance with the Peace Agreement, shall be installed concomitantly with the commencement of the disarmament process and shall be responsible for the day-to-day operation of the transitional government,

Noting that the Peace Agreement calls for legislative and presidential elections to take place approximately seven months after the signing of the Peace Agreement,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General dated 9 September 1993 (S/26422) on the proposed establishment of UNOMIL;

2. Decides to establish UNOMIL under its authority and under the direction of the Secretary-General through his Special Representative for a period of seven months, subject to the proviso that it will continue beyond 16 December 1993 only upon a review by the Council based on a report from the Secretary-General on whether or not substantive progress has been made towards the implementation of the Peace Agreement and other measures aimed at establishing a lasting peace; (4)

3. Decides that UNOMIL shall comprise military observers as well as medical, engineering, communications, transportation and electoral components, in the numbers indicated in the Secretary-General's report, together with minimal staff necessary to support it and shall have the following mandate: (5)

(a) To receive and investigate all reports on alleged incidents of violations of the cease-fire agreement and, if the violation cannot be corrected, to report its findings to the Violations Committee established pursuant to the Peace Agreement and to the Secretary-General;

(b) To monitor compliance with other elements of the Peace Agreement, including at points on Liberia's borders with Sierra Leone and other neighbouring countries, and to verify its impartial application, and in particular to assist in the monitoring of compliance with the embargo on delivery of arms and military equipment to Liberia and the cantonment, disarmament and demobilization of combatants;

(c) To observe and verify the election process, including the legislative and presidential elections to be held in accordance with the provisions of the Peace Agreement;

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UN Document S/26422, Report of the Secretary-General on Liberia, 9 September 1993

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S/26422
9 September 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON LIBERIA

INTRODUCTION

1. In my report of 4 August (S/26200) I drew the attention of the Security Council to the main features of the Peace Agreement (S/26272) signed at Cotonou on 25 July 1993 by the three parties to the conflict in Liberia. The agreement called for the United Nations and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) to supervise and monitor the implementation of the Agreement. In the report, I also informed the Council of the dispatch of a planning mission to Liberia to gather data relevant to the proposed establishment of a United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL), and of my intention to commence planning for the dispatch to Liberia as soon as possible of an advance team of United Nations military observers. On 10 August the Security Council adopted resolution 856 (1993), by which it approved the dispatch of an advance team of 30 military observers to Liberia to participate in the work of the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee which, according to the agreement, is to be chaired by the United Nations.

2. The present report is submitted pursuant to paragraph 3 of resolution 856 (1993), by which the Security Council requested a report on the proposed establishment of UNOMIL including, in particular, a detailed estimate of the cost and scope of the operation, an explanation of how coordination between UNOMIL and ECOMOG would be ensured and the respective roles and responsibilities of UNOMIL and ECOMOG in the implementation of the Agreement. These issues received the special attention of the planning mission during its visit to Liberia and are elaborated upon below.

I. PLANNING MISSION TO LIBERIA

3. The planning mission to Liberia, headed by Brigadier-General (retired) Ian Douglas of Canada, arrived in Monrovia on 6 August and remained in the country until 13 August. It met with the three Liberian parties - the Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia (IGNU), the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) - and had several extensive meetings with ECOMOG. The mission gathered all relevant data required to prepare a plan for UNOMIL. I am pleased to inform the Council that the mission has reported the strong commitment of the parties to the Peace Agreement and the desire expressed by all Liberians they met for an end to hostilities and a lasting peace.

United Nations and ECOWAS. I shall also maintain regular contacts with the Chairman of ECOWAS in regard to developments in the Liberian peace process. Furthermore, it would be my intention, following the establishment of UNOMIL, to conclude with ECOWAS an agreement defining the relationship between UNOMIL and ECOMOG.

16. In accordance with established practice, UNOMIL would need to have freedom of movement, communications and inspection, and to enjoy the other rights that would be necessary for the performance of its tasks in Liberia. UNOMIL and its personnel would also have to be granted all relevant privileges and immunities provided for by the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations. Should the Security Council decide to establish UNOMIL, it would therefore be my intention to initiate consultations with the Liberian National Transitional Government with a view to concluding a status-of-mission agreement along the usual lines.

17. In the fielding of UNOMIL military observers and civilian staff, the issue of personnel security must be addressed. Security threats include armed banditry, easy availability of weapons, mines and the inability of local authorities to respond adequately to security problems. I welcome ECOMOG's stated commitment to ensuring the safety of UNOMIL observers and civilian staff. I shall also appoint a Security Officer to coordinate security requirements of the entire United Nations presence in the country.

18. It is estimated that 303 military observers will be required for the UNOMIL operation. This number includes 41 teams composed of 6 observers per team (investigation teams, airport teams, seaport teams, border crossing teams and cantonment site teams), 25 military observers stationed at UNOMIL headquarters in Monrovia and 8 observers stationed at each of the four regional headquarters, reporting to the Chief Military Observer. The military observers will be supported by necessary administrative staff.

19. Since UNOMIL observers will be widely dispersed throughout the entire Liberian territory, they will need to be supported by a communications unit of about 25 people to establish a communications network and to staff radios at UNOMIL's headquarters in Monrovia and at regional headquarters on a 24-hour, 7-days-a-week basis. This unit would be composed of civilian personnel under civilian contract, with equipment provided by the United Nations. UNOMIL would also require a military medical unit of at least some 20 staff.

20. The planning mission assessed the infrastructure of the country and drew up two options under which the infrastructure required to support the deployment of observers could be provided. One option would be to import entire housing and office units and set them up at team sites. The second option would be to deploy engineering units to conduct reconnaissance of the locations of regional headquarters and team sites and initiate required infrastructure repairs based on local procurement of materials to the extent possible and using local manpower. Under the second option, which the planning mission recommended, it is estimated that the physical infrastructure required for the mission could be more quickly constructed and, in the long term, would benefit the Liberian people. The engineering units would also work with ECOMOG engineers in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of cantonment sites and in the repair of bridges necessary for peace-keeping and humanitarian assistance activities. The

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UN Document S/1994/168, Second Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the UN
Observer Mission in Liberia, 14 February 1994

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S/1994/168
14 February 1994

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

SECOND PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE
UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA

INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted in response to Security Council resolution 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993, by which the Council authorized the establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL). In paragraph 13 thereof, the Council requested me to report by 16 December 1993 and 16 February 1994 on the progress achieved in the implementation of UNOMIL's mandate.

2. In response to my report of 13 December 1993 (S/26868), the President of the Security Council informed me, in a letter dated 17 December 1993 (S/26886), that the Council shared my expectation that, despite the unavoidable delays in the implementation of resolution 866 (1993), the disarmament of combatants would begin presently, the transitional Government would soon be installed and the elections in Liberia would be held in the first half of 1994. He also stated that the Council looked forward to my next report on or before 16 February 1994 on the further progress achieved in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement.

I. POLITICAL ASPECTS

3. It is recalled that, in the Cotonou Agreement of 25 July 1993 (S/26272, annex), the parties agreed that encampment would commence immediately upon the deployment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) and the United Nations Observer Mission (UNOMIL), ECOMOG being understood as an expanded ECOMOG with African troops from outside the West African region. Furthermore the transitional Government would be installed in approximately 30 days of the date of the signature of the Agreement, concomitant with the commencement of the disarmament process.

4. As I noted in my last report (S/26868), President Nicéphore Dieudonné Soglo of Benin, Chairman of ECOWAS, arranged for a meeting of the three Liberian parties, from 3 to 5 November 1993, on matters relating to the installation of the Liberian National Transitional Government. As a result of this meeting, the parties reached agreement on the distribution of 13 of the total 17 cabinet posts of the transitional Government. In December 1993, the parties resumed

their talks in Monrovia. After two weeks of intense negotiations and consultations with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and UNOMIL, the parties failed to reach agreement on the disposition of the four remaining ministerial portfolios, i.e. Defence, Foreign Affairs, Justice and Finance. They were also unable to agree on the date for the seating of the transitional Government and for the beginning of encampment, disarmament and demobilization of combatants. The parties have since engaged in a public debate to explain their respective positions.

5. From November of 1993 until very recently, the parties were in disagreement over issues related to the installation of the transitional Government and the commencement of disarmament. The position of National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL/NPRAG) and of the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO) has been that the installation of the transitional Government should coincide with the arrival of additional ECOMOG troops as, in their view, the arrival of the first contingent of these troops (see para. 24 below for details) constitutes a substantial step towards the initiation of the disarmament process. The Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), on the other hand, has maintained the view that the installation of the transitional Government should take place only after the conclusive or actual commencement of disarmament.

6. Very recently, there have been indications that IGNU has changed its position and now takes the view that the installation of the transitional Government and the commencement of disarmament can take place at the same time, but only after all critical logistical requirements of ECOMOG for disarmament are in place.

7. Mr. James Jonah, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, visited Liberia from 13 to 15 December 1993. During his visit, Mr. Jonah held consultations with the leaders of the Liberian parties, as well as with the Field Commander of ECOMOG and the members of the Council of State. His visit, during this critical phase of the peace process, served to reaffirm to the Liberian parties the United Nations full support of ECOMOG and ECOWAS in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement.

8. On 16 January 1994, NPFL/NPRAG opened the roads leading to Gbarnga. In a press statement released at the time, NPFL/NPRAG called for the immediate removal of all obstacles to national reconciliation. This event was welcomed by IGNU. However IGNU noted that the opening of roads by NPFL should be seen within the broader context of the commitments each party had made under the Cotonou Agreement.

9. In a letter dated 18 January 1994 (S/1994/51), the President of the Security Council expressed the concern of the Council that the transitional Government had not yet been installed, disarmament had not yet commenced, the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement was thus being delayed and efforts to deliver humanitarian assistance to all parts of the country had met with difficulties. He furthermore noted in his letter that the continued support of the international community for the efforts of UNOMIL would depend on the full and prompt implementation by the parties of the Cotonou Agreement.

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to do so since the transitional Government has not yet been installed. According to the joint United Nations/IFES electoral assessment mission that visited Liberia in October 1993, elections could take place approximately six months after the installation of the transitional Government.

III. MILITARY ASPECTS

A. Deployment of UNOMIL

15. UNOMIL attained its total authorized strength of 368 military observers, including 20 medical and 45 engineering personnel, in early January 1994. The preliminary deployment of these military observers throughout Liberia has commenced, in accordance with the Cotonou Agreement and the UNOMIL concept of operations presented in my report of 9 September 1993 (see attached map).

16. At the time of my last report in December 1993, UNOMIL was facing difficulties in gaining free access throughout Liberia. I am pleased to report that, as a result of consultations which my Special Representative and Chief Military Observer have held with NPFL/NPRAG and ULIMO, UNOMIL is progressively gaining access to the various regions of the country. NPFL/NPRAG has agreed to the timetable for UNOMIL's deployment in the northern and eastern regions. As a result of discussions with ULIMO, UNOMIL has undertaken reconnaissance missions to the western region in order to draw up a timetable for further deployment in the area.

17. To date, three of UNOMIL's four regional headquarters have been established in Monrovia (central region), Tubmanburg (western region) and Gbarnga (northern region). It is expected that the eastern regional headquarters will be established before the end of February. Deployment of military observers at border crossings, seaports and airports has also begun in accordance with UNOMIL's concept of operations.

B. Monitoring of the cease-fire

18. In accordance with the Cotonou Agreement, ECOMOG is to establish buffer zones along Liberia's borders. To date, border checkpoints have been established in the northern region. In the western region, along the border with Sierra Leone, UNOMIL is consulting with ULIMO on the establishment of three checkpoints at the border towns of Bo, Kongo and Vahun. Consultations are also continuing with NPFL/NPRAG on the establishment of border checkpoints in the eastern region.

19. In my previous report to the Security Council, I informed the Council that two new armed groups had emerged in Liberia, the Lofa Defence Force (LDF) and the Liberian Peace Council (LPC). I also reported at that time that the security situation in the north-west and south-east was unstable. Since then the situation in the north-west has stabilized. However, it is reported that the fighting in the south-east between NPFL and LPC has intensified, especially in Grand Bassa and Rivercess counties. As a result, over the past month nearly 10,000 people have been displaced from this area and have moved towards the

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coastal town of Buchanan. There have also been reports indicating that a third armed group, the "Bong Resistance Movement", has emerged in Bong County, but the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee (JCMC) has so far been unable to confirm these reports.

20. The subgroups of JCMC have continued to conduct routine patrolling and investigations in their areas of responsibility. To date, JCMC has received a total of 101 reports of cease-fire violations. The Committee has investigated 79 of these reports and has settled them amicably. Twenty-two cease-fire violations are still under investigation.

21. As foreseen in the Cotonou Agreement, JCMC will be replaced by a violations committee once the expanded ECOMOG and UNOMIL are deployed throughout the country. The violations committee will be composed of UNOMIL, ECOMOG and one representative from each of the parties.

22. There have been a number of incidents during the reporting period involving the obstruction of United Nations and NGO personnel in the discharge of their official duties by combatants apparently acting on their own initiative. These low-level incidents are considered to reflect fragmentation within the various parties, especially as the period between the signing of the Cotonou Agreement and the start of disarmament has been prolonged.

23. In late December 1993, some ULIMO elements looted the base camp of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) at Vahun at the Sierra Leone border in Lofa County and took nine United Nations and NGO vehicles from the camp. Given the resulting insecurity, all United Nations and NGO personnel, as well as 84 orphans from the UNHCR refugee camp, were evacuated to Monrovia. The JCMC team in Vahun was also obliged to close down its base and return to Monrovia. As a result of consultations held by the Chief Military Observer of UNOMIL with the ULIMO leader, Alhaji Kromah, five of the nine vehicles were returned to the United Nations and the concerned NGOs in the first part of January. Since then, UNOMIL and UNHCR have undertaken reconnaissance missions to Vahun, with a view to re-establishing their presence in the area.

C. Expansion of ECOMOG force

24. It will be recalled that, throughout the peace negotiations in Geneva and in Cotonou, the expansion of ECOMOG was viewed as a crucial prerequisite for the implementation of the peace agreement. As indicated in my report of 13 December 1993 (S/26828), the Governments of the United Republic of Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe have agreed to contribute a battalion each to the ECOMOG force. The battalions from the United Republic of Tanzania (consisting of 773 personnel) and Uganda (consisting of 796 personnel), arrived in Monrovia on 8 January and 28 January 1994 respectively. The Tanzanian battalion, located at Kakata, and the Ugandan battalion, located at Buchanan, are preparing for deployment to the northern and eastern regions of the country. Consultations with the Government of Zimbabwe are continuing on the deployment of the third battalion of additional ECOMOG troops.

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25. On 26 December 1993, the ECOMOG Field Commander and the Tanzanian Army Chief of Staff visited Gbarnga and held discussions with NPFL/NPRG on the deployment of the expanded ECOMOG and the disarmament process. This was the first visit by an ECOMOG Field Commander to the NPFL/NPRG area since signing of the Cotonou Agreement in July of 1993, and it helped to solidify the relationship between ECOMOG and NPFL/NPRG.

26. As indicated in my previous report (S/26868), I have established a trust fund through which Member States may contribute resources to help to meet the costs of the additional ECOMOG troops, as well as for the present ECOMOG troops, disarmament, elections and humanitarian assistance. The Government of the United States has pledged \$19.83 million to the Trust Fund for the deployment and maintenance of the additional ECOMOG troops. To date, \$8.83 million of this pledge has been remitted to the Trust Fund to cover the costs incurred in the uplifting and eventual repatriation of the additional troops. Contributions to the Trust Fund have also been received from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (\$1 million) and Denmark (\$295,000).

27. The additional ECOMOG troops have not yet received the logistic and maintenance support required for their deployment throughout Liberia. The United States pledge to meet these costs should cover the requirement of these battalions. In accordance with the terms of reference of the Trust Fund, ECOMOG has submitted to UNOMIL a budget for the requirements of the additional troops. UNOMIL is now consulting with the United States on the modalities for the use of its contribution in meeting the costs of the additional troops. While I expect that this issue will be resolved shortly, ECOMOG is facing major financial difficulties, which are of great concern. [6] [7]

28. One of these difficulties relates to the provision of stipends to the additional ECOMOG troops. Neither the troop-contributing countries, nor the major donor for the additional troops, the United States, are able to cover this cost and resources for stipends have not been made available from any other source. This issue is a major factor in troop morale, especially as the existing ECOMOG troops receive such stipends from their Governments.

29. The existing ECOMOG troops are also facing difficulties in their own logistic support. It should be remembered that the present ECOMOG troops have been assisting the peace process in Liberia since 1990. This effort is taxing the budgets of the contributing countries. [8]

30. I once again urge Member States to assist the peace process in Liberia by providing financial assistance through the Trust Fund to help ECOMOG to meet the costs of stipends for the additional troops and logistic support for the existing troops.

D. Disarmament

31. With two battalions of the expanded ECOMOG having arrived in Liberia, consultations with ECOMOG and the parties on the date for disarmament have intensified. My Special Representative and Chief Military Observer have held frequent consultations with ECOMOG on its disarmament plan. My Special

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UN Document S/1994/1006, Sixth Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 26 August 1994

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ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

SIXTH PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted in response to the statement of the President of the Security Council of 13 July 1994 (S/PRST/1994/33) and to the Council's request that the Secretary-General report on the situation in Liberia by 2 September 1994.

2. In that statement, the President noted, *inter alia*, that limited progress had been achieved in the peace process, that the Liberian National Transitional Government had been unable to extend its authority effectively outside Monrovia; and that preparations for elections had been hampered by a virtual halt in disarmament. Accordingly, the Council called on the Transitional Government, in cooperation with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and with the support of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL), to convene a meeting of the Liberian factions by 31 July 1994 to address the problems affecting disarmament and to draw up a realistic plan for disarmament, including a date for the completion of the exercise.

3. The Security Council also expressed concern about cease-fire violations and about large-scale displacement of and atrocities against civilians. The Council deplored attacks against UNOMIL and ECOWAS Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) personnel and regretted that sufficient financial support for ECOMOG troops was not yet forthcoming, despite several appeals to the international community. The Council further requested the Secretary-General to ensure that all information on violations of the cease-fire and arms embargo obtained by UNOMIL is promptly made available to the Security Council and widely publicized, as appropriate.

II. POLITICAL ASPECTS

4. Nearly six months have elapsed since the seating of the Liberian National Transitional Government on 7 March 1994, and the Government is still not fully installed. A number of deputy ministers, as well as heads of autonomous agencies and public corporations from the Interim Government of National Unity

8. My Special Representative has held discussions with the Elections Commission, the Council of State and political parties on the electoral system. Papers providing options analyses and information on the experience of other countries that have held elections after lengthy conflicts have been widely circulated to the organizers of the Liberian National Conference. As noted above, the Conference is expected to make recommendations to the Liberian National Transitional Government and the Elections Commission on the timing of the elections and the electoral system to be adopted.

III. MILITARY ASPECTS

9. Since my report of 24 June (S/1994/760), fighting has continued in the west between the Krahn and Mandingo elements of the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO). Despite efforts on the part of UNOMIL, ECOMOG and Liberian negotiators to help these groups reconcile, tensions between them remain high. In the south-east, fighting continues between the Liberian Peace Council (LPC) and the National Patriotic Front for Liberia (NPFL), especially around the Firestone Plantation.

10. All factions are experiencing serious problems of command and control. This is reflected in an increase in banditry, harassment of civilians, including non-governmental organizations and unarmed United Nations military observers, with vehicles being commandeered at will by NPFL and ULIMO combatants, and looting of the World Food Programme (WFP) and International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) warehouses in Gbarnga and the UNOMIL regional headquarters in Tubmanburg. Reports have also been received of clashes between NPFL forces and of public executions in Gbarnga and continued LPC atrocities against civilians in the south-east.

11. There are also signs of a split within the NPFL hierarchy. Skirmishes between groups loyal to different NPFL generals have occurred in Margibi (Konola), Nimba and Maryland counties. This may account for the number of reports of public executions carried out by the NPFL.

12. On 26 July, the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), the ULIMO Krahn faction, an NPFL break-away minister in the Liberian National Transitional Government and the Lofa Defence Force (LDF), issued a joint communiqué calling for the cessation of all hostilities. While hostilities have not ceased, this communiqué, coupled with recent movements of AFL and LPC in the Firestone Plantation has, however, been interpreted as an anti-NPFL realignment.

13. Owing to the deterioration of the security situation, especially in the ULIMO and NPFL areas, UNOMIL deployment has been reduced from 29 to 21 teams in the period since my last report (see attached map). Following the kidnapping of six military observers in Tubmanburg on 28 June, UNOMIL withdrew all its observers from the western region. While UNOMIL continues to be fully deployed in the central region, observers have been withdrawn from two of the nine sites in the northern region because of a lack of security. In the eastern region, observers are deployed at three sites; however, UNOMIL has still not been able to deploy to six of the nine sites in this region. With the slow-down in

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activities as a result of the security situation, 30 military observers have been reassigned to Rwanda.

14. Following the seating of the Liberian National Transitional Government on 7 March, and in accordance with the Cotonou Agreement, the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee was replaced by the Violations Committee, which has met seven times since then. To date, 49 cases (41 against NPFL and 8 against ULIMO) have been received and 6 resolved. Since the month of June, 27 cease-fire violations (20 by NPFL and 7 by ULIMO) have been reported. Most of these cases are still under investigation. The Chief Military Observer has written to the high command of both NPFL and ULIMO and is awaiting information from them on the unresolved cases. The last two meetings of the Violations Committee had to be cancelled because of the unexplained absence of NPFL and ULIMO representatives.

(D) 15. ECOMOG continues to be faced with resource and logistic problems. As a result, ECOMOG's plan to deploy throughout the country has still not materialized and there has been no further deployment since my last report. The leader of the NPFL, Mr. Charles Taylor, has extended an invitation to the ECOMOG Field Commander to visit Gbarnga to discuss deployment in NPFL territory, as a prelude to disarmament. Recent ECOMOG rotations at brigade command and battalion levels and consultations with NPFL may serve to increase confidence and strengthen ECOMOG's ability to deploy deeper into the country.

16. At their recent meeting at Abuja, the ECOWAS heads of State stressed the need for resources to ensure that ECOMOG is able to carry out its mandate as provided in the Cotonou Agreement and for the demobilization and rehabilitation of ex-combatants. In my reports to the Security Council, I have consistently emphasized ECOMOG's critical need for resources to carry out its mandate. On 29 June, I sent a letter to United States Secretary of State Warren Christopher, informing him of the financial difficulties ECOMOG troop-contributing countries were encountering. In his reply, Mr. Christopher outlined the substantial contribution the United States had already made, both bilaterally and through the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia. He expressed the hope that other countries would be able to provide financial support to this worthy example of regional peace-keeping. In July, I also wrote to a number of other Member States, urging them to contribute resources to ECOMOG through the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia. To date, however, the response has been disappointing and the resources of the Trust Fund are running out. Plans are under way for a delegation of ECOWAS foreign ministers to visit donor capitals to seek additional funding.

IV. DEMOBILIZATION AND REINTEGRATION

17. As a result of the continued fighting and lack of security, the disarmament process has largely come to a halt. As at 22 August 1994, 3,612 combatants (out of an estimated total of about 60,000) had been disarmed and demobilized. My Special Representative has reported that individual combatants have indicated a willingness to disarm, but that their leaders seem to be halting the process. Since my last report, only 420 combatants have been disarmed. Faction leaders have not been willing to allow their combatants to disarm owing to the pervasive atmosphere of mistrust among them, exacerbated by LPC attacks against NPFL in [redacted]

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the south-east, and military movements by LPC, AFL and NPFL in the Firestone Plantation. While efforts by the Liberian National Transitional Government, UNOMIL and ECOMOG, as well as by influential Liberian groups, to bring about a cessation of hostilities and the disengagement and disarmament of forces have so far not been successful, it is hoped that the upcoming Liberian National Conference will help define a workable solution leading to the prompt resumption and completion of the disarmament process.

18. In view of the slow-down in disarmament, a 60 per cent reduction in the civilian staff at the three operating demobilization centres has been effected. However, the remaining staff will continue to undertake community health, education and counselling services. Further, with the mobile capability built into the programme, as many as 150 combatants can be demobilized daily with a team operating within a radius of 60 miles or 2 hours from the existing centres. Once disarmament resumes, stand-by staff will be immediately reassigned. The National Volunteer Programme continues to expand, absorbing some 600 ex-combatants into a labour-intensive food-for-work project.

(E) **V. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE**

19. Large parts of the country, particularly in the west and south-east, remain inaccessible to humanitarian organizations because of fighting and general insecurity. Moreover, command and control problems among the various factions have had a negative impact on the distribution of humanitarian assistance. Harassment of non-governmental organizations and United Nations civilian personnel, accompanied by looting of food stores and trucks and frequent commandeering of vehicles in both NPFL and ULIMO territories, have destabilized humanitarian assistance supply lines and created a sense of insecurity within the emergency relief community.

20. In spite of these difficult conditions, United Nations and non-governmental relief organizations continue to make every effort to assist the displaced people and other vulnerable groups. Despite the withdrawal last month of UNOMIL from the western region, several convoys have been dispatched by WFP to the area, under ECOMOG escort. Convoys are also sent periodically from Monrovia to Gbarnga, and across the border from Côte d'Ivoire.

21. Since my last report to the Security Council, displacement of civilians has been on the increase. In Monrovia, the outbreak of diarrhoeal diseases and a few confirmed cases of cholera reflect the overcrowding and poor sanitary and health conditions in sections of the city. Similarly, Buchanan is bursting at the seams from the steady influx of about 100 displaced persons per day from the south-east. Continued fighting between both elements of ULIMO is held responsible for displacement in Bomi and Grand Cape Mount counties in the order of 75,000 people. Reports are being received of a daily trek of Liberian refugees entering Côte d'Ivoire at Tabu.

22. Very little information is available for most counties in the south-east and in Upper Lofa. For example, since all humanitarian activities in Upper Lofa ceased in December 1993, when ULIMO looted and destroyed the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) base camp which served the

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27. As at 31 July 1994, of the \$39.8 million assessed on Member States, unpaid assessments to the UNOMIL Special Account amounted to \$18.9 million. As at 31 July 1994, the total amount of outstanding assessed contributions for all peace-keeping operations was \$2,535.8 million.

28. With regard to the Trust Fund for the Implementation of the Cotonou Agreement on Liberia, as at 31 July 1994, voluntary contributions received amounted to \$17.5 million, of which disbursements totalling \$14.5 million have been authorized.

VIII. OBSERVATIONS

29. I regret to have to report that, since my last report to the Security Council on 24 June (S/1994/760), the situation in Liberia has further seriously deteriorated. The factions continue to hold territory. Command and control problems abound within every faction. Population displacement from the counties in the south-east and west continues to grow with every new wave of fighting and with each report of atrocities against civilians. ECOMOG is still not fully deployed and UNOMIL has recently withdrawn from the western region.

(F) 30. Rumours of a split within NPFL seem reliable, given the increasing reports of public executions. The split in ULIMO remains unresolved. AFL, LPC and the Krahn wing of ULIMO seem to be realigning with breakaway NPFL officials and are reported to be preparing a military offensive against NPFL. My Special Representative has reminded all Liberians that the United Nations can play a useful role only if the Liberian National Transitional Government and the parties have the political will to implement the Cotonou Agreement of July 1993, and to restore the peace and stability that the Liberian people have aspired to for so long. In this context, I welcome the decision of the ECOWAS heads of State and Government to reaffirm their commitment to the Cotonou Agreement as the only framework for peace in Liberia.

31. Disarmament has now virtually ceased and there is no clear prospect as to when elections will or can be held. In fact, observers fear that some of the parties may prefer to seek a solution to Liberia's problems through military confrontation rather than by promoting the democratic process to which they committed themselves under the Cotonou Agreement. While the Liberian National Conference is not the conference the Security Council called upon the Liberian National Transitional Government to organize in order to focus specifically on the pressing issue of disarmament, many people in Liberia hope that it will contribute to a reactivation of the peace process and that it will facilitate an agreement on the key questions of disarmament and elections. To this end, I have instructed my Special Representative to extend support to the Conference.

32. I must stress, however, that I have followed the recent evolution of the situation and the absence of progress in the peace process in Liberia with increasing concern. It is for this reason that I recently decided to send to Liberia a fact-finding mission headed by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi. That mission, which was still in Monrovia at the time of the preparation of the present report, will review the situation and advise me on the most appropriate course of action, in the light of the outcome of the Liberian National Conference. I

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UN Document S/1995/781, Twelfth Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 13 September 1995



Security Council

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13 September 1995

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

TWELFTH PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted in pursuance of Security Council resolution 1001 (1995) of 30 June 1995, in which the Council extended the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) until 15 September and requested me to report before that date on the situation in the country.
2. In that resolution, the Security Council declared that UNOMIL's mandate would not be renewed unless the Liberian parties made serious and substantial progress towards the implementation of the Akosombo and Accra agreements. The Council urged the parties to install the Council of State, re-establish a comprehensive and effective cease-fire, commence the disengagement of forces and agree upon a timetable and schedule for the implementation of all other aspects of the agreements, in particular the disarmament process. The Council also expressed its readiness to consider restoring UNOMIL to its full strength, with appropriate adjustments to its mandate and its relationship with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), as well as to consider other aspects of post-conflict peace-building in Liberia, should significant progress in the peace process be achieved by 15 September. The present report covers the major developments in Liberia since my eleventh progress report of 10 June 1995 (S/1995/473).

II. POLITICAL ASPECTS

3. In my last report, I informed the Security Council that, at their summit meeting held at Abuja from 17 to 20 May 1995, the Heads of State of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia had requested the leaders of the Liberian parties to conduct the necessary consultations, with a view to reaching a final agreement on the composition of the Council of State. The Heads of State and Government had also entrusted their respective Foreign Ministers with

* Reissued for technical reasons.

8. Following further consultations with particular ECOWAS leaders and Liberian parties and with the concurrence of the Government of Nigeria, the Chairman of ECOWAS convened a meeting of the factions at Abuja from 16 to 19 August. The leaders of all the parties, as well as Chief Tamba Tailor, representing the traditional chiefs, attended the meeting. Representatives of the Nigerian Government, the Eminent Person of OAU for Liberia and my Special Representative were also present as facilitators. They were assisted by the Inter-Faith Mediation Committee and representatives of the Women Groups of Liberia.

9. The Abuja talks culminated on 19 August in the signing by the Liberian parties of an agreement (S/1995/742, annex), amending and supplementing the Cotonou and Akosombo accords, as subsequently clarified by the Accra agreements. The Abuja Agreement provided for and resulted in, inter alia, the establishment of a comprehensive cease-fire on 26 August 1995 at midnight and a new six-member Council, which was installed on 1 September 1995, one day ahead of schedule. The Council is composed of: Mr. Wilton Sankawolo as its Chairman; Dr. George Boley, representing the coalition of LPC, the Central Revolutionary Council of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (CRC-NPFL) and the Lofa Defense Force (LDF); Alhaji Kromah of ULIMO; Mr. Oscar Quiah of the Liberia National Council (LNC); Chief Tamba Tailor; and Mr. Charles Taylor of NPFL. The AFL has been given the defence portfolio, while General Roosevelt Johnson's wing of ULIMO (ULIMO-J) was given a number of ministerial posts. The new Council of State would remain in power for a period of one year, until the holding of elections on 20 August 1996. The Agreement also included a schedule of implementation (see annex I) and a formula for the distribution of government posts, which the parties have implemented. (2)

10. The new Council of State was inaugurated on 1 September in Monrovia, at a ceremony attended by the Chairman of ECOWAS and representatives of the Heads of State of Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Togo. The representative of OAU for Liberia, the Special Envoy of the United States and my Special Representative also attended the ceremony. The new Council of State held its first session immediately after its installation. The reports I have received indicate that the new transitional government enjoys the full support of all the key political leaders of Liberia, including Dr. Amos Sawyer, former President of the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) of Liberia and Mr. David Kpomakpor, former Chairman of the Council of State. The new government has also been warmly welcomed by the population at large.

11. The new Council of State has already announced the new appointments to the Cabinet and assigned oversight responsibilities of Ministries, autonomous agencies and public corporations to Council members. Nominations to the Supreme Court have also been made and consultations are under way to fill the few remaining posts in the Transitional Legislative Assembly and the Electoral Commission.

III. MILITARY AND SECURITY ASPECTS

12. During the period prior to the entry into force of the cease-fire, no major offensive was undertaken by any faction, although minor skirmishes occurred

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between Alhaji Kromah's wing of ULIMO (ULIMO-K) and General Roosevelt Johnson's wing of ULIMO (ULIMO-J) in the western region and between NPFL and LPC in the eastern region. In addition, prevailing problems of command and control within the factions continued to result in banditry and harassment of civilians. In this connection, ECOMOG has stepped up its patrols in the eastern region.

13. Following an agreement on 15 July between NPFL and ULIMO-J to reopen the Kakata-Bong Mines and Kakata-Gbarnga highways, ECOMOG extended its presence in the area up to Konola. Commercial traffic has since been restored in both these areas and relief supplies have started moving to Gbarnga and Bong Mines. This development has significantly contributed to confidence-building among the factions and the local population. In another confidence-building measure, the Council of State, taking advantage of ECOMOG's extended presence in the interior, established local administrations and appointed superintendents for the counties of Margibi, Grand Bassa, Montserrado, Bomi and Grand Cape Mount.

14. In accordance with the provisions of the Abuja Agreement, the cease-fire was re-established on 26 August at midnight. An ECOWAS delegation, led by the Deputy Foreign Minister of Ghana, Mr. Mohamed Chambas, visited Liberia from 25 to 27 August to assess the situation on the ground. The delegation confirmed that, in accordance with the Agreement, the factions had sent instructions to their respective forces to lay down arms and observe the cease-fire. Since the cease-fire came into effect, one allegation of a minor violation has been reported. In this connection, the Cease-fire Violations Committee, chaired by UNOMIL and consisting of ECOMOG and representatives of LNTG and the factions, met on 4 September to review with the factions plans for monitoring the cease-fire and the implementation of the other provisions of the peace agreement, including disarmament and demobilization. A Disarmament Committee, chaired by ECOMOG and comprising UNOMIL, LNTG and representatives of the armed factions, with the participation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), has also been established to draw up plans for the disengagement of forces, disarmament and the exchange of prisoners of war.

15. In section VII of my last report (S/1995/473), I informed the Security Council of my intention to withdraw those UNOMIL military observers who, in the absence of a cease-fire and the resumption of disarmament, could not perform their monitoring functions effectively. In this connection, during the month of July, 17 observers were redeployed to the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). UNOMIL's military strength currently consists of 45 observers and 7 medical personnel (see annexes II and III). However, with the conclusion of the Abuja Agreement, the entry into force of the cease-fire and the installation of the Council of State, I believe that UNOMIL should have the resources required to fulfil its mandate and, in particular, to monitor the cease-fire and the disengagement of forces. I therefore intend to increase immediately the military component of UNOMIL by some 42 observers. These additional observers will enable the Mission to strengthen its current deployment at Buchanan and Kakata and to re-establish a presence at Tubmanburg and, subsequently, at Gbarnga and Tapeta, subject to the security situation and to the deployment of ECOMOG at those locations.

16. In accordance with the Cotonou Peace Agreement (S/26272, annex) and the exchange of letters of 7 October 1993 between me and the Chairman of ECOWAS,

ECOMOG is responsible for providing security to unarmed United Nations military observers and civilian staff. This remains the basic premise for all United Nations operations in Liberia. Hence, the proposed deployment of additional UNOMIL personnel will depend on ECOMOG's ability to guarantee and provide effective security for these personnel.

17. Plans for the further expansion of UNOMIL, to carry out its responsibilities under the Abuja Agreement, are also being prepared. As indicated in my last report, UNOMIL and ECOMOG are discussing a joint concept of operations, to enable the two operations to carry out their respective functions more effectively.

18. UNOMIL was invited to attend the ECOWAS Chiefs of Staff Meeting held at Accra on 4 and 5 September to work out the modalities for the implementation of the military aspects of the Abuja Agreement. ECOWAS stated its determination to keep up the momentum generated by the Agreement, and thus the international community, in particular the United Nations, was urgently requested to support ECOMOG and the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants. It was strongly felt that the failure to focus on meeting the requirements of combatants could adversely affect the peace process.

IV. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

19. The reporting period saw a significant expansion in humanitarian assistance activities. As noted above, negotiations between ECOMOG, UNOMIL and a number of factions resulted in the opening of critical roads from Kakata to Gbarnga and from Kakata to Bong Mines. This development allowed United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to begin delivering aid to previously cut-off locations in central and northern Liberia. The importance of regular access to these populations was made clear by a recent nutritional assessment in the Upper Margibi/Lower Bong area, which found a global malnutrition rate of 56 per cent and an acute malnutrition rate of 42 per cent, affecting a population of 300,000 persons. United Nations agencies, non-governmental organizations and their partners are responding to this situation by strengthening their staffing complements and increasing deliveries of both food and non-food aid to that area. Despite the recent gains in access, logistical constraints and the absence of credible security guarantees for most parts of Liberia continue to prevent sustained humanitarian activity in much of the country, including Lofa county and south-west Liberia.

20. In addition to increasing their activities in new areas as they become secure, relief agencies continue to provide relatively unimpeded assistance to needy populations in ECOMOG-controlled areas. This includes the establishment of special task forces to address specific acute emergencies, including a cholera outbreak in Buchanan and critical needs in the Bomi, Cape Mount, Bong and Margibi areas. The high level of cooperation within the relief community was evident in the reopening of the Mechlin Bridge, a critical link between Monrovia and Buchanan, following a joint initiative of the United Nations, non-governmental organizations, the Ministry of Works and donor countries.

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commitments under the agreement, I would not hesitate to invite the Security Council to reconsider UNOMIL's involvement in the process.

40. While the success of the peace process in Liberia is primarily dependent upon the goodwill of the Liberian parties, there are several critical elements in this process, which require the full involvement and support of the international community. The nearly six-year-old civil war in Liberia has resulted in the break-up of the country's basic social fabric, the destruction of its economy and infrastructure, all of which have significantly weakened the country's governmental institutions. The situation, however, is not completely bleak. Liberia is a country rich in natural resources, and I firmly believe that with appropriate support and assistance from the international community, Liberia could be put on the path to recovery in a relatively short period of time.

41. The process of demobilizing Liberia's estimated 50,000 to 60,000 combatants, of whom as many as 25 per cent are children, is a critical factor in the peace process. The first step in the process will be for combatants to give up their arms to ECOMOG, in accordance with the provisions of the peace agreement. But given the economic conditions in Liberia, many combatants have resorted to the rule of the gun in order to feed themselves and their families. Many of those demobilized under the Cotonou Agreement have either gone back to war or are involved in banditry. The effective reintegration of the ex-combatants into civilian life will, therefore, be an essential element in the peace process. UNOMIL, in consultation with the transitional government, ECOMOG, UNDP and other United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations, has established a task force on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, to develop a framework in which these issues can be addressed in an integrated manner. The inclusion of some aspects of these critical tasks in the budget of UNOMIL may now be necessary to guarantee the success of the peace process.

42. While the successful demobilization and reintegration of combatants into civilian life is critical to the establishment of peace and security in Liberia, the country's national police force does not, at present, have the capacity to maintain law and order even in Monrovia, where that function is, to some extent, performed by ECOMOG. Technical and logistic assistance should be provided in this area, so that the national police can effectively carry out its duties and progressively assume a greater share in the maintenance of law and order in the country.

43. ECOMOG, which has been entrusted with the primary responsibility for supervising the implementation of the peace agreements in Liberia, has been hampered in the performance of this complex task by a lack of financial and logistic resources. Such resources are necessary if ECOMOG is to deploy across the country, ensuring respect for various aspects of the Abuja Agreement. Over the past two years, the Chairman of ECOWAS and I have repeatedly appealed to the international community to provide the necessary assistance to ECOMOG, either bilaterally or through the Trust Fund established for this purpose. However, despite some contributions, the resources provided to enable ECOMOG to meet its requirements for logistical support have clearly been insufficient. A resolution adopted by ECOWAS on 29 June 1995 (S/1995/701, annex) called on the

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Annex II

Composition of military component of UNOMIL as at 31 August 1995

	Observers	Others	Total
Bangladesh	2	7	9
China	5		5
Czech Republic	6		6
Egypt	3		3
Guinea-Bissau	3		3
India	2		2
Jordan	3		3
Kenya	8		8
Malaysia	8		8
Pakistan	3		3
Uruguay	2	—	2
Total	<u>45</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>52</u>

(7)

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UN Document S/1995/881, Thirteenth Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the
UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 23 October 1995

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S/1995/881
23 October 1995

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

THIRTEENTH PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted in pursuance of Security Council resolution 1014 (1995) of 15 September 1995, which extended the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) until 31 January 1996. In the resolution, the Council welcomed the recent Abuja Agreement signed by the Liberian parties (S/1995/742, annex), the installation of the new Council of State, the re-establishment of a comprehensive cease-fire, the beginning of the disengagement of forces and the agreement on a new timetable for the implementation of all the other aspects of the Agreement. The Council also requested me to submit, by the end of October 1995, recommendations concerning a new concept of operations for UNOMIL, which should address, *inter alia*, measures to enhance the relationship between UNOMIL and the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), aspects of disarming and demobilization, and the resources UNOMIL would require to carry out its tasks effectively.

2. In its resolution 1014 (1995), the Security Council welcomed my intention to dispatch a mission to Liberia to consult with the Liberian leaders and other interested parties on the requirements for the implementation of the Abuja Agreement. In that connection, I sent a technical team to Liberia, headed by my Deputy Military Advisor, Brigadier-General Abdul Ghani, from 19 to 30 September. The team subsequently travelled to Accra for consultations with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which were held on 2 October.

3. The present report provides an update on the political and military developments since my report of 13 September 1995 (S/1995/781) and contains recommendations on a new mandate and concept of operations for UNOMIL, based on lessons learned since the Mission was established by the Security Council by its resolution 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993.

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The structure proposed to enable UNOMIL to implement this mandate is set out in paragraphs 64 and 65 below.

V. CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS

A. Deployment of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group and the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia

(2)

24. In implementing the Abuja Agreement, ECOMOG has defined its tasks as the following: to monitor the borders of Liberia and man the main entry points by land, sea or air in order to ensure that no arms or ammunition are brought into the country; to assemble and disarm combatants of all factions; to establish checkpoints to verify the movement of arms and assist in the return of refugees and internally displaced persons; and to carry out intensive patrols throughout the country, so as to build confidence and create an atmosphere conducive to the holding of free and fair elections.

25. In order to fulfil these tasks, ECOMOG plans to increase its strength to 12,000 all ranks and to deploy its forces to nine safe havens (6,600 all ranks), 10 to 13 assembly sites (3,400 all ranks) and at 14 border crossing points (2,000 all ranks). For operational purposes, ECOMOG has divided the country into three sectors, each under the control of a brigade. Accordingly, ECOMOG brigade headquarters will be established at Gbarnga, Greenville and Tubmanburg. ECOMOG force headquarters will remain in Monrovia (see map in annex I).

(3)

26. For its part, UNOMIL will monitor and verify the implementation of the military provisions of the Abuja Agreement and will deploy its military observers with an emphasis on the most critical task of the peace process: disarmament and demobilization. Teams of United Nations military observers will co-deploy with ECOMOG troops at each of the assembly sites to monitor and verify the disarming of combatants. In addition, three mobile teams will be co-located with ECOMOG brigade headquarters. The leaders of the mobile teams will act as sector commanders for the UNOMIL military observers stationed at assembly sites in each sector. In addition, one mobile team will be stationed in Monrovia. These teams will investigate, jointly with ECOMOG and LNTG observers or independently, as required, reported violations of the cease-fire and arms embargo, as well as the disengagement of forces. The main headquarters of the UNOMIL military component will remain at UNOMIL headquarters in Monrovia.

27. In order to implement this concept of operations, it is estimated that approximately 160 military observers will be needed. These observers will be deployed to Liberia in accordance with operational requirements, with maximum strength being reached during the period of disarmament and demobilization, which is scheduled to take place between 1 December 1995 and 31 January 1996. The Mission's current strength is reflected in annex II.

(4)

28. UNOMIL will require additional air assets to enable the mobile teams to carry out their tasks effectively, that is, a total of three helicopters. These air assets will also be used, as appropriate, to support the activities of the United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator.

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34. As combatants move into assembly sites, they will be disarmed by ECOMOG, under the observation and verification of UNOMIL. They will then be demobilized by UNOMIL. The LNTG, ECOMOG and UNOMIL have agreed that this process should be completed as swiftly as possible. Hence the original process of assembly, encampment, disarmament and demobilization envisaged under the Abuja Agreement will be adjusted and the focus of assistance will be placed on facilitating the successful re-integration of ex-combatants into civilian life. The demobilization process is discussed in more detail in the humanitarian section of the present report.

VI. RESOURCE REQUIREMENTS OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF
WEST AFRICAN STATES MONITORING GROUP

(5)

35. ECOMOG has estimated that it would require some 12,000 troops to carry out its concept of operations. Its current strength is 7,269 all ranks. It will therefore require an additional 4,731 troops. During the eleventh meeting of the ECOWAS Chiefs of Staff, held in Monrovia on 9 October 1995, the representative of Nigeria indicated that his Government would provide two additional battalions. Ghana and Guinea have also indicated that they would each be prepared to provide an additional battalion. The Chiefs of Staff of other ECOWAS countries indicated that their countries were in principle prepared to contribute troops to ECOMOG, subject to the availability of the required financial and logistical support.

36. In that connection, my technical team worked closely with ECOMOG in reviewing its logistic requirements. Under present conditions, ECOMOG deployment capability is limited and substantial additional logistic assistance would be required to enable it to carry out fully its responsibilities under the Abuja Agreement. ECOMOG indicated that its priority needs included vehicles, communications, spare parts and fuel.

(6)

37. It will be recalled that a severe shortage of logistic support was a main reason for the inability of ECOMOG to carry out its tasks under the Cotonou Agreement. As the Chairman of ECOWAS and I have stated repeatedly, it is imperative to the success of the peace process that ECOMOG be provided with the logistic support it needs. An ECOWAS delegation visited potential donor countries in September to raise resources for ECOMOG. The Chairman of ECOWAS has also held bilateral consultations to encourage donor Governments to respond positively to ECOMOG requirements.

38. Following consultations with the LNTG and the Chairman of ECOWAS, I have decided to convene a conference on assistance to Liberia in New York on 27 October 1995. The conference will focus on support required for the implementation of the Abuja Agreement, including humanitarian assistance, the disarmament and demobilization processes, recovery and rehabilitation needs, as well as assistance to ECOMOG. Detailed information in this regard, including an annotated budget containing ECOMOG logistic requirements, is being made available to Member States participating in the conference.

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ANNEX II

Composition of the military component of the United Nations
 Observer Mission in Liberia as at 18 October 1991

	<u>Observers</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Bangladesh	2	7 a/	9
China	5	-	5
Czech Republic	6	-	6
Egypt	3	-	3
Guinea-Bissau	8	-	8
India	2	-	2
Jordan	3	-	3
Kenya	8	-	8
Malaysia	8	-	8
Pakistan	6	-	6
Uruguay	2	-	2
Total	<u>53</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>60</u>

a/ Medical staff.

(7)

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UN Document S/1996/232, Sixteenth Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the
UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 1 April 1996

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S/1996/232
1 April 1996

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

SIXTEENTH PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1041 (1996) of 29 January 1996, by which the Council extended the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) until 31 May 1996 and requested me to submit a progress report on the situation in Liberia by 31 March 1996. The present report provides an update on developments in Liberia since my report of 23 January 1996 (S/1996/47).

II. POLITICAL ASPECTS

2. The peace process in Liberia continues to encounter severe difficulties. During the period under review, there were setbacks on the military front and signs of discord between members of the Council of State.

3. On 28 December 1995, heavy fighting broke out at Tubmanburg as a result of unprovoked attacks on the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) by troops of General Roosevelt Johnson's wing of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO-J). Casualties were suffered by the combatants and by the civilian population. Despite the efforts of UNOMIL, the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), ULIMO-J has yet to withdraw from Tubmanburg or return to ECOMOG the heavy weapons it seized during the fighting. Negotiations with General Johnson about the return of the weapons are stalemated. On 1 March 1996, ECOMOG withdrew from Tubmanburg, indicating that it would redeploy to the area only when the weapons had been returned.

4. As a result of discord within ULIMO-J, the Executive Council and commanders of that faction removed General Johnson as its Chairman on 2 March 1996 and installed General William Karyee as Acting Chairman. The faction leadership stated that General Johnson would remain a member of ULIMO-J and keep his Cabinet post as Minister for Rural Development.

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infiltration by NPFL fighters. As a result, many civilians fled from Buchanan to more secure areas. The withdrawal of ECOMOG from Tubmanburg on 1 March left the area extremely vulnerable. Reports have been received of fighting among elements of ULIMO-J and with General Alhaji Kromah's wing of ULIMO (ULIMO-K) over control of the area. Currently, neither ECOMOG nor UNOMIL has a presence in Tubmanburg.

23. Councilman Taylor informed my Special Representative during a meeting with him on 21 March that NPFL had intervened in Kakata to establish security in the area. He stated that he would take similar action in other areas where the Council of State felt security was threatened and that such actions should not be treated as violations of the cease-fire.

24. At present, ECOMOG is deployed in Monrovia, Gbarnga, Buchanan, Greenville, Kakata, Suehn and Konola. ECOMOG has received an additional infantry battalion from Nigeria, increasing its total strength from approximately 7,000 to 7,500 troops, as well as 3 helicopters and 20 trucks as part of the logistic assistance pledged by the United States of America. Additional trucks are expected soon. Assistance pledged by other Member States, however, has yet to arrive in Liberia. (2)

Deployment of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia

25. UNOMIL currently has a total strength of 93 military observers (see annex). The UNOMIL disarmament team withdrew from Tubmanburg on 30 December 1995 because of fighting between ECOMOG and ULIMO-J. It was redeployed to the area on 31 January 1996 but was withdrawn a second time on 2 March, following the withdrawal of ECOMOG troops the previous day without prior notice to UNOMIL. The UNOMIL mobile and disarmament teams which withdrew from Kakata on 8 March because of fighting between NPFL and ULIMO-J were redeployed there on 23 March. (3)

26. UNOMIL is currently deployed in Monrovia, Buchanan and Suehn. Regular patrolling, investigations of cease-fire violations and monitoring of the overall military and security situation remain the main tasks of the military observers. UNOMIL will redeploy to Tubmanburg as soon as the security situation stabilizes. Deployment to Greenville is expected to take place shortly, as soon as logistic requirements have been moved by ship to the area. UNOMIL deployment in other areas is contingent upon ECOMOG deployment, as well as the security situation. It should be noted, however, that LNTG has insisted on clearing UNOMIL's deployments and has not always provided the cooperation required on a timely basis. (3)

V. DISARMAMENT AND DEMOBILIZATION

27. As noted in my last report, the National Disarmament and Demobilization Commission informed UNOMIL in December 1995 that LNTG wished to introduce significant changes to the disarmament and demobilization plan. UNOMIL, ECOWAS and ECOMOG undertook intensive consultations with the Commission to accommodate its concerns, without jeopardizing preparations for disarmament and demobilization which had already been made. On 1 March 1996, agreement was

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Annex

Composition of the military component of UNOMIL
as at 25 March 1996

	<u>Observers</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Bangladesh	8	7*	15
China	7		7
Czech Republic	6		6
Egypt	11		11
Guinea-Bissau	3		3
India	9		9
Jordan	8		8
Kenya	11		11
Malaysia	9		9
Pakistan	8		8
Uruguay	6		6
Total	<u>86</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>93</u>

* Medical staff.

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UN Document S/1996/362, Seventeenth Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the
UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 21 May 1996

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S/1996/362
21 May 1996

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

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SEVENTEENTH PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1041 (1996) of 29 January 1996, by which the Council extended the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) until 31 May 1996. The report provides an update on developments in Liberia since my report of 1 April 1996 (S/1996/232) and contains recommendations concerning the future role of UNOMIL in Liberia.

II. POLITICAL ASPECTS

2. The deterioration of the peace process in Liberia throughout the first months of the year, as described in my last report, culminated on 6 April in the eruption of fighting in Monrovia. In my letter to the President of the Security Council dated 22 April (S/1996/312), I described the widespread looting and complete breakdown of law and order which ensued. Despite a short lull, hostilities have continued since 6 April, seriously jeopardizing the Abuja peace process.

Genesis of the crisis

3. While the fighting was sparked off by the attempted arrest of General Roosevelt Johnson, the leader of a wing of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO-J), the underlying causes are much deeper. Skirmishes between Alhaji Kromah's and General Johnson's wings of ULIMO and between the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and the Liberian Peace Council (LPC) have recently created discord among members of the Council of State. As large numbers of fighters came into Monrovia, purportedly to protect their leaders, security in the city deteriorated. At the same time, the Council of State seemed determined to assert itself in ways contrary to the spirit of the Abuja Agreement, reportedly against the advice of some of its own members. It adopted protocols under which the transitional Government would be called "the Government of Liberia" and the Council of State the "collective presidency." Mr. Taylor and Alhaji Kromah began referring to their forces as

(2)

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"government forces", as they went into the ULIMO-J strongholds of Kakata and Tubmanburg in mid-March, asserting that they were helping the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to maintain security in those areas. These events created fear that some Liberian leaders were sidestepping the transitional arrangements and processes provided for under the Abuja Agreement.

(3)

4. It was in this volatile atmosphere that on 23 March, following confrontations between rival groups within ULIMO-J, the transitional Government issued a warrant for the arrest of General Roosevelt Johnson, accusing him of the murder of a man found dead on his property. General Johnson refused to turn himself over and, on 6 April, the Rapid Reaction Unit of the national police, backed up by the forces of NPFL and General Alhaji Kromah's Wing of ULIMO (ULIMO-K), attempted to arrest him forcibly. They were attacked by General Johnson's forces, supported by fighters from the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) and LPC.

5. Detailed information about the fighting is contained in section III and annex I to the present report.

Meeting of the Economic Community of West African States

6. The ECOWAS Committee of Nine met at Accra on 7 May to explore ways to achieve a cessation of hostilities and the reactivation of the peace process. Councilmen Taylor and Kromah failed to attend the meeting, and both indicated that the Chairman of the Council of State would represent the transitional Government. Councilmen Boley, Quiah and Tamba Tailor, as well as General Roosevelt Johnson and a number of NPFL ministerial appointees, attended the meeting. The Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, my Special Envoy, Mr. James O. C. Jonah, and my Special Representative, Mr. Anthony Nyakyi, were also present. In the meantime, Alhaji Kromah travelled to Abuja and other West African capitals to consult ECOWAS Governments on the situation in Liberia.

7. The ECOWAS Foreign Ministers adopted the Mechanism for Returning Liberia to the Abuja Agreement, under which they reaffirmed the Agreement as the only basis for peace in Liberia and agreed on a number of conditions to be fulfilled by the Liberian factions. These conditions include the restoration of the cease-fire; the withdrawal of fighters and the deployment of ECOMOG in Monrovia; the removal of arms from the city and the restoration of Monrovia as a safe haven; the guarantee of freedom of movement for civilians; the return of weapons taken from ECOMOG and vehicles and other equipment looted from UNOMIL, the United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations; and the reactivation of the Cease-fire Violations Committee. ECOWAS decided to postpone the Summit until early August, indicating that its further involvement in Liberia would be reviewed at that time on the basis of progress made in fulfilling these conditions.

8. ECOWAS also decided that the protocols recently adopted by the Council of State declaring the transitional Government to be "the Government of Liberia" and the Council of State to be its "collective presidency" contradicted the spirit of the Abuja Agreement. ECOWAS stressed that the transitional Government

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17. As fighting continued during the second week of the crisis, the factions began to establish control over certain areas of the city, which, for the most part, they still maintain. NPFL has established control over sections of eastern and central Monrovia, as well as the airport. ULIMO-K controls Bushrod Island up to and beyond the Po River, while ULIMO-J, LPC and AFL control the Barclay Training Centre barracks, some areas of central Monrovia and the eastern suburbs (see annex III). It should be noted, however, that the relative positions of the factions change daily owing to the constant infiltration of fighters and the urban nature of the hostilities. While fighting continues, it seems to be at a stalemate, with neither side able to take full control of the city.

18. In addition to Monrovia, fighting continues between the two wings of ULIMO in Tubmanburg. On 28 April, ULIMO-J forces attacked ECOMOG troops at Sinjie, killing one soldier and seriously wounding another. ECOMOG was not able to establish the reason for the attack. Skirmishes were also reported between NPFL and LPC forces in Grand Bassa, Sinoe, Grand Gedeh and Maryland counties. NPFL reportedly dislodged LPC from the city of Buchanan, but ECOMOG still maintains control of the city (see annex IV).

Deployment of UNOMIL

19. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities in Monrovia, UNOMIL military personnel were deployed in Monrovia, Buchanan, Kakata and Suehn (see annex IV). Following the outbreak of fighting, 88 of the Mission's 93 military observers were relocated to Freetown and Dakar, with the assistance of the United States Government. The military observers deployed to the field stations at Kakata and Suehn were escorted by ECOMOG to Monrovia on 13 April. Those at Buchanan returned to Monrovia by sea on 14 April on board an ECOMOG ship. Most of these military observers have now been repatriated. However, 10 remain on stand-by in Freetown and will return to Monrovia as soon as conditions permit. Five military observers (including the Chief Military Observer) remain in Monrovia to support the political efforts aimed at peacefully resolving the crisis. Their tasks include monitoring military developments, patrolling the city (as security permits), convening meetings of the Cease-fire Violations Committee, which is chaired by UNOMIL and organizing security escorts for faction representatives participating in consultations to resolve the crisis.

Deployment of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group

20. ECOMOG was not able to halt the hostilities when they erupted on 6 April. It maintained that the fighting was a matter between the factions and that it could not intervene in view of its limited manpower and resources, as well as the nature of its mandate as a peace-keeping force. Given these constraints, ECOMOG was also unable to provide protection for United Nations personnel and property. However, once ECOMOG received reinforcements from outlying areas, it assigned a security detail to the Riverview compound and for my Special Representative, as well as for the mediation team and some faction representatives involved in consultations to end the crisis.

21. While ECOMOG has been able to prevent ULIMO-J reinforcements from coming into Monrovia from the west across the Po River, it has not been able to deter

the massive movement of fighters in and out of the city centre from other areas. In accordance with the cease-fire arrangements that went into effect on 19 April, ECOMOG deployed in central Monrovia as fighters started to withdraw from the city, establishing check-points and undertaking patrols. Fighters continued to move freely, however, and when the cease-fire broke down on 29 April, ECOMOG withdrew to specific locations in sufficient numbers to deter attack from the factions. ECOMOG is currently deployed on Bushrod Island and maintains a presence at the telecommunications headquarters, the two bridges leading to the north and the airport. ECOMOG also maintains a presence at the seaport and around the Riverview compound.

22. Outside Monrovia, ECOMOG has continued to maintain its presence in Buchanan and Kakata. However, ECOMOG has completely withdrawn from Gbarnga, Bo, Tienne and Sinjeh and reduced its strength in Buchanan and Kakata, to provide reinforcements for Monrovia.

23. ECOMOG has suffered a number of casualties since fighting resumed. It has taken risks and when possible it has tried to deter the fighting and ensure the safety of United Nations personnel. While reports have been received that some individual ECOMOG soldiers may have been involved in looting or may have provided arms to fighters, such actions were neither systematic nor a matter of policy. If they did occur, they may reflect the chronic lack of resources suffered by the force, all the way down to the foot soldier, who is expected to operate in a hostile environment without proper equipment and sometimes without having been paid for many weeks.

IV. SECURITY ASPECTS

24. With continued fighting, the security situation in Monrovia remains dangerous and unpredictable. During the first days of the crisis, United Nations staff members were placed in grave danger when they were forced from their homes and offices and robbed and harassed while seeking safety, and when the vehicles they were driving were hijacked. Some local United Nations staff displayed particular bravery in assisting United Nations international personnel to safety. All non-essential UNOMIL and United Nations agency personnel have now been relocated to neighbouring countries or repatriated. As noted earlier, ECOMOG is now providing security for United Nations personnel; however, because of chronic manpower and logistic constraints, it cannot guarantee their security at all times.

25. The most insecure areas of Monrovia remain the centre of the city and the eastern suburbs. The security situation at the port, which was not targeted during the hostilities, also remains tenuous. United Nations and non-governmental organization warehouses at the port have been looted on several occasions and fighters continue to roam the area. In addition, thousands of civilians have swarmed into the port to try to get on ships leaving the country, making the area extremely volatile. ECOMOG has recently increased its deployment in an effort to control the situation there.

26. While United Nations and international personnel have not themselves been targeted, the threat that their property, particularly vehicles, will be looted

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remains high. There is also a risk that United Nations personnel could be caught in the cross-fire between opposing forces and that desperate fighters could once again resort to hostage-taking, as they did at the Barclay Training Centre. Given the persistent threat to the safety of United Nations personnel and overall insecurity in Monrovia, their movement remains restricted.

27. Developments in Monrovia are reviewed daily by UNOMIL and the United Nations designated official for security, with a view to ensuring the swift and safe relocation of United Nations personnel to neighbouring countries should security deteriorate further. Since the airport was destroyed during the fighting and remains closed, the only means of evacuating staff from Monrovia is either via the St. Paul River or by road to the port. Both routes present certain risks and are assessed daily.

Looting of United Nations equipment

28. As noted above, UNOMIL and all United Nations agencies have been systematically looted by fighters from all factions since 6 April. The fighters cleaned out all United Nations offices, damaged the buildings and looted United Nations warehouses. Some 80 per cent of UNOMIL vehicles were taken and many were destroyed. A large number of accoutrements bearing the United Nations insignia were stolen by fighters, who took to wearing the blue berets and other United Nations emblems. UNOMIL telephones, computers, photocopiers, communications equipment and general consumable items, including goods related to demobilization, were all looted. UNOMIL is currently estimating the value of looted goods and equipment. At least three months would be required to rebuild the Mission's logistic base.

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29. My Special Representative has urged the faction leaders to ensure that the vehicles and equipment looted from UNOMIL, the United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations are returned. The faction leaders have asserted that it would be difficult to retrieve the loot from the fighters. Even so, after UNOMIL received information that some United Nations equipment was loaded onto ships destined for certain West African ports, it requested the concerned Governments to assist the United Nations in retrieving the goods. Subsequently, some equipment, mostly small, marketable items, was retrieved. It is unlikely, however, that a substantial amount of equipment will be returned.

V. HUMAN RIGHTS

30. Given the threatening security situation, UNOMIL has not been able to investigate actively the many reports of human rights violations committed during the hostilities, including rape, abductions, targeted killings of individuals and forced conscription. UNOMIL confirmed reports of two incidents when the heads of fighters were severed and displayed in the streets of Monrovia. The death toll among the civilian population has yet to be determined, but it is reported that a number of civilians have been killed, many as a result of the cross-fire.

31. Many civilian leaders were forced to leave Monrovia or to take refuge at the ECOMOG base, including the Chairman of the Council of State,

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VIII. OBSERVATIONS

43. Over the past six weeks, the faction leaders have clearly demonstrated their disregard for the aspirations of the Liberian people for peace. They have shown wanton disrespect for the United Nations, ECOWAS and the international community and have forced most international personnel to relocate to other countries.

44. The Liberian civil war has engaged ECOWAS for over six years. The West African States, themselves facing financial hardship, have spent millions of dollars, negotiated countless peace agreements and sacrificed the lives of their young men in trying to bring peace to Liberia. Hostilities have, on occasion, spilled over the borders, affecting the stability of Liberia's neighbours. In addition, the ECOWAS States, which have hosted Liberian refugees for a number of years, face the prospect of thousands more seeking refuge on their shores.

45. At their recent meeting at Accra, the ECOWAS Foreign Ministers reaffirmed the Abuja Agreement as the only basis for peace in Liberia and agreed upon a number of steps necessary to resume its implementation. ECOWAS warned the faction leaders that if they did not implement those steps, it would reconsider its involvement in Liberia at its next summit meeting scheduled for early August 1996. The withdrawal of ECOMOG from Liberia could be catastrophic not only for the country but also for the subregion as a whole.

46. Should ECOWAS be compelled to take the decision to disengage from Liberia and withdraw ECOMOG, UNOMIL would have no choice but to do the same. Therefore, I strongly urge the Liberian faction leaders to consider carefully the wide-ranging consequences that their actions during the next two months will have and, in this light, to implement immediately the measures agreed upon by ECOWAS at Accra.

47. During the months leading up to the current crisis, the voice of Liberian civil society has, on many occasions, been stifled and journalists have even been detained for criticizing the actions of some members of the transitional Government. During their meeting at Accra on 7 May, the ECOWAS Foreign Ministers agreed that the transitional Government must be inclusive and that the Council of State must resume its work as envisaged under the Abuja Agreement. All Council members, who represent various sectors of Liberian society, should have a voice in the decision-making process. It is also necessary that ways and means be found to enable civil society to assume its rightful place in the peace process. In this connection, I have requested my Special Representative to encourage greater input into the political process from a broad spectrum of civilian leaders and to continue to urge the transitional Government to restore the atmosphere necessary for the democratic process to flourish and for the media to resume its work.

48. In the absence of functioning institutions to organize the electoral process, and given the continued instability, it is most unlikely that elections could be held in August 1996, as provided for under the Abuja Agreement. The future of the electoral process, at least one that could be supported by the international community, will depend on the restoration of basic conditions of

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peace and security and on the resumption of the implementation of the Abuja Agreement.

49. In its resolution 1020 (1995), the Security Council mandated UNOMIL to assist in the implementation of the Abuja Agreement, especially the disarmament and demobilization process. However, in the present insecure and unstable conditions that prevail in Monrovia and throughout Liberia, there is little that UNOMIL can accomplish with respect to these objectives. At the same time, through the use of its good offices, UNOMIL continues to play an important role in supporting the efforts of ECOWAS to facilitate the resumption of the peace process. It can also facilitate, in consultation with ECOMOG, the adoption of confidence-building measures, with a view to creating conditions conducive to a return to the Abuja Agreement. I, therefore, recommend that the Security Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL for three months, until 31 August. During this period, UNOMIL's strength, which currently consists of 25 civilian and military personnel, would remain approximately at its present level, taking into account the possible need to increase or reduce the number slightly depending on the evolution of the security situation on the ground.

50. Following the ECOWAS Summit, I shall submit to the Security Council recommendations on the role, if any, that UNOMIL can play after 31 August. Evidently, those recommendations will depend on the decisions that ECOWAS will take regarding its own role in Liberia. They will also be contingent upon implementation by the faction leaders of the concrete steps necessary to restore basic law and order in Monrovia and elsewhere. These steps must begin with the strict observance of the cease-fire, the withdrawal of fighters from Monrovia, the deployment of ECOMOG throughout the city and the restoration of its status as a safe haven. Once these basic objectives have been achieved, steps should be taken to ensure that negotiations are initiated, under the auspices of ECOWAS and the United Nations, with a view to resolving those issues that were not fully addressed in the Abuja Agreement and elaborating a comprehensive implementation plan. The willingness of the faction leaders to engage in genuine negotiations and mutual accommodation will no doubt be a critical factor in determining the continued involvement of the international community in Liberia. The faction leaders should carefully ponder the lessons of Somalia in this regard.

51. Issues related to the security of UNOMIL and the humanitarian agencies in Liberia, as well as the return of looted equipment, will also have to be addressed. It is unlikely that the international community will be ready to re-engage itself in the peace process in Liberia until these issues are fully clarified and the factions provide sufficient guarantees for the safety and security of innocent civilians, as well as United Nations and other international personnel.

52. As regards UNOMIL, it will be recalled that, at the time of its establishment, it was clearly recognized that unarmed United Nations military observers would require the provision of security by ECOMOG in order to fulfil their mandated tasks. For well-known reasons, however, ECOMOG has not been able to provide the level of security necessary for UNOMIL personnel to function in Liberia, or to fulfil entirely its own responsibilities as a peace-keeping force. This was amply demonstrated by the events of the past few weeks.

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Careful consideration will therefore have to be given in the coming weeks to finding ways and means of ensuring that these difficulties are effectively addressed.

53. The involvement of UNOMIL in Liberia marked the first time the United Nations had deployed a peace-keeping mission in parallel with that of a regional organization, in this case a subregional organization. I have stressed from the very beginning that the role foreseen for UNOMIL in Liberia was predicated upon the assumption that ECOMOG would be in a position to perform the wide-ranging tasks entrusted to it. Unfortunately, ECOMOG never received the manpower and resources necessary to enable it to carry out its responsibilities effectively. It would be an illusion to think that this innovative model of peace-keeping will be able to succeed in Liberia, especially under current conditions, unless sufficient and reliable sources of funding are provided to ECOMOG, and unless the force is strengthened and structured in a manner that will enable it to carry out its tasks as a professional peace-keeping force.

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54. I commend ECOWAS and OAU for their continued efforts to facilitate the resumption of the peace process. I would also like to thank my Special Representative and the staff of UNOMIL for their continuing efforts, under very trying circumstances, to facilitate a peaceful resolution to the crisis.

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Annex II

Composition of the military component of the
United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia

At 5 April 1996

At 15 May 1996

	<u>Observers</u>	<u>Monrovia</u>	<u>On standby in Freetown</u>
Bangladesh	15	-	3
China	7	-	-
Czech Republic	6	-	-
Egypt	11	3	-
Guinea-Bissau	3	-	-
India	9	2	2
Jordan	8	-	-
Kenya	11	-	1
Malaysia	9	-	2
Pakistan	8	-	2
Uruguay	6	-	-
Total	<u>93</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>

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UN Document S/1996/858, Nineteenth Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the
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17 October 1996

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NINETEENTH PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
ON THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA

③

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted in pursuance of Security Council resolution 1071 (1996) of 30 August 1996, by which the Council requested me to submit a report by 15 October 1996 with proposals for assistance which the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) or other United Nations agencies could provide in support of the peace process in Liberia. Under that resolution, the Council also requested me to report on the situation of child soldiers in Liberia, and to provide an update on the status of property stolen from UNOMIL, the United Nations and international agencies during hostilities in Monrovia earlier this year.

2. The present report includes these elements, as well as an update on developments in Liberia since my report of 22 August 1996 (S/1996/684).

II. POLITICAL ASPECTS

3. It will be recalled that, during the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) summit of the Committee of Nine on Liberia held at Abuja on 17 August 1996, ECOWAS, the faction leaders and Liberian civilian groups took a number of decisions necessary to put the peace process back on track. These decisions included, *inter alia*, the appointment of a new Chairperson of the Council of State and a new timetable for the implementation of the 1995 Abuja Agreement, starting with the restoration of the ceasefire by 31 August 1996 and culminating in the holding of elections by 30 May 1997.

4. Since that time, some progress has been made towards the implementation of the decisions taken in Abuja. On 3 September 1996, the new Chairperson of the Council of State, Ms. Ruth Perry, was inducted into office and thus became the first woman Head of State in Africa. On 10 September, the Council of State met for the first time since the outbreak of hostilities on 6 April.

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of cooperation from NPFL and LPC has made it difficult for UNOMIL and ECOMOG to visit most other areas of the south-east to verify the status of the ceasefire. In this connection, on 17 September, a joint mission of the Ceasefire Violations Committee and the Disarmament Committee, which included representatives of UNOMIL, ECOMOG and the factions, was harassed during a visit to the LPC stronghold of Zwedru. The NPFL representatives were arrested by the local LPC commander and were severely manhandled, as were some other members of the mission, who were also robbed. UNOMIL and ECOMOG issued a strong protest to LPC and returned to the area the following day with the LPC leader, George Boley, to secure the release of the two NPFL representatives.

17. On 10 October 1996, the LPC leader reported to UNOMIL that the NPFL forces had overrun the city of Greenville. He also stated that NPFL had, over the past several months, taken from the LPC areas which he had planned to use for the disarmament and demobilization of his fighters and that, unless NPFL withdrew from those areas, LPC would find it difficult to disarm. NPFL maintained, however, that Greenville had been under its control for some time. In view of the seriousness of these allegations and their potential implications for the peace process, a joint investigation and verification mission of the Ceasefire Violations Committee and the Disarmament Committee visited Greenville on 12 October to investigate the incident. Preliminary findings indicate that NPFL may have taken control of Greenville in September 1996, after the ceasefire had been re-established. However, the Ceasefire Violations Committee is still finalizing its report on the matter.

18. While, in accordance with the new timetable for the implementation of the Abuja Agreement, the process of disarmament and demobilization is not scheduled to commence until 22 November 1996, some factions have indicated a willingness to start disarming some of their fighters before that date. In this connection, ULIMO-K handed over some arms and ammunition, including a surface-to-air missile and 119 anti-tank mines, to ECOMOG on 7 September in Voinjama. ULIMO-K has also announced its intention to carry out a similar exercise in Grand Cape Mount County. In addition, NPFL has encamped some 500 fighters in Nimba County in preparation for early disarmament but has not clarified how it intends to proceed with this.

Deployment of ECOMOG and UNOMIL

19. The current force strength of ECOMOG is estimated at some 7,500 all ranks and is deployed in Monrovia, Kakata and Buchanan and the Po River area. The Force Commander is continuing his efforts to reinvigorate ECOMOG and has demonstrated his determination to ensure that the force carries out its tasks effectively. 4

20. During the reporting period, 84 trucks provided by the Government of the Netherlands and 35 trucks provided by the Government of Germany arrived in Monrovia for ECOMOG. The Government of the United States of America continues to provide logistic and communications equipment to ECOMOG, on the basis of the \$30 million pledge of assistance it made in April 1996.

21. UNOMIL's current military strength consists of 10 military observers who perform the following duties in pursuance of their mandate: 5 patrolling in

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26. ECOMOG has indicated that it would consider the possibility of establishing additional disarmament/demobilization centres, at the weapons collections sites, if additional manpower and logistic resources could be provided. In this connection, it will be recalled that during the meeting of ECOWAS Chiefs of Staff on 14 to 15 August, a number of ECOWAS member States indicated their interest in contributing troops to ECOMOG, subject to the availability of logistical support. While discussions continue between potential troop-contributing countries, ECOWAS and potential donors, no additional troops have yet been deployed to Liberia. The establishment of additional disarmament and demobilization centres would also depend on the capacity of the humanitarian community to organize and manage the necessary services there.

27. The military aspects of the mandate entrusted to UNOMIL by the Security Council under resolution 1020 (1995) of 10 November 1995 included the following tasks: to investigate all allegations of violations of the ceasefire reported to the Ceasefire Violations Committee; to recommend measures to prevent the recurrence of such violations and to report to the Secretary-General accordingly; to monitor compliance with the other military provisions of the peace agreements, including disengagement of forces, disarmament and observance of the arms embargo and to verify their impartial application; and to assist, as appropriate, in the maintenance of assembly sites agreed upon by ECOMOG, the LNTG and the factions, and in the implementation of a programme for the demobilization of combatants, in cooperation with the LNTG, donor agencies and NGOs.

28. In accordance with the above mandate and ECOMOG's revised concept of operations, it is estimated that UNOMIL would require: (a) one disarmament team of six military observers to be deployed at each disarmament/demobilization centre to monitor and verify the disarmament process; and (b) two mobile teams of six observers to continue monitoring and observing, in conjunction with ECOMOG, the implementation of the ceasefire, the disengagement of forces, the collection of weapons at areas other than the disarmament and demobilization sites, and compliance by the factions with the other military provisions of the Abuja Agreement, including the arms embargo. In addition, some 20 military observers would be required to man UNOMIL's military headquarters in Monrovia, which would include the Chief Military Observer and his immediate staff; an operations cell of five observers; an ECOMOG liaison cell of two observers; a logistic cell of two observers; and a medical unit of seven observers. [The final composition of UNOMIL's military component would be dependent on ECOMOG's deployment, but would not exceed a total of 92 military observers. This would represent a reduction of some 68 military observers from the total strength of 160 authorized under resolution 1020 (1995).] 6

29. After the completion of disarmament and demobilization, UNOMIL's military component would maintain a presence in Liberia to continue monitoring the implementation of the military provisions of the Abuja Agreement, thus helping to build the confidence necessary for the electoral period. UNOMIL's military component would start drawing down after the elections, which, in accordance with the revised timetable, are scheduled to take place by 30 May 1997.

30. As most of UNOMIL's vehicles, communications and other assets were looted during the April hostilities in Monrovia, the Mission will require additional

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29 January 1997

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TWENTY-FIRST PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
ON THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA

③

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1083 (1996) of 27 November 1996, by which the Council extended the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) until 31 March 1997 and requested me to keep the Council informed of the situation in Liberia, especially on the progress of demobilization and disarmament. The Council also requested me to submit by 31 January 1997 a progress report and recommendations on possible United Nations support for the holding of free and fair elections. The present report reviews developments in Liberia since my predecessor's last report dated 19 November 1996 (S/1996/962).

II. POLITICAL ASPECTS

2. During the period under review, some progress has been made towards the implementation of the Abuja Agreement. The disarmament and demobilization process began on schedule on 22 November 1996, but has been hindered by several constraints, as indicated in section IV of the present report. In accordance with the revised schedule of implementation of the Abuja Agreement, the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) has deployed troops in the interior of Liberia in support of the disarmament process. UNOMIL has also deployed military observer teams to the disarmament sites.

3. The deep divisions that resurfaced within the Council of State in the aftermath of the shooting incident at the Executive Mansion on 31 October 1996 have persisted. However, during their visit to Liberia in mid-January, the Special Envoy of the Chairman of ECOWAS, Chief Tom Ikimi, Foreign Minister of Nigeria, the Foreign Minister of Guinea, Mr. Lamine Camara, and the Deputy Foreign Minister of Ghana, Mr. Mohammed Ibn Chambas, met separately with the Chairman and some members of the Council of State. The Council then met, on 16 January, for the first time since the 31 October incident. At the meeting, which was held in the presence of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) delegation, the ECOMOG Force Commander, my Special Representative and others, Chief Ikimi appealed to all members to extend their fullest cooperation to ensure a successful conclusion of the Liberian peace process. He stressed



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acting on their own. [No evidence of the involvement of the ULIMO High Military Command could be established.

7. The investigation into the shooting incident of 31 October at the Executive Mansion, when five persons, including a close personal aid to Charles Taylor, were killed and several injured, is also still under way.

Deployment of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group and the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia

8. The force strength of ECOMOG remains at 7,500 all ranks. To date, the additional troops pledged for ECOMOG have not yet arrived in Liberia, though some of the support pledged by donor countries is now becoming available. The Force Commander has deployed into the interior of Liberia in support of the disarmament process, while retaining a force of sufficient strength in Monrovia to assist in maintaining its safe-haven status. ECOMOG deployed initially at the designated disarmament sites of the Barclay Training Center, Camp Schiefflin, Tubmanburg, Bo Waterside, Kakata, Voinjama, Buchanan, Camp Nama and Zwedru, and subsequently at three additional sites at Tapeta, Greenville and Harper (see annex III). (4)

9. ECOMOG has also established buffer zones between ULIMO-J and ULIMO-K in Bomi and Grand Cape Mount counties, as well as between the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and the Liberian Peace Council (LPC) in Grand Gedeh County. The creation of a similar buffer between the NPFL and ULIMO-K in Bong and Lofa counties and between NPFL and LPC in Sinoe, Maryland and Grand Kru counties is also being contemplated, but ECOMOG considers that it would require additional troops and logistic support for such a deployment. (4)

10. With regard to future deployment plans, the ECOMOG Force Commander has declared that any fighters found with a weapon after 31 January 1997 will be treated as criminals. Following that deadline, ECOMOG has indicated that it intends to carry out cordon and search operations to disarm recalcitrant fighters. ECOMOG will also be responsible for providing security for the electoral process.

11. The new Chief Military Observer of UNOMIL, Major-General Sikandar Shami, assumed his functions on 16 December 1996. As at 28 January 1997, the military strength of UNOMIL stood at 78 military observers, who are deployed at the disarmament sites at Bo Waterside, Tubmanburg, Kakata, Camp Nama, Voinjama, Zwedru, Tapeta, the Barclay Training Center, Greenville, Camp Schiefflin and Buchanan (see annex I). Monitoring teams are also deployed at James Spriggs Payne Airport and at the seaport in Monrovia. (5)

IV. DISARMAMENT AND DEMOBILIZATION

12. When the disarmament and demobilization exercise began on 22 November 1996 as scheduled, UNOMIL and the United Nations Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Office (HACO), which is responsible for the operational aspects of demobilization and for coordinating bridging and reintegration activities, were facing severe logistic, financial and manpower constraints. It will be recalled

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Annex I

Composition of the military component of UNOMIL as
of 26 January 1997

	Military observers	Others*	Total
Bangladesh	7	7	14
China	5		5
Czech Republic	2		2
Egypt	12		12
India	13		13
Kenya	11		11
Malaysia	2		2
Nepal	6		6
Pakistan	11		11
Uruguay	2		2
Total	71	7	78

* Medical staff.

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the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 19 March 1997.

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19 March 1997

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TWENTY-SECOND PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
ON THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA

(3)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1083 (1996) of 27 November 1996, by which the Council extended the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) until 31 March 1997. The report provides an update on developments in Liberia since my previous report dated 29 January 1997 (S/1997/90), and contains recommendations on the role to be played by UNOMIL in the forthcoming Liberian elections.

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II. POLITICAL ASPECTS

2. During the period under review, further progress has been made towards the implementation of the Abuja Agreement. There have been significant achievements in the disarmament of fighters which, under the revised schedule of implementation of the Abuja Agreement, was to be completed by 31 January 1997. The Monitoring Group of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOMOG) has received some of the additional troops pledged to it, and has continued to extend its presence into the interior of the country, thus facilitating greater access by humanitarian agencies. With the improvement in the security situation, the civilian population is gradually beginning to gain the confidence to move freely in some hitherto unsafe areas of the country. The level of disarmament thus far achieved has also made it possible to begin preparing for the holding of elections. The United Nations, in consultation with the Liberian National Transitional Government, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and other partners, has already started to prepare for its role in the electoral process.

3. As part of the periodic assessments provided for under the Abuja Agreement, the ECOWAS Committee of Nine held its second Ministerial Meeting in Monrovia on 13 and 14 February 1997 under the chairmanship of Chief Tom Ikimi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria. Representatives of States members of the Committee, including Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal and Togo, as well as Liberia, Mali, the Niger and Sierra Leone, participated in the meeting, which was also attended by my Special



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have yielded an additional 917 weapons and 122,162 pieces of ammunition, as well as the arrest of 98 fighters.

ECOMOG and UNOMIL deployment

15. With the recent induction of a 650-man Malian battalion and a 500-man Ghanaian battalion, the strength of ECOMOG has been increased to approximately 10,000, currently deployed throughout the country except in Grand Kru and River Cess counties, where they expect to deploy very soon. In ECOMOG's assessment, which is fully shared by UNOMIL, an additional three battalions would be required for the peacekeeping force to perform the security-related and other tasks envisaged for it during the forthcoming elections. Those troops would also enable ECOMOG to deploy in Grand Kru and River Cess counties and reinforce its presence in Lofa, Sinoe and Maryland counties.

16. At a meeting of ECOWAS Chiefs of Staff that took place in Monrovia on 10 and 11 February, the Chiefs of Staff of Benin, Burkina Faso, the Gambia and the Niger indicated the intention of their respective Governments to contribute additional troops to ECOMOG.

17. The military component of UNOMIL has now reached its full authorized strength of one Chief Military Observer and 92 military observers, most of whom are deployed to the 10 disarmament sites of Bo Waterside, Buchanan, Gbarnga, Greenville, Harper, Kakata, Tapeta, Tubmanburg, Voinjama and Zwedru, and at UNOMIL headquarters in Monrovia (see annex II and map).

IV. ELECTORAL PROCESS

18. On 10 February 1997, following the formal end of the disarmament and demobilization phase, I wrote to the President of the Security Council transmitting to him a copy of the United Nations recommendations on a framework for the holding of elections in Liberia, prepared at the request of the Council of State following consultations with the Chairman of ECOWAS. Substantially along the lines proposed in the recommendations, agreement was subsequently reached between the Council of State and the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on a basic framework for the holding of elections in Liberia.

19. In a letter dated 18 February, the Chairman of ECOWAS confirmed to me his endorsement of the electoral recommendations which had emerged from the deliberations of the Ministerial Meeting and requested my support in this regard. The Chairman noted that he had asked the Liberian Council of State to take steps to ensure their implementation before the end of February 1997. The Chairman of ECOWAS informed me that he would also be consulting with other ECOWAS heads of State on matters related to the implementation of the peace process.

20. The recommendations endorsed by the Chairman of ECOWAS are as follows:

(a) The date of elections as scheduled under the Revised Abuja Peace Plan, set for 30 May 1997, will be strictly adhered to;

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UN Document S/1997/478, Twenty-Third Progress Report of the Secretary General on
the UN Observer Mission in Liberia, 19 June 1997.

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TWENTY-THIRD PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
ON THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA

(3)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The present report is submitted pursuant to Security Council resolution 1100 (1997) of 27 March 1997, by which the Council extended the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) until 30 June 1997 and requested me to keep the Council informed on a regular basis of the situation in Liberia, and, in particular, of significant developments in the electoral process, and to submit a report by 20 June 1997. The report provides an update on developments in Liberia since my previous report dated 19 March 1997 (S/1997/237), and contains an assessment of the status of preparations for the forthcoming elections.

II. POLITICAL ASPECTS

2. Since my last report, the electoral process in the country has shown significant progress. The Liberian Independent Elections Commission, which is responsible for organizing and conducting the elections, was installed on 2 April 1997, while the reconstituted Supreme Court, which is to adjudicate in electoral disputes, was installed on 7 April, in each case about one month later than anticipated by the schedule set by the Committee of Nine of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). These delays caused preparations for the elections to fall behind schedule, and cast serious doubt on prospects for holding credible elections by 30 May 1997, the date originally set.

3. UNOMIL and the Monitoring Group of ECOWAS (ECOMOG), however, have continued to make their own preparations for the elections. As explained in section IV below, UNOMIL civilian electoral observers have been deployed to all 13 counties of Liberia, and preparations are under way to deploy the 200 observers envisaged in my report of 19 March to observe the election itself. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has started repatriating those Liberians in the subregion who wish to return immediately to participate in the elections. Meanwhile, the implementation of bridging programmes has gathered pace and arrangements are being made to ensure that these programmes

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(D) the inaccessibility of these areas. [As at 13 June, the cumulative total of arms and ammunition recovered and verified by military observers was 10,036 weapons and more than 1.24 million assorted pieces of ammunition, while approximately 3,750 weapons had been reported surrendered to ECOMOG outside the official disarmament sites. In addition, ECOMOG cordon-and-search operations have led to the recovery of approximately 3,500 weapons and 150,000 pieces of ammunition. Major recent recoveries include heavy artillery from Butlo in Nimba county, mortars and anti-tank guns from Lofa county and substantial quantities of small arms from Bong Mines, Buchanan, Monrovia, Tubmanburg, Bo Waterside and Voinjama.]

ECOMOG and UNOMIL deployment

(E) 18. During the period under review, ECOMOG has continued to receive considerable reinforcements. In April, 320 troops from Burkina Faso, 321 from Niger and a 35-man medical team from Côte d'Ivoire arrived, with a further 250 troops from Benin joining ECOMOG in May. These reinforcements have brought ECOMOG strength to approximately 11,000 troops deployed at 48 different locations. Although some ECOMOG troops have been redeployed to Sierra Leone in connection with the crisis in that country, my Special Representative and the Chief Military Observer believe that ECOMOG at present retains sufficient capability to ensure security for the forthcoming elections in Liberia. [UNOMIL also assisted in the evacuation of United Nations and other international personnel from Sierra Leone.]

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(F) 19. UNOMIL has completed its planned deployment at 16 sites, covering all the 13 counties of Liberia [see annex and map]. The field stations established during the disarmament process have been successfully converted into electoral observation bases. Each of these bases is manned jointly by one or two civilian electoral observers and four or five military observers, who are continuing to undertake reconnaissance missions in the countryside to gather information on terrain and infrastructure and to identify population centres. This information has been made available to the Elections Commission for use in its planning for the forthcoming elections.

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IV. ELECTORAL PROCESS

UNOMIL preparations for elections

(F) 20. As indicated in section II above, preparations for the Observer Mission's observation of the elections are on schedule. Its Electoral Unit has been strengthened to its full complement of four electoral officers. [A total of 34 civilian electoral observers have joined the 78 military observers outside Monrovia to form medium-term electoral observer teams, which are operating from 16 observation bases in the field, and in Monrovia. In addition to the activities described above, the medium-term observer teams are reporting on the activities of political parties and preparing for the arrival of the additional observers to be deployed during the election itself.] UNOMIL is also working with other observer groups to ensure that there will be efficient coordination of the electoral observation process. The UNOMIL communications network will be shared with electoral observers up to and during the polling period.

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 English
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Annex

Composition of the military component of the United Nations
 Observer Mission in Liberia as at 15 June 1997

	Military observers	Others ^a	Total
Bangladesh	7	7	14
China	7	—	7
Czech Republic	5	—	5
Egypt	14	—	14
India	14	—	14
Kenya	13	—	13
Malaysia	3	—	3
Nepal	6	—	6
Pakistan	15 ^b	—	15
Uruguay	2	—	2
Total	<u>86</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>93</u>

^a Medical staff.

^b Includes the Chief Military Observer.

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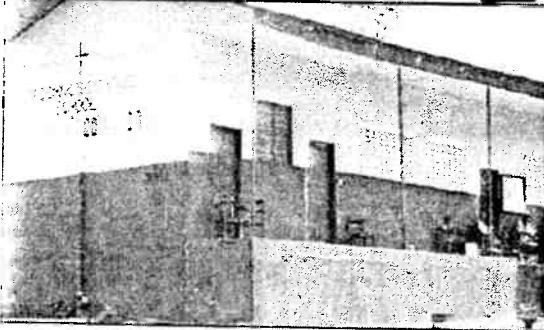
BBC News: "Liberia's church strike ends", 19 November 2002

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 Tuesday, 19 November, 2002, 09:48 GMT

Liberia's church strike ends



The Catholic Church delivers much-needed services

Church representatives in Liberia have called off a protest that closed schools and health centres run by the church.

The decision was taken after a meeting with President Charles Taylor to discuss accusations made against the head of the Catholic Church, Archbishop Michael Francis.

The Reverend Pelessant Harris, secretary general of the Liberian Council of Churches said that President Taylor had promised to bring the parties to the current dispute together, to examine the evidence over claims made.

The malicious attack on the renowned bishop is tantamount to attacking the body of Christ which is the church

LCC statement

"I think very soon the whole issue will be resolved," he told the BBC's Network Africa.

Nuns

The church and the government have been trading accusations since Archbishop Francis launched an investigation last week into the murder of American nuns 10 years ago.

At the time fighters loyal to Mr Taylor were accused by the Archbishop and the United States of carrying out the killings.

A member of

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Reverend Pelessant Harris
 "It was resolved after an appeal from the president"

LIBERIA UNDER PRESSURE

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parliament - Sando Johnson responded by accusing the Archbishop of failing to address homosexuality in the Catholic Church.

Activities at all church-related health and learning institutions throughout the country were seriously disrupted on Monday - the first of three days of planned disruption.



Bishop Francis has often criticised the government

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Distanced

Archbishop Michael Francis has often criticised President Taylor's government saying it has a poor human rights record.

In a statement on Monday, the government urged church leaders to call off the protest in the interest of education and the health of the of Liberian people.

The government maintained that Sando Johnson's allegations against Bishop Francis were his personal views.

But the Council of Churches disagreed. It said that "when an official who holds such a high office speaks, he cannot separate himself from his office."

Mr Johnson has shown no regrets for his allegations despite mounting criticism.

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Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, "Liberia: Information on the new government's human rights record and information on the conditions of members of the Krahn ethnic group under the new government", 1 February 1998

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Title	Liberia: Information on the new government's human rights record and information on the conditions of members of the Krahn ethnic group under the new government
Publisher	Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada
Country	Liberia
Publication Date	1 February 1998
Citation / Document Symbol	LBR28675.E
Cite as	Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, <i>Liberia: Information on the new government's human rights record and information on the conditions of members of the Krahn ethnic group under the new government</i> , 1 February 1998, LBR28675.E, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6aae744.html [accessed 12 August 2009]

Immigration and
Refugee Board of CanadaCommission de l'immigration
et du statut de réfugié du Canada

Liberia: Information on the new government's human rights record and information on the conditions of members of the Krahn ethnic group under the new government

According to *Country Reports 1997* the Liberian government's human rights record over the course of 1997 was poor, but better than it was in 1996. *Country Reports* states that ECOMOG security operations led to a decline in abuses before September 1997, but that abuses increased towards the end of 1997. Among the most serious abuses mentioned in *Country Reports* for the period following the election of Charles Taylor in July were deaths in police custody under suspicious circumstances, the alleged death by starvation of two inmates of the Bong County detention facility, the unpunished beating death of a taxi driver by police officers in Monrovia, and the death of opposition politician Samuel Saye Dokie and three members of his family after they were arrested on 29 November. According to *Africa Confidential* of 19 December 1997, Dokie and his three relatives were arrested by the police near the town of Gbarnga, allegedly on orders from Special Security Services (SSS) head Benjamin Yeaten. Although the four were last seen alive under SSS guard, SSS head Benjamin Yeaten denied that he had ordered their arrest. Five people, including the Gbarnga police chief, were arrested in connection with the deaths (*ibid.*). On 6 February 1998 Star Radio in Liberia reported that five unnamed people were scheduled to go on trial on 9 February for the murder of Dokie and his relatives.

Country Reports 1997 also alleges that police carried out dozens of cases of unconstitutional detentions without charge as part of an anti-crime campaign in September and October. In the latter part of the year many journalists were intimidated by the police, including six editors who were detained after their newspapers published articles considered to be critical of the government. A journalist who was investigating the death of Samuel Saye Dokie and his relatives was charged with treason, which was later reduced to an unspecified lesser charge (*ibid.*). In October the police detained relatives and neighbours of a suspect who was at large, releasing them when the suspect surrendered (*ibid.*).

On 23 January 1998 the Panafrican News Agency (PANA) reported that the managing editor of the Liberian daily newspaper *The National*, Hassan Bility, had been arrested on 22 January in connection with two stories that had been published in his newspaper. He was allegedly beaten by eight police officers and later hospitalized with bleeding from his right ear and eye. Police

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Director Joe Tate denied he had ordered Bility beaten and promised that the officers involved would be disciplined (ibid.).

On 21 December 1997 journalist Alex Redd of Ducor Radio was allegedly abducted by unidentified individuals after he attended the funeral of Samuel Saye Dokie on that date (AFP 22 Dec. 1997; PANA 24 Dec. 1997). Four other journalists also reportedly went missing after attending the Dokie funeral (ibid.; AFP 23 Dec. 1997).

On 29 December Star Radio reported that on that day Alexander Redd and his brother Benjamin were charged with "a criminal attempt to commit treason." Benjamin Redd was charged *in absentia*. The brothers were accused of giving false information implicating security officers in the alleged kidnapping of Alexander Redd (ibid.).

Two editors, Nyekeh Forkpa and Stanley Seakor, were briefly detained on 22 December after the police objected to a story they had published on police brutality (PANA 24 Dec. 1997; AFP 23 Dec. 1997). Police Director Joe Tate, commenting on the case, said that the journalists should be "very careful," adding that "[t]he boys can do anything anytime to anybody without me knowing, and maybe as soon as I get to know, it will be late" (PANA 24 Dec. 1997; ibid.). On 23 December the head of the Press Union of Liberia, Abraham Massally, said that "he and four editors of independent newspapers and radio stations had received anonymous death threats" (PANA 24 Dec. 1997).

2

The following section of this Response deals with the question of the condition of members of the Krahn ethnic group under the new government of Liberia.

With regard to possible discrimination against the Krahn, the section of *Country Reports 1997* entitled "National/Racial/Ethnic Minorities" states only that

Some members of former President Samuel Doe's ethnic group, the Krahn, believe that they were being systematically discriminated against by the Government, although there are some Krahn holding ministerial positions in the Government.

On 1 August 1997, AFP reported that President Taylor had appointed Maxwell Kaba as Minister of Post and Communications. Kaba was described as "a member of the now-defunct Krahn wing of the United Liberation Movement, a faction opposed to Taylor's during the war" (ibid.). AFP reported on 5 August 1997 that President Taylor had named Roosevelt Johnson, who had formed a wing of the United Liberation Movement (ULIMO) made up largely of ethnic Krahns, as Minister of Rural Development in his new government. However, AFP noted that the Rural Development ministry was considered to be unimportant and lacked its own premises.

This Response was prepared after researching publicly accessible information currently available to the Research Directorate within time constraints. This Response is not, and does not purport to be, conclusive as to the merit of any particular claim to refugee status or asylum.

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US Department of State, Liberia Country report on Human Rights Practices for 1998, 26 February 1999 (Cover Page & Page 7)

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U.S. Department of State

Liberia Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1998

Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, February 26, 1999

LIBERIA

Liberia is a centralized republic dominated by a strong presidency. Although the Constitution provides for three branches of government, there is no effective system of checks and balances, and presidents traditionally have wielded extraordinary power. Americo-Liberians, descendants of freed African-American slaves from the United States and the Caribbean who make up about 5 percent of the population, dominated the country's government through the True Whig Party until 1980, when Sergeant Samuel K. Doe, a member of the indigenous Krahn ethnic group, seized power in a military coup. Doe was killed by rebels in 1990 at the start of a 7-year-long ethnically divisive civil war, which was ended by the Abuja Peace Accords in 1996, and from which forces led by Charles G. Taylor, who is of both indigenous and Americo-Liberian ancestry, emerged dominant. In July 1997 Taylor won the presidency, and his National Patriotic Party (NPP) won three-quarters of the seats in the Congress, in elections that were administratively free and transparent, but were conducted in an atmosphere of intimidation, as most voters believed that Taylor's forces would resume fighting if Taylor were to lose. The leaders of the former warring factions, including Taylor, did not make any serious attempt to reconcile their differences. In his first year in office, Taylor restored the trappings and ceremony customarily associated with the presidency, but his NPP Government did not pass any significant legislation. The judiciary is subject to political influence, economic pressure, and corruption.

The regular security forces included: the armed forces; the national police, which have primary responsibility for internal security; the Special Security Service (SSS), a large and heavily armed executive protective force; as well as numerous other irregular security services attached to certain key ministries and parastatal corporations, the responsibilities of which appeared poorly defined. The national army, which fought against Taylor's faction during the civil war, has yet to be downsized and restructured as required by the Abuja Peace Accords, although a restructuring plan exists. Only a few contingents have been deployed to maintain security in parts of rural areas. The many, newly created security services absorbed Taylor's most experienced civil war fighters. Armed units within these services consisted almost exclusively of undisciplined Taylor loyalists. Remnants of ECOMOG, the West African peacekeeping force deployed around greater Monrovia, interceded on several occasions to contain violence triggered in part by the government security forces. While civilian authorities generally maintained control of the security forces, there were frequent instances in which the security forces acted independently of government authority. Members of the security forces committed numerous human rights abuses.

Liberia is a very poor country with a market-based economy that is only beginning to recover from the ravages of the civil war. There is no reliable data on average per capita income, but it is estimated at only a small fraction of the prewar level. Prior to 1990, the cash economy was based primarily on iron ore, rubber, timber, diamond, and gold exports. Eighty-five percent unemployment, a 15 percent literacy rate, the continued internal displacement of civilians, and the absence of infrastructure throughout the country continued to depress productive capacity, despite the country's rich natural resources and potential self-sufficiency in food. Government officials and former combatants

The Constitution provides for freedom of speech and of the press; however, the Government restricted this right in practice. The Government temporarily closed newspapers and radio stations, and harassed and threatened journalists, many of whom practiced self-censorship.

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The Government took several steps in the beginning of the year that appeared to be part of a concerted effort to limit freedom of the press. However, in each case the Government subsequently reversed course. For example, on March 20, the Ministry of Information announced new media guidelines that, if enforced, would have driven most private newspapers and radio stations out of business. The guidelines established liquidity requirements, minimum education and experience standards for editors, and a minimum daily circulation level that would have forced cash-strapped newspapers to double their output. The Press Union of Liberia challenged the guidelines as unconstitutional, because they restricted freedom of expression. After discussing the issue with the press union, the Ministry agreed to revise the guidelines to the satisfaction of the private media. In May, journalists raised concern about the fact that Decree 88-A, promulgated by President Samuel Doe in the 1980's, remained in force and could be invoked by the Government to restrict press freedom. The Justice and Peace Commission researched the matter and found that an interim legislature had repealed the decree in August 1993. However, to allay lingering concern, President Taylor formally repealed the decree in July.

Despite the Government's reversal in these areas, it took a number of actions that restricted press freedom. On January 5, the Ministry of Information ordered Monrovia's only printing press to cease publication of *Heritage*, a twice-weekly private newspaper. The Ministry claimed that a *Heritage* editorial was inflammatory. The opinion piece in question innocuously chided the Government for apparent ingratitude towards ECOMOG, the Nigerian-led peacekeeping force. The Government permitted the newspaper to resume publication after the managing editor formally apologized to the Ministry.

On January 22, the head of the police Special Task Force severely flogged Hassan Bility, the managing editor of *The National*, a twice-weekly private newspaper, while escorting him to police headquarters for questioning. President Taylor promised to take disciplinary action against the police officer concerned, but no action was taken by year's end.

Security forces periodically threatened private print media editors and journalists throughout the year. In April a group of police officers used a charge of reckless driving as a pretext to harass the managing editor of a private daily. In May security officers threatened to burn alive the staff of another private daily, and in August they warned the same staff, "neither God nor Satan can save you this time." Several leading private journalists did not sleep in their own homes for extended periods because of frequent nighttime visits and verbal threats by security officers. The harassment of private journalists intensified greatly following Operation Camp Johnson Road, resulting in a high degree of self-censorship, particularly with regard to security issues.

Seven private newspapers were published regularly in the country. Two were dailies and five appeared once or twice weekly. Some of them carried articles that were critical of the Government. However, their editors admitted to practicing self-censorship by withholding news reports that reflected unfavorably on--and commentary that was highly critical of--the President, the security services, and official corruption.

Due to limited literacy and the relatively high costs of newspapers and television, radio remained the most important medium of mass communication. Six private FM radio stations located in the capital broadcast to the greater Monrovia area and in some cases beyond. The Monrovia Communications Network, affiliated with President Taylor's National Patriotic Party and reportedly financed by the President personally, operated one of these stations, and also maintained a short-wave station that broadcasts to the entire country from the town of Totota, near the center of the country. Its programming was not critical of the executive branch of the Government. Of the five other privately owned domestic FM radio stations, two were owned by nationals of the country, one was operated by

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“Liberia: Church, Media Condemn Involvement in Sierra Leone”, Inter Press Service, 10 February 1999 (Page 1)



7 of 100 DOCUMENTS

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February 10, 1999, Wednesday

(1)

LENGTH: 646 words

HEADLINE: LIBERIA; CHURCH, MEDIA CONDEMN INVOLVEMENT IN SIERRA LEONE

BYLINE: By Jeff Cooper

DATELINE: ACCRA, Feb. 10

BODY:

Liberia's alleged involvement in the conflict in Sierra Leone has been criticized by the Liberia Council of Churches, independent media and rights groups around the country.

"We are greatly disturbed about innocent lives being destroyed daily in Sierra Leone and persistent accusations by the international community against our government," said LCC President Rev. W. Nah Dixon.

"Although the Liberian government continues to deny its involvement in the crisis (in Sierra Leone), it is an open secret that Liberians are fighting on all sides of the war in Sierra Leone," said Dixon.

The LCC made the condemnation in a statement issued in the Liberian capital of Monrovia on Feb. 4, and which was made available to IPS this week.

The statement demands that the government enact legislation making it illegal for Liberians to engage in foreign wars and to prosecute those involved in mercenary activities.

The LCC's condemnation comes as a blow to the government of Pres. Charles Taylor, which has repeatedly denied any military involvement in Sierra Leone.

The LCC's statement will likely be viewed by both Sierra Leone and the international community as confirmation of Taylor's involvement in the conflict, a development that would further isolate his government and firm the international community's resolve to withhold any financial aid to the West African country, the LCC said.

Widely respected in Liberia, the LCC led the first public demonstrations against the regime of the late Samuel Doe, who ruled the country with an iron fist between 1980 and 1990.

Liberia's independent newspapers also have joined the fray. One of them, the "Heritage," challenged Taylor's regime to move beyond its "legalistic denials" and to abandon its insistence that its accusers produce hard evidence to support their claims that Liberia is involved in the conflict in Sierra Leone.

Following the article, the government forced Heritage's managing editor, Momoh Kanneh, to flee the country. Before he left, the offices of his paper were vandalized by Taylor's dreaded security forces.

(2)

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News article from allafrica.com, PanAfrican News Agency: "Liberia: State Shuts Down Independent Radio Stations", 15 March 2000

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[HOME](#)**Panafrican News Agency**

Liberia: State Shuts Down Independent Radio Stations

Peter Kahler

15 March 2000

Monrovia, Liberia (PANA) — Authorities in Liberia Wednesday closed down the independent Star Radio and suspended broadcast by the Catholic-run Radio Veritas, accusing them of abusing press freedom and freedom of speech.

A government statement broadcast on President Charles Taylor's private radio station said the action was due to "security threats created by agents and provocateurs using the news media to abuse the unprecedented freedom of speech and press now prevailing in the country."

"This trend is a design by detractors to open old wounds by raising issues which threaten to reverse progress made in our reconciliation efforts and plunge the country back into civil uprising," it added.

The government gave no duration of the suspension of broadcast by Radio Veritas, but asked the station to "write a letter of apology and refrain from engaging in political activities."

It neither gave the purpose of the apology nor the nature of the political activities the station is being accused of.

The two stations went off the air abruptly at 7 AM (0700 GMT) Wednesday when three jeeps loaded with police officers armed with automatic assault rifles, and led by police chief, Paul Mulbah, stormed their premises to seal them.

It was not clear whether the police possessed court action for the closure.

One staff of Star radio told PANA that the police manhandled some employees and looted four Motorola handsets from them.

A radio Veritas reporter also told PANA that the police "flogged our duty technician for initially refusing to shut down the station on their orders."

The policemen took away the station's base radio for walkie-talkie communication with staff and reporters.

The two stations, lying some 200 feet apart in the diplomatic enclave of Mamba Point, are presently under guard by policemen, armed with assault rifles.

All the staff at both stations were driven out without being permitted to take away personal belongings, witnesses said.

Star radio and Radio Veritas represent the foremost independent broadcast institutions with short wave covering the entire country.

Their closure leaves short wave radio broadcasting sole to Taylor's private station. The government's fuss

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over programme contents of Star radio led to the withdrawal of its short-wave frequency in 1998, with government claiming that the station was foreign-run and funded.

It used FM until efforts to renegotiate the short-wave were shot by the final closure.

The station, set up in 1997 as an NGO radio to provide impartial news and information during presidential elections then, was funded by the USAID, the Dutch government and the Swedish International Development Agency.

Veritas, operated by the Catholic Church in Liberia, has had ups-downs with the government during the era of late President Samuel Doe and now the Taylor administration.

The station was burnt to ashes in 1996 by factional fighters during a six-week gun-battle in Monrovia, but later rebuilt by the church.

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BBC News: "Freed journalists tell of Liberia 'terror'", 26 August 2000

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Saturday, 26 August, 2000, 20:49 GMT 21:49 UK

Freed journalists tell of Liberia 'terror'



Free, (from left), Tim Lambon, David Barrie and Sorious Samoura

A group of journalists freed after being held on spying charges in Liberia have spoken of the "hellish existence" they left behind.

The BBC's

Francesca Kastelliz

"The three men were reunited with friends and colleagues"

real 56k

American special envoy, Rev. Jesse Jackson

"We are delighted"

real 28k

President Charles Taylor speaks to the BBC

"The journalists are not being expelled - they are free to do factual work"

real 28k

Three of the journalists, who had been working for Channel 4, flew into London on Saturday morning. A fourth had already flown home to South Africa.

Speaking at a news conference at Heathrow Airport, the celebrated Sierra Leonean film-maker Sorious Samoura described how, during the week he and his colleagues were imprisoned, prison officers had threatened to kill him with a knife.

"They were brandishing a knife and said: 'We are going to split your heart open' and I thought that was the end," said Mr Samura.

Bundled into trucks

The journalists, British director David Barrie, Zimbabwe-born cameraman Tim Lambon, who has dual South African and British nationality, Sierra Leonean Mr Samoura - and South African soundman Gugulakhe Radebe - described how they had been bundled into trucks by 20 police brandishing rifles during their arrest.

Mr Barrie, said it had been a moment of "total terror, considering the number of officers there, the number of

It was just total terror

Director David Barrie

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rifles there and the extent to which these guys had absolutely been hyped up".

Mr Lambon added: "There might not have been all the serious physical abuse such as rifle butts in the back of the head, although there was some of that, it was a situation of mental terror."



President Taylor: Expelled journalists

Official permission

The four had been given official permission to work in Liberia, but were arrested and accused of filming in no-go areas and seeking to damage the country's image and falsely linking President Charles Taylor to diamond smuggling.

Their arrest sparked protests from the international community and press freedom groups.

The African story has to be told

Sorious Samoura

If convicted, the men would have faced up to 10 years in jail or the death penalty.

But Mr Taylor said on Friday they were free to leave the country after they had apologised to the nation.

"Impartial and accurate"

A spokesman for Channel 4 said a seized document on which the men's arrest had been based had only described a programme which might have been made, and not actually the film they were making.

"There's no question that we would have made, as we always seek to make, a fair and impartial and accurate programme," he said.

"So if we were going to make an apology, it would not be an apology for the programme we intended to make; it would only be in respect of some of the things in that document."

And Mr Samoura, from whose point of view the film was being made, said he was still anxious to make a film about Liberia. He said he would be prepared to return to the country.

New challenge excites Venables
Judge urges life sentence shake-up

Links to more UK stories are at the foot of the page.

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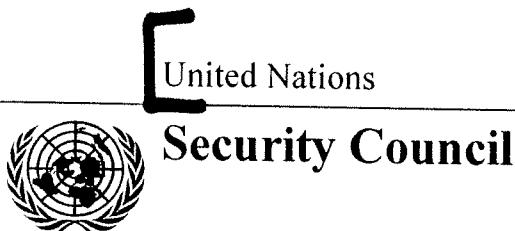
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MFI-392

Annex XII, Letter from the Ministry of Finance, Republic of Liberia, GOL Tax Payment Transfer, 20 August 1999 & Cover page showing source as UN Security Council Document S/2004/396

27980



S/2004/396

Distr.: General
1 June 2004

Original: English

①
②

Letter dated 1 June 2004 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1521 (2003) concerning Liberia addressed to the President of the Security Council

On behalf of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1521 (2003) concerning Liberia, and in accordance with paragraph 22 of the same resolution, I have the honour to submit herewith the report of the Panel of Experts on Liberia.

I would appreciate it if this letter, together with its enclosure, were to be brought to the attention of the members of the Security Council and issued as a document of the Council.

(Signed) **Munir Akram**
Chairman
Security Council Committee established pursuant
to resolution 1521 (2003) concerning Liberia

③

04-35444 (E) 020604

0435444

Annex XII

Example of the \$7.5 million in payments made by the Oriental Timber Corporation and requested by the former Deputy Minister of Finance, Juanita Neal

A. Authorization letter

**REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA
MINISTRY OF FINANCE
MONROVIA, LIBERIA**

August 20, 1999

Mr. John Teng
 General Manager
 Oriental Timber Corporation
 Grand Bassa County

Dear Mr. Teng:

RE: GOL TAX PAYMENT TRANSFER

You are hereby authorized to transfer the amount of US\$500,000.00 against forestry related taxes to Mr. Sanjivan Ruprah, US\$ a/c#15462 through:

Banque Diamantaire Anversoise
 12 Rue Bellot
 Geneva - Switzerland

This amount is due in taxes to the Government of Liberia. Flag receipts will be issued to your corporation as evidence of payment, as soon as acknowledgment is received from the bank.

Kind regards.

Very truly yours,

Juanita E. Neal
 Juanita E. Neal
 Deputy Minister/Revenue

27982

MFI-393

SCSL-2003-05-PT-040, Prosecutor v. Issa Hassan Sesay, Power of Attorney, 27 May 2003

SCSL-2003-05-PT-040

D40

875

27983



SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE

JOMO KENYATTA ROAD • FREETOWN • SIERRA LEONE

PHONE: +1 212 963 9915 Extension: 178 7000 or +39 0831 257000 or +232 22 295995

FAX: Extension: 178 7001 or +39 0831 257001 Extension: 174 6996 or +232 22 295996

CASE NO.: SCSL-03-05-PT

PROSECUTOR VS. Issa Hassan Sesay

Power of Attorney

Made this 27 day of May (Month) 2003 (Year)

Bonthe Detention Centre

1. I, Mr. Issa Hassan Sesay, Bonthe SC (insert name and address of Principal) hereby appoint: Mr William HARTOG & Ms ALEXANDRA MARCIL (insert name and address of agent) as my attorney-in-fact (my "agent") to act for me and in my name (in any way I could act in person) with respect to all ~~initial~~ matters arising out of and incidental to my detention under the authority of the Special Court of Sierra Leone ~~as per Rules (11 and 11bis) of the Rules of Procedure and Evidence.~~

2. This Power of Attorney is revocable at any time in writing and subject to the approval by a Trial Judge of the Special Court for Sierra Leone.

3. I am fully informed as to all the contents of this form and understand the full import of this grant of powers to my agent.

Signed

Issay . ISSA HASSAN SESAY
(Principal)

In witness thereof,

Name: John Palmer;

Signature

In witness thereof,

EDWIN BOCKALE

Name: Willie Harkoy;

Signature

Court Officer: Defence Counsel;

Member of No Quaker Bar

Signature

Signature

LO. JONES
JO. JONES
28-05-03

1200hrs

27984

MFI-394

UN Security Council Document S/1999/1300, Letter dated 31 December 1999 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee Established pursuant to Resolution 1132 (1997) concerning Sierra Leone addressed to the President of the Security Council, 31 December 1999 (Cover Page & Page 3)

(73) 04.12.09

27985

UNITED
NATIONS



Security Council

S

Distr.
GENERAL

S/1999/1300
31 December 1999

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 31 DECEMBER 1999 FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED PURSUANT TO RESOLUTION 1132 (1997) CONCERNING SIERRA LEONE ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit herewith the report of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1132 (1997) concerning Sierra Leone, containing an account of the Committee's activities since the beginning of 1999. The present report, which was adopted by the Committee on 22 December 1999, is being submitted in accordance with the note by the President of the Council of 29 March 1995 (S/1995/234).

(Signed) Fernando Enrique PETRELLA
Chairman

Security Council Committee established
pursuant to resolution 1132 (1997)
concerning Sierra Leone

other aspects of the sanctions regime on Sierra Leone. In an effort to improve compliance with the travel ban in effect under the sanctions regime, the Committee agreed to request additional information from the Permanent Mission of Sierra Leone to the United Nations in an effort to update the list of members of the former military junta and the Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone (RUF) (SC/6632). Members of the Committee, as well as other Member States, were invited to submit any relevant information in this regard. In connection with alleged violations of the arms embargo, the Chairman was requested by the Committee to seek further information from the Member States concerned.

5. At the eighth meeting of the Committee, held on 12 March 1999, Mr. Francis Okelo, Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Sierra Leone, briefed the members on the latest developments in the country since January 1999. Furthermore, the Chairman was requested by the members to seek information from ECOWAS regarding arms and arms materiel (nature, type, quantity and possible origin) retrieved by the Military Observer Group of ECOWAS (ECOMOG) from the former military junta in Sierra Leone and/or RUF.

6. As per paragraph 4 of resolution 1171 (1998), the Committee reported to the Security Council on 3 and 16 February, 26 March, 5 April, 29 September and 5 October 1999 (S/1999/111, S/1999/174, S/1999/350, S/1999/381, S/1999/1013 and S/1999/1026), on notifications received from States on the export of arms and related materiel to Sierra Leone, as well as on notifications of imports of arms and related materiel made by the Government of Sierra Leone.

7. On 16 April 1999, the Committee approved a request from the Government of Sierra Leone for an exemption to paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 1171 (1998), for an initial period of 30 days, in order to permit the travel to Togo, on 18 April 1999, of Corporal Foday Sayabana Sankoh and a delegation of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC)/RUF, in order to facilitate the peace process. On 19 May 1999, in light of the continuing dialogue, and reports of a ceasefire agreement, as well as planned direct talks between the parties concerned, the Committee approved an extension of the above travel exemption, for an additional 30 days. On 18 June 1999, the Committee agreed to further extend the current travel exemption for members of RUF to participate in the ongoing peace talks.

8. With a view to resolving a hostage situation in Sierra Leone, involving several UNOMSIL and ECOMOG personnel, and non-United Nations civilians, the Committee granted an exemption on 6 and 9 August 1999, for 30 days, to paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 1171 (1998), in order to allow the travel outside Sierra Leone of Johnny Paul Koroma and Brigadiers Bazzy Karama, Hassan Karama, Gabriel Mani and Major Paul Bonke Leke, respectively.

9. On 26 November 1999, the Committee approved a request from the Government of Sierra Leone for an exemption to paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 1171 (1998) for Brigadier Mike Lamin, Minister of Trade and Industry, to enable him to lead his country's delegation to the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle, Washington, United States of America. On 30 November 1999, a similar request was approved for Mr. Paolo Bangura, Minister of Energy and Power, to attend the African Energy Ministers Conference in Tucson, Arizona, United States of America.

/...

27987

MFI-395

UN Security Council Document S/2002/50, Letter dated 11 January 2002 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee establish pursuant to resolution 1132 (1997) concerning Sierra Leone addressed to the President of the Security Council, 14 January 2002 (Cover Page & Pages 3 & 4)

27988

United Nations

S/2002/50



Security Council

Distr.: General
14 January 2002

Original: English

Letter dated 11 January 2002 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1132 (1997) concerning Sierra Leone addressed to the President of the Security Council

I have the honour to transmit herewith the report of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1132 (1997) concerning Sierra Leone, containing an account of the Committee's activities since the beginning of 2001 (see annex). The present report, which was adopted by the Committee on 11 January 2002 is being submitted in accordance with the note by the President of the Security Council of 29 March 1995 (S/1995/234).

(Signed) Jorge Eduardo **Navarrete**
Chairman
Security Council Committee established pursuant to
resolution 1132 (1997) concerning Sierra Leone



except that, pursuant to paragraph 5 of resolution 1306 (2000), rough diamonds controlled by the Government of Sierra Leone under the Certificate of Origin regime would continue to be exempt from those measures.

B. Summary of the activities of the Committee

8. In accordance with paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 1171 (1998), regarding the list of leading members of the former military junta in Sierra Leone, Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) who have been designated by the Committee as being subject to the restrictions of the above resolution, the Committee on 1 February 2001, deleted the name of Solomon A. J. Musa from the aforementioned list published on 18 February 2000.

9. Pursuant to paragraph 4 of resolution 1171 (1998), the Committee reported to the Council, on 2 and 12 February, 22 March, in two communications dated 10 May and on 2 and 13 July 2001 (S/2001/105; S/2001/126; S/2001/261; S/2001/492; S/2001/493, S/2001/664 and S/2001/718), on notifications received from States on the export of arms and related materiel to Sierra Leone, as well as for the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), and on notifications of imports of arms and related materiel made by the Government of Sierra Leone.

10. On 9 February 2001, the Committee approved a request from the Government of Sierra Leone for exemption to paragraph 5 of resolution 1171 (1998), for Johnny Paul Koroma, Chairman of the Commission for the Consolidation of Peace, to enable him to attend the Conference on Demilitarization in West Africa in Accra, Ghana, from 28 February to 1 March 2001.

11. The Committee on 12 February 2001, examined the 90-day review of the new Certificate of Origin regime for trade in Sierra Leone diamonds, prepared by the Government of Sierra Leone and submitted in compliance with paragraph 2 of resolution 1306 (2000) and the Chairman addressed a letter to the President of the Security Council transmitting the above report (S/2001/127). Following a decision by the Committee, at its 21st meeting, held on 21 March 2001, that the new Certificate of Origin for the trade in Sierra Leone diamonds was effectively in operation, a letter to this effect was transmitted to the President of the Security Council (S/2001/300).

12. In a letter dated 13 August 2001 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the Chairman noted that the Committee, at its 23rd meeting, on 31 July 2001, had considered the second 90-day review on the Certificate of Origin regime for trade in Sierra Leone diamonds (S/2001/794).

13. At the request of the Committee, at its 23rd meeting, on 31 July 2001, the Chairman addressed a letter, dated 13 August 2001, to the Permanent Representative of Belgium to the United Nations, expressing the interest of the Committee in receiving from his Government any statistics it might be able to provide regarding diamonds exported from countries of the West African region, for use by the Committee in its monitoring of efforts to curtail the role of conflict diamonds in fuelling conflict in the region.

14. On 15 November 2001, the Committee approved a request from the Government of Sierra Leone for exemption to paragraph 5 of resolution 1171

(1998), for Pallo Bangura to travel to Nigeria for the purpose of undergoing training to assist in transforming the RUF into a political party.

15. To date, the Committee has received a total of 23 replies from States on the implementation of paragraph 17, and 43 replies on the implementation of paragraph 8 of resolution 1306 (2000).

C. Violations and alleged violations of the sanctions regime

16. The Chairman attached to his letter dated 29 August 2001 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the text of a press statement issued by the Government of Sierra Leone on 21 August 2001, relating to an incident and police investigation of suspected transactions in illicit diamonds in the Freetown area (S/2001/827).

17. At its 24th meeting, on 7 December 2001, the Committee considered a letter, dated 4 December 2001, from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia, bringing to the attention of the Chairman alleged violations contained in the report of the Panel of Experts on Liberia (S/2001/1015), pertaining to the measures imposed by resolutions 1171 (1998) and 1306 (2000). On 14 December 2001, the Chairman addressed letters to the Permanent Representatives to the United Nations of Burkina Faso, Ghana, Liberia, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Zambia requesting any information that could shed light on alleged breaches of paragraph 5 of resolution 1171 (1998), contained in the report of the Panel of Experts on Liberia. Responses, dated 28 December 2001, denying the allegations, were received from the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Burkina Faso. The Chairman also addressed follow-up letters, dated 14 December 2001, to the Permanent Representatives of the Gambia and Sierra Leone concerning an alleged violation pertaining to paragraph 5 of the above resolution. Subsequently, a letter dated 7 November 2001, denying the allegation, was received from the Gambia.

III. Other activities

18. Pursuant to paragraph 15 of resolution 1306 (2000), on 5 January 2001, the Security Council conducted its second review of the measures imposed by paragraph 1 of the resolution. Following the Council's consultations, the President made a statement to the press by which the members, inter alia, stressed the binding obligation of all Member States to implement and enforce the measures imposed by resolution 1306 (2000) and noted that the report of the Panel of Experts (S/2000/1195) had reported widespread violations of the diamond embargo on Sierra Leone.

19. The Security Council conducted its third and fourth reviews of the measures imposed by paragraph 1 of resolution 1306 (2000) on 5 July and on 13 December 2001. In his statement to the press on 13 December 2001, the President of the Council, inter alia, welcomed the continued efforts among West African countries, with the support of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), to develop a region-wide certification regime for diamonds, and the establishment of a Certificate of Origin regime by the Government of Sierra Leone, and the effect of

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MFI-396

Liberian Diplomatic Passport of Moussa Cisse (ERN 00032033-00032068)

27992



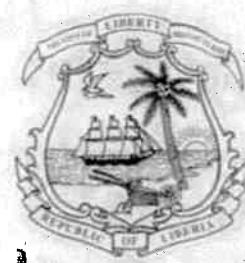
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REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA
DIPLOMATIC PASSPORT
PASSEPORT DIPLOMATIQUE

00032035



D/002115~00

This passport contains 32 pages
Ce passeport contient 32 pages

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The Government of the Republic of Liberia requests all
those whom it may concern to allow the bearer to pass
freely without fee or hindrance and to afford the bearer
such assistance and protection as may be necessary.

3

Signature _____
Passport Officer _____
Holder _____

03032037

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA / REPUBLIQUE DU LIBERIA
Passport
Diplomatic

000032037

Photo of持照人
Name of持照人
Date of Birth of持照人
Place of Birth of持照人
Signature of持照人
Mr. Fanta, Nimba Co., Liberia

Mr. Fanta, Nimba Co., Liberia

September 4, 2000

September 3, 2000

CHIEF OF PROTOCOL,
EXECUTIVE MANAISON,
R. L.

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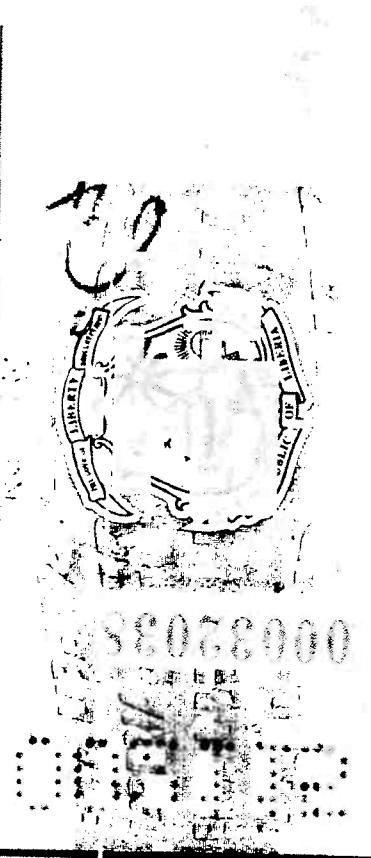
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DESCRIPTION
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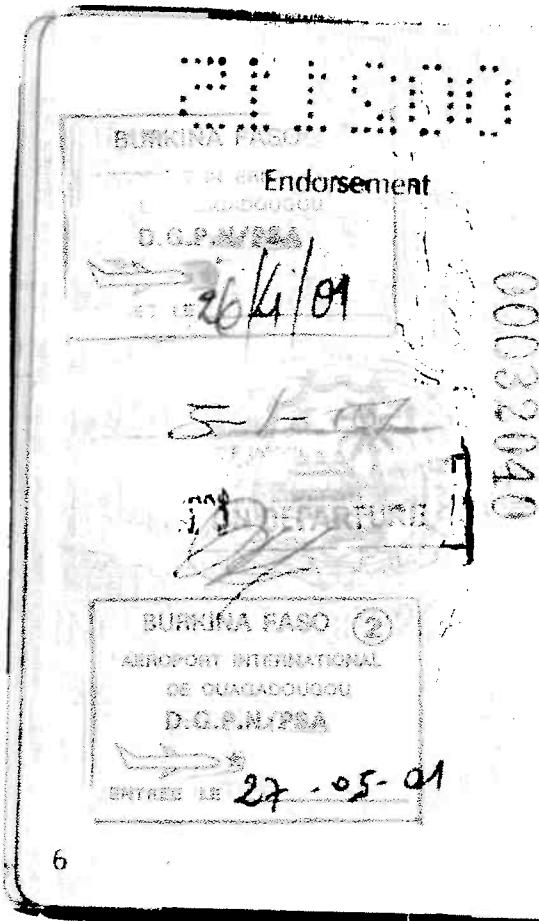
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Colour of hair Black Couleur des cheveux
Colour of eyes Dark Brown Couleur des yeux
Special marks None Signes particuliers
Signs particularis
Beard None Barbe None
Occupation Diplomat Profession
Address Bong Town, Liberia Domicile

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CHILDREN
ENFANTS



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GRATIS!

Endorsement

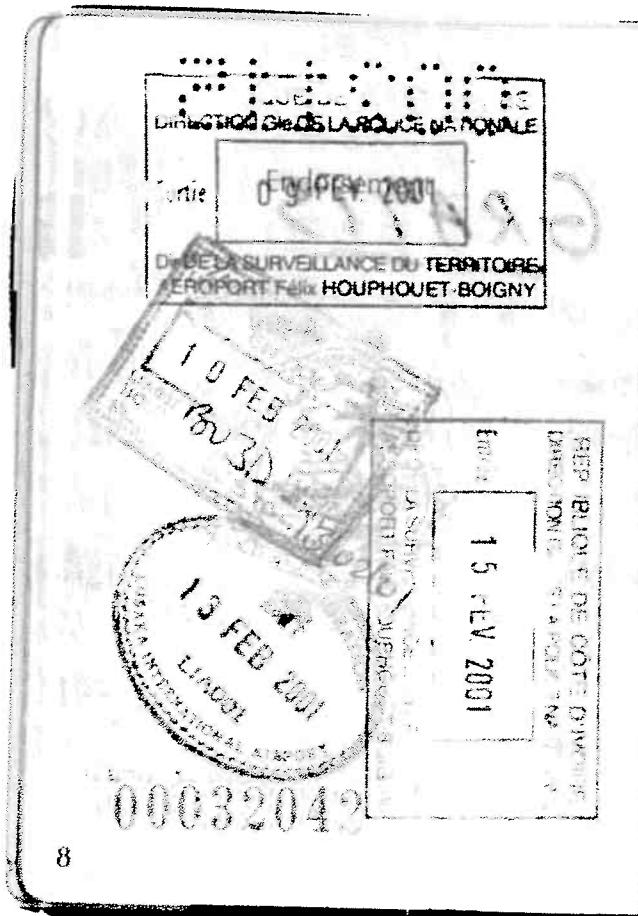
**MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉPURATION
DES MARCHÉS DU CONGO
PARIS - 1954 - 8 SEMAINES**

Le ~~massey~~ visa doit être utilisé pour les deux types de passes de péremption, mais à effacer.

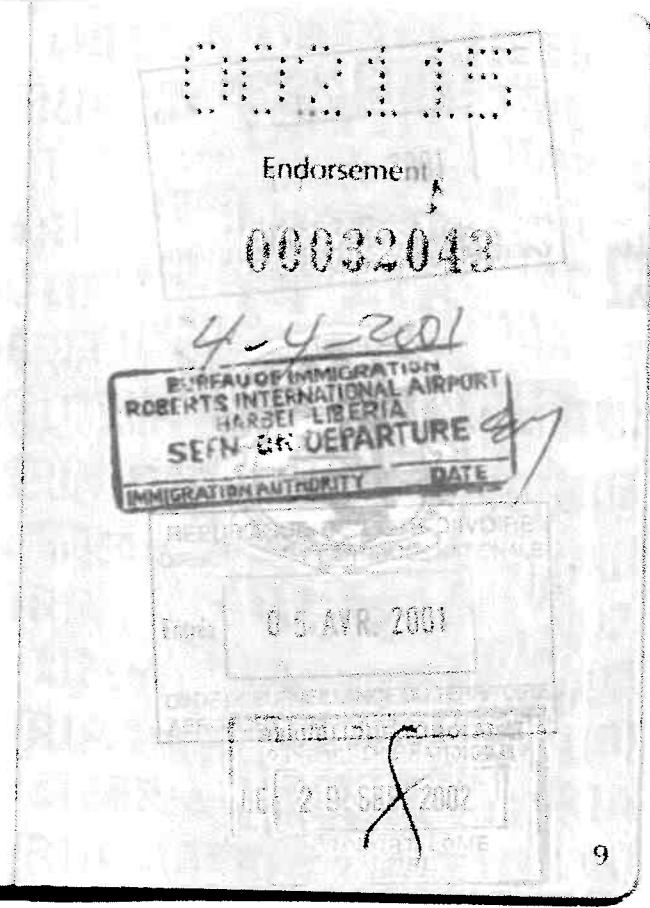
24-11-1951 et 1 séjourner pendant 3 mois
plutôt que de faire l'ethnologue au Congo
pour 10 mois le 10.12.1951

Stéphanie Ntambwe Kalala
Charge d'Affaires

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Endorsement

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14-04-01 G
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14-04-01

NAME	ADDRESS	TELEPHONE
BEING ON DUTY		
ANOTHER PERSON IS WITH ME		
BRIEFLY DESCRIBE YOUR TRAVELS		
OFFICE BY	1000Z FOR 06 APR 2001	1000Z FOR 06 APR 2001
REPORT ON ORIGIN OF THIS FORM AND DESTINATION		

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Endorsement

POLICE AEROPORT
WALLENSEE

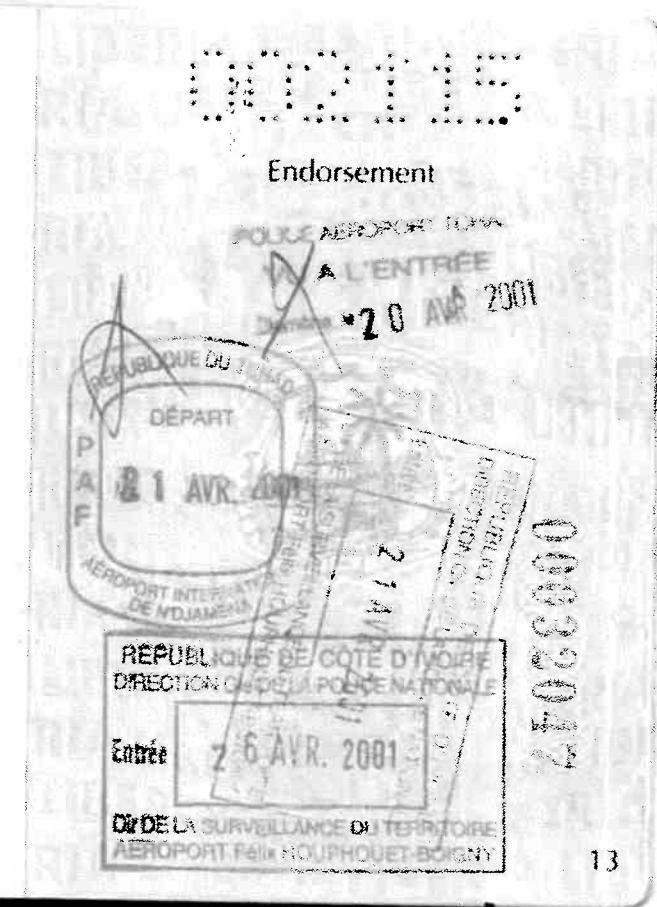
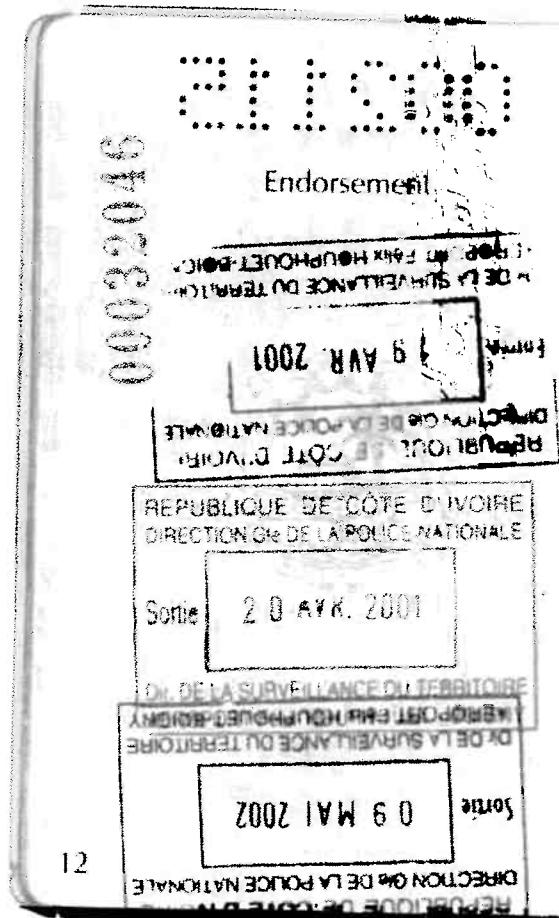
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Endorsement
REPUBLIQUE DE COTE D'IVOIRE
DIRECTION GÉNÉRALE DE LA POLICE NATIONALE

Entrée 26 AVR. 2001

DIRECTION DE LA SURVEILLANCE DU TERRITOIRE
AEROPORT Félix HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY

REPUBLIQUE DE COTE D'IVOIRE
DIRECTION GÉNÉRALE DE LA POLICE NATIONALE

Entrée 01 MAI 2001

DIRECTION DE LA SURVEILLANCE DU TERRITOIRE
AEROPORT Félix HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY

REPUBLIQUE DE COTE D'IVOIRE
DIRECTION GÉNÉRALE DE LA POLICE NATIONALE

Sortie 27 MAI 2001

DIRECTION DE LA SURVEILLANCE DU TERRITOIRE
AEROPORT Félix HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY

20001115

Endorsement

REPUBLIQUE TOGOLAISE
GENDARMERIE NATIONALE
Le 01 MAI 2001
AEROPORT DE LOME
EN IVOIRE

5-18-2001

DIRECTION DE LA SURVEILLANCE DU TERRITOIRE
AEROPORT DE LIMA
EN RETIRE

DIRECTION DE COTE D'IVOIRE
DIRECTION GÉNÉRALE DE LA POLICE NATIONALE

20 MAI 2001

DIRECTION DE LA SURVEILLANCE DU TERRITOIRE
AEROPORT Félix HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY

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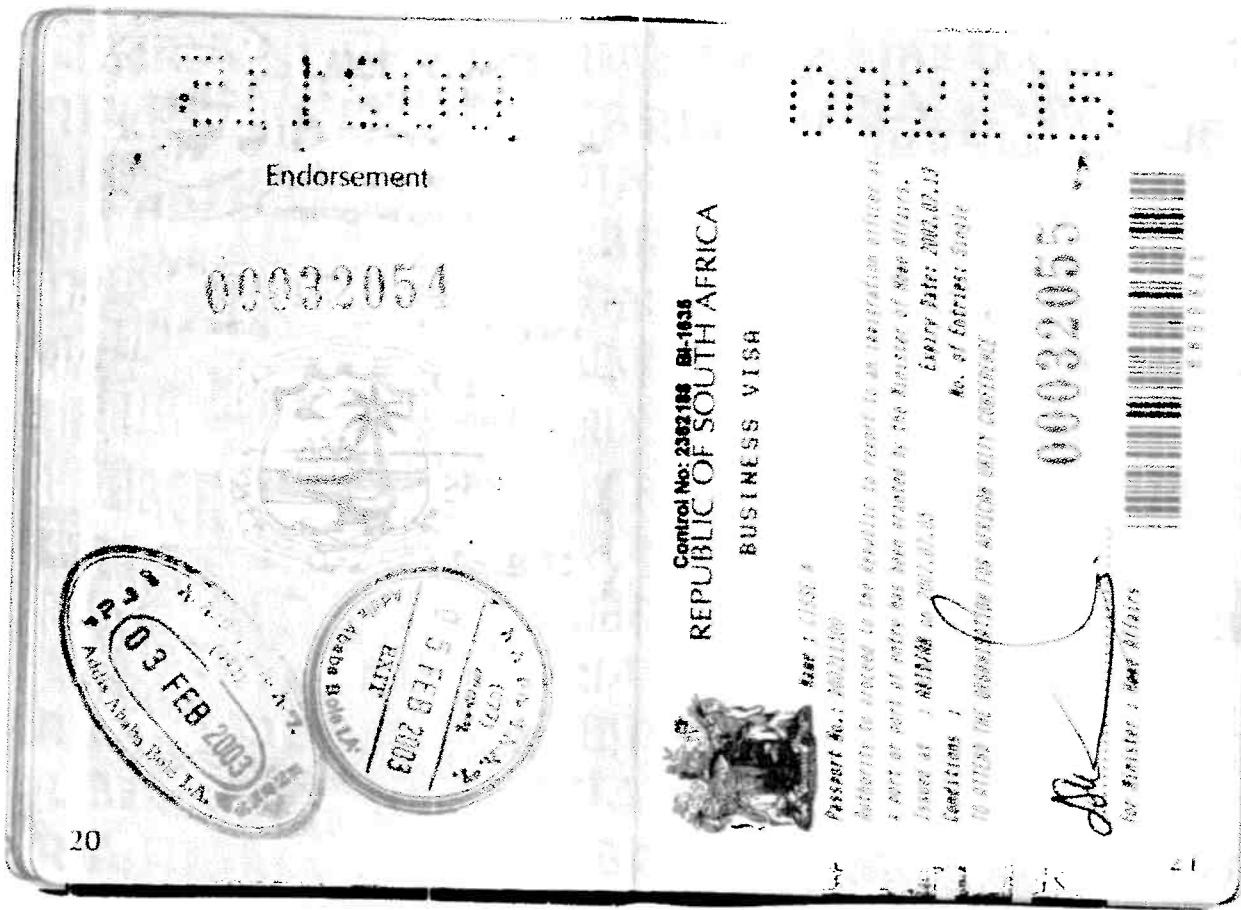
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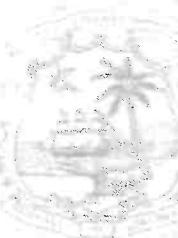
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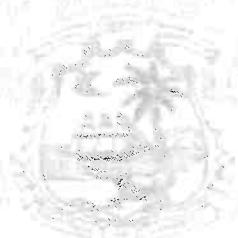


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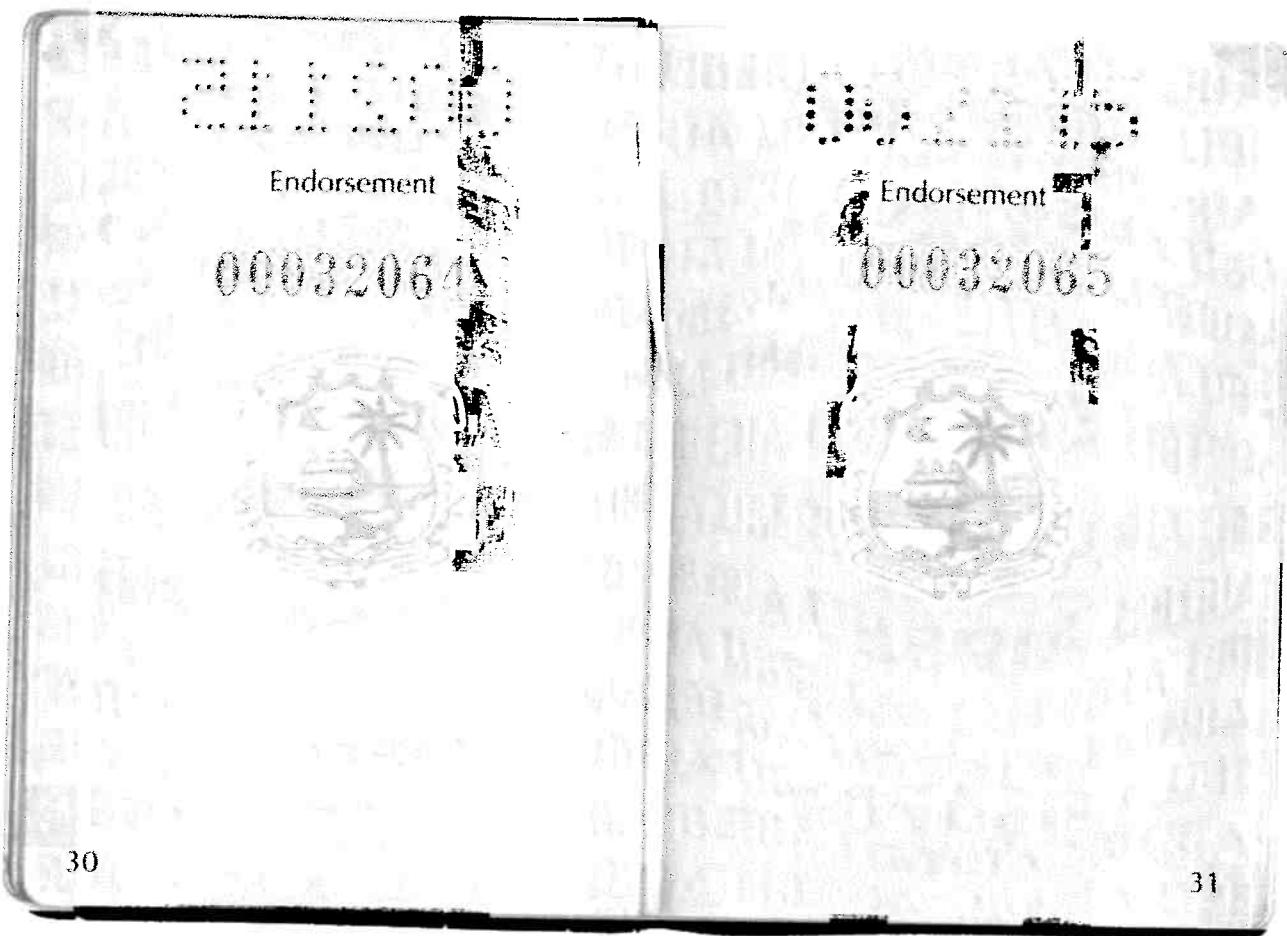
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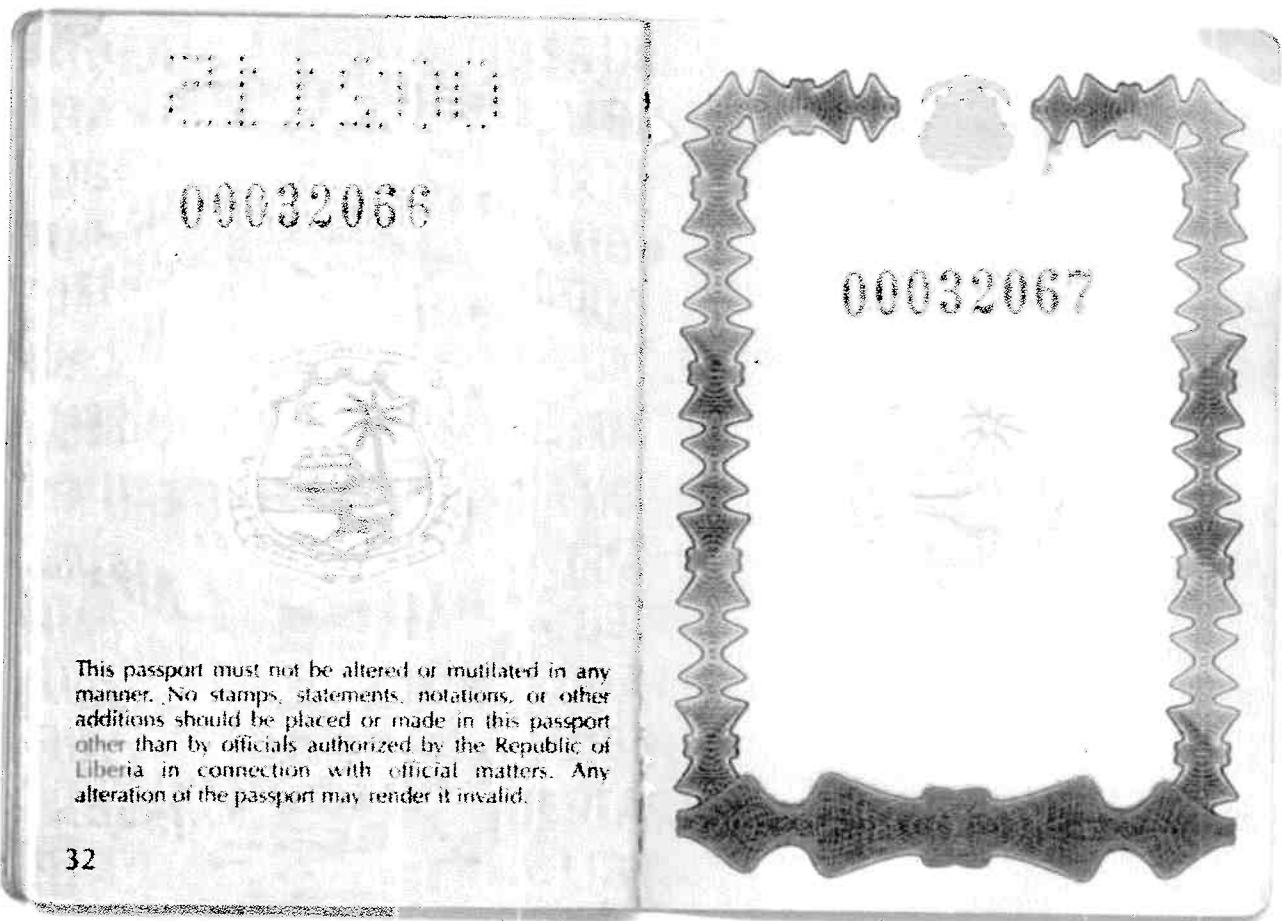
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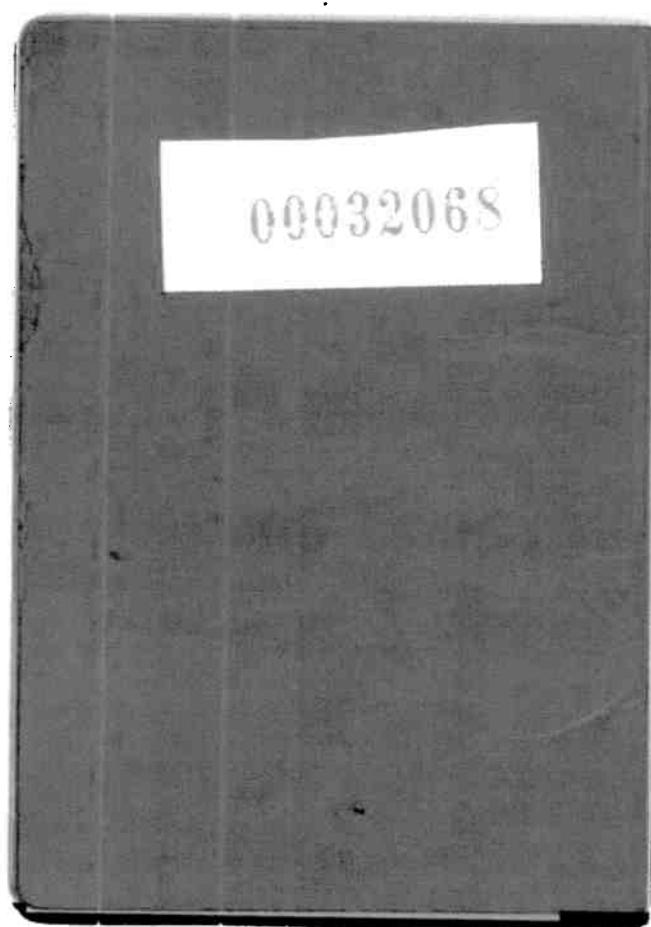
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MFI-397

Committee to Protect Journalists, "Attacks on the Press in 2001 – Liberia", February 2002



28012

Title	Attacks on the Press in 2001 - Liberia
Publisher	Committee to Protect Journalists
Country	Liberia
Publication Date	February 2002
Cite as	Committee to Protect Journalists, <i>Attacks on the Press in 2001 - Liberia</i> , February 2002, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/47c5662f23.html [accessed 2 August 2009]

Attacks on the Press in 2001 - Liberia

President Charles Taylor remains the single greatest threat to press freedom in Liberia. As global pressure mounted on his government to improve its bleak human rights record, Taylor responded with his usual mix of paranoia and brutality, jailing reporters for "espionage," shutting down newspapers for unpaid taxes and imposing a news blackout on an armed rebellion in northern Lofa County. On May 3, CPJ included Taylor on its annual list of the Ten Worst Enemies of the Press.

Early in the year, a United Nations Panel of Experts found "unequivocal and overwhelming evidence" that Liberia has been actively supporting Sierra Leone's notorious Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels. The panel's report charged that, "President Charles Taylor is actively involved in ... international criminal activities." The panel recommended international sanctions against Liberia.

In response, the Taylor regime announced a "new policy of disengagement" from Sierra Leone on January 12, and agreed to help disarm its RUF partners, who terrorized Sierra Leone during a decade of civil war. On January 18, however, the Liberian government released a white paper titled, "Motive and Opportunity for U.N. Panel of Experts Recommended Sanctions Against Liberia." Said to be the work of presidential spokesperson Reginald Goodridge, the document contained an abridged chronology of Taylor's rise to power and discussed his strained relations with the world community. The paper suggested that Taylor was the victim of a vast international conspiracy.

On February 21, police picked up four reporters from *The News* and charged them with espionage. The detentions came in reprisal for a story on government spending on helicopter repairs, Christmas cards, and souvenirs. The four were jailed for over a month and freed only after vocal protests from the local press community and after they agreed to send Taylor a letter of apology. While they were in prison, however, *The News* was shut down for unpaid taxes.

Authorities seized equipment from three other newspapers, the *New National*, *The Analyst*, and *Monrovia Guardian*, on similar grounds. *The News* resumed publication on March 7, while the three other papers continued to publish, though with great difficulties. In May, police seized *The Analyst's* remaining equipment, silencing it for another month.

Meanwhile President Taylor was reported as saying, without apparent irony, that "there is freedom of the press [in Liberia] and it will grow. There are no journalists or political prisoners in jail like in other African countries."

On March 7, the U.N. Security Council imposed an arms embargo on Liberia. The sanctions also affected the sale of diamonds from Liberia and the foreign travel of some 130 senior Liberian officials. The Security Council hoped the restrictions would help secure peace in Sierra Leone, where the Liberian government has been arming the RUF in exchange for diamonds. Liberia's rulers were given a two-month grace period in which to prove that they did not in fact maintain ties with the RUF.

Flustered, the Taylor government accused foreign media of pursuing a "massive negative media agenda" against Liberia, "so as to justify pending U.N. sanctions against it," according to Radio Liberia International, a Taylor mouthpiece. The regime also denounced allegedly "inflammatory and libelous articles" in the press advocating the imposition of sanctions, which were ultimately implemented, as Liberia proved unable to counter the U.N. charges.

28013

On May 25, Taylor's obsession with conspiracy theories inspired his information minister to set new guidelines for foreign reporters visiting Liberia. An official press release stated that the new rules were intended to "minimize the impact of anti-government propaganda" allegedly fueled by foreign reporters and publications such as *Newsweek* magazine and the London *Daily Telegraph*.

The Taylor regime argued that the restrictions would prevent negative coverage of Liberia by dissuading "surprise visits by foreign journalists." Henceforth, all foreign reporters wishing to visit Liberia were instructed to send a letter of intent at least 72 hours prior to departure. In addition, the release said, Liberian security agents would conduct background checks on all applicants. Foreign media were advised to heed the guidelines or face serious consequences.

Local reporters also got their own set of new rules. In April, after fighting erupted in Lofa County, the government announced that all news reports on the violence and other national security issues would have to be cleared by Information Ministry censors prior to publication or broadcast. The new censorship regime was ostensibly designed to block "disinformation that could cause doubt and panic in the public," according to Agence France-Presse. Liberian journalists protested, to little avail, that the rule was unconstitutional because the government had not declared a state of emergency.

As the war escalated in Lofa County, President Taylor pursued carrot-and-stick diplomacy aimed at both real and perceived foes. In late July, he offered a general amnesty to all exiles charged with treason in Liberia and to the rebels in Lofa. But few dared to accept the offer, which followed a July 2 ban on short wave broadcasting by the Catholic Church-owned Radio Veritas, the only private station to reach all corners of Liberia with unbiased news about the war. Taylor's own Radio Liberia International is now the only national broadcast outlet.

In November, the continued erosion of basic freedoms prompted the Press Union of Liberia (PUL) to resume publication of the monthly press watchdog magazine *Media Line* after a three-year hiatus. In a statement, the PUL declared that *Media Line* would keep watch on the authorities, promote the welfare of journalists, and lobby for better salaries and working conditions. Days after *Media Line* reappeared, police shut down *The News* and the *Monrovia Guardian* for the second time in 10 months. They also arrested Wilson Tarpeh, an executive at *The News*.

Liberian officials claimed that the papers had refused to pay back taxes, but many doubted the justification. Tarpeh was freed on November 25, and both newspapers resumed publication in early December. But their tax arrears remained unpaid at year's end, leaving President Taylor with a pretext for future harassment.

February 21

Joseph Bartuah, *The News* IMPRISONED, LEGAL ACTION

Abdullah Dukuly, *The News* IMPRISONED, LEGAL ACTION

James Dalieh, *The News* IMPRISONED, LEGAL ACTION

Bobby Tapson, *The News* IMPRISONED, LEGAL ACTION

5

Police in Monrovia arrested Bartuah, managing editor of the independent Monrovia daily *The News*, editor-in-chief Dukuly, news editor Dalieh, and reporter Tapson and charged them with espionage.

The charges apparently came in reprisal for a February 21 story that questioned government spending on helicopter repairs, Christmas cards, and souvenirs. The journalists were jailed for more than a month, while *The News* was issued crippling bills for back taxes.

Acting on a writ issued by the Monrovia City Court, police came to the newspaper's offices at 3 p.m. and arrested Tapson, author of the offending article. Later that day, they arrested Bartuah, Dukuly, and Dalieh.

According to *The News*, authorities claimed that Tapson's article contained national security information and was published in order to weaken Liberia in the event of a military or diplomatic confrontation with unnamed "foreign powers." The four journalists were charged with espionage and denied bail because espionage is a capital offense.

6

After the February 28 bail hearing, the court recessed until March 5, when it said it would issue its judgment. But in what appeared to be a pre-emptive move, prosecutors moved on March 2 to transfer the case to a higher court, which required the journalists' lawyers to file a new motion for bail.

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On March 13, the higher court denied bail, claiming that the article had disclosed information that was useful to rebels, another nonbailable offense.

The four journalists were released from jail on Friday March 30, when the government dropped all charges following an appeal by the Press Union of Liberia and an apology issued by the journalists.

April 17

Sam Howard, BBC HARASSED

Howard, a stringer for the BBC, was detained by security officers and then threatened by Defense Minister Daniel Chea, according to local sources.

On April 16, Howard commented live for the BBC on the recent killing of Liberia's youth and sports minister, François Massaquoi. Dissidents fighting to overthrow the Taylor regime in the northern area of Lofa claimed responsibility for the murder.

7

During his BBC appearance, Howard said that "one who rides on the back of a lion ends up in the stomach," insinuating that Taylor or his government may have been involved in the murder.

A day after Howard's BBC appearance, Lewis Browne, an aide to President Taylor, told a local radio program that the government would not tolerate bad publicity. Shortly thereafter, security officers picked up Howard and brought him before Defense Minister Daniel Chea for questioning. Local sources told CPJ that the minister threatened Howard.

Howard was released later that day.

April 27

All News Organizations CENSORED

The Liberian Ministry of Information ordered journalists covering national security issues, including civil strife in the north of the country, to clear their stories with the ministry before publication or broadcast.

According to the PanAfrican News Agency, the ministry order stated that "any agency or individual who conveys information to the public that could lead to confusion or panic in the country would bear full responsibility for the source or basis of such information."

Information Minister Reginald Goodridge said the order was meant to prevent "disinformation that could cause doubt and panic in the public," according to Agence France-Presse. Journalists in Monrovia complained the new rules would constitute prior censorship and charged that, since the government had not declared a state of emergency, the orders violated their constitutional right to freedom of expression.

May 25

All foreign journalists HARASSED

8

The Ministry of Information issued new guidelines for foreign journalists visiting Liberia. The release claimed that the guidelines were designed to minimize the impact of anti-government propaganda by certain foreign correspondents and news organizations.

The release singled out journalists from *Newsweek* and London's *Daily Telegraph* who, it said, recently showed up in Monrovia without advance notice, demanded accreditation and went on to publish negative articles that have further damaged the image of Liberia. The statement then declared that no more surprise visits to Liberia by foreign journalists will be allowed.

The new guidelines require news organizations to write a letter on behalf of their foreign correspondents. Foreign journalists seeking entry into Liberia will have to give notice at least 72 hours before their arrival.

In addition, the new guidelines institute a 24-hour waiting period before accreditation is granted. Finally, they give the Information Ministry the right to conduct background checks on all foreign journalists and to reject their requests for accreditation if their credentials are not bona fide.

28015

Liberia's international image had already taken a serious hit on May 7, when the United Nations imposed sanctions against the country in response to reports accusing President Taylor of trafficking in diamonds from rebel-held territories in neighboring Sierra Leone.

July 2
Radio Veritas CENSORED

The Catholic Church-owned station Radio Veritas was banned from broadcasting on shortwave radio. That left KISS FM and Radio Liberia International, both part of President Charles Taylor's Liberia Communications Network, as the only stations airing political news countrywide.

Radio Veritas continued broadcasting on an FM frequency that only covers the capital, Monrovia.

At the time of the announcement, Radio Veritas was experiencing technical problems that prevented it from broadcasting, but the station's management continued to pay fees to air programs on both FM and shortwave frequencies. While Radio Veritas was off the air, station management received a letter from Minister of Post and Telecommunications Emma Wuor stating that only "short-wave stations in active operation at the moment" would be allowed to operate in Liberia for the time being.

Information Minister Reginald Goodridge said that by airing political programming, Radio Veritas had violated its permit, which only allowed the station to broadcast religious shows. Radio Veritas aired several shows critical of Taylor's government, including the controversial program "Topical Issues."

On 20 August, the Catholic Church sued the state to restore the station's broadcasting rights, accusing the government of violating the Liberian Constitution, which guarantees freedom of expression.

On September 4, government attorneys filed a motion to dismiss the lawsuit, arguing that only the Supreme Court had jurisdiction in constitutional matters.

By years' end, the case had still not been resolved, and Veritas broadcasts were still limited to Monrovia. On January 10, President Charles Taylor conceded that "opposition complaints about not having access to shortwave transmitters are legitimate concerns" but maintained that "broadcasting on shortwave is not a right, but a privilege."

August 20
Sam Dean, *Monrovia Guardian* IMPRISONED

Dean, editor of the independent daily *Monrovia Guardian*, was arrested by police and taken to police headquarters, where he was charged with "criminal malevolence."

Dean's arrest followed the publication, around August 17, of a *Guardian* article reporting that Police Chief Paul Mulbah had been summoned to the House of Representatives for questioning after a female parliamentarian was assaulted in the Monrovia suburb of Gardenville. The article, titled "Police Director Wanted," claimed that the House wished to ask Mulbah why police had failed to arrest the perpetrators of the attack.

Sources in Monrovia said that police were upset by the story's headline, and that Mulbah went to the Press Union of Liberia (PUL) and complained of the *Guardian*'s "sensationalism" and "misleading" reports. The PUL called Dean in for questioning regarding the police chief's complaints, but the editor refused to go, claiming that he had done nothing wrong.

On August 20, the *Guardian* reproduced the same article and asked the public, "What's wrong with this headline?" Sources say this infuriated the police, who shortly thereafter arrested Dean in the paper's offices.

Dean was detained for 71 hours, according to local news sources, longer than the 48 hours mandated by law. He was released after he wrote an apology to the police for the article, and all charges against him were dropped.

Meanwhile, the *Guardian* withdrew from the PUL in protest, saying that the paper had done nothing wrong. The PUL now says that in order for the paper to rejoin the union, it will have to apologize for its withdrawal.

28016

12

September 17
T-Max Jlatah, DC 101.1 HARASSED
DC 101.1 CENSORED

Jlatah, host of the popular call-in show "DC-Talk" at the Monrovia-based radio station DC 101.1, was arrested for airing listener comments that celebrated the September 11 terrorist attacks against the United States.

Police raided the studios of DC 101.1, one of Liberia's last surviving independent broadcasters, and arrested Jlatah midway through his show. The officers evacuated the staff and effectively closed down the station before taking Jlatah back to police headquarters. They presented no warrant for their actions.

DC 101.1 was allowed to reopen after a few hours. Police detained Jlatah throughout the night and did not release him until about 2:00 p.m. on September 18, according to CPJ sources in Monrovia.

Jlatah's arrest came after several people called in to the show and spoke harshly about the United States. Some of them apparently rejoiced at the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C.

Although many callers expressed sympathy for the victims of the attacks, others claimed that the United States was the chief sponsor of terrorism in the world and that it deserved the attacks for imposing sanctions on Liberia earlier this year.

The raid followed a government threat to arrest and prosecute anyone found buying or selling photographs of Osama bin Laden, the prime suspect in the September 11 attacks.

CPJ protested Jlatah's arrest in a September 20 letter to Liberian president Charles G. Taylor.

November 20
The News HARASSED
Guardian HARASSED
Wilson Tarpeh, The News IMPRISONED

13

Police officers entered the newsroom of the independent daily *The News*, a fiery critic of Liberian president Charles Taylor, and ordered journalists and others to leave the building immediately. The officers did not provide a warrant for their action, sources said.

At about the same time, similar action was taken against the daily *Guardian*, another thorn in the president's side.

Police claimed to act at the behest of the Ministry of Finance, which had allegedly determined that both papers owed the government large sums in unpaid taxes. Later that same day, police arrested Tarpeh, chairman of *The News'* editorial board.

Tarpeh was taken to police headquarters in Monrovia and later moved to the National Security Agency offices for interrogation. He remained there until his release on November 25. He was never charged with any crime; police later said his detention was an "invitation" to assist in the probe into the tax matter.

The News and *Guardian* both resumed publication on December 4, after the Press Union of Liberia vigorously protested the harassment of the two publications.

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28017

MFI-398

Report of the Joint Review Mission on the UN Post-Conflict Peace-Building Support Offices, Department of Political Affairs, UNDP, 20 July 2001

28018

**Report of the Joint Review Mission on the United Nations
post-conflict peace-building support offices**

Department of Political Affairs / United Nations Development Programme

(A) || 20 July 2001

United Nations: Department of Political Affairs and UNDP

**REPORT OF THE JOINT REVIEW MISSION ON
UNITED NATIONS POST-CONFLICT PEACE-BUILDING SUPPORT OFFICES**

(2)

SUMMARY

Introduction

A joint Department of Political Affairs/UNDP Review Mission undertook visits to the Central African Republic, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia and Tajikistan during May and June 2001. Its objective was to assess the performance of the United Nations post-conflict peace-building offices, and to recommend changes to improve their operation and enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations system as a whole in the consolidation of peace and stability in post-conflict environments.

Conditions prevailing in the four countries prior to the establishment of the offices varied considerably, although some similarities – a fractured society, broken-down economic infrastructures and weak governance institutions – were evident in all. While the United Nations will have little control over the post-conflict conditions in a country where a peace-building presence is being contemplated, it is possible to identify certain minimum pre-conditions for the establishment and successful operation of such a presence. The instrument of a post-conflict peace-building support office was intended to be a transitional mechanism aimed at supporting national efforts to consolidate peace and provide for an environment to help address the longer term structural causes of conflict.

The Review Mission considered the way the mandates of the peace-building offices have been implemented. This includes the transition that three of the four offices have made from peacekeeping to peace-building operations, political challenges, administrative issues, the value added to United Nations peace-building efforts at the country level, and relations between the peace-building offices and the Country Teams and other entities of the United Nations system. Whereas there is almost universal support for the core political functions undertaken by the Representatives of the Secretary-General and peace-building offices, difficulties arise when peace-building offices become involved in operational activities which are traditionally the work of funds, programmes and agencies, particularly in the absence of a peace-building strategy. To the extent possible, peace-building offices should be catalysts and facilitators rather than direct implementers.

The Review Mission concludes with a series of lessons learned and recommendations. These include:

- The imperative of a peace-building strategy;
- The identification of minimum preconditions for the success of peace-building offices;
- The need to have a clear understanding by all the stakeholders of the core functions of a peace-building mandate;
- The importance of an explicit delineation of responsibilities and functions between the peace-building office and the rest of the Country Team;
- The need for adequate staffing and financial resources from the regular budget;
- The importance of rationalizing and adapting existing planning and programming instruments;

United Nations: Department of Political Affairs and UNDP

effectiveness. A number of false or unrealistic expectations were also evident. Some governments thought the peace-building offices should be engaged with public health and agriculture issues, women's rights and literacy training. More than one government wanted the peace-building office to project a message of stability to attract foreign investment. By contrast, the dependency on the peace-building presence is also of concern: one interlocutor described the presence as "gardien d'enfant pour le pays".

In the case of BONUCA, the sight of United Nations vehicles continued to create a "sense of reassurance" that peace would be preserved under the auspices of the United Nations. On the other hand, some in the Government were concerned that BONUCA would "baby-sit" the political process under way in the Central African Republic, without offering any of the "benefits" of a large peace-keeping presence. BONUCA was therefore immediately confronted with the twin dilemmas of having to describe what it was not, while simultaneously preoccupying itself with rudimentary and time-consuming activities related to establishing itself as a physical presence (phones, offices, faxes).

Relations with political actors, institutions and civil society

In the interest of respecting and preserving the sovereignty of the country, peace-building offices are established with the agreement of the elected authorities, and are intended to support the efforts of these authorities to foster national reconciliation and to establish a lasting peace. This has presented Representatives of the Secretary-General with a significant dilemma and a challenge; to what extent should they work independently with other – opposition and civil society – groups?

(3)

This has been interpreted to mean that the Representative of the Secretary-General must work with all political actors, but must work particularly closely with government and especially the head of its executive branch. It has involved a complex balancing act to avoid perceptions of partiality. Because of the particular influence that a sitting government has on political and economic events, the Representative of the Secretary-General has spent a disproportionate amount of time advising and sometimes providing frank opinions critical of government positions from behind the scenes. Perhaps inevitably, in order to preserve their effectiveness and influence, Representatives of the Secretary-General must provide such advice in a confidential manner that can rarely – if ever – be divulged to the public or other political actors outside government. This has resulted in fairly frequent, if not fully justified, charges that the Representative of the Secretary-General – and the United Nations by extension – are too closely associated with the government and even that they tend to favour the government.

(4)

Only in Liberia could such accusations – beyond being a matter for continuous monitoring -- be a matter of legitimate concern. Indeed, UNOL was perceived by all those consulted to be too close to the Government. Discussions with the staff of UNOL and the Government alike suggested strongly that both the office and the Government viewed the role of UNOL as being an intermediary between the Government and the "outside world", a role perhaps likely to be viewed as all the more important with the recent imposition of sanctions. Opposition parties, civil society organizations and the press all indicated that they had had virtually no interaction with the Representative of the Secretary-General and UNOL, thereby seriously putting into question its objectivity as a political actor. Some went so far as to suggest that UNOL was an apologist for the Government. Nevertheless, it was pointed out by both the Representative of the Secretary-General and the Government that on occasion the Representative of the Secretary-General had delivered messages that were highly unpalatable to the Government, and that such interventions were not known by the other actors. Examples cited included insistence by UNOL on the

United Nations: Department of Political Affairs and UNDP

destruction of a cache of small arms contrary to the wishes of the Government and the role that the Representative of the Secretary-General played in the Camp Johnson incident.

Similar accusations were registered from some opposition and civil society groups in both the Central African Republic and Guinea-Bissau. However, with further probing, it was made quite evident – particularly in the case of the Central African Republic – that the Representative of the Secretary-General was very active in facilitating dialogue between the Government and those that he viewed to be the principal sources of political opposition (political parties, trade unions, army, etc.) and that much of the advice being provided was in fact geared to ensuring that the Government preserved its commitment to fostering open political dialogue and strengthening democratic means of managing dissension and conflict. In Tajikistan, the Review Mission heard from a wide range of interlocutors that UNTOP maintained a healthy equidistance from all parties and sides and there was little sign of one being favoured above the other.

Establishing credibility at an early stage

In all four countries, formal democratic institutions are very weak, with weak political parties, civil society and a generally inadequate environment for fostering effective capacity development for parliament, local legislatures and other formal democratic institutions. As a result, the establishment of temporary reconciliation mechanisms and forums, such as the *Comité de suivi et d'arbitrage* in the Central African Republic, appears to be a sensible interim arrangement for fostering national dialogue between the principal political actors and for defusing tensions. Support to such temporary institutions that are tailored to country-specific requirements should probably be a more frequently used bridging arrangement to ensure that there is no breakdown in the dialogue. UNTOP has in fact created political discussion clubs, bringing representatives from the Government, opposition parties and civil society together, to fill the need to maintain a dialogue. But efforts should be made to gradually empower national institutions or mechanisms to take on this function.

Political facilitation, mediation functions and good offices receive the widest acceptance and appreciation among national and international partners alike. Indeed, the real value-added of peace-building offices was generally expressed in terms of their role in the preservation of democratic means of conflict resolution and the preservation of political dialogue between key players on the political scene. As one interlocutor put it, “UNTOP stops us from shouting at each other”.

It is perhaps not surprising that the personality, personal standing and credibility of the Representative of the Secretary-General is of central importance to the success of the political work of these offices. Examples of interventions that established such credibility include the following:

In the Central African Republic, faced with a severe crisis over salary arrears and the spectre of endless paralysing strikes, the Representative of the Secretary-General went to extraordinary lengths to obtain the Secretary-General's direct intervention to gain a temporary reprieve in the implementation of measures contained in the structural and policy agenda imposed by IMF and World Bank. This was accompanied by active, impartial and frank mediation between the trade unions and the Government, which resulted in an agreement in which the Bishop of Bangui and the Representative of the Secretary-General were co-witnesses.

MFI-399

Wayne H. Valis, DBA Valis Associates, Registration Statement pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act

Department of Justice
Washington, DC 20530

Exhibit A
To Registration Statement
Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended

OMB NO. 1105-0003

Act Statement. Every registration statement, short form registration statement, supplemental statement, exhibit, amendment, copy of informational materials or other document or information filed with the Attorney General under this Act is a public record open to public examination, inspection and copying during the posted business hours of the Registration Unit in Washington, D.C. One copy of every such document, other than informational materials, is automatically provided to the Secretary of State pursuant to Section 6(b) of the Act, and copies of any and all documents are routinely made available to other agencies, departments and Congress pursuant to Section 6(c) of the Act. The Attorney General also transmits a semi-annual report to Congress on the administration of the Act which lists the names of all agents registered under the Act and the foreign principals they represent. This report is available to the public. Finally, the Attorney General intends, at the earliest possible opportunity, to make these public documents available on the Internet on the Department of Justice World Wide Web site.

Reporting Burden. Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average .49 hours per response, including the time for reading instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Chief, Registration Unit, Criminal Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530; and to the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, Office of Management and Budget, Washington, DC 20503.

*Furnish this exhibit for EACH foreign principal listed in an initial statement
and for EACH additional foreign principal acquired subsequently.*

Name and address of registrant Wayne H. Valis DBA Valis Associates 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW #950 Washington, DC 20006	2. Registration No. 5427
3. Name of foreign principal Republic of Liberia	4. Principal address of foreign principal Embassy of Liberia 5201 16th Street, NW Washington, DC 20011

5. Indicate whether your foreign principal is one of the following:

Foreign government

Foreign political party

Foreign or domestic organization: If either, check one of the following:

Partnership

Committee

Corporation

Voluntary group

Association

Other (specify) _____

Individual-State nationality _____

6. If the foreign principal is a foreign government, state:

a) Branch or agency represented by the registrant.

Executive Branch

b) Name and title of official with whom registrant deals.

His Excellency Charles Taylor, President

7. If the foreign principal is a foreign political party, state:

a) Principal address.

b) Name and title of official with whom registrant deals.

c) Principal aim

8. If the foreign principal is not a foreign government or a foreign political party,

a) State the nature of the business or activity of this foreign principal

b) Is this foreign principal

Supervised by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal

Yes No

Owned by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal

Yes No

Directed by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal

Yes No

Controlled by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal

Yes No

Financed by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal

Yes No

Subsidized in part by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal

Yes No

9. Explain fully all items answered "Yes" in Item 8(b). (If additional space is needed, a full insert page must be used.)

10. If the foreign principal is an organization and is not owned or controlled by a foreign government, foreign political party or other foreign principal, state who owns and controls it.

Date of Exhibit A	Name and Title	Signature
3/1/02	Wayne H. Valis President	Wayne H. Valis

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28025

U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, DC 20530

Supplemental Statement
Pursuant to Section 2 of the Foreign Agents Registration Act
of 1938, as amended

OMB NO. 1105-0002

For Six Month Period Ending APR 30 2002

(Insert date)

3

I - REGISTRANT

1. (a) Name of Registrant **Valis Associates** (b) Registration No. **5427**

(c) Business Address(es) of Registrant **1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. #950**
Washington, DC 20006

2. Has there been a change in the information previously furnished in connection with the following:

(a) If an individual:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) Residence address | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Citizenship | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Occupation | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

(b) If an organization:

- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| (1) Name | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Ownership or control | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Branch offices | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |

(c) Explain fully all changes, if any, indicated in items (a) and (b) above.

IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4, AND 5(a).

3. If you have previously filed Exhibit C¹, state whether any changes therein have occurred during this 6 month reporting period.

Yes No If yes, have you filed an amendment to the Exhibit C? Yes No

If no, please attach the required amendment.

¹ The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, and by laws of a registrant that is an organization. (a waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, Internal Security Section, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530.)

IV - FINANCIAL INFORMATION

14. (a) RECEIPTS-MONIES

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes No

If no, explain why.

(4)

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies⁶

Date	From Whom	Purpose	Amount
1/31/02	Republic of Liberia	Consulting Fee	\$500,000.00
1/15/02	Republic of Cote d'Ivoire	Consulting Fee	\$ 53,118.49
			<hr/> <u>\$553,118.49</u>
			Total

(b) RECEIPTS - FUND RASING CAMPAIGN

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received, as part of a fund raising campaign⁷, any money on behalf of any foreign principal named in items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement? Yes No

If yes, have you filed an Exhibit D to your registration? Yes No

If yes, indicate the date the Exhibit D was filed. Date _____.

(c) RECEIPTS-THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received any thing of value⁸ other than money from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name of foreign principal	Date received	Description of thing of value	Purpose
---------------------------	---------------	-------------------------------	---------

⁶, ⁷ A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, money, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fund raising campaign. (See Rule 201(e).)

⁸ An Exhibit D, for which no printed form is provided, sets forth an account of money collected or received as a result of a fund raising campaign and transmitted for a foreign principal.

⁹ Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

28027

MFI-400

Swidler & Berlin, Supplemental Statements pursuant to Section 2 of the Foreign Agents Registration Act

28028

U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, DC 20530

Supplemental Statement

OMB No. 1105-0002

Pursuant to Section 2 of the Foreign Agents Registration Act
of 1938, as amended.

For Six Month Period Ending

7 JAN 1992

(Insert date)

(1)

Name of Registrant

Registration No.

Swidler & Berlin

No. 4079

Business Address of Registrant
3000 K Street, N.W.
Suite 300
Washington, DC 20007

I-REGISTRANT

1. Has there been a change in the information previously furnished in connection with the following:

(a) If an individual:

(1) Residence address	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
(2) Citizenship	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
(3) Occupation	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

(b) If an organization:

(1) Name	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(2) Ownership or control	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(3) Branch offices	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

2. Explain fully all changes, if any, indicated in item 1.

None

IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4, AND 5.

3. Have any persons ceased acting as partners, officers, directors or similar officials of the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name

Paul Kaleta

Position

Partner

Date Connection

Ended

10/15/91

2

IV—FINANCIAL INFORMATION

14. (a) RECEIPTS—MONIES

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes No

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies.³

<i>Date</i>	<i>From Whom</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Amount</i>
7/31/91	Hyundai Motor Company	Services Rendered	7,166.43
7/31/91	Nat. Pat. Reconstr.	Services Rendered	30,000.00
8/31/91	Hyundai Motor Company	Services Rendered	16,029.53
10/31/91	Nat. Pat. Reconstr.	Services Rendered	100,000.00
11/30/91	Hyundai Motor Company	Services Rendered	9,426.62
			\$162,622.58
		Total	

(b) RECEIPTS—THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received any thing of value⁴ other than money from any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

<i>Name of foreign principal</i>	<i>Date received</i>	<i>Description of thing of value</i>	<i>Purpose</i>

³A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, money, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fund raising campaign. See Rule 201(e).

⁴Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

28030

U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, DC 20530

Supplemental Statement

OMB No. 1105-0002

Pursuant to Section 2 of the Foreign Agents Registration Act
of 1938, as amended.

For Six Month Period Ending 7 JUL 1992
(Insert date)

(3)

Name of Registrant

Registration No.

Swidler & Berlin

No. 4079

Business Address of Registrant

3000 K Street, N.W., Suite 300
Washington, DC 20007

I—REGISTRANT

1. Has there been a change in the information previously furnished in connection with the following:

(a) If an individual:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|--|
| (1) Residence address | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Citizenship | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Occupation | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |

(b) If an organization:

- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) Name | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Ownership or control | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Branch offices | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |

2. Explain fully all changes, if any, indicated in item 1.

None

IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4, AND 5.

3. Have any persons ceased acting as partners, officers, directors or similar officials of the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name

Position

Date Connection
Ended

IV—FINANCIAL INFORMATION

14. (a) RECEIPTS—MONIES

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes No

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies.³

<i>Date</i>	<i>From Whom</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Amount</i>
1/13/92	Hyundai Motor Co.	Services Rendered	\$22,062.56
2/3/92	Hyundai Motor Co.	Services Rendered	5,410.19
2/7/92	Nat. Pat. Reconstr.	Services Rendered	79,540.00
4/30/92	Hyundai Motor Co.	Services Rendered	21,694.90
5/21/92	Nat. Pat. Reconstr.	Services Rendered	47,373.93
6/19/92	Hyundai Motor Co.	Services Rendered	13,914.73
			Total \$189,996.31

(b) RECEIPTS—THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received any thing of value⁴ other than money from any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

<i>Name of foreign principal</i>	<i>Date received</i>	<i>Description of thing of value</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
--------------------------------------	--------------------------	--	----------------

³A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, money, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fund raising campaign. See Rule 201(e).

⁴Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

28032

U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, DC 20530

Supplemental Statement

OMB NO. 1105-0002

Pursuant to Section 2 of the Foreign Agents Registration Act
of 1938, as amended.

For Six Month Period Ending

7 JAN 1993



(5)

Name of Registrant
Swidler & Berlin

Registration No.
No. 4079

Business Address of Registrant
3000 K Street, N.W., Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20007

I—REGISTRANT

1. Has there been a change in the information previously furnished in connection with the following:

(a) If an individual:

(1) Residence address	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
(2) Citizenship	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
(3) Occupation	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

(b) If an organization:

(1) Name	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(2) Ownership or control	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
(3) Branch offices	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

2. Explain fully all changes, if any, indicated in item 1.

None

IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4, AND 5.

3. Have any persons ceased acting as partners, officers, directors or similar officials of the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name

Position

Date Connection
Ended

IV—FINANCIAL INFORMATION**14. (a) RECEIPTS—MONIES**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes No

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies.¹

<i>Date</i>	<i>From Whom</i>	<i>Purpose</i>	<i>Amount</i>
7/14/92	Hyundai Motor Company	Services Rendered	4,670.26
7/28/92	British Virgin Islands	Services Rendered	15,000.00
8/24/92	Hyundai Motor Company	Services Rendered	4,511.15
10/26/92	Hyundai Motor Company	Services Rendered	517.92
11/6/92	British Virgin Islands	Services Rendered	16,453.00
11/19/92	Hyundai Motor Company	Services Rendered	1,576.55
11/30/92	National Patriotic Recon. Govt.	Services Rendered	99,911.64
12/31/92	Hyundai Motor Company	Services Rendered	5,606.51
			<i>\$148,247.03</i>
			Total

(b) RECEIPTS—THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received any thing of value² other than money from any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9 and 10 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal? Yes No

If yes, furnish the following information:

<i>Name of foreign principal</i>	<i>Date received</i>	<i>Description of thing of value</i>	<i>Purpose</i>

¹ A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D on the collection or receipt of contributions, loans, money, or other things of value from a foreign principal, as part of a fund-raising campaign. See Rule 201(e).
² Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest-free loans, campaign travel, limited stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

28034

• U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, DC 20530

Exhibit A
To Registration Statement
Under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended

OMB No. 1105-0003

Privacy Act Statement. Every registration statement, short form registration statement, supplemental statement, exhibit, amendment, dissemination report, copy of political propaganda or other document or information filed with the Attorney General under this act is a public record open to public examination, inspection and copying during the posted business hours of the Registration Unit in Washington, D.C. One copy is automatically provided to the Secretary of State pursuant to Section 6(b) of the Act, and copies of such documents are routinely made available to other agencies, departments and Congress pursuant to Section 6(c) of the Act. Finally, the Attorney General transmits an annual report to the Congress on the Administration of the Act which lists the names of all agents and the nature, sources and content of the political propaganda disseminated or distributed by them. This report is available to the public.

Public Reporting Burden. Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average .49 hours per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Chief, Registration Unit, Criminal Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530; and to the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, Office of Management and Budget, Washington, D.C. 20503.

*Furnish this exhibit for EACH foreign principal listed in an initial statement
and for EACH additional foreign principal acquired subsequently.*

7

1. Name and address of registrant	2. Registration No.
<u>Swidler & Berlin, Chartered</u>	4079
3. Name of foreign principal <u>National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government</u>	4. Principal address of foreign principal <u>Monrovia, Liberia</u>
5. Indicate whether your foreign principal is one of the following type:	
<input type="checkbox"/> Foreign government <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Foreign political party <input type="checkbox"/> Foreign or <input type="checkbox"/> domestic organization: If either, check one of the following: <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <input type="checkbox"/> Partnership <input type="checkbox"/> Committee <input type="checkbox"/> Corporation <input type="checkbox"/> Voluntary group <input type="checkbox"/> Association <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____ </div>	
6. If the foreign principal is a foreign government, state: a) Branch or agency represented by the registrant. b) Name and title of official with whom registrant deals.	
7. If the foreign principal is a foreign political party, state: a) Principal address <u>Monrovia, Liberia</u> b) Name and title of official with whom registrant deals. c) Principal aim <u>Promote understanding for Liberian peace process.</u>	

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DEPT. OF JUSTICE
CRIMINAL DIVISION
INTERNAL SECURITY
REGISTRATION UNIT
Momolu Sirleaf
91 MAY 31 P 3-23

8. If the foreign principal is not a foreign government or a foreign political party, N/A

a) State the nature of the business or activity of this foreign principal

b) Is this foreign principal

Owned by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal Yes No

Directed by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal Yes No

Controlled by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal Yes No

Financed by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal Yes No

Subsidized in whole by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal Yes No

Subsidized in part by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal Yes No

9. Explain fully all items answered "Yes" in Item 8(b). (If additional space is needed, a full insert page may be used.)

10. If the foreign principal is an organization and is not owned or controlled by a foreign government, foreign political party or other foreign principal, state who owns and controls it.

N/A

Date of Exhibit A

Name and Title

Lester S. Hyman, Member

Signature

8

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MFI-401

“Human Rights Defenders Call for the Resignation of Police Director Mulbah”, The Perspective, 23 February 2002

Human Rights Defenders call for the Resignation of Police Director Mulbah

The Perspective

(1)

Monrovia, Liberia

February 23, 2002



Editor's Note: Since the imposition of the state of emergency in Liberia, police brutality with impunity is on the rise. The latest victim is Counselor Frances Johnson Morris, former Chief Justice of the Republic of Liberia. Counselor Morris was arrested and humiliated by Police Director Paul Mulbah. Below is the full text of the statement issued by the Coalition of Human Rights Defenders in Liberia in which, among other things, they call for the resignation of the Police Director:

Liberian Coalition Of Human Rights Defenders Calls For Police Director's Resignation
Liberia Coalition Of Human Rights Defenders
C/O National Human Rights Center Of Liberia
152 Carey Street
P. O. Box. 38 22
Monrovia, Liberia

MONROVIA, 22 FEBRUARY, 2002. The Liberian Coalition of Human Rights Defenders has called for the immediate resignation of Police Director, Col. Paul Mulbah for his failure to serve the public trust, uphold the law and protect the innocent. The Coalition observes that Director Mulbah's tenure as Director of Police has been characterized by widespread police brutality, mayhem, intimidation of peaceful citizens, harassment of civilians/passengers, deception, tactical cover-ups and empty promises of investigation into acts of lawlessness by police officers .

The Liberian Coalition statement comes in the wake of the Friday, 22 Feb unwarranted and illegal arrest and subsequent detention of Catholic Justice and Peace Commission National Director, Cllr. Frances Johnson Morris by Director Mulbah himself. The Coalition contends that the fact that Director Mulbah immediately stripped Cllr. Morris of her wearing and threw her into a cell of males and hardened criminals without any explanation and due regards to her status as former Chief Justice of the Republic of Liberia clearly negates the recent assurances by President Taylor that civil liberties of the people will be respected in accordance with constitutional provisions during the period of the state of emergency.

The Coalition further maintains that it is unbelievable that at a time the government has committed national resources to the redemption of this country through the "Liberia For Jesus Crusade", the

Director of the Liberian National Police would elect to molest and humiliate an eminent states personthus undermining the efforts of the government and its people calling for divine intervention to save the country

The coalition further avers that as police director, Col. Mulbah has failed to institute discipline within the police as evidenced by the numerous acts of lawless ness by police against innocent people. Also punctuating the directorís administrative excesses is his failure to make reports public and punish perpetrators of police brutality against peaceful drivers at the Double Bridge area in Gardnersville sometime last year. Another case in point is the Director's failure to charge two police officers whoallegedly killed two innocent students in Bong County. Also claiming our serious attention is the fact the director Mulbah in the early part of February, 2002 personally ordered the flogging of a commercial driver at the ELWA junction.

In the same vein, the director, in an arrogant style ordered the flogging of peaceful students at the University of Liberia and later boasted of his actions on state radio. Of late we are reminded of the illegal arrest and detention of two journalists of the Analyst Newspaper and issuance of threats againststaff members of the paper by Director Mulbah. These acts and actions of the director being inimical to hisoffice undermines the Executive Branch of government as well as the justice system of the country.

Signed:

1. National Human Rights Center of Liberia (NHRCL)
2. Movement for the Defence of Human Rights (MODHAR)
3. Center for the Protection of Human Rights (CPHR)
4. Fore-runners of Children Universal Rights, Growth &Dev. (FOCUS)
5. Association of the Female Lawyers of Liberia
6. Civil Rights Association of Liberian Lawyers (CALL)
7. Liberia Democracy Watch (LDW)
8. United Methodist Human Rights Monitor (MONITOR)
9. Civil and Human Rights Alliance of Liberia (ALLIANCE)
10. Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (JPC)
11. Center for Law and Human Rights Education (CLHRE)
12. Amnesty International ñ Liberia
13. Rural Human Rights Activists Programme (RHAP)
14. Liberia Human Rights Observers (LHRO)
15. Committee for Peace and Development Advocacy (COPDA)
16. Liberia Prison Watch (LIPWA)
17. Center for Sustainable Human Development (CESHOD)
18. Research and Document Center on Human Rights
19. Liberia Watch for Human Rights (LWHR)

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MFI-402

IRIN-West Africa Update 339 for 1998.11.16

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA - AFRICAN STUDIES CENTER

IRIN-West Africa Update 339 for 1998.11.16

UNITED NATIONS

(1)

Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Integrated Regional Information Network for West Africa tel: +225 21 73 54 fax: +225 21 63 35 e-mail: irin-wa@africaonline.co.ci

IRIN-WA Update 339 of Events in West Africa (Saturday - Monday 14 - 16 November 1998)

SIERRA LEONE: Rebels kill 16 in northern village

(2)

Sierra Leonean rebels killed 16 people and abducted 50 others on Saturday in an attack on Kamaporoto, a village near the northern border with Guinea, news reports said.

Quoting aid workers, Reuters reported on Sunday that the wounded were being taken to Kamakwie hospital, the largest town in northwestern Sierra Leone. Reports said West African ECOMOG troops and militia units had been sent to the village. The UN in Freetown has not been able to confirm the reports.

The report, quoting priests arriving in Freetown, the capital, from Kamakwie, said that the town's 30,000 residents were in panic, fearing a rebel attack similar to one four months ago, when 60 people were killed.

US envoy calls for dialogue to end war

US presidential envoy Jesse Jackson has called on the government in Freetown to hold peace talks with rebels to end the civil war, news reports said at the weekend. "We are appealing to this country to reach out to the rebels in the bush and come to a solution at the bargaining table and not on the battlefield," he told a news conference, according to Reuters.

(3)

President Alhaji Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, who was also at the news conference, refused to comment on Jackson's appeal. However, his spokesman, Septimus Kaikai, said there would be no talks unless the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels and army renegades surrendered, the Sierra Leone News Website reported on Saturday. It said Kaikai also rejected a demand by RUF commander Sam Bockarie that the government negotiate with the imprisoned RUF leader, Foday Sankoh. Sankoh is appealing against his sentence to death for treason.

LIBERIA: Monrovia apologises for US embassy shooting

Liberia has formally apologised to the United States for the shooting by local security forces at the US embassy in Monrovia on 19 September in which two Americans were wounded, news organisations reported at the weekend, quoting Foreign Minister Monie Captan.

Captan said in a statement that the government accepted responsibility for not preventing "armed rebels" from approaching the embassy in September. He said the apology was made to the US State Department on Friday. The Liberian government had previously refused to apologise, denying that its forces deliberately shot into the embassy compound, when former faction leader Roosevelt Johnson took refuge there following a two-day shoot-out between security forces and his supporters.

Rights group agrees to defend 15 on treason trial

Liberia's Centre for Law and Human Rights Education has agreed to represent some of the 32 people charged with conspiracy to overthrow the government free of charge, Star Radio reported on Saturday.

The centre's director, Benedict Sannoh says a two-man legal team will defend the accused. However, he said the centre could not provide "full representation" because of the "complexity" and "political environment" under which the trial was being conducted. Last week, 15 of the 32 accused who appeared in court asked Judge William Metzger to provide them additional lawyers to help their defence attorneys because they could not afford the costs.

Meanwhile, the state prosecution asked the court to turn down the request of some of the defendants, alleging they were solvent and could therefore afford to pay legal costs, the radio said.

Ex-president calls for greater ECOWAS involvement

3 The last of Liberia's civil war presidents, Ruth Perry, has called for a continued presence of ECOMOG in the country and for the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which first sent them there, to ensure the country does not relapse into civil war, PANA reported on Sunday.

In a weekend interview at a conference in Nashville, in the United States, she expressed concern at the continued feuding between supporters of President Charles Taylor and those of his main civil war rival, Roosevelt Johnson.

Perry also told PANA ECOMOG must take charge of restructuring the Liberian army, as laid down in the Abuja peace plan. According to AFP, Taylor has reneged on this aspect of the peace deal, saying that as a sovereign state it was up to the government to reorganise its army. ECOMOG has accused Taylor of recruiting his former faction fighters into the national army.

Taylor reinstates suspended police chief

Meanwhile, Taylor reinstated Police chief Joe Tate today (Monday) after suspending him two weeks ago for "administrative reasons", media reports said. AFP reported Justice Minister Eddington Varmah as saying Tate, Taylor's cousin, had resumed duty after having "fully complied with conditions set for his reinstatement". Varmah did not state these conditions.

2 Tate had been called before the Senate on contempt charges to answer questions about the alleged beating of a Senate clerk, Tyrone Tarpeh, by members of the police Special Operations Division, which has a reputation for harrassment of civilians, AFP said.

European Commission rehabilitates road

The European Commission (EC) Coordinator in Liberia's Nimba County, David Parker, said that the Gbanquo-Zekepa highway has been rebuilt in collaboration with local residents in Yarwin-Mehnsonnoh District, in the north of the country, Star Radio reported on Saturday.

Reconstruction of the road makes the district accessible to Sacleapea, from which it has been cut off for nine years. The EC is also building 13 wooden bridges on the Bahn-Butuo road, some 250 km northeast of Monrovia, the radio said. Butuo is where the Liberian civil war started in December 1989 and has been virtually isolated because of bad roads and destroyed bridges. The Ganta-Tappita highway, 210 km east of Monrovia, will also be reactivated this month, the report said.

NIGERIA: Government to reinforce security in Delta

Nigerian military leader General Abdulsalami Abubakar has said he will improve security in the troubled Niger Delta "to forestall the incessant kidnapping of foreign oil workers", AFP reported on Friday.

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MFI-403A-E

Photographs

- A: P0000879
- B: P0000866
- C: P0000867
- D: P0000868
- E: P0000869

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P0008879

28044

Ben Yeaten gives an interview in the center of Tubmanburg in which he praised the gallantry of Lt./Gen. Roland Duo of the Navy for capturing Tubmanburg from the dissidents.

P0009866



After two months of occupation and intensive fighting between the dissident LURD and GOL troops, the provincial city, Tubmanburg, was recaptured on July 19, 2002. Local journalists and international correspondents were taking on a conducted tour of Tubmanburg on July 20, 2002. SSS Director Benjamin Yeaten In military outfit met the journalists led by Presidential Press Secretary Vaani Paasewe on arrival.

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MFI-404

“Rights Advocate Calls for Disbanding ATU; Goes Into Hiding”, The Perspective, 11 September 2001 (Paragraphs 1 & 4)

Rights Advocate Calls for Disbanding ATU; Goes Into Hiding

The Perspective

September 11, 2001

A Liberian human rights advocate, Mr. Adebayo, Executive Director of the Liberian Watch for Human Rights, has called for the disbanding of the notorious and infamous Anti-Terrorist Unit, commonly referred to as ATU. BBC Focus on Africa report issued on the 10th, 2001, stated that the rights group in its statement, described the ATU as "unconstitutional" and called on President Charles Taylor to dissolve it.

According to the BBC report, the group said: "ATU is not only legal, but also dreadful [and] instituted as a domestic machinery to terrorize innocent Liberians. As commander in chief of the Liberian army, the human rights group said, president Taylor has ignored his constitutional mandate to restructure the army, but rather willfully and lavishly invested in the ATU. They pointed..., "the abandonment of the national army has rendered them handicap and reduced their status to mediocrity which has adverse effect on the reunification and reconciliation of all Liberians."

BBC further reported that: "The human rights group [also] blamed the persistent armed attacks by dissidents in the north of the country on president Taylor's failure to restructure the Liberian army and give it a technically and geographically balanced look."

In its follow-up story yesterday, BBC said that the Liberian police authorities have launched a "search" for Mr. Adebayo because of the statement his human rights organization issued, but he had gone into hiding for fear and safety of his life. The Liberian Police Director, Paul Mulbah, was quoted as saying, "Mr. Adebayo will be apprehended to answer questions. Besides his call for the dissolution of the Anti- terrorist Unit, Mr. Adebayo is wanted to explain what he exactly he meant when blamed rebel war in the north of the country on president Taylor's failure to restructure the Liberian army. Maybe the man has more information on the fighting than we know, and he needs to share it."

The ATU has been involved in more "terrorist" acts than its actual role of countering and combating terrorism. Serving as Mr. Taylor's private militia, and comprising mostly ex-combatants of Mr. Taylor's NPFL rebel faction, it has been used as an extension of the state security machinery to harass, intimidate and silence critics of the government.

ATU's acts of transgression on civil society are numerous. Its role in harassing the innocent citizens of Lofa County has been well documented in a scathing report recently issued by Amnesty International (AI). Amnesty reported: "Testimonies and reports gathered by Amnesty International suggest that since late April 2001, government security forces, especially the Anti-Terrorist Unit (ATU), a special military unit frequently accused of human rights violations, have extrajudicially executed, arbitrarily detained or tortured [people] -- including the rape of women and girls."

Just a few weeks ago, ATU was deployed in Maryland County under the pretext of combating "ritualistic killings," but its real motive was to recruit young boys. Its role in the brutal attack on students at the University of Liberia cannot go unmentioned. The list is infinite - and could go on and on.

But the fate of Adebayo could follow that of another human rights activist who escaped the claws of the dreaded ATU two years ago. James Torh of the human rights group, FOCUS, now exiled, had made critical comments of the Taylor regime and the way in which it was conducting the affairs of government. Sedition charges were brought against Mr. Torh by the government, but Mr. Torh had to escape for his life before even appearing in court to defend himself.

The whereabouts, however, of Mr. Adebayo remain unknown. "The police search team which consisted of senior officers, has visited Mr. Adebayo's home and offices to no avail," BBC reported.

*For subscription information, go to: www.theperspective.org
or send e-mail to: editor@theperspective.org*

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UN Security Council Document S/2002/1115, Letter dated 24 October 2002 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia addressed to the President of the Security Council, 25 October 2002 (Cover Page, Second Page (Annex) & Page 41)

United Nations

S/2002/1115

**Security Council**Distr.: General
25 October 2002

Original: English

(1)

Letter dated 24 October 2002 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia addressed to the President of the Security Council

On behalf of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia and in accordance with paragraph 16 of resolution 1408 (2002), I have the honour to submit the report of the Panel of Experts on Liberia (see annex).

In this connection, I would appreciate it if the present letter together with its enclosure were brought to the attention of the members of the Security Council and issued as a document of the Council.

(Signed) **Kishore Mahbubani**
Chairman
Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution
1343 (2001) concerning Liberia



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S/2002/1115

Annex

**Letter dated 7 October 2002 from the Panel of Experts on Liberia
to the Chairman of the Committee established pursuant to
resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia**

We have the honour to enclose the report of the Panel of Experts on Liberia, in accordance with paragraph 16 of Security Council resolution 1408 (2002).

(*Signed*) Atabou Bodian

(*Signed*) Johan Peleman

(*Signed*) Harjit Sandhu

(*Signed*) Alex Vines

2

although the war in Lofa county had badly affected timber production. Because of the seasonal rains during the reporting period, logging production has been low.

190. According to the most recent figures of the Central Bank of Liberia, round logs valued at US\$ 59.5 million were exported from Liberia in 2001. By March 2002, log exports were officially accounted at US\$ 4,674,000. Sawn timber only figured at US\$ 510,000. The Panel in the past has reported the irregularity of figures from the timber industry. In September, the Liberian non-governmental organization, Save My Future Foundation, published a comparative analysis of timber production and timber assessed revenue from 1997 to 2001, which showed a massive discrepancy for a massive number of round logs unaccounted for.

191. A comparison of the export figures of the Central Bank of Liberia with the figures of the Forestry Development Authority indicate a significant discrepancy of US\$ 6 million in 2000 and US\$ 19,610,000 in 2001. [3]

Table 4
Discrepancy in timber export figures, 2000 and 2001

Year	Central Bank of Liberia		Forestry Development Authority	
	Round log exports (in cubic metres)	Freight on board value (in United States dollars)	Round log exports (in cubic metres)	Freight on board value (in United States dollars)
2000	578 721.000	59 500 000.00	637 400.750	67 505 473.49
2001	557 314.000	60 273 000.00	773 612.660	79 883 926.76

192. The Forestry Development Authority was last audited by the Auditor General in 1994. The strategic importance of logging continues to be shown by the fact that the Authority remains outside the centralized revenue account of the Government of Liberia Tax Account at the Central Bank. This is despite instructions issued by the Central Bank of Liberia and the Ministry of Finance in June 2002 and contrary to the information provided by the Government to the Security Council Committee on Liberia. [4] The consolidation of this timber revenue into one government account was also a recommendation of the Panel (see S/2002/470) and a request by IMF on a regular basis, most recently after the conclusion of its article IV consultations in 2002.

Auditing timber and other revenue

193. Forestry was to have fallen under a management and systems audit funded by the European Union following negotiations in December 2001 under article 96 of the Cotonou Agreement. However, little progress has been made to date in moving ahead with this plan.

194. This was to be an independent management and administrative audit of selected governmental and parastatal institutions, the aim of which was to establish proper management, transparency and accountability in the public sector. A draft of the terms of reference for this audit was submitted to the Government of Liberia early in 2002. After a long delay, it was sent back to the European Union office in Monrovia in July and the response of the Government forwarded to Brussels. Despite the official claim of the Government of Liberia to have reached agreement

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MFI-407

Forest Concession Review – Phase III, Report of the Concession Review Committee, 31 May 2005 (Acknowledgements Page, Pages 11, 27 & 34)

FOREST CONCESSION REVIEW – PHASE III
REPORT OF THE CONCESSION REVIEW COMMITTEE
May 31, 2005

(1)

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, the Forest Concession Review Committee would like to thank the Honorable Charles Gyude Bryant, Chairman of the National Transitional Government of Liberia for entrusting the Committee with the high responsibility of completing a fair and transparent review of forest concessions. Each and every member of the Committee has participated and labored to ensure high standards and integrity of work.

The Committee would also like to acknowledge the cooperation, assistance and dedication of the Ministry of Finance, Forest Development Authority, Ministry of Justice, Central Bank of Liberia, Council of Economic Advisors, Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, Ministry of Agriculture, Liberian National Police, US Embassy, European Commission, UNMIL, UN CIVPOL, Green Advocates, Sustainable Development Institute, National Human Rights Center of Liberia, Conservation International, all the private banks in Monrovia, Civil Society organizations, all concession holders and the public at large that actively participated in and assisted with the completion of the Forest Concession Review.

The Committee would like to acknowledge the work and effort of the members of the Technical Secretariat.

The Committee acknowledges the support from the NTGL, US Government and World Bank provide during the last 9 months to complete the concession review.

Finally, the Committee wishes to thank the Chairman of the Forest Concession Review Committee, Cllr. Fredrick D. Cherue, for providing leadership and facilitating the completion of the successful completion of the review. The efforts of the Chairman and all the members of the committee went above and beyond the normal expectations of civic duty.

II FOREST CONCESSION REVIEW – PHASE III
REPORT OF THE CONCESSION REVIEW COMMITTEE
May 31, 2005

V. CONCESSION REVIEW RESULTS AND FINDINGS

A. Concession Results

The Forest Concession Review Committee recorded the names of 70 logging companies that were listed as obtaining concessions in the last twenty years in Liberia. A concession would only be eligible for review if it actively participated in the concession review process. Of the 70 companies, 23 companies submitted no data at all and thus disqualified themselves from further review.

Forty-seven concession holders submitted some level of data for review by the Committee. The Committee first organized the data according to the procedures described in Section IV. B., above. Then each concession was evaluated based on the decision making process outlined in Section IV. C., above).

The Committee found in its case-by-case review that that no concession holder was in compliance with the minimum criteria for being cleared.

B. Findings: Overall Company Data Summary

The following Table 1: “Individual company data sheet summary” summarizes the data in the individual company data sheets, which provide the basis of the Committee’s recommendations to the NTGL. Columns A through H represent the review criteria from the Committee’s Terms of Reference (see Section III. B. 1., above). It is important to note that the following table is an overall summary of the individual company data sheets and the “Notes” in the last column provide a highlighted overview of only some of the items with which concession holders did not comply. For full details of compliance and non-compliance within each evaluation criterion, the reader should refer to Appendix 2, Exhibit A: Individual Company Data Sheets.

27 FOREST CONCESSION REVIEW – PHASE III
REPORT OF THE CONCESSION REVIEW COMMITTEE
May 31, 2005

- 21 out of 47 companies demonstrated that they were a bona fide business entity allowed to legally operate in Liberia during at least the last year the company operated. Non-compliance included failure to submit either a business certificate for the last year of operations or the company's Articles of Incorporation, or failure to submit both.
- Out of the 47 concession holders submitting at least some data, not a single company presented a contract that was in full force and effect. Contracts were either not ratified, did not follow correct application procedures (no forest survey, performance bond or land rent paid prior to contract signature), were not submitted, had expired, or manifested a combination of these deficiencies.
 - i. No company paid a performance bond or advance land rental tax as required prior to contract signature,
 - ii. 24 concessions were not ratified,
 - iii. 6 salvage concessions were expired,
 - iv. 4 contracts were distributed after April 6th, 2000 and did not require ratification.
 - v. 4 communal land leases were not attested by the FDA.
 - vi. 4 contracts were ratified but were allocated during the last civil war. Consequently, concession holders were not able to operate, did not complete forest survey reports, did not post performance bonds, or pay land rental taxes.
- 15 companies were technically in compliance to the extent they had a contract before other contracts were issued in the area. All of those 15 concessions are overlapped by other concessions.
- There were some concessions that did not identify or illustrate the metes and bounds of their concession areas.

2. Threshold behavior criteria

Criteria: Concession holders had to demonstrate that they did not (1) provide support to militia, participate in arms for timber, aid or abet civil instability, cultural transgressions or community disruption, or other UN sanctions related issues, (2) encroach into protected, private or other concession areas or work beyond the concession holder's allocated concession area; or (3) hold a concession or take over a concession through force or other non-legal procedure.

Findings: According to the evidence gathered during the review, 12 of the 47 companies failed to comply with the defined threshold behavior criteria.

(3)

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Since 1985, concessions were basically allocated according to the needs of the administration in power and then informally canceled after each bout of civil instability and new concession allocated to suit the needs of the next Administration with little attention to identify the sustainable yield of the forest estate. This rapid allocation process started in 1985 and 1990 by the allocation of many concessions by the then head of state, Samuel Doe.

After the second conflict in 1993, the then Liberia National Transitional Government reallocated concessions whose holders admitted during concession review interviews that they could not follow the appropriate procurement procedures defined by the FDA because the prospective concession areas were still occupied by rebel troops. This suggests not only poor technical practice and negligence in land stewardship on the part of the FDA at the time, but also suggests concession holders were engaging in speculation because they were not able to complete required field surveys and mapping exercises, yet were content to sign onto concessions. The same concession holders never paid land taxes or the required performance bonds.

In 1997, the FDA embarked on an intensified process of allocating concessions. In addition to existing concessions, approximately 15 concessions in the form of quickly processed “salvage permits” with minimal obligations were allocated in one year. Normally, even a well-functioning FDA would not have the capacity to assist in managing, monitoring, and evaluating the allocation of that many permits in such a short period of time. This kind of excessive allocation also allows a tremendous influx of logging companies into the market without planning for any form of sustainable growth in the company. Improperly monitored and managed permits perpetuate incentives to over-harvest and reduce the long-term sustainable yield.

During 1998 and 1999, after former President Charles Taylor took office, there was another re-allocation process in which Taylor called concession holders to his office and dictated where they would work or not work. The objective was to re-align forest lands into several large concessions. That “Mega-Concession” policy allowed the inner circle of the country’s leadership to hand out concession rights to favored political cronies, militia leaders, and arms dealers. During this time period, neither communities nor the Liberia population as a whole were able to benefit from the export of their natural resources: less than 14% of all taxes assessed were actually paid into government accounts and used to fund constructive governmental functions and social development. Some concession holders during this period terrorized local communities and funneled their profits from resource exploitation into personal wealth and private militia. (See Section V. B. 2., above, for a discussion of the results of the analysis of the data under the concession review’s “threshold behavior” criteria.)

2. Land use planning and allocation processes:

Base on the difficulties encountered in the concession management and allocation cited in the brief historical account above, there are clear problems in the current concession allocation process. The FDA has allocated over 26 million acres of concessions during the last 25 years – the

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ANNEX 3

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Annex 3 – Defence Documents marked for identification and sought to be admitted by the Prosecution

MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
4	DCT-108 – (tab 5 in binder for week 30)- New African October 1992 Edition, Interview with Charles Taylor, leader of the NPFL & p. 16 of the same magazine – article entitled The Shame of ECOWAS	entire document	21/07/09, p. 24863 – 24896, 24902 23/11/09, p. 32301 – 32307 02/12/09, p. 32856 – 32862 14/01/10, p. 33293 - 33295	Relevant to issues in the case including: a. the use of child soldiers; b. the commission of widespread atrocities by the Accused's NPFL forces (according to journalist sympathetic to Accused). Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters.
8	DCT-131 – (tab 2 in binder of additional documents for	entire document	22/07/09, p. 24972 – 24983 17/11/09, p.	Relevant to issues in the case including: a. ability of ECOMOG and UN to carry out their missions in Liberia and corresponding lack of control or monitoring over conduct of Accused's forces

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
	week 30)- Seventh Progress Report of the Secretary General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia, S/1994/1167, 14 October 1994.		31841 – 31852	<p>b. conduct of Accused's subordinates including detention of UN observers and their mistreatment, looting of their equipment, failure to disarm in a timely manner, looting relief agencies' property</p> <p>c. NPFL's lack of commitment to peaceful settlement of conflict in Liberia and Accused's lack of commitment to democratic and free installation of government</p> <p>d. crimes against civilians</p> <p>e. importation of arms in violation of the embargo</p>
28	DCT-256 (tab 31 in binder 3 for week 31)- Presidential Papers	entire document if entire document not allowed, then cover page 113-114, 139, 155, 178, 181, 193, 198, 203-207, 218-220, 238-243, 266-268, 274-275, 289-290, 298,	28/07/09, p. 25364 – 25414, 25417 – 25420, 25430 – 25431, 25465 – 25468, 29/07/09, p. 25479 – 25507, 25513 – 25527, 25535 – 25538, 25555 – 25570, 25583 – 25599.	<p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters</p> <p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <p>a. Accused's trips after assuming the Presidency including 20 Sep 1997 to 3 October 1997 trip to South Africa Libya, Burkina Faso and other countries</p> <p>b. Dahkpannah title</p> <p>c. Accused's subordinates in Executive Branch</p> <p>d. Accused's colleagues and/or former subordinates in other branches of GoL and parastatals</p> <p>e. predominant natural resources of Liberia compared to other countries in the subregion</p>

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
	328-351		<p>30/07/09, p. 25637 – 25638, 25644 – 25645, 25695 - 25700</p> <p>03/08/09, p. 25799 – 25804, 25828 – 25829, 25835 – 25853, 25863 – 25872</p> <p>05/08/09, p. 25998 – 26002, 26016 – 26025, 26032, 26054 – 26060 – 26068, 26093, 26111 – 26126.</p> <p>06/08/09, p. 26133 – 26145, 26157, 26161 – 26167.</p>	Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
			31955 – 31958, 31968, 32033 – 32035.	
			19/11/09, p. 32130 – 32140	
57	DCT-170 (tab 26 of binder 3 for week 31) –	entire document	03/08/09, p. 25855 – 25863	Relevant to issues in the case including: a. notice of crimes committed against civilians by rebels in Sierra Leone

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
	Report dated 16 October 1998 of the Secretary General of the UN to the Security Council on the UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone. Portions of this document were admitted under Rule 92bis as P-306 as marked on the exhibit. The entire DCT-170 was marked for identification.	05/08/09, p. 25980 - 25981	b. deployment of UN in Sierra Leone c. ground situation in Sierra Leone including areas of control by rebels and pro government forces d. involvement of GoL with rebels in Sierra Leone e. Government of Sierra Leone focus on strengthening democratic control over reconstituted armed forces and restructuring of police force in line with standards of democratic societies as compared to failure of GoL to do these things even though both countries subjected to prolonged conflicts	Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters
70	DCT-48 – (tab 5 in binder 1 for week 32) – Outgoing Code Cable from	entire document Defence should be ordered to produce the two	10/08/09, p. 26319 – 26374 01/02/10, p. 34493	Relevant to issues in the case including: a. GoL involvement with rebels in Sierra Leone b. relationship between GoL and Government of Sierra Leone c. strength and location of ECOMOG in Liberia d. GoL control over checkpoints

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
	Downes- Thomas to the UN outlining withdrawal of ECOMOG troops from Liberia dated 30 January 1999.	missing pages of the document, pages 8 of 9 and 9 of 9		<p>e. implications of ECOMOG departure including concerns about negative effects of departure on security forces conduct</p> <p>f. human rights violations by members of GoL security forces</p> <p>g. relationship between ECOWAS and Liberia and Liberia's "pariah status" at time of the report</p> <p>h. RSG reporting and observations and UNOL activities</p> <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters</p>
75	DCT-99 – (tab 10 in binder 1 for week 32) – Letter from the President of Liberia Charles Taylor to the President of Sierra Leone Tejan Kabbah, 22 February 1999.	entire document	10/08/09, p. 26406 - 26413	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <p>a. The Accused's awareness of treaty obligation among Mano river states to arrest dissidents from other countries found in their territory,</p> <p>b. The Accused's admission that rather than arrest RUF found in Liberia, he provided them housing, offices and communications facilities.</p> <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters.</p>
78	DCT-177 – (tab 13 in binder 1 for	entire document	11/08/09, p. 26421 - 26444	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <p>a. A chronology of the Accused's purported efforts towards</p>

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
	week 32) – Statement setting out the measures taken by the Government of Liberia to dispel allegation regarding Liberia's support for the RUF/ Junta between May 1998 & February 1999			<p>dispelling allegations of supporting RUF/Junta, but no mention of his meetings with Bockarie in 1998 that Accused claims all parties were informed about.</p> <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters.</p>
80	DCT-142 – (tab 17 of binder 1 for week 32) – Fifth Report of the Secretary General of the UN Observer Mission in Sierra Leone, S/1999/237, 4 March 1999	entire document	11/08/09, p. 26456 - 26475	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. notice of crimes committed in Freetown by the rebel forces during the January 1999 attack, including scale of the atrocities committed b. notice of efforts by President Kabbah to seek UN assistance in exerting pressure on persons or entities supplying arms to the rebels to stop <p>Relevant to notice of crimes committed by rebels in Freetown during the January 6, 1999 invasion, and to JCE, as report does not distinguish between groups from the point of view of responsibility for these</p>

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
82	DCT-117 – (tab 19 in binder 1 for week 32) – Code cable from Downes- Thomas to Prendergast: Observations on Sierra Leone and Liberia dated 30 March 1999	entire document Defence should be ordered to provide missing pages 5 of 9 through 9 of 9	11/08/09, p. 26479 – 26499 05/11/09, p. 31229 - 31232 01/02/10, p. 34493 – 34495	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Bias and partiality of RSG Downes Thomas to the Accused and GoL necessitating an independent mission to determine situation in Liberia b. finding that the Accused was a business partner to Mr Radcliffe, a British diamond dealer – Red Deer incident c. Accused's links to RUF and AFRC including <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - early links to Sam Bockarie including finding that Sam Bockarie resided in Monrovia at the house of a Liberian Senator, Kpoto, before Bockarie relocated to Liberia - early links to Johnny Paul Koroma including finding that Johnny Paul Koroma's wife received money in Monrovia and must have or continued to live there (before March 1999) d. finding that arms and ammunition were being stockpiled at Yekepa and that such were intended for use by rebels in Sierra Leone. <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters</p>
89	DCT-21 - (tab 37 in binder 1 for week 32) –	entire document	12/08/09, p. 26609 - 26635	<p>Relevant to the issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. admission of responsibility for crimes committed in Freetown during the January 6 1999 invasion (Foday Sankoh's reference to

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
	Special ECOWAS Report on Successful peace talks in Lome		<p>President Kabbah fleeing State House when his men attacked it; Also Foday Sankoh's statement that there was no split within the ranks followed by jointly signed letter of support from Sam Bockarie and Johnny Paul Koroma)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> b. evidence of JCE for Freetown – re the January 6, 1999 invasion c. evidence Taylor-RUF/AFRC relationship in particular Taylor-Foday Sankoh (Taylor calls Foday Sankoh a “friend and brother” <p>Relevant to the Accused responsibility under JCE for Freetown</p>	
93	DCT-209 – (tab 42 in binder 1 for week 32) – Letter to President Bill Clinton from Lester Hyman dated 28 July 1999, regarding request to meet informally with Taylor during anticipated visit to Washington, DC by Taylor 15-	entire document	<p>12/08/09, p. 26653 – 26658 01/02/10, p. 34527 - 34528</p>	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. evidence of the Accused’s poor diplomatic relations with the US after 2 years in office arising from his unsatisfactory conduct at governance and his meddling in the Sierra Leone crisis <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused’s testimony and MFIs on these matters</p>

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
	19 September 1999			
95	DCT-168 – (tab 39 in binder 1 for week 32) – Invoice for purchase of satellite phone for Chairman Foday Sankoh dated 7 October 99 or 10 July 1999	entire document	12/08/09, p. 26660 - 26665	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. the Accused sending a satellite phone to Foday Sankoh after Lome; b. the Accused assisting the RUF; c. demonstrating that the RUF had means to communicate around the world such that there was no need for Accused to maintain the RUF "guesthouse" in Monrovia; other than as means to coordinate and control RUF forces. <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters.</p>
100	DCT-3 – (tab 21 in binder 1 for week 33) – Outgoing Code Cable from Downes-Thomas to Prendergast, dated 31 May 1999 on Situation	entire document	13/08/09, p. 26709 - 26723	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. "Liberia remains a source of mercenaries" b. lack of good governance, rule of law, protection of human rights during the Accused's term of leadership in that "grossly underpaid" personnel of the various security agencies, who were in fact were ex-combatants, would often, as their "modus operandi", resort to "violation of human rights" and engage in "unprofessional behaviour". <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these</p>

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
105	DCT-215 – (tab 49 in binder 1 for week 32) – Letter to General Yerks dated 8 September 1999 from Susan Rice, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, US Department of State	entire document	13/08/09, p. 26750-26759 19/11/09, p. 32153 – 32155 02/02/10, p. 34549 - 34550	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. General Yerks involvement in public relations and lobbying on behalf of GoL and Accused b. IMF recommended actions to increase possibility of international assistance to Liberia including compensation to Mobil Oil for losses suffered in 1996 <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters</p>
119	DCT-2 – (tab 68 in binder 2 for week 32) – Code cable from Downes-Thomas To Prendergast, UN dated 22	entire document	17/08/09, p. 26864-26879 02/02/10, p. 34581-34583	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. stopover visit of President Obasanjo at RIA b. Accused who concluded that Sam Bockarie would relocate to Liberia and informed President Obasanjo of this and sought funding for this c. timing of when decision conveyed that Sam Bockarie would come to Liberia

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
	December 1999, Discussion on Sierra Leone, Liberia-Guinea relations & MRU summit		d. relationship between Accused and Sam Bockarie e. President Obasanjo's appeal to the Accused to agree to Mano River Union (MRU) meeting proposed for Conakry – Accused's purported actions to effectuate lapsed MRU	Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters
121	DCT-16 – (tab 32 in binder 1 for week 33) – Note to Monie Captan, Minister of Foreign Affairs from the UN providing statistics on arms and ammunitions destroyed by the UN, ECOWAS and the Government of Liberia dated 5 January 2000	entire document	17/08/09, p. 26898-26903 18/11/09, p. 31963 20/01/10, p. 33770-33772	Relevant to issues in the case including: a. extent to which factions including the NPFL disarmed prior to the 1997 elections b. amount of weapons including heavy weapons destroyed in 1999 c. capacity of the Accused to carry out armed violence and intimidation against citizens of Liberia and to continue to supply arms and ammunition to the AFRC/RUF during this period. Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
126	DCT-166 – (tab 36 in binder 1 for week 33) – Code cable to Downes-Thomas from Prendergast dated 10 February 2000	entire document	17/08/09, p. 26941-26945 01/02/10, p. 34512	Relevant to issues in the case including: a. Accused being “agreeable to” as opposed to requesting, deployment of UN monitors on border b. UN response, asking for details of what the GoL wants the UN to do – relevant in context of delayed GoL response and equivocal and negative nature of that response set out in MFI 130 A, C Relevant to credibility of the Accused’s testimony and MFIs on these matters
128	DCT-50 – (tab 38 in binder 1 for week 33) – Final Communiqué of the Consultation meeting of the Heads of State of the Mano River Union dated 2 March 2000	First 5 pages of the document on which the Accused testified	17/08/09, p. 26954-26960	Relevant to credibility of the Accused’s testimony and MFIs on these matters
130	DCT-136 – (tab 41 in binder 1 for week 33) –	A and C	18/08/09 MFI 130 A – p. 26979-26982,	Relevant to issues in the case including: a. delayed GoL response and equivocal and negative nature of that response to UN requests for details of just what GoL wants UN to do re

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
	Outgoing Code cable: Proposed deployment of United Nations observers under Liberia-Sierra Leone border from Prendergast to Downes-Thomas dated 12 April 2000 (MFI 130 A); Code cable from Adeniji to Miyet / Prendergast dated 12 April 2000 (MFI 130 B); & Code cable from Downes-Thomas to Prendergast on the proposed deployment of United Nations observers on the Liberia-	26988	MFI 130 B – p. 26982-26984, 26988	deployment of UN observers on the border Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
	Sierra Leone border dated 14 April 2000 (MFI 130 C).			
131	DCT-245 – (tab 43 in binder 1 for week 33) – Unpublished report prepared on the crisis in Sierra Leone by Major-General Vijay Kuar Jetley dated May 2000	entire document	18/08/09, p. 26998-27017 05/11/09, p. 31233-31235	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <p>a. demonstrating that senior Nigerian officers in Sierra Leone were conniving with the RUF to facilitate the diamond trade, which is consistent with the Accused admissions that he bribed Nigerian officers in Liberia and also explains the Accused's preference for ECOMOG forces being deployed to diamond areas rather than UN forces under different command.</p>
134	DCT-195 – (tab 47 in binder 1 for week 33) – Letter from "Essa	entire document	18/08/09, p. 27036-27045 19/08/09, p.	<p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters.</p> <p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <p>a. Accused's control over Issa Sesay and rebels in Sierra Leone - letter supposedly written by Issa Sesay but misspelling his name and reflecting the Accused's positions on various subjects</p>

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
	"Seasay" dated 11 May 2000 to President Charles Taylor		27117-27118	Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters
138	DCT-63 - (tab 51 in binder 2 for week 33) – Press release dated 22 May 2000, by the President of Liberia, Ministry of State for Presidential Affairs	entire document	18/08/09, p. 27058-27061	Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters
144	DCT-118 - (tab 56 in binder 2 for week 33) – Letter from President of Liberia, Charles Taylor to President of Sierra Leone,	entire document	18/08/09, p. 27082-27093	Relevant to issues in the case including: a. arms, ammunition and equipment seized from UN Peacekeepers in Sierra Leone not returned as of date of letter b. Accused full awareness of travel ban on certain individuals in Sierra Leone and purported respect for and compliance with it - no indication of an agreement that Sam Bockarie or others could travel in violation of the ban c. indicative of difference of opinion on Sam Bockarie's status in

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
	Ahmed Tejan Kabbah dated 5 June 2000		Liberia and concerns on part of President Kabbah and others regarding activity of Sam Bockarie in Liberia d. Accused's purported willingness to arrange for Sam Bockarie's immediate return to Sierra Leone	Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters
153	DCT-13 – (tab 71 in binder 2 for week 33) – Letter from Thomas Pickering, Embassy of the United States to President of Liberia Taylor dated 9 August 2000	entire document	19/08/09, p. 27227-27231	Relevant to issues in the case including: a. CT and Liberian Govt officials involvement and/or support for RUF rebels in Sierra Leone in diamond dealing and gun running b. Formal notice of the US's conclusion about these matters being put directly to CT Relevant to credibility of Accused and his responsibility under 6.1 aiding and abetting
157	DCT-40 – (tab 67 in binder 2 of 4 for week 33) – President	cover page and page 14	19/08/09, p. 27247-27259 20/08/09, p.	Relevant to issues in the case including: a. Accused's opposition to trials for those suspected of derailing the peace process in Sierra Leone purportedly because premature – beneficial to rebels and to Accused

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
	Taylor's formula for peace in the Mano River Union, A Response to the Concerns of the International Community, dated 22 July 2000		27261-27269	<p>b. Accused's opposition to trials of leaders of warring factions purportedly because supporters still armed – beneficial to rebels</p> <p>c. Accused's support for cease fire and return original line as of signing of Lome Peace Agreement on 7 July 1999 – giving the rebels control of diamond mining areas in Sierra Leone</p> <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters</p>
160	DCT-35 – (tab 80 in binder 2 for week 33) - Guardian Newspaper article “Sierra Leone Peace Force Accused of Sabotage dated 9 September 2000”	entire document	20/08/09, p. 27280-27284	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <p>a. How senior Nigerian officers in Sierra Leone were colluding with the RUF to allow them to facilitate their diamond mining in return for large payments and explaining why the Accused preferred to deploy Nigerian forces in Sierra Leone to Kono district rather than other UN forces.</p> <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters</p>
161	DCT-159 – (tab 82 in binder 2 for	entire document	20/08/09, 27285-27295	Relevant to issues in the case including:

MFI NO.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
	week 33) – Outgoing Code Cable from Downes-Thomas to Prendergast, Liberia-Guinea Relations, 12 September 2000			<p>a. the correct dates for first three attacks from Guinea during Accused's Presidency: April 1999, August 1999 (Mosquito Spray attack) and July 2000 (note that the Accused has given different dates for these attacks during the course of his testimony for various reasons, for example: TT 30 September 2009, page 30028 the Accused attempted to impeach the testimony of TF1-334 (A.B. Sesay) who gave evidence that the Accused acknowledged assisting the Freetown invasion of 1999 by sending SLA soldiers back to Sierra Leone. The Accused claimed that TF1-334 (AB Sesay) could not have heard about the Mosquito Spray attack on the radio during the August 1999 visit of SLA's from Okra Hills because the Accused, falsely claimed, the Mosquito Spray attack was in 1998).</p> <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters.</p>
170	DCT- 128 – (tab 97 in binder 2 for week 33) – Outgoing Code cable from Downes-Thomas to Prendergast on Security Council	entire document	20/08/09, p. 27341-27376 01/12/09, p. 32741-32745	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <p>a. Accused's having known Foday Sankoh for periods that go beyond a decade</p> <p>b. Accused's emphasis that Lome agreement was to avoid question of trial for atrocities – showing Accused's opposition to trials for atrocities committed during the conflict – this reiterated by Accused's statement that he did not oppose trial of Foday Sankoh for "crimes committed after Lome" – beneficial to the rebels in Sierra Leone and to the Accused</p>

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
	Mission to Sierra Leone, (Liberia leg), dated 18 October 2000		<p>c. Accused's statement that he was not opposed to revisiting Lome, would welcome the opportunity to review Lome's provisions with a view to changing some of them, but that only those who negotiated Lome should take part in revisiting, no extraneous parties involved – beneficial to the Accused and the rebels in Sierra Leone</p> <p>d. Accused's admission that the NPFL had bought many of its weapons from the peacekeepers during the Liberian conflict – shows could bribe ECOMOG to sell weapons</p> <p>e. Accused's expressed opposition to ongoing efforts of British to train SLA, to limit UNAMSIL mission in Sierra Leone , to have ECOWAS forces under UNAMSIL take control over the diamond areas – all measures to benefit the rebels in Sierra Leone and the Accused and to limit the ability of the Government of Sierra Leone to create a trained army</p>	Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters
196	DCT-125 – (tab 107 in binder 3 for week 33) – AllAfrica.com News Article, "ECOWAS asks	entire document	27/08/09, p. 27859-27870	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <p>a. GoL taking measures to end its links with RUF and taking more measures in next few weeks to do this – has links up to this time</p> <p>b. ECOWAS not opposed to sanctions against Liberia but asking for a delay to allow Liberia to show its commitment to end its support for the RUF</p>

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	"UN to delay sanctions to Liberia" dated 13 February 2001			Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters
204	DCT-253 – (tab 116 in binder 3 for week 33) – Communiqué issued by the Joint GOSL/RUF/UNA MSL Committee on Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration dated 10 August 2001	entire document	27/08/09, p. 27952	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. As of 10 August 2001 – about one year after Issa Sesay took over as Interim Leader of the RUF, disarmament not complete in Kono District, nor in Koinadugu District, and no mention of disarmament even having begun in Kailahun District <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters</p>
208	DCT-72 – (tab 120 in binder 3 for week 33) – Communiqué issued by Joint GOSL/	entire document	31/08/09, p. 28024	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. process of disarmament in Sierra Leone while Issa Sesay was Interim leader of the RUF – extent and timing of disarmament. b. Concern that the undertaking by CDF and RUF leaders to inform their combatants clearly on agreed criteria for disarmament has not fully been discharged – willingness to disarm

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
	RUF/UNAMSIL Committee on Disarmament, Demobilization, and reintegration dated 8 November 2001		c. factors hampering the smooth progress of the DDR, including alleged ceasefire violations and the reestablishment of checkpoints by the factions – unwillingness to disarm and demobilize.	Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters
228	DCT-260 – (tab 6 in binder 1 of 4 for week 33) – UN Security Council Resolution 788, S/RES/788, 10 November 1992	entire document	07/09/09, p. 28216	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. embargo on import of weapons and war materials into Liberia – framework for Accused's violations of embargo – covert nature of importation b. deteriorating security situation in Liberia due to failure of parties to respect or implement the various accords including Yamassoukro IV – NPFL not committed to peaceful, democratic resolution of conflict c. ability of ECOMOG to carry out its mandate including armed attacks on Peacekeepers, enabling factions to move freely and import arms and war materials <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters</p>
231	DCT-279 – (tab 3 in binder for	only the decision regarding the	07/09/09, p. 28226-28234	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. extension of the scope of activity and mandate of ECOMOG to

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
	week 34) – Selected Documents from the Official Journal of ECOWAS Volume 33, August 1997	extension of the scope of ECOMOG mandate and activity	cover Sierra Leone	Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters
233	DCT-234 – (tab 12 in binder 1 for week 33) – Second Report of the ECOWAS Committee of Five on Sierra Leone to the UN Security Council pursuant to Resolution 1132 (1997), dated December 1997	entire document	07/09/09, p. 28238-28258	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. background information as to the relationship between the Junta government in Sierra Leone and the seat of power in Liberia b. concern that Junta delaying disarmament c. Junta demand for immediate release of Foday Sankoh – combined RUF and ex SLA demand d. relationship between leader of the AFRC and the RUF e. Junta concerns re composition of ECOMOG reflecting concerns the Accused voiced often in re ECOMOG in Liberia f. allegation that ECOMOG supporting the Kamajors reflecting the Accused's allegations on this issue <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters</p>

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234	DCT-270 – (tab 13 in binder 1 for week 33) – UN Security Council Resolution 1156, S/RES/1156, 16 March 1998	entire document	07/09/09, p. 28261-28262 21/01/10, p. 33930-33931	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. the status of the sanctions against SL after the reinstatement of the Kabbaah government and b. the appropriateness of the use of force to reinstate the Kabbaah government in that there is no condemnation of the ECOMOG intervention but rather the UNSC Resolution welcomes the return of the democratically elected government. <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters</p>
235	DCT-283 – (tab 7 in binder for week 34) – Sierra Leone Web News archive, Statement by James Rubin, Spokesman for the US Department of State, dated 12 May 1998	entire document	08/09/09, p. 28273-28280	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. notice of crimes, campaign of terror against civilians by RUF and military Junta, "rebels", b. notice of existence of "rumors" of assistance to RUF and ex junta forces by other governments and that any such government or party helping rebels to "prolong the tragedy in Sierra Leone" will face strongest condemnation by United States and the international community <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters</p>

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237	DCT-280 – (tab 4 in binder for week 34) – Selected documents from Official Journal of ECOWAS Volume 35, October 1998	cover page and pages 39 – 50, Agreement Relating to the Status of ECOMOG in Liberia	08/09/09, p. 28287-28305 02/02/10, p. 34564-34571	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. scope of operations of ECOMOG in Liberia as of and after 5 June 1998, including limitations on its operation and requirements for notice to the Government of Liberia (GoL) <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters</p>
238	DCT-281 – (tab 5 in binder for week 34) - Selected documents from Official Journal of ECOWAS Volume 36, August 1999	cover page and pages 2-3	08/09/09, p. 28306-28312	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. extended ECOMOG activity and mandate to cover Sierra Leone and reporting authority for Force Commander <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters</p>
253	DCT-314 – (tab 29 in binder for week 35) – Code	Report of the Opposition parties Delegation	09/09/09, p. 28418	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. problems related to status of good governance, sustaining democracy, transparency, accountability, rule of law in Liberia, including

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
	Cable from Downes-Thomas dated 29 June 1999 attaching Report of the Opposition parties Delegation and a Joint Communiqué issued by Obasanjo and Taylor of 25 June 1999		conduct of security forces and need to restructure security apparatus b. September 18 th (1998) incident (also known as Camp Johnson Road incident) c. Liberia's continued support to RUF d. relationship of all these factors to international assistance	Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters
276	DCT-184 (tab 7 in binder 1 for week 31) – ECOWAS Official Journal Vol. 22, (Special Edition) 1997	entire document	04/11/09, p. 31196-31197 16/11/09, p. 31780-31786; 17/11/09, p. 31802-31816	Relevant to issues in the case including: a. agreements, Decisions, communiqués relating to conflict in Liberia from 27 July 1992 through 27 July 1996, including conduct of the NPFL, sanctions to include establishment of a war crimes tribunal, fighting between factions beginning on 6 April 1996, status and operations of ECOMOG in Liberia

MFI No.	TITLE	SPECIFIC PORTIONS FOR TENDER	TRANSCRIPT REFERENCE(S) TO PARTS USED WITH WITNESS	ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF ADMISSION
			14/01/10, p. 33316 20/01/10, p. 33750-33752; 21/01/10, p. 33808-33809	matters
293 B	DCT-347 – (tab 4 in binder for week 37) – Bijlage 004: Notes of meeting 5 September 2002.	MFI 293 B only	09/11/09, page 31466	<p>Relevant to issues in the case including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Payment of money from logging to Head of the UN in Liberia and access to handpicked girls by senior UN people b. Foreign bank accounts including in Burkina Faso and Switzerland c. weapons imports into the country including by sea d. involvement in diamond transactions e. involvement with close associates in diamonds, cash from logging, weapons transactions and foreign bank accounts <p>Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters.</p>

MFI No.	Title	Specific Portions for Tender	Transcript Reference(s) to Parts Used with Witness	Arguments in Support of Admission
297	DCT-119 – (tab 132 in binder 3 for week 33) – Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, Ambassador Olu Adeniji to Mr. Charles Taylor dated 11 August 2003	entire document	10/11/09, p. 31527 16/11/09, p. 31666-31667 01/12/09, p. 32819-32820.	Relevant to issues in the case including: a. conditions and limitations on the Accused stay in Nigeria characterized by Government of Nigeria as asylum Relevant to credibility of the Accused's testimony and MFIs on these matters and regarding concerns of interference in other countries in the sub-region and of various forms of interference with government and conduct of affairs in Liberia