

**SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE**  
PRESS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE

**PRESS CLIPPINGS**

**Enclosed are clippings of the latest local and international press on the Special Court and related issues obtained by the Press and Public Affairs Office as of:**

Friday, May 21, 2004

The press clips are produced Monday to Friday.  
If you are aware of omissions or have any comments or suggestions please contact  
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The New Citizen

Friday May 21, 2004

# NIGERIAN LAW FIRM DEMANDS US\$ 10M FROM SPECIAL COURT JUDGE

A firm of Nigerian Lawyers, Bayo Ojo and Company, has given notice to Sierra Leone's Special Court President for Appeal Chambers, Geoffrey Robertson, claiming damages and demanding an apology for a book written by the judge in which he mentioned ex-President Charles Taylor in a negative light.

The letter written to the Special Court judge was signed by Chief Bayo Ojo and addressed to Judge Robertson's London

address, 10-11 Doherty Street.

The Nigerian lawyers are attempting to re-awake an earlier allegation that Geoffrey Robertson had written a book entitled, *Crimes against Humanity - a struggle for global justice* in which it is alleged that the Judge had written among other things, "when Sierra Leone, a West African coastal state was granted independence from Great Britain in 1961, its population of

4.5 million had enjoyed comparative peace and prosperity. Largely thanks to its diamond mines, corruption soon took its toll of elected politicians and series of army coups were interspersed with the raids on the diamond mines by a break away Sierra Leone army faction, led by Corporal Foday Sankoh, operating from neighbouring Liberia. Styled the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) it recruited gangs of violent dispossessed youths and armed them with

AK47s for their missions of pillage and rape and diamond heisting. The RUF had no political agenda, its sponsor was Charles Taylor, Liberia's vicious warlord."

The Nigerian Firm of Lawyers, Bayo Ojo and Company insists that the publication attributed to Geoffrey Robertson has had the effect of lowering the reputation of Charles Taylor in the eyes of right-minded persons in numerous countries.

The Nigerian lawyers also in-

sist that the publication was untrue and defamatory of the person of Charles Taylor for reasons, which the lawyers enumerated as follows:

That Charles Taylor was not a member of the RUF and did not sponsor the RUF.

Secondly, Charles Taylor is not a vicious warlord in the Republic of Liberia and thirdly, the publication had done serious damage to Charles Taylor's standing throughout the Liberian com-

munity, the Republics of Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana, other African states and in a number of other countries as well.

The lawyers who have their offices in Suite 4 Pent House, Stallion House, 2 Ajose Adeogun, Victoria Island, Lagos insist that their client, Charles Taylor could not be responsible for the atrocities which Mr. Robertson had narrated in his book.

The firm, Bayo Ojo and Co.

**CONT. BACK PAGE**

**From page 1**

## SPECIAL COURT JUDGE

further states that Judge Geoffrey Robertson publishes an unqualified apology to Charles Taylor regarding the publication in *Crimes against humanity - a struggle for global justice* and that the unqualified apology should be published in at least two of the next issues of both the London Daily Times and Daily Telegraph newspapers respectively after Geoffrey Robertson's receipt of the letters from the lawyers.

But the lawyers also insist that apart from the apology that should be written by Geoffrey Robertson QC, the Judge should also pay a substantial compensation of damages to the tune

of US\$10 million for what the lawyers describe as defamatory libelous publication against Charles Taylor.

Chief Bayo Ojo warned that if Geoffrey Robertson QC, who is now attached with the Special Court as President to the Appeals Chamber, does not compensate Charles Taylor, legal proceedings would commence against the judge without further recourse to Geoffrey Robertson.

Charles Taylor, former president of the Republic of Liberia, was indicted by Sierra Leone's Special Court for war crimes and still re-

mains an indictee even though he is in exile in the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Earlier, Judge Geoffrey Robertson of the Special Court had been challenged by lawyers that he had taken a position even before he took up the Special Court job which led to a court ruling allowing him to retain his position but not to preside over matters relating to those people allegedly mentioned in his book. Whether the present action by Bayo Ojo and Co. will lead to any positive dividend in favour of Charles Taylor is still to be seen.

# Le 300 million for kamajors!

*Kabbah's 1997 letter equates CDF with police*

Over 300 million leones was authorised for financial support for the CDF in a two month period from November 1996 to January 1997.

According to documents now in our possession President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah personally authorised this expenditure.

Extracts from president Kabbah's letter (published below) show that the president felt that it was "*as important to provide logistics support to the Kamajors as we do for the police*".

The letter may be tendered as part of Chief Sam Hinga-Norman's defence in his pending trial before the Special Court.

**From: President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah**

**To: Vice President Albert Demby... 31/1/1997**

## REQUEST FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE KAMAJORS

Back in early November, 1996, government provided an amount of Le 140,000.00 (One Hundred and Forty Million Leones) in support of the kamajors and also in response to the Minute dated 7th November, 1996, addressed to me by Capt. (Rtd) S. H. Norman,

Deputy Minister of Defence. Earlier this week, I received another minute from the Deputy Minister of Defence dated 22nd January, 1997, requesting an additional amount of Le 150,000,000.00 (One Hundred and Fifty Million Leones) for the period up to 31st March, 1997, in order to meet expenses related to logistics, carriages, transportation, etc. In other words, the present request will cover just over two months' requirements.

As you know, the maintenance of peace, security and stability must remain our most important pre-occupations as a government. Against this background therefore, I am prepared to continue to support any reasonable request that will achieve those objectives.

*cont. back page*

Peep!

Friday May 21, 2004

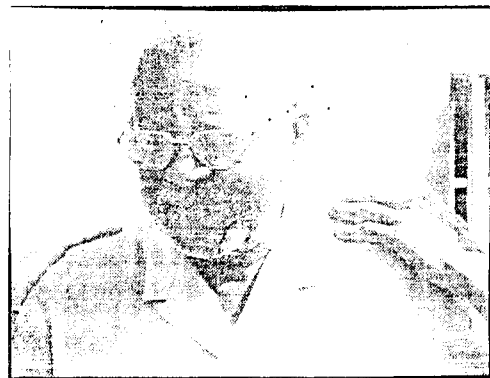
## Kabbah and the CDF...from page 2

Perhaps more fundamentally and as a follow-up to my address to the Armed Forces last Friday during the Myohaung Day Celebrations, I would also see advantages in relating the procurement of ammunitions as well as providing logistics support for Kamajor activities

to what we do for the Police Force. As you know, the decision is to link the operations of the Kamajors with those of the police, since both groups are involved with the maintenance of internal security. I believe this approach will allow for a more structured expenditure pattern in support of the Kamajors. I thought I should bring these concerns to your attention, since what is involved is essentially extra budgetary expenditure, vital as it clearly is, for the maintenance of security.

I would suggest that we discuss this in the next day or two in order to agree on a possible way forward.

Alhaji Dr. Ahmad Tejan Kabbah  
president of the Republic of Sierra Leone



*is Hinga Norman the fall-guy?*

The Democrat

Friday May 21, 2004

## Kamajoh Causes Mayhem As

# Tension Mounts In Kenema

M.B Daramy: SLPP Kenema  
District Chairman



**Former Kamajoh administrator, Arthur Koroma has taken delight in physically assaulting people with impunity. Independent candidates and chiefs in Kenema are among his latest victims.**

After physically assaulting runner in the Kenema Town Council Chairmanship race, Chief Benson Suwu, front

Arthur Koroma is said to have threatened to bastardize all opponents of the SLPP who have defected from the party 'with the aim of' upsetting it at the polls.

Our Kenema correspondent says there is heightened tension in the township. Organized intimidation from the ruling SLPP, especially against independent candidates, has been reported. Arthur Koroma is alleged to have beaten the former Regional Police Commissioner, Stevens. He now openly boasts that if he could beat a whole senior police officer and go away with it, who are opposition elements?

Chief Benson Suwu however told our Kenema reporter that he was not beaten as was reported in the local press earlier this week. The man popularly believed to be the next Kenema Town Council Chairman said he immediately reported the unfortunate incident to the Kenema police who are presently investigating.

Arthur Koroma and his group of thugs allegedly prevented Chief Suwu from gaining access into the SLPP Hangha Road Kenema headquarters.

Local SLPP stalwarts are angered over the brilliant showing of SLPP

independent candidates, accusing them of working with the opposition APC.

Residents of Kenema have since protested to President Tejan Kabbah and VP Solomon Berewa. Vice President Berewa is reported to have made several attempts to diffuse the tension. The people of Kenema say no political intimidation, violence or thuggery will deter them.

Source: [News & Business](#) > [News](#) > **News, Most Recent 90 Days (English, Full Text)** 

Terms: **liberia; rule out pardon for war criminals amnesty international recommends** ([Edit Search](#))

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*Africa News May 20, 2004 Thursday*

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Africa News

**May 20, 2004 Thursday**

**LENGTH:** 284 words

**HEADLINE:** **Liberia;**  
**Rule Out Pardon for War Criminals Amnesty Int'l Recommends**

**BYLINE:** The NEWS

**BODY:**

London-based **Amnesty International** says the Transitional Government should **rule** out the possibility of any amnesty for crimes against humanity, **war** crimes and other serious violations of international law.

**Amnesty International** urged the Transitional Government to work with the civil society and the international community to bring those alleged to be responsible for the crimes to justice.

At the same time, Amnesty says commanders of warring factions should be instructed to release immediately all children associated with their forces.

The group cautioned the factions to ensure that all children in their ranks benefit from the DDRR process.

Amnesty recommended that the international community should commit sufficient funds to the DDRR of child soldiers.

The human rights group proposed that the use of children under 18 years as combatants should be condemned and priority given to their disarmament and demobilization.

It suggested that the National Commission on Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation and Reintegration should ensure that the specific provisions made in the DDRR program for former child soldiers are fully implemented.

These were Amnesty's recommendations contained in a paper titled, "**Liberia:** The promises of Peace for 21,000 Child Soldiers".

The group urged the National Transitional Government of **Liberia** to prioritize the rehabilitation of schools, to improve access to basic education and to encourage vocational training.

"No child under the age of 18 years should be recruited into the new armed forces. Legislation making 18 years the minimum age for military recruitment should be enacted and strictly enforced," Amnesty maintained.

**LOAD-DATE:** May 20, 2004

Friday, May 21, 2004, 12:00 A.M. Pacific

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## U.S. seeks further exemption from war-crimes court

By Edith M. Lederer  
*The Associated Press*

UNITED NATIONS — The United States wants to extend the exemption of U.S. peacekeepers from international prosecution, but human-rights groups said yesterday that the prisoner-abuse scandal shows America needs global oversight.

The Bush administration argues that the world's first permanent war-crimes tribunal — which was established on July 1, 2002, and started operating last year — could be used for frivolous or politically motivated prosecution of American troops.

The Security Council planned to meet today to give member states a chance to express their views, and diplomats predicted a vote afterward on a U.S. resolution to extend the exemption granted last year.

The United States initially sought a permanent exemption for American peacekeepers. But facing strong opposition last year, it settled for a one-year exclusion. It also applied to other countries that have not ratified the Rome treaty establishing the International Criminal Court.

### Criminal court nations

The International Criminal Court, which is opposed by the United States, is the first permanent world tribunal set up to prosecute individuals for war crimes, genocide and other gross human-rights violations, and has begun functioning in the Hague, Netherlands. A total of 94 countries to date have ratified a 1998 treaty:

Albania, Afghanistan, Andorra, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia, Botswana, Brazil, Britain, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Canada, Central African Republic, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cyprus, Democratic Republic of the Congo,

Besides seeking the exemption extension, Washington has signed bilateral agreements with 89 countries that bar any prosecution of American officials by the court and is seeking more such treaties.

The court's supporters and human-rights groups argue that nobody should be exempt from prosecution for war crimes, especially in light of the allegations of torture and abuse by U.S. soldiers at Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad, Iraq.

"The U.N. Security Council should not grant special favors to any country, including the United States," said Richard Dicker, director of the International Justice program at Human Rights Watch.

Richard Grenell, spokesman for the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, said that the U.S. concern about the court "in no way reflects any lack of determination to ensure that perpetrators of crimes are fully prosecuted."

"We feel that this court lacks sufficient democratic safeguards that would prevent politicized investigations and prosecutions," he said.

U.S. Deputy Ambassador James Cunningham told the council Wednesday before introducing the exemption resolution that the "shameful acts" committed by U.S. forces against Iraqi detainees would be punished.

Human Rights Watch said the U.S. government wanted to push the resolution through as quickly as possible so the contentious issue would not overshadow U.S. efforts to get Security Council backing for a resolution on issues related to the transfer of sovereignty to an interim Iraqi government on June 30.

Last year, the resolution to exempt U.S. peacekeepers was adopted by a vote of 12-0 with three abstentions — France, Germany and Syria.

Dicker said growing opposition to the resolution will be reflected in an increase in abstentions over last year.

"Last year," he said, "it was more of an abstract question. But this year, with the prisoner-abuse scandal in Iraq, it takes on a more sinister meaning."

The 94 countries that have ratified the 1998 Rome Treaty, which created the court — including all 15 European Union members — maintain it contains enough safeguards to prevent frivolous prosecutions.

Congo Republic, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, East Timor, Ecuador, Estonia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Georgia, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, South Korea, Latvia, Lesotho, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Malawi, Mali, Malta, Marshall Islands, Mauritius, Mongolia, Namibia, Nauru, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Romania, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, San Marino, Senegal, Serbia and Montenegro, Sierra Leone, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Uruguay, Venezuela and Zambia.

**Reuters**

The court will prosecute cases of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity committed after July 1, 2002, but will step in only when countries are unwilling or unable to dispense justice themselves.

When the court was established, the United States threatened to end far-flung peacekeeping operations established or authorized by the United Nations if it didn't get an exemption for American peacekeepers.

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## **30,000 Combatants Disarmed, UN Amb. Says Peace Process On Course**

**The NEWS** (Monrovia)

NEWS

May 20, 2004

Posted to the web May 20, 2004

By Sheriff Adams

Monrovia

The head of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), Ambassador Jacques Klein, has said that more than 30,000 combatants have so far been disarmed since the disarmament process began about five months ago. Ambassador Klein also said more than two million ammunition rounds have been collected and destroyed.

The retired American Airforce General spoke Wednesday at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs when he addressed a special lecture series and discussion on International Affairs organized by the Foreign Service Institute there and funded by the UNDP. Ambassador Klein told the gathering of Liberian diplomats and Foreign Service students that he is of the belief that UNMIL would collect more weapons in Liberia than in neighboring Sierra Leone. The United Nations Secretary General Special Representative spoke on the topic, "The Relevance and Contributions of UNMIL to Peace and Security in the West African Sub-region".

Accordingly, he said although the disarmament process was on a relatively good pace, he was concerned about achieving his mandate, which includes principally making Liberia a gun free society. "We have collected more weapons in Liberia than in Sierra Leone we hope to collect all of the weapons and make Liberia a weapon free society," the UNMIL boss said. Ambassador Klein informed the gathering that the full deployment of the 15,000 United Nations troops would seal up Liberia's borders with neighboring countries. He also said UNMIL was repairing 32 roads and bridges in leeward communities. On the medical front, Amb. Klein said Pakistani troops were providing free medical services to more than 11,000 Liberians. Asked specifically about the expiration of his mandate, Amb. Klein said the UN has mandated him to ensure that the country is free of weapons, security is reformed and established and elections are held in 2005.

The Senior UN official also spoke of reforming the judiciary and paying staff attractively for the two years period to help avoid what he called, "little things that undermine the

justice system." He foresees that his mandate could probably be extended beyond the 2005 elections. Ambassador Klein said he had been a diplomat for 32 years. He urged the Foreign Service students to defend the policy of the State, warning that, "if your are a diplomat playing politics, you'll loose your credibility."

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*Africa News May 18, 2004 Tuesday*

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Africa News

**May 18, 2004 Tuesday**

**LENGTH:** 1069 words

**HEADLINE:** Liberia;

Restorative And Retributive Justice: Where do we stand?

**BYLINE:** The Analyst

**BODY:**

It was a silent Thursday afternoon when few of my cousins and I decided to return home from Kakata, Margibi County. We had spent almost five months in that part of the country during the 1990 crisis. The journey was long but we were convinced that getting to town would have made up for all of our weariness.

Then, upon our arrival at the Bensonville check- point, the guide- post commander who later named himself as "Dead body bone" called me from the line.

Actually he was dressed in an old military camouflage, and I sensed that he was just as young as I was. However, and for no apparent reason, he accused me of being a conniver (a term regularly used during the **war** days) and later ordered his men to give me twenty- five lashes on my bare butt. With my buttocks covered with sores, I was kicked into an old house considered as a jail. I was later released when my cousins paid almost one- hundred Liberian dollars to the young and self-proclaimed commando.

Two years later, I came across this young man in down town Monrovia and the thought of what he did to me in Bensonville flashed like a lightening. My soul was overwhelmed with vengeance and to do justice was ticking on my mind. As I drew closer with intent to hit him in the face, a small voice inside held me in check. What will it profit you to repay evil for evil the voice said quietly? You could have killed him with a single slap it echoed. Demoralized by this conviction, I only looked him in the face and with a forced smile, said welcome to Monrovia my man and walked away peacefully while feeling sorry for myself.

Since the end of hostilities and the induction of the Transitional Government last year, there has been many views regarding restorative and retributive justice.

These two schools of thought are at variance with one another in that vengeance and **pardon** are unparallel in this discourse.

There are those who are hurting from wounds inflicted by the ripple effect of the crisis, and to add insult to injury, the perceived perpetrators continue to masquerade the streets of the city in pomp and boisterousness. More besides, the correlations of these incidences of violence and the need to seek redress in whatsoever manner have trickled down a form of enemy image thereby creating a defender- aggressor situation.

Retributive justice is paying back, bringing or inflicting punishment in return for some evil.

Retribution is another form of settling of scores where the perceived offenders or **criminals** are made to suffer for all the pain they caused, and the rest of us (the offended) feel good and happy about it.

Retribution never brings peace. It only brings revenge... and the cycle continues forever. It only brings reprisal by the victim's family or friends.

"Retributive justice" is when the state gets your revenge for you. Retribution is when someone gets what he deserves at last. What is actually gained in this situation, justice or peace?

Retribution is justice by law in that the offended can use legal means to seek redress against the perceived offender. It involves adjudication and arbitration.

Retributive justice does not think about the future.

It demands justice in the present by using the law as its basis. Embedded in retributive justice is the concept of zero- sum thinking. Retributive justice asks: What law was broken? Who broke it? What is the punishment to be?

Unlike the story of my encounter with the guard- post commander in the early part of the 90s, one of my personal friends had had a different experience. He recalls that in July of 1993 he witnessed an incident in which a man believed to be a former combatant was mobbed to death in the Duala market area.

According to information gathered, the family that carried out the day light mob action was once upon a time victimized by the former combatant in the early 1990 along the Bomi highway. The story goes to say that he (combatant) willfully raped and killed their little sister in their presence. All attempts at begging him to spare the life of little Georgina proved futile as the devil inspired him to kill their fourteen-year-old sister. Retributive justice can sometimes take the form of jungle justice wherein aggrieved families see the law as a secondary subject.

"Restorative justice" on the other hand, needs to occur when we continue to live with one another as a people. Restorative justice is forgiveness and peace.

It is what scholars in the field of peace and conflict resolution consider as "Christi Peace", the peace of God that passes all understanding. Restorative justice is peace through compromise using problem- solving methodology. This kind of justice restores community and heals the broken- hearted. It rebuilds and reconstructs community in a new way. It changes things. It makes neighbors out of enemies.

The community is given a new life; we might say a "resurrected" life. Restorative justice is synonymous to a win- win scenario; the victim and the accused can put the cruel past behind them and move forward.

Restorative justice can come about when the offender is prepared to take full responsibility for the harm done to the community: Full disclosure with openness, and a willingness to repent. Restorative justice asks: What harm was done? What needs to be done to repair the harm? Who is responsible for repairing the harm?

Basically, my intent is not to exhibit any form of bias in this paper but to allow you the reader to underline what form of justice is needed during this passing period. What we must also understand is that most of those who bruised our families and seized or destroyed our properties are at the helm of power; something that makes any form of redress a bit

difficult.

Should we bring the perpetrators to book while they roam the city or should we forgive them so that tomorrow we can all do business and live together as a family? Is it really decent to live in the same community and do business with a person that did you mass wrong in the past; say killed or raped your child or you yourself? By all account does the offended party really feel satisfied after a punishment - say the death penalty or life imprisonment is handed down against the guilty? These questions seem difficult to answer in light of where we find ourselves today, but be that as it may, it is only appropriate to ask which side do you support?

**LOAD-DATE:** May 18, 2004

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Conference - Oil and Gas in Africa

24th - 25th May 2004

Chatham House, London

## Don't Give Credence to Threats, LURD Chairman Tells Liberians

**The Analyst** (Monrovia)

NEWS

May 20, 2004

Posted to the web May 20, 2004

Monrovia

The National Chairman of the rebel Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) is calling on all peace-loving Liberians not to give credence to the recent threats by those he referred to as "some LURD executives" over the removal of Finance Minister, Lusinee Kamara.

In a release issued last evening, he indicated that such threats will not cause the organization to stop cooperating with the NTGL and UNMIL in their quest to bring lasting peace to war-torn Liberia.

Speaking from London in a telephone interview, the LURD Chairman said the movement stands by pledge to the Liberian people that it would do nothing to disrupt the disarmament process in keeping with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).

He said, despite the "24-hour ultimatum" given by some LURD executives, the movement was still committed to the peace process and will never engage any acts that could derail the process.

"The international community has done so much to bring peace to this war-ravaged country. No warring faction members should engage in acts that have the propensity to jeopardize the peace process," he noted.

According to him, as long as LURD has announced to the International community that it was committed fully to the process, it stands by said pronouncement.

## Security Council urged to consider how UN missions can operate across borders

*20 May 2004* – With today's conflicts sparking huge flows of terrified civilians and armed militia moving across borders, the head of the United Nations refugee agency today urged the Security Council to develop a "cross-border peacekeeping" formula for UN missions operating in war zones.

Briefing the Council in an [open meeting](#), UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Ruud Lubbers drew attention to the humanitarian crises in Darfur, Sudan, and parts of West Africa as examples of how lines of conflict frequently run across state boundaries. Conflicts that generate refugee movements inevitably involve neighbouring states, he said, noting the impact of forced displacement on regional stability.

Given the nature of conflicts today, greater attention must be devoted to finding a formula for peacekeeping missions that operated in cross-border situations, where appropriate and where endorsed by the affected governments, he said.


All too often, conflicts became regional but the response remained country-based; Chad was a good example, he said. While spotlighting West Africa's troubled Mano River region, with a near-constant cross-border flow of arms and rebel groups that often circulated among its many refugee camps, Mr. Lubbers was greatly concerned by the current situation in Sudan and the spill-over effect on Chad.

In southern Sudan, encouraging peace talks have increased hopes for the return of 60,000 Sudanese refugees currently exiled in neighbouring countries, he said. "Yet those developments were increasingly overshadowed by the situation in Darfur" in the west, where at least a million people have been displaced as a direct result of government-allied Arab militia's campaign of violence against the black African population.

And while [UNHCR](#) is working with partners to assist affected populations in and around Darfur to create the conditions for their eventual return, Mr. Lubbers said he feared that if the situation did not improve, "We will see further refugee flows into Chad...where the humanitarian situation is [equally] appalling."


Mr. Lubbers said the concept of multidimensional peace operations had worked well in Afghanistan and Sierra Leone and was coming together in Liberia, despite the enormous challenges placed upon the UN mission there. In cross-border conflict zones, the critical factor would be to determine the conditions for the safe and sustainable return of refugees their homes, he emphasized. "Peacekeeping alone can not sustain peace; it can only create the space in which peace may be built," he said.

The Council's influence and ability to take decisive political action was critical in helping to avert humanitarian catastrophe, Mr. Lubbers said. It was important that the Council continue to provide leadership and direction in bringing together the different domains of the United Nations system. He said he hoped that continued cooperation between the various UN missions in West Africa on a number of cross-border issues could be now developed into a broader strategy for the future.

 **Video of Council meeting** [1hr 58mins]





 Email this document

Source: UN Secretary-General  
Date: 20 May 2004

## **With return of peace, time had come for Mano River Union countries to accelerate development, Secretary-General tells Conakry summit**

SG/SM/9318, AFR/937

Following is Secretary-General Kofi Annan's message to the Summit of Heads of State of the Mano River Union, delivered today in Conakry, Guinea, by Daudi Ngelautwa Mwakawago, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Sierra Leone and Chief of Mission:

It gives me great pleasure to send my greetings to this important Summit meeting.

The Mano River Union (MRU) figures prominently on the agenda of the United Nations, especially within the framework of efforts to restore durable peace and security to Liberia and Sierra Leone. At the height of its deployment, the UN Mission in Sierra Leone was the large peacekeeping operation in the world. With UNAMSIL's ongoing drawdown, Liberia now has the largest United Nations peacekeeping operation. The United Nations is also in the process of deploying a force of 6,000 to Côte d'Ivoire to assist the Ivorian parties in implementing the Linas-Marcoussis Agreement. Our humanitarian personnel are present throughout the region, helping you cope with the tremendous burden of refugees and displaced persons. Our development agencies continue to support your efforts to promote better standards of living. And we are also working closely with MRU leaders and the MRU Secretariat to reactivate the Union itself.

Your region has suffered greatly from war, deprivation and misrule. Your people yearn for peace and stability, for democracy, and for an environment in which their talents and energies can be channelled towards the essential work of socio-economic development. As peace is being consolidated in Sierra Leone and gradually restored to Liberia, the time has come for the leaders of the Mano River Union to exercise the necessary political will to accelerate the development of their countries, to cut off the flow of small arms and light weapons, to curtail the use of child soldiers, to stop the smuggling of goods and the trafficking of drugs and people, and to address, decisively, the culture of impunity. Trans-border collaboration, including border patrols, could be very effective and should be given due consideration. Cooperation should also be intensified in other areas of common concern, such as building roads, transport and communication infrastructure, thereby fostering trade and investment and opening up avenues for employment, development and mutual trust.

The Mano River Union is blessed with fertile soil, rich forests and mineral resources, and an abundance of water, rivers and streams. If adequately harnessed, these assets could make the subregion the breadbasket of ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) countries. Indeed, the MRU could become the engine of growth for the West African region as a whole. Your region also boasts an active civil society. In this connection, I would like to pay special tribute to the Mano River Women's Peace Network for their relentless efforts to help restore subregional peace and harmony. I trust that as heads of State, you will continue to encourage and

support those efforts.

I commend the determination of West African leaders to promote sustainable peace and stability not only in the ManoRiver basin, but throughout the subregion. There is likewise a welcome awareness of the close links between the situation in the MRU area and developments in the wider neighbourhood, as demonstrated by the presence of the heads of State of Côte d'Ivoire and Mali at a Mano River Union Summit. I look forward to working with all of you, and continuing to build our partnership, in the hopes that your people can, at long last, look to the future with hope. Please accept my best wishes for a successful Summit.

Top

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## **SPECIAL REPORT:**

### **Wanted in Africa, Needed in Iraq**

**Julio Godoy**

**Coalition forces find new uses in Iraq for an arms dealer they had branded a villain in Africa.**

**PARIS, May 20 (IPS)** - Arms dealer Viktor Bout was the merchant of death wanted for feeding conflicts in Africa - until Iraq happened.

Today the United States and Britain are using his extensive mercenary services in Iraq. The condemnation of his role in the diamond wars and other conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa over the past ten years is being silently erased.

The Tajikistan-born Bout would be an embarrassing ally to acknowledge publicly. But the coalition partners are showing him exceptional favours as he does some of their job for them.

The UN Security Council drafted a resolution in March to freeze the assets of mercenaries and weapons dealers who backed ousted Liberian dictator Charles Taylor. Bout should top that list, French diplomatic sources say. But the diplomats and UN sources say the United States has been working to keep Bout off that list.

U.S. officials have indicated unofficially that the reason is that Bout is useful in Iraq, the sources told IPS.

One of Bout's many companies is providing logistical support to U.S. forces in Iraq, well-placed French diplomatic sources say. His private airline British Gulf is supplying goods to the occupation forces, they say.

In recognition of these services both the U.S. and the British governments have been opposing French efforts to include Bout in the UN mercenaries list, the diplomatic sources revealed.

"We are disgusted that Bout won't be on the list, even though he is the principal arms dealer," according to a diplomat involved in the UN negotiations over that list. "If we want peace in that region (West Africa), it seems evident that Bout should be on that list."

The British government had at first included Bout in its list of mercenaries, French diplomats say. But he was taken off under U.S. pressure.

In 2000 Peter Hain, then British foreign office minister responsible for Africa, described Bout as "the chief sanctions-buster, and...a merchant of death who owns air companies that ferry in arms" for rebels in Angola and Sierra Leone.

Now Iraq has become another business location for Bout with no particular risks attached despite

the UN efforts to seize him, French diplomatic sources say..

Typically, Bout has left few traces of his activities in Iraq. French officials say British Gulf is soon expected to go under another name now that it is known to be his. His mercenaries leave few footprints, and if they die, nobody asks questions about the body bag.

But the UN knows what Bout is about through his activities in Africa. "Viktor Vasilevich Butt, known more commonly as Viktor Bout, is often referred to in law enforcement circles as 'Viktor B' because he uses at least five aliases and different versions of his last name," says a UN Security Council report.

The stocky Bout (37) graduated from the Military Institute of Foreign Languages in Moscow. He is said to be fluent in at least six languages. He began his career as an arms dealer in Afghanistan after his air force regiment was disbanded during the break-up of the former Soviet Union.

According to intelligence documents, he was able to establish close relationships with several African heads of state and rebel leaders including the late Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, former Liberian president Charles Taylor, former Zairian president Mobutu Sese Seko and Libyan President Moammar Gadhafi.

"He had access to what the African warlords wanted," says André Velrooy, a Norwegian journalist who investigated Bout's activities for the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ). "The end of the Cold War resulted in a massive amount of surplus weapons and spare parts being dumped at often very low prices onto the private market."

Bout had the capacity to deliver not only small arms, but also major weapons systems, and deliver them almost anywhere in the world, Velrooy reported. "And his associates -- ranging from former U.S. military personnel and Russian officials to African heads of state and organised crime figures -- gave him a lengthy list of buyers and sellers with whom to do business."

Bout was the biggest operator in the African arms market. He ran a myriad of companies employing an estimated 300 people. The companies operated 40 to 60 aircraft, including the world's largest private fleet of Russian-made Antonov cargo planes, according to the investigation by ICIJ.

Bout made it almost impossible to trace his activities. He leased aircraft to other individuals and companies so that he could not directly be linked to illegal activities. "Bout adamantly denies that he was involved in weapons trafficking, or that he was anything other than a legitimate air cargo entrepreneur," says Velrooy.

But UN monitors too have accused Bout of shipping contraband weapons to rebel movements in Angola and Sierra Leone and to the Taylor regime in Liberia.

The United States and Britain are now using -- and protecting - a dealer who is also reported to have helped arm the Taliban.

Germany's Der Spiegel newsweekly reported in 2002 that Vadim Rabinovich, an Israeli of Ukrainian origin along with the former director of the Ukrainian secret service had sold a consignment of 150 to 200 T-55 and T-62 tanks to the Taliban.

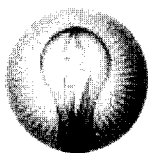
The tanks were believed to have been transported by one of Bout's air freight companies in a deal conducted through Pakistan's secret service. The deal was uncovered by the Russian foreign intelligence service SVR in Kabul, Der Spiegel reported.

The UN backed an international warrant in 2001 for the arrest of Bout. But Bout enjoys support in high places and has been living comfortably in Moscow.

"That's the problem in dealing with Viktor B," the French daily Le Monde quoted a French secret service expert as saying. "Because Bout has served so many people, he always has somebody powerful who protects him. (END/2004)

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**Brainstorming with Macartan Humphreys**

# Why war zones love monopolies

BY DAVID HECHT ■ Macartan Humphreys has a gig teaching game theory at Columbia University, but you're just as likely to find him in a dingy drinking hole in Sierra Leone, or Colombia, or any number of other war-ravaged nations, scribbling notes while listening to rebel leaders and financiers tell their tales. "What I do is often the nearest thing to market research in these places," says the 32-year-old Irishman, who studies the impact of war on local economies. One of his theories: In war zones marketplace collusion among factions often reduces violence against civilians and boosts economic returns. "In peacetime enforcing competition is good for economies," he says, "but in wartime collaboration often works better."

Like a growing number of political scientists and economists who work at the intersection of war and economics, Humphreys has focused lately on Iraq and Afghanistan. Those conflicts are in many ways unique, he says: "They have elements of colonial occupations, civil wars, and failed states."

Iraq's once-restricted retail sector has exploded with competition since the fall of Saddam Hussein, says Humphreys, and consumers are benefiting from lower prices. Yet with chaos worsening in some cities, the new free-market climate may not last. "Violence is already re-regulating markets," he says. He points to Islamists in Basra, who have reportedly defied the coalition's authority and have begun regulating the sale of liquor by assassinating anyone who tries to sell it.

In peacetime, says Humphreys, a capitalist state is supposed to have a monopoly on the use of force while ensuring that businesses are kept from having monopolies in markets. "In wartime the system often gets mixed up," he says. "Whoever controls violence in a particular area can establish monopolies."

In Sierra Leone, for example, where Humphreys has surveyed hundreds of ex-combatants, rebels in the mid-1990s seized control of a key diamond-mining area. The government brought in Executive Outcomes, a now defunct South African security firm run by soldiers of fortune, with its own fleet of combat helicopters. The government, too impoverished to afford the company's hefty rates, instead worked out an arrangement whereby a Canadian mining company related to the mercenaries was promised monopoly rights to the richest part of the field for 25 years. The mercenaries quickly drove out the rebels.

U.S. military interventions also tend to foster monopolies, both deliberate and inadvertent, says Humphreys. The Bush



ANDREA ARIZ

**Being Irish helps gain access to rebel groups in war zones, says political scientist Macartan Humphreys: "They see me as one of them."**

**Free markets  
can't thrive  
when violence  
is the name  
of the game.**

administration has tilted markets in Iraq by allowing only coalition partners to bid on prime contracts. It has also kept Iraq's insurance market closed, thereby benefiting American firms, which have coverage via the U.S. government. Yet even without those actions, the inherent risk of doing business in a war zone tends to kill economic competition. Low-wage

South Korean construction firms used to do well in Iraq, for example, but have largely withdrawn because they lack the ability to protect their workers from attacks. Some U.S. contractors are also starting to pull out because of safety concerns.

But as long as U.S.-led forces maintain dominance, the companies that operate in cartels with close relations to the military can expect to have a tremendous economic advantage. The reason, says Humphreys, is not just that in war governments can't prevent monopolies, but that they actually prefer them. Governments don't want bidders running around

## Brainstorm

battlefields, perhaps perusing secret plans that may later find their way into enemy hands. Open bidding and the wish to minimize costs take second place to trust and getting the job done. Size matters too: The bigger the contractor, the better it may handle surge requirements crucial to both warfare and rapid reconstruction. That's the case in Iraq with the Halliburton subsidiary Kellogg Brown & Root, which brings to bear vast experience and capacity both in providing services on the battlefield and in extracting natural resources.

Is this the sort of out-of-control military-industrial complex that critics of capitalism have long warned of? With the open-ended war on terror, some have been dusting off copies of Vladimir Lenin's *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, which foretells of corporations and capitalist armies conspiring to create monopolies around the globe. Lenin's references included the old British East India Company, to which the colonial government granted a monopoly

in both trade and the use of force. Today there is evidence of "new pathways for private interests to affect U.S. foreign policy," says George Washington University's Deborah Avant. Fears that those interests are accountable to no one will be soon be tested, now that military contractors in Iraq have been accused of abusing prisoners in military custody. The contractors cannot be tried under U.S. military law, and according to Human Rights Watch legal advisor James Ross, U.S. federal law remains untested on the issue.

But from where Humphreys stands, there are very different concerns. Most of the world's violent conflicts are perpetrated not by military-industrial complexes but by warlords. In war zones like Iraq and Afghanistan, critics should worry not just that the monopolists will take control, but that no one will—that society will splinter into warring factions. Humphreys's research suggests that that is when business activity is apt to make matters worse. "In the presence of military dominance, private-sector interests often have a limited impact. In the absence of military control and in cases where attempts at political settlements fail, then we see private-sector activities aggravating factional divisions and

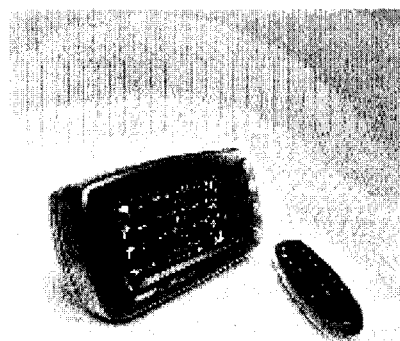
violence." He cites evidence in Angola, Chad, Congo, and other countries of the sale of what UCLA political scientist Michael Ross calls "booty futures." They are deals in which companies finance warring factions in exchange for rights to the spoils of civil wars.

Humphreys, whom the United Nations Millennium Project has asked to suggest ways that economic activity in conflict zones might ease violence, is likely to recommend that public companies operating in unstable, unregulated regions be forced to report such payments or face delisting from stock markets. The object is to block them from partaking in such deals. He is also developing measures that would discourage private companies from profiting from conflicts. Humphreys is hopeful that such schemes, which are being promoted by George Soros and others, will gain support among U.S. corporations because they level the playing field. "Currently U.S. firms are competing against firms from countries that are less constrained by domestic pressures from human rights groups," he says. This summer he will head to Africa's Gulf of Guinea with Columbia University's Earth Institute to advise governments on ensuring that their new oil wealth does

not touch off civil conflicts.

In the end, says Humphreys, few companies prefer war. While a handful may benefit from conflict and occupation, "for most, the optimal operating conditions are ones in which security is not an issue. Even if they obtain monopolies during conflict, it is still often in their interest to see conflicts end." In short, peace brings economic benefits. After the South African government negotiated a peace agreement in Congo, for instance, it also negotiated lucrative contracts for South African companies to mine the country's gold, copper, and cobalt. Likewise, U.S. efforts to broker peace in Sudan are expected to pave the way for the return of American oil companies.

The big puzzle in Iraq and elsewhere, Humphreys says, is how to restructure monopolistic war economies after wars end. "In postwar societies, reintroducing economic competition is always risky. It can lead to cutthroat politics, which can lead back to violence again." ■



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