

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT CC

EXHIBIT CC



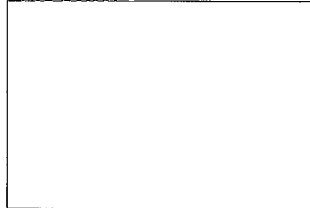
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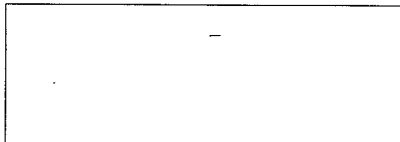


Director of Central Intelligence

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE DAILY

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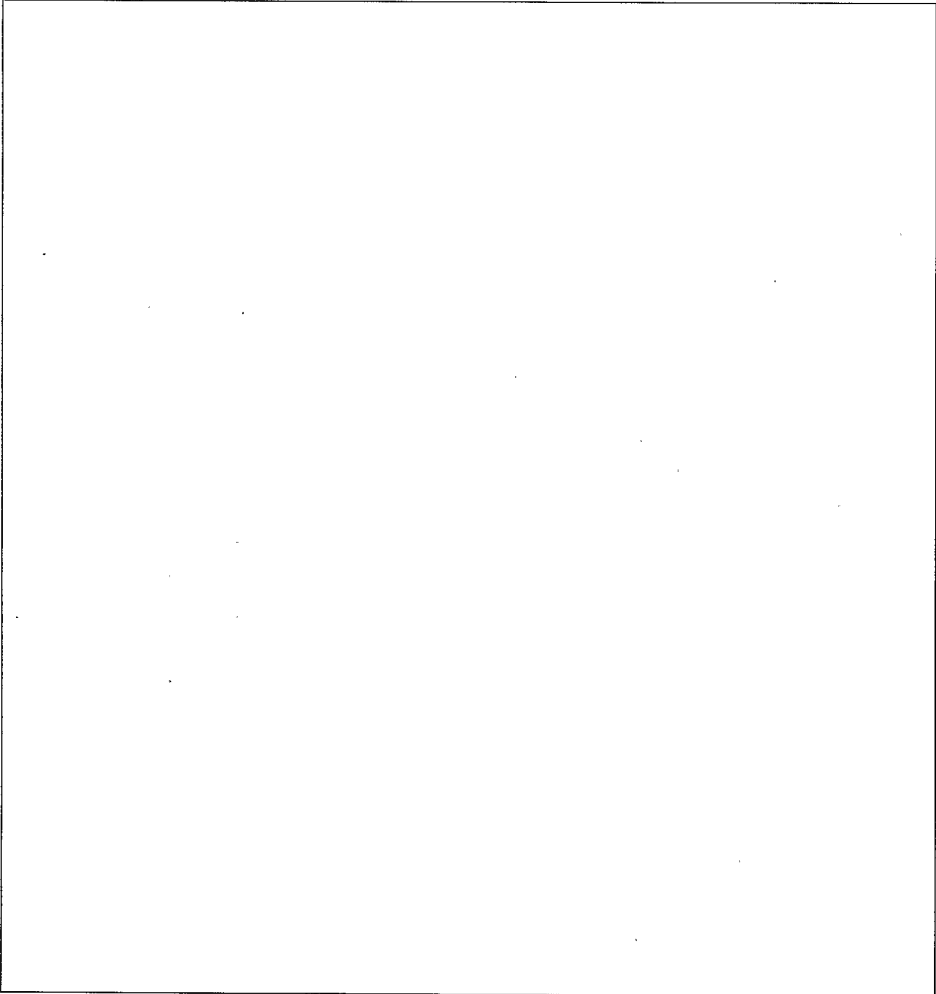
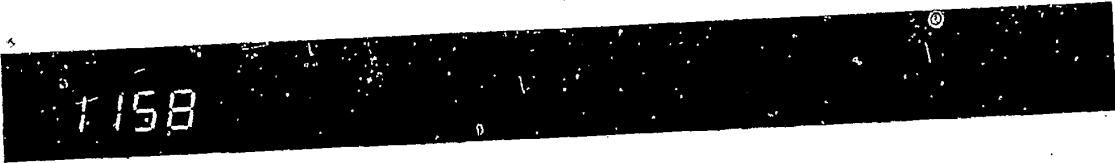
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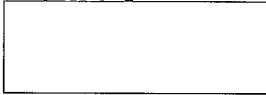




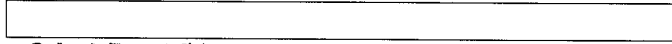





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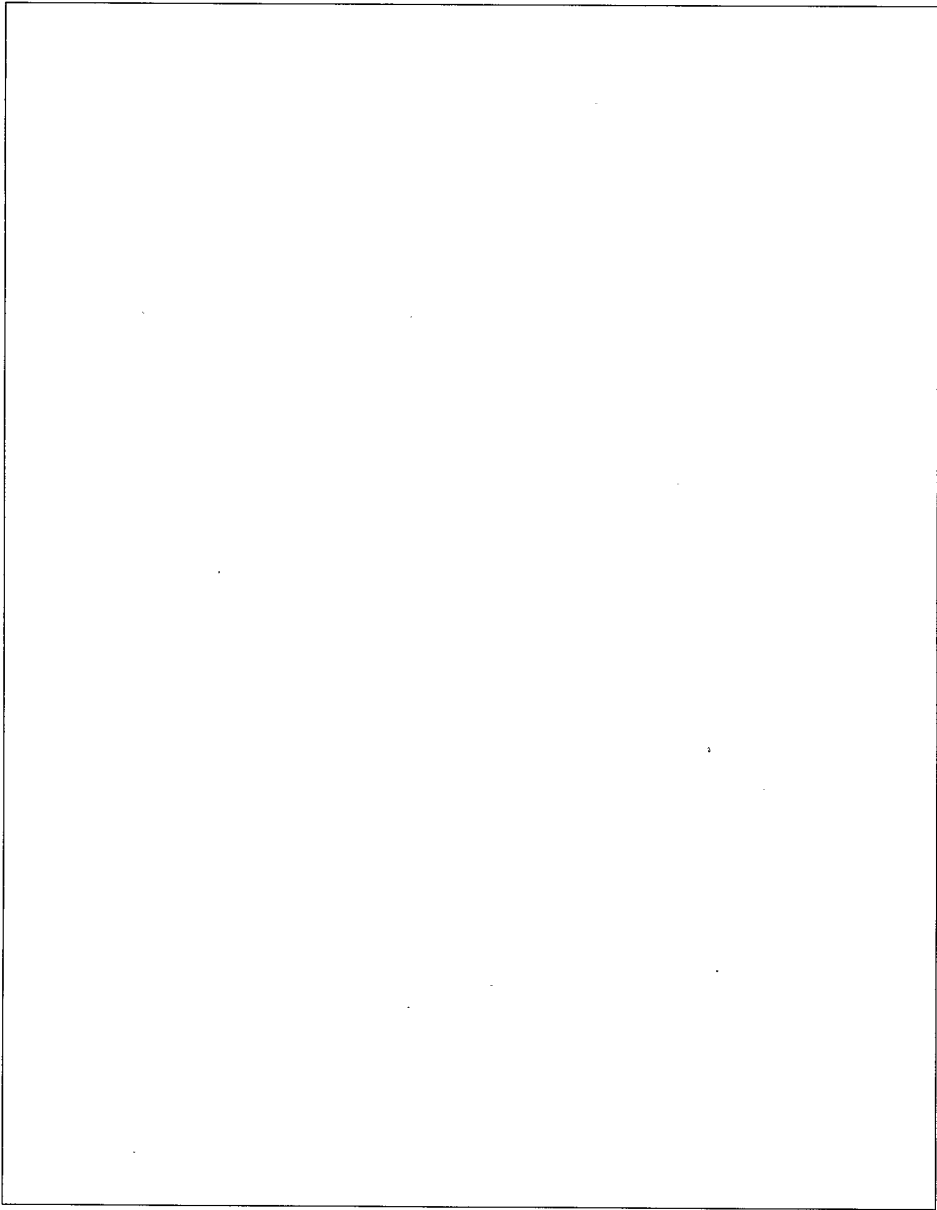
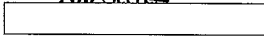
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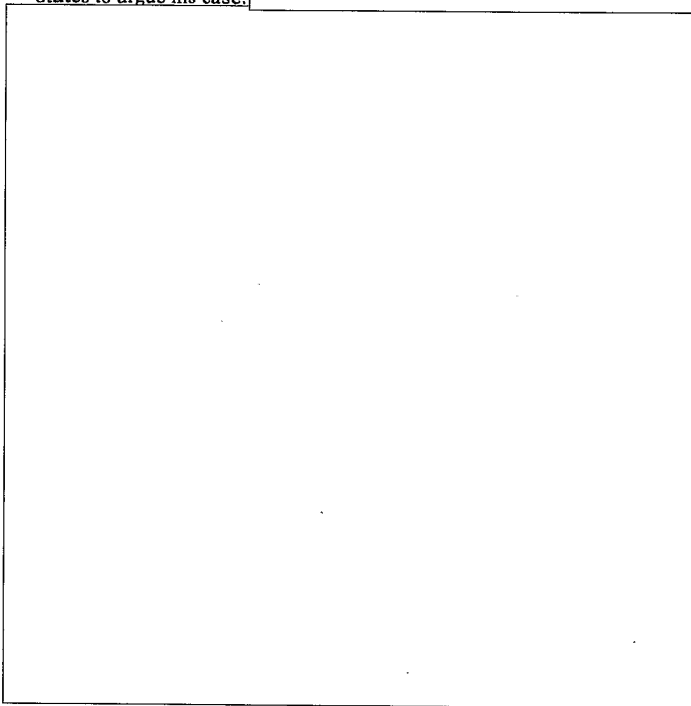
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IRAQ-KUWAIT: Temporary Lull

Baghdad has temporarily suspended its anti-Kuwait propaganda campaign but is not relaxing its military stance or reducing its political or financial demands; Kuwait is preparing some concessions.

Iraq's Saddam Husayn, keeping his pledge to Egypt's President Mubarak, yesterday halted his media campaign against Kuwait in preparation for talks set to begin tomorrow. Iraq's rhetoric has played well at home, where anti-Kuwait sentiments are deep seated. Saddam has sent envoys to most Arab states to argue his case.



Comment: Whatever the outcome of the OPEC meeting, Baghdad almost certainly will maintain pressure on Kuwait in hopes of financial assistance and perhaps border concessions. The Iraqis

continued.



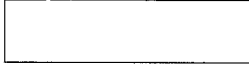
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OPEC Struggling Toward a Target Price

OPEC members have postponed decisionmaking sessions until today so Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the UAE could meet separately to set a price target for the rest of this year. Although Iraq is adamant about obtaining a price target of \$25 per barrel, its Oil Minister has indicated publicly it might settle for less. Kuwait is being unusually conciliatory, announcing that it will go along with whatever the membership decides. Press reports indicate that Saudi Arabia is putting up the stiffest resistance to Iraq's price demands and that the two countries are debating a target between \$20 and \$21 per barrel.

Riyadh almost certainly wants OPEC's agreement to be credible and recognizes that a production ceiling of 22.5 million barrels a day is too high to achieve a price of \$25 per barrel unless Iraq moves against Kuwait militarily. Such a production level probably would result in prices of about \$20 per barrel, especially in the fourth quarter when demand will be stronger. Riyadh apparently is concerned that prices much above \$20 per barrel will stop growth in demand, reducing the prospects of future revenue increases and raising tension in the Gulf region.



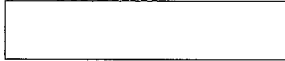
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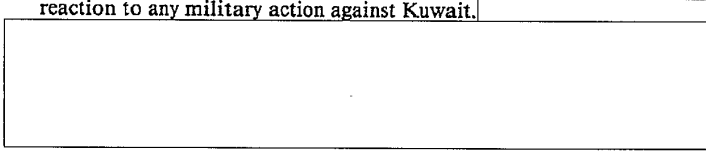


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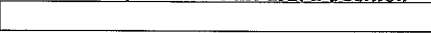
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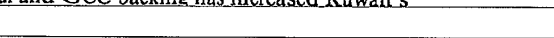
probably believe Kuwait will try to buy time by postponing decisions on the amount and form of financial assistance. Saddam is likely to hold out for at least several billion dollars in the near term and to press for the creation of an Arab reconstruction fund. He believes he already has broad Arab support for his efforts to rein in OPEC overproducers, and he probably is trying to gauge the likely Arab reaction to any military action against Kuwait.



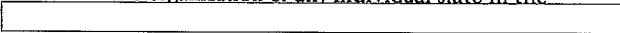
Kuwait probably will write off Iraq's \$10 billion war debt as part of a broader financial relief package. It could also easily give Baghdad as much as several billion dollars over the next year, but it probably will not, unless given the cover of multilateral aid by the Gulf Cooperation Council states. Kuwait will try to tie new aid to specific projects so as to retain control over disposition of the aid, a position Baghdad is sure to reject.



Kuwait's basic security policy has been to balance relations with Iraq and Iran and to rely for protection on the collective capabilities of the superpowers, the GCC, and other Arab states. During this crisis it has not been able to check Iraqi aggression by moving closer to Iran or asking for Soviet intercession. Amir Jabir probably believes the lack of strong Saudi and GCC backing has increased Kuwait's vulnerability.



The UAE is not likely to offer economic aid to Iraq unilaterally, but it probably would contribute to a multilateral reconstruction fund. Abu Dhabi probably did not expect GCC support and is not likely to seek reassurances from the organization or any individual state in the region.

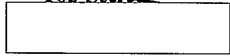


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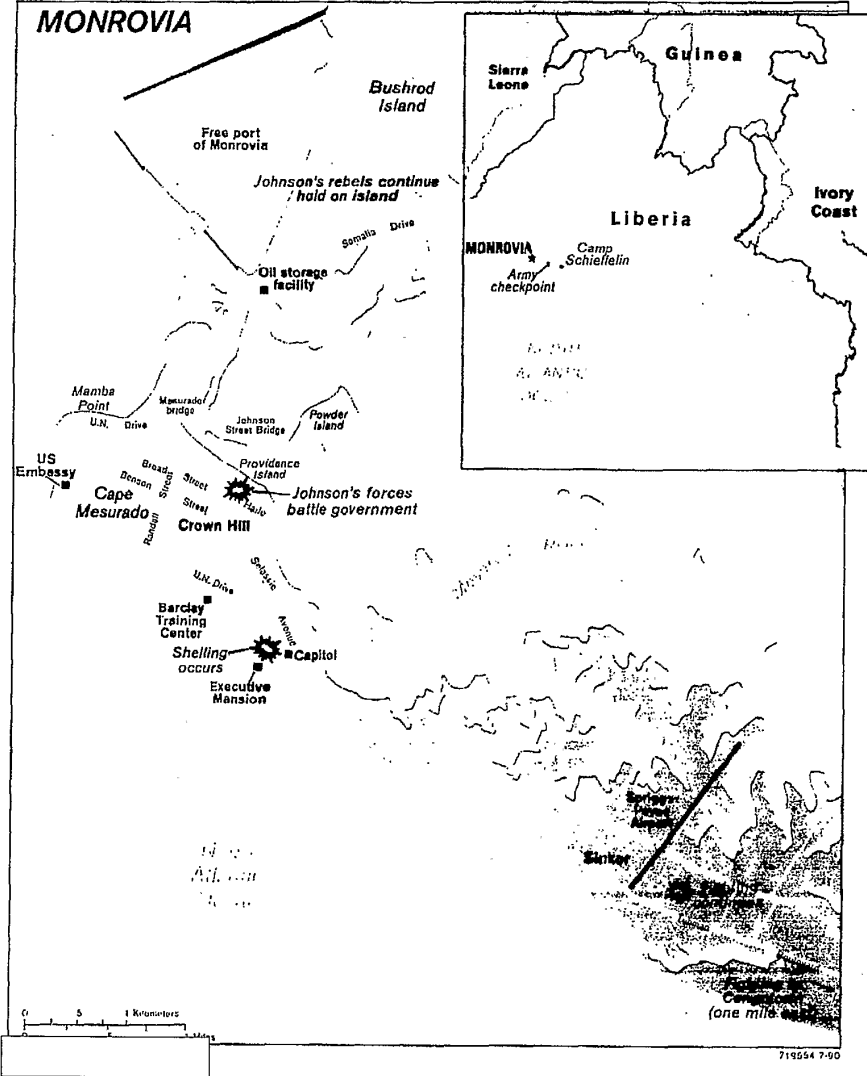
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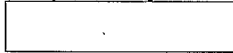
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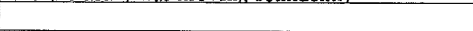
LIBERIA:

Fighting Continues

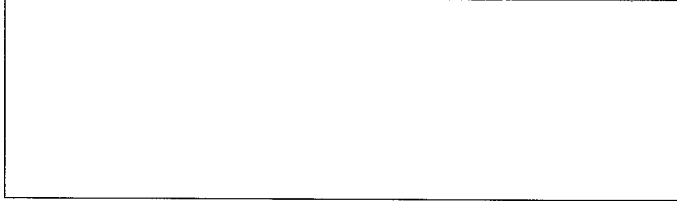
Fighting continued yesterday but quieted by midafternoon, probably indicating the rebels' capability for a sustained assault on downtown Monrovia is limited.



Eight to 10 explosions occurred near the Executive Mansion late Wednesday night, possibly caused by rebels firing from the vicinity of Spriggs-Payne Airport. There were reports of fighting around Crown Hill early yesterday, and heavy gunfire was heard at Spriggs-Payne Airport and in Congotown. The army temporarily abandoned the southern end of the Mesurado bridge in the morning, possibly allowing Prince Johnson's rebel forces to cross into the capital, but subsequently retook it. By midafternoon, Monrovia was quiet and the army was moving confidently throughout the city.



Army troops have abandoned Camp Schieffelin but have set up an alternate checkpoint along the highway into Monrovia. Soldiers still held the checkpoint yesterday despite intense fighting in the area.



Comment: The "battle for Monrovia" could drag on for several weeks or more. Johnson's rebel group, unable to launch a sustained attack or gain ground outside Bushrod Island, is likely to continue its hit-and-run tactics to weaken the army. The bulk of Charles Taylor's forces still are trying to fight past army units on the outskirts of the capital. President Doe probably has enough food, water, and munitions to last a month.



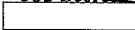
Army indiscipline and anti-US sentiment almost certainly will grow as the fighting wears on. US and other foreign installations are likely to become more vulnerable to break-ins.



As the military becomes desperate, it is increasingly likely to target US citizens and others it believes responsible for rebel successes.



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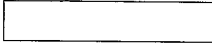
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Soviet Media Stake Out More Independent Editorial Line

Several signs suggest that Soviet editors and others responsible for the media are increasingly testing the limits of *glasnost*:

- *Ogonyok*, the flagship of *glasnost*, has announced it is freeing itself from party control.
- The editor of *Pravda* says he wants the paper to become self-sufficient, perhaps implying a desire to improve its popularity by distancing it from the party. Although *Pravda* takes a middle-of-the-road line, it recently printed a startling article admitting that anti-Semitism is growing in the USSR.
- The Moscow city council has decided to establish two daily publications that will not be subordinate to the council; it will also establish a radio station.
- In the most outspoken media attack on the military leadership to date, *Komsomolskaya pravda* recently published a letter from 47 leading liberals suggesting that a coup of some sort might take place as a result of an alliance between the military and other traditionalist forces.
- A Soviet publisher is joining with *Business Week* to issue the USSR's first major Western Russian-language magazine.



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USSR:

Glasnost Expanding

Grassroots pressure from Soviet editors and new moves by the leadership have expanded glasnost and will intensify demands for relaxing remaining media controls.

Gorbachev last week followed up his recent decree giving parties and organizations outside the CPSU access to TV and radio by rejecting calls to clamp down on "communication and dialogue." Glavlit, the government censorship administration, announced it will no longer review publications beforehand but will simply be available to consult with editors on questions of state secrets; editors will be responsible for not printing classified information.

Several Soviet publications have recently exhibited considerable frankness and willingness to operate more independently of the CPSU even though official meddling still occasionally occurs. Those restraints were exercised when a KGB officer confiscated the first edition of a newspaper written by delegates to the recent party congress.

Comment: Writers and editors seem to be moving quickly to establish independent publications in accordance with the procedures laid out in the law on the press. At the same time, local party officials undoubtedly will occasionally try to censor the media as problems in implementing the new press law are ironed out.

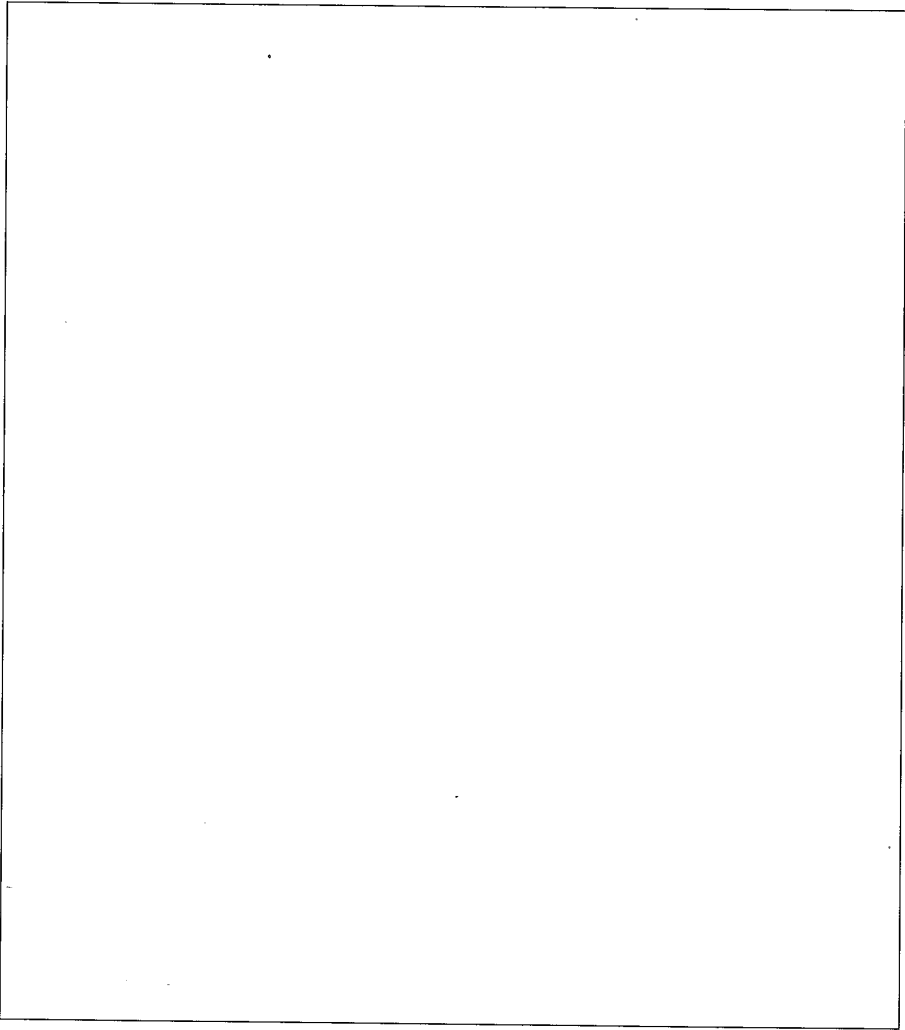
The editors may be responding to the devolution of authority to republic governments and legislatures; Boris Yel'tsin, in particular, has lambasted the dependence of Russian Republic media on central TV and radio officials. Editorial boldness will encourage local government councils to fight party organizations harder for control over the media, including the financial and material resources of newspapers.

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PERU:

President-Elect Fujimori Off to Shaky Start

President-elect Fujimori, who takes office tomorrow, apparently is prepared to abandon campaign promises of painless solutions to Peru's economic problems but not to deal with the anticipated popular reaction against the shift.

Fujimori's senior economic adviser says the President will implement drastic measures to cope with inflation, which is projected to reach a rate of more than 60 percent for this month.

the new government may move slowly to enact changes and planners lack details on financial resources and that recent resignations from Fujimori's economic team have intensified internal coordination problems. Moreover, although contemplated price rises for goods and services the public sector provides might initially push inflation above 200 percent a month, Fujimori reportedly has yet to finish an emergency social welfare plan to offset any popular backlash. Outgoing President Garcia has publicly urged labor unions to oppose the adjustment measures.

Comment: Fujimori won the runoff election last month by a margin of nearly 23 percent, but this move toward an orthodox stabilization program threatens to undermine his popular support. He probably would have had to contend with demands from restive labor unions and disgruntled consumers seeking protection of their purchasing power even if Garcia had not called them to action.

If his popular support fades, the sizable opposition will find more political gain in opposing the Fujimori government than in cooperating with it.

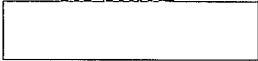
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Moscow's View

The Soviets see the declaration as helping to inaugurate a new era in European security, and as evidence NATO is taking a less threatening posture. They are well aware that a drafting exercise will neither prolong the real life of the Warsaw Pact nor give it legitimacy in the eyes of the West. Moscow hopes the existing alliances will play major roles in the transition to a Pan-European security system but is not counting on the Pact remaining intact in the interim.

Moscow has welcomed the NATO commitment to a joint declaration and has referred to it as a declaration between the blocs, but Shevardnadze has indicated that it does not have to be signed on a bloc-to-bloc basis. He also expressed willingness to open the joint declaration to signature by CSCE members and is likely to be open to national negotiations on the document. Moscow would prefer a cooperative consensus in developing the declaration but would still consider even limited consultations a useful means of continuing dialogue among Pact members.



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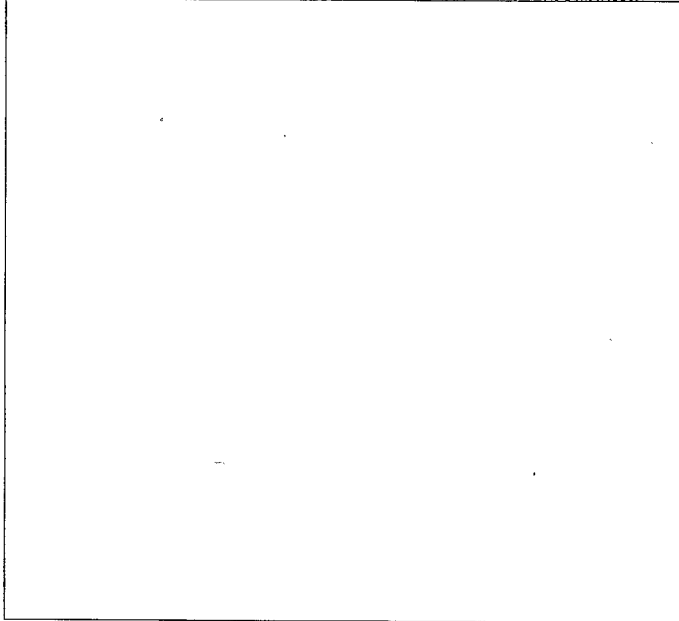
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EASTERN EUROPE: Nervous About Nonaggression Declaration

Several East European states have recently expressed concern that Moscow could use NATO's proposed joint declaration on nonaggression to help legitimize and prolong the existence of the Warsaw Pact. [redacted] the Soviets have argued that developing the declaration's language would require cooperation among Pact states. [redacted] Moscow wants a document that requires common drafting within the Pact, but Warsaw prefers to work from a NATO or US draft. Hungary has suggested calling the document a "Declaration of Security Cooperation," which would be drafted and signed at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). [redacted]

Comment: The East European countries—except Bulgaria—are pressing for a new Pact structure that permits consultation on political issues but does not require a common position. Most prefer that the declaration be negotiated and signed by individual Pact members. In the near term, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland probably will continue promoting CSCE, rather than the alliance, for discussing such security issues as the nonaggression declaration.



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Trouble Down on the Farm

Agricultural workers represent approximately 30 percent of the Polish labor force, and the country's 2.7 million private farms include 75 percent of the cultivated land:

- Private farms average only 12.5 acres.
- Many small farmers are accustomed to working in nearby industries, but they are heading layoff lists as factories retrench.

Polish farmers, many of whom bypass local procurement monopolies by selling directly to consumers in town markets, must cope with a decrepit agricultural infrastructure. The government's economic reforms and austerity program have added new difficulties:

- Warsaw has removed almost all price restrictions, raising the costs of fuel, equipment, seeds, and credit.
- Wheat is being bought for \$63-77 per ton, about \$100 below world prices.
- Farmers in the Krakow area receive only 4 cents per liter for milk, which costs them several times that amount to produce.



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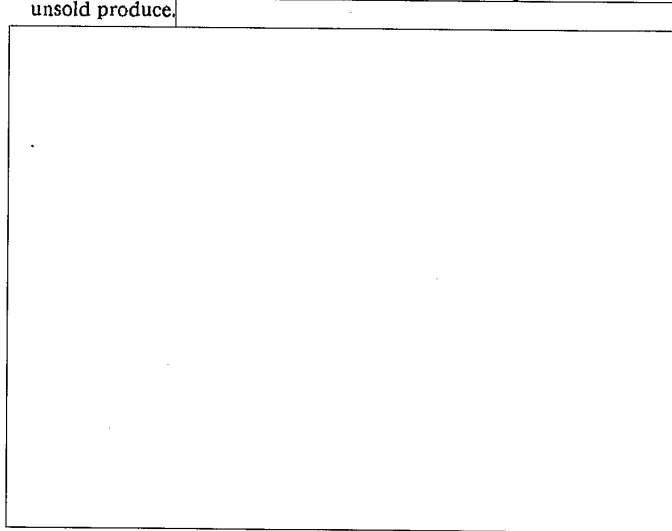
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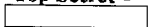
POLAND: Truce With Farmers but Problems Remain

The Mazowiecki government on Wednesday agreed to use subsidized credits to lower the cost of farm inputs and to boost procurement prices for grain products. It also promised to provide about \$84 million to restructure the dairy industry and discourage farmers from culling their herds. The cabinet approved most of these moves earlier this month. Warsaw also pledged to promote agricultural exports while maintaining "rational" protection of the domestic market.

Comment: The agreement at best probably will temporarily forestall further outbursts of rural discontent; the absence of agricultural price guarantees virtually guarantees trouble. Farmers, many of whom work tiny, inefficient plots, are among the harshest critics of the economic reform program and are particularly angered by what they see as foot-dragging in breaking up the local monopolies that often control the sale of farm inputs and the purchase of farm products. The austerity program also has lowered demand while food grants from foreign donors have further depressed farm prices. Peasant-affiliated parties provide about 40 percent of the government's legislative majority, and the largest, the Polish Peasants' Party, recently threatened to pull out of the coalition. Such a move is unlikely in the near term, but the government's ability to hold restive rural delegates will be severely tested in coming months as farmers find that customary grain purchasers already hold large stocks of unsold produce.

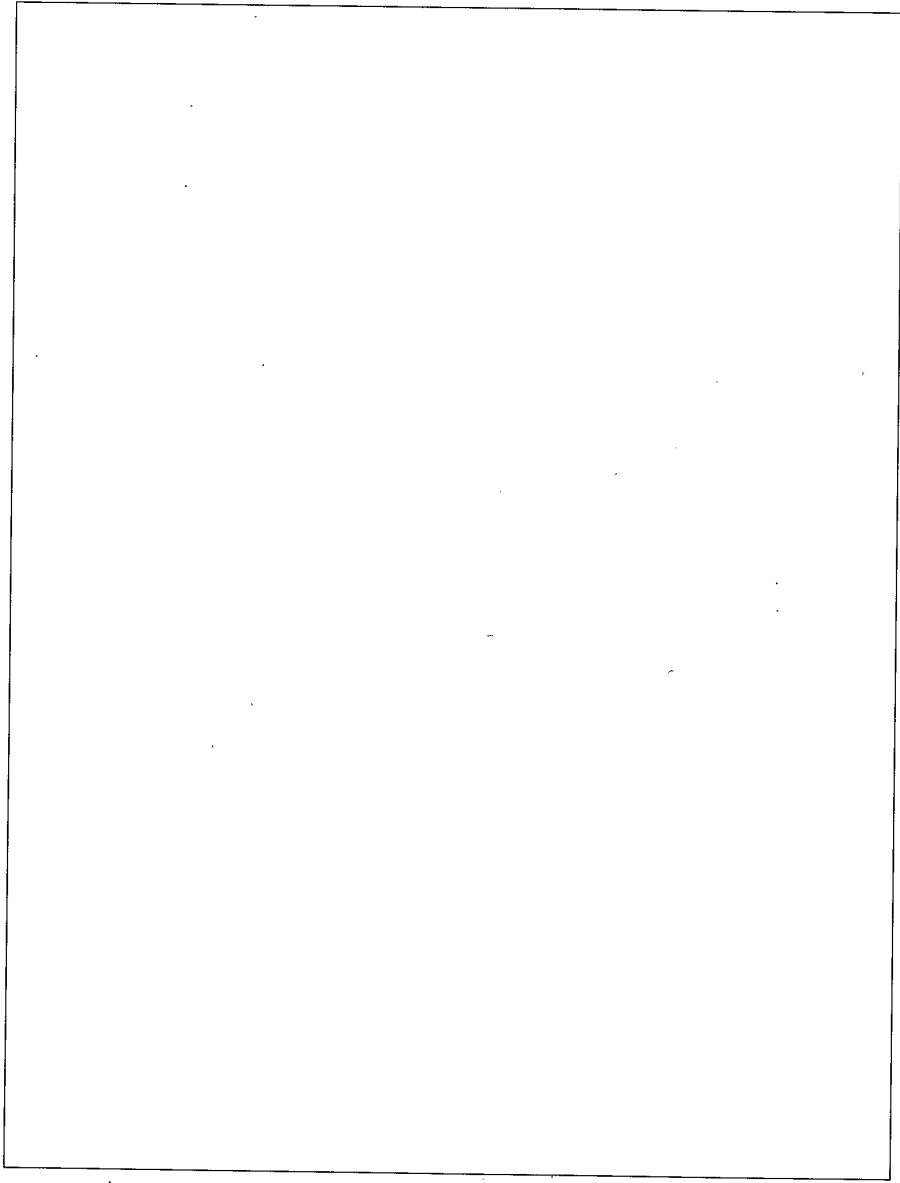


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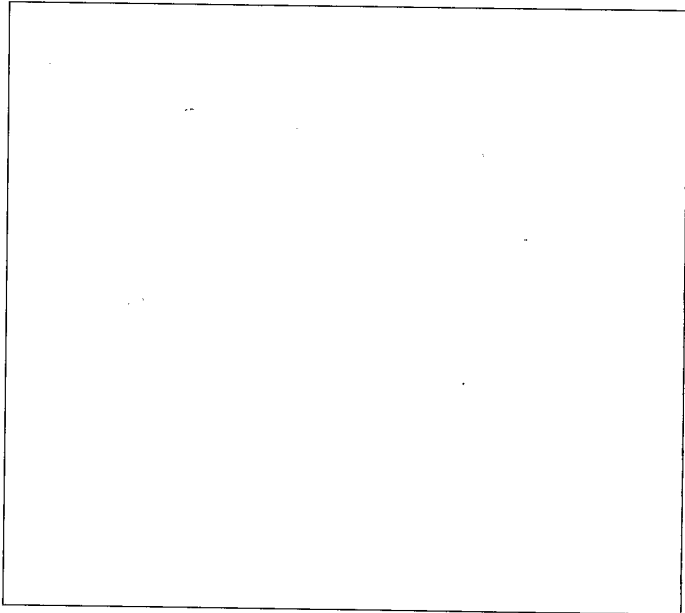
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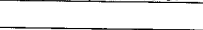


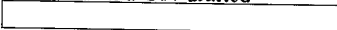
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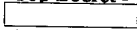


EL SALVADOR: Peace Talks End on Positive Note

The government and the FMLN insurgents yesterday agreed to a UN-proposed document on human rights but postponed discussion of the most difficult topic, military reform. The human rights document, introduced to break an impasse, specifies guarantees on such issues as rights for individuals arrested or detained. The agreement, to take effect with a cease-fire, also calls for a UN mission to verify rebel and government compliance. The FMLN earlier rejected a government proposal on military reform, saying it failed to address such key rebel demands as a purge of military officers accused of human rights abuses. According to press reports, leaders of both sides believe some progress has been made. 

Comment: Both sides showed flexibility, agreeing to extend talks a day and to switch topics so as to reach some agreement, but the mid-September target date for a cease-fire remains overly optimistic. Armed forces reform probably will be addressed in the next round, the fourth, set for San Jose sometime next month. The UN representative appears to have played a pivotal role in keeping the parties talking and may try next time to present a UN-drafted document on armed forces reform. 

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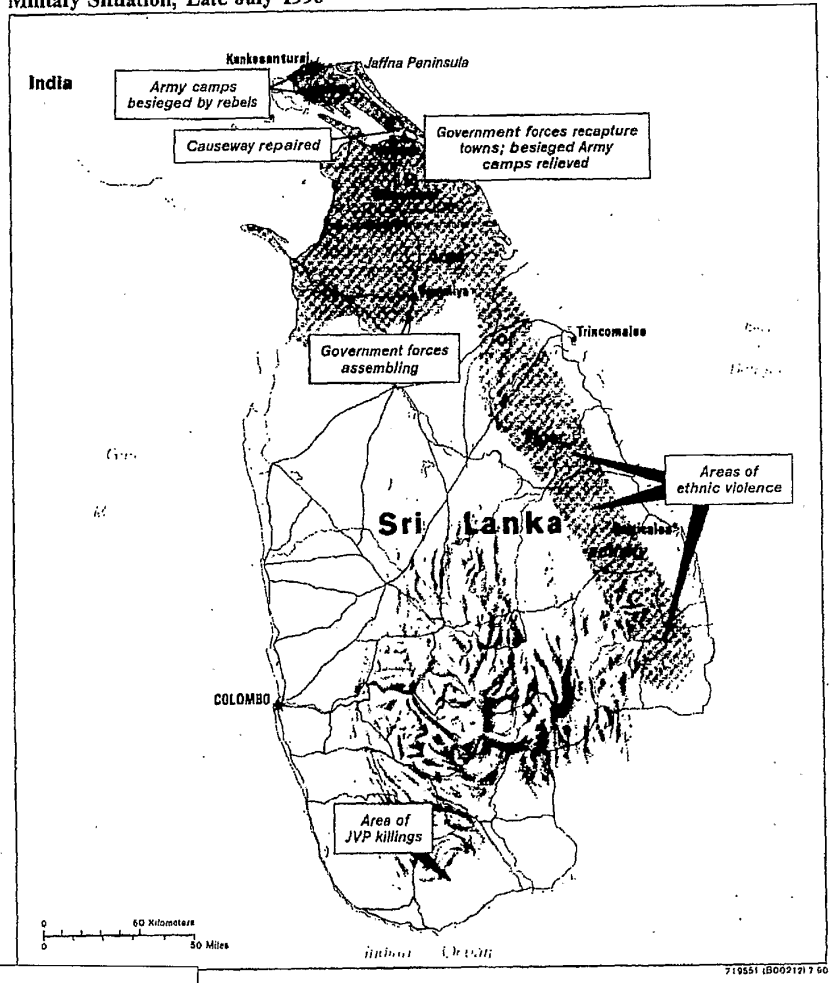




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Military Situation, Late July 1990



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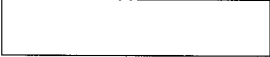
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SRI LANKA: Army Gaining, Violence Escalating

Government forces this week recaptured two northern towns, relieved besieged Army camps, and repaired a causeway linking the mainland and the Jaffna Peninsula. The Army has about 8,000 men in the north, as well as aircraft. It has executed Tamil Tiger supporters and searched door-to-door for Tigers in the east.

The Tigers have massacred more than 100 Sinhalese and Muslim civilians in the past two weeks, and Muslims have killed some 60 Tamils. Suspected members of the Marxist Sinhalese militant JVP struck Wednesday for the first time in more than six months, killing 15 members of a police-sponsored vigilance committee in the south.

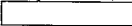
Comment: The undermanned Army has not regained full control of the east and probably will not try to retake the Jaffna Peninsula soon. It may send paratroopers to reinforce its camps. The Tigers may increase attacks in the east to force the Army to redeploy there. The Army has been professional overall, but local commanders may have carried out summary executions in the east. Ethnic violence probably will mount, particularly as the Army transfers security responsibility to local volunteers. The JVP may stage more assassinations but probably is still too weak for a comeback.

PHILIPPINES: Economic Impact of the Earthquake

Authorities plan to spend more than \$1.3 billion on airports, communications facilities, bridges, and other damaged infrastructure. Farming areas and market roads in north and central Luzon were hit hard; rice prices in Manila are inching up, and some vegetable and fruit prices have doubled. The House of Representatives recently passed a resolution in favor of suspending interest and principal payments on the country's \$26 billion foreign debt for 30 months so as to save nearly \$3 billion for rehabilitation. Aquino has rejected any unilateral effort to stop debt payments.

Comment: Before the earthquake, the domestic economy was projected to grow about 4 percent this year as compared with 6 percent last year; some Philippine economists now predict 3-percent growth. Agriculture, hurt by a drought earlier this year, is likely to stagnate. Government spending in many parts of the country will decrease as scarce resources are diverted to hard-hit areas. Manila's plan to use a government savings program to finance much of the reconstruction almost certainly will increase the budget deficit and inflation, currently 12 percent a year. Manila probably will ask for emergency assistance from foreign donors and may negotiate with commercial banks for easier repayment terms.

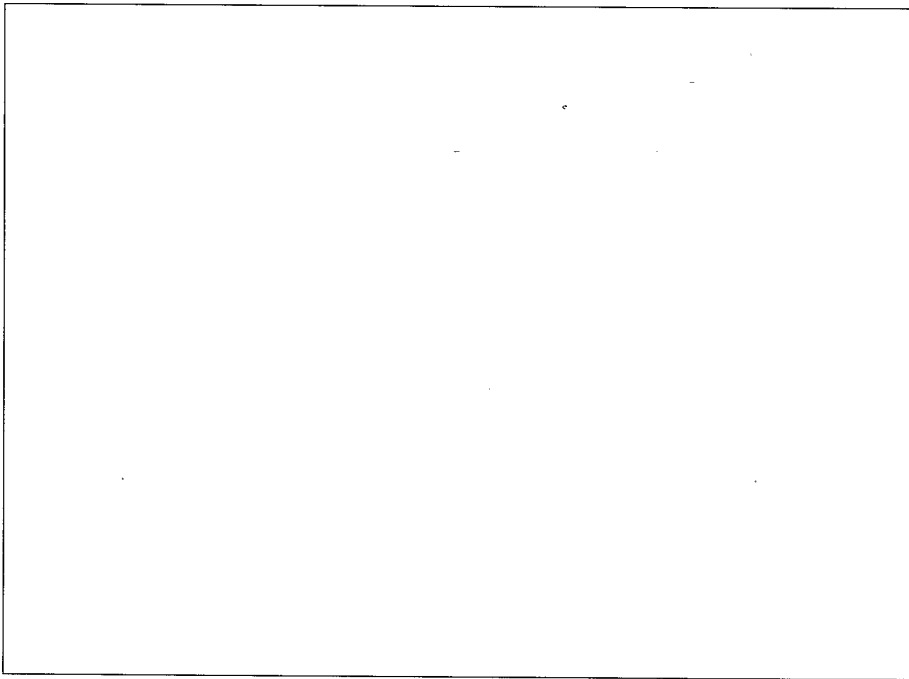
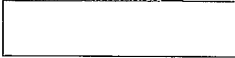
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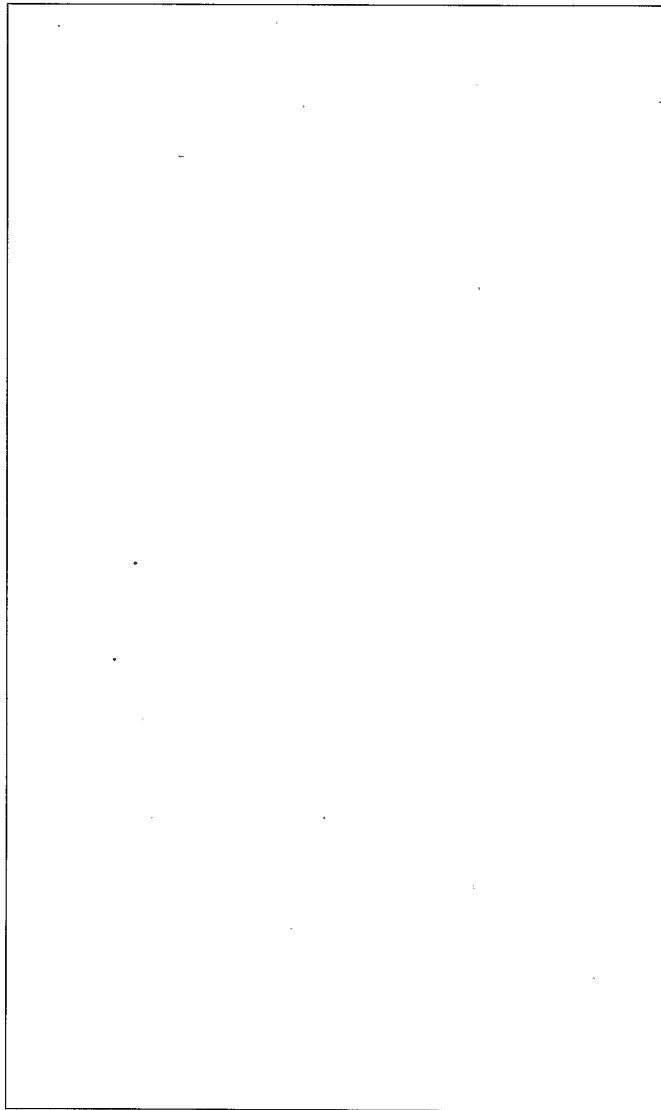
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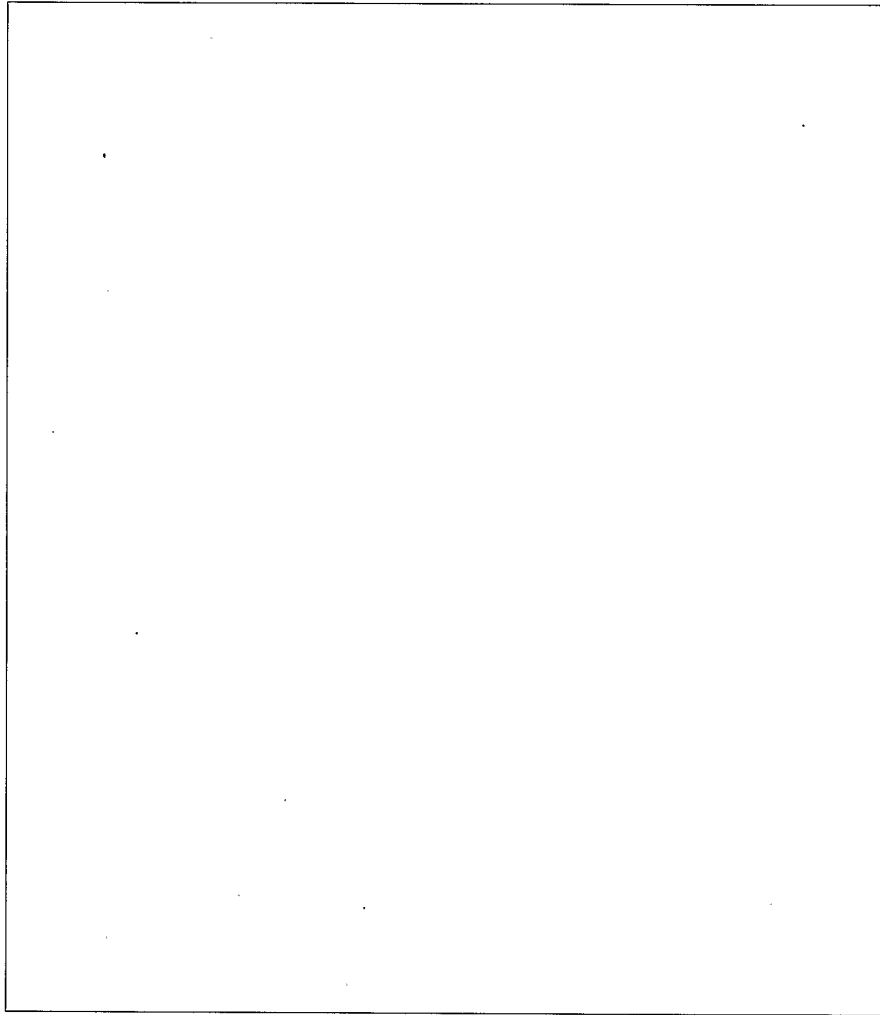
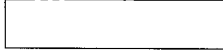
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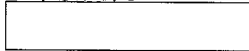
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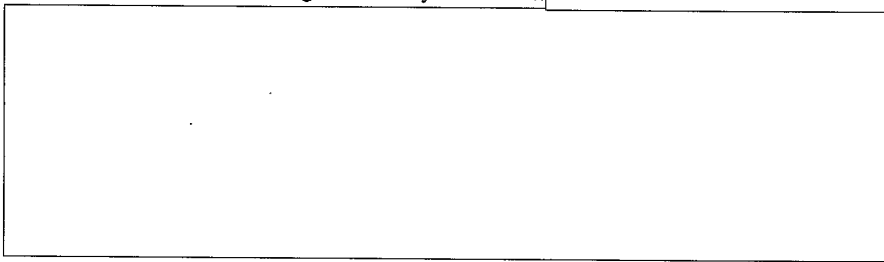


In Brief



East Asia

— North, South Korean agreement yesterday to hold prime-ministerial talks may fall through if unification rally on 15 August canceled . . . propaganda battle intensifying, bickering over rally arrangements likely to continue.



Europe

— Four members of Italian cabinet, including Defense Minister Martinazzoli, resigned yesterday . . . seeking greater say in policy . . . government will fall if Prime Minister Andreotti cannot strike deal before tonight's vote of confidence.



USSR

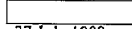
— Soviet military, Interior Ministry officials yesterday said they will enforce presidential decree banning armed groups . . . senior officers' solidarity meant to intimidate nationalists . . . Caucasus most likely scene if Moscow acts to implement decree.

Middle East

— USSR has opened commercial mission in Tel Aviv, Israel to follow suit in Moscow . . . Israeli Finance Minister reportedly invited to Moscow to discuss joint ventures . . . Soviets hope to increase economic cooperation.

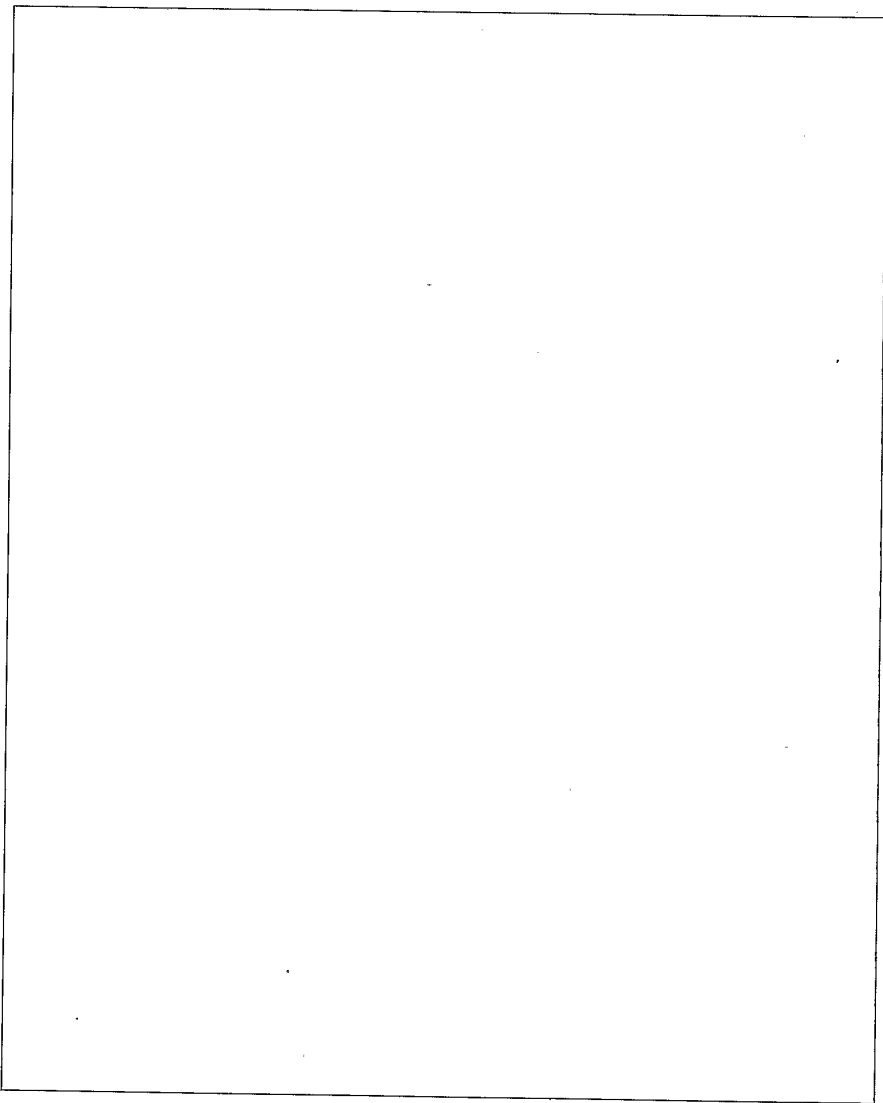
— Support for boycott of US goods growing among Jordanian professionals, businessmen, leftist legislators . . . boycott unlikely to materialize, government probably will oppose . . . resentment of US Middle East policies increasing.

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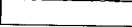




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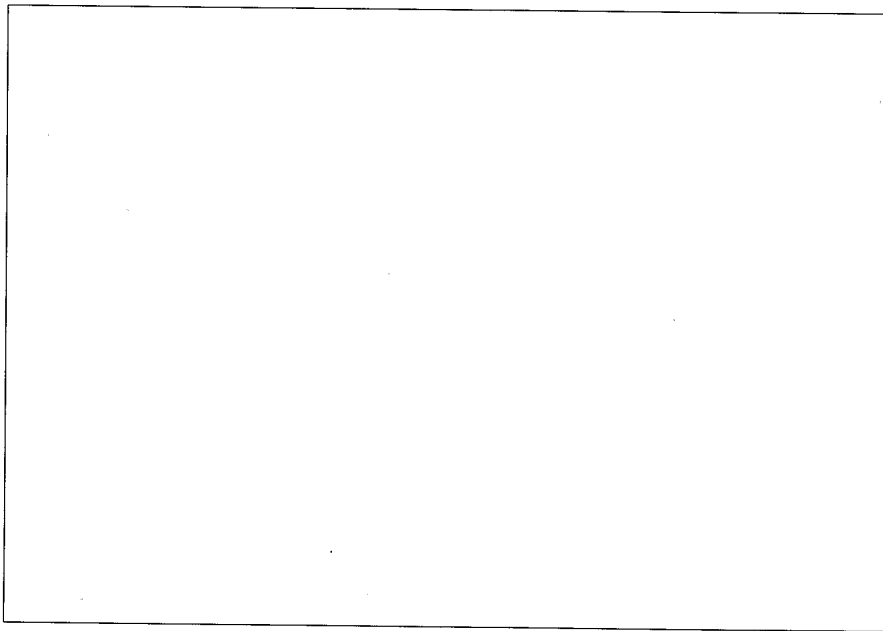
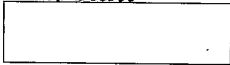


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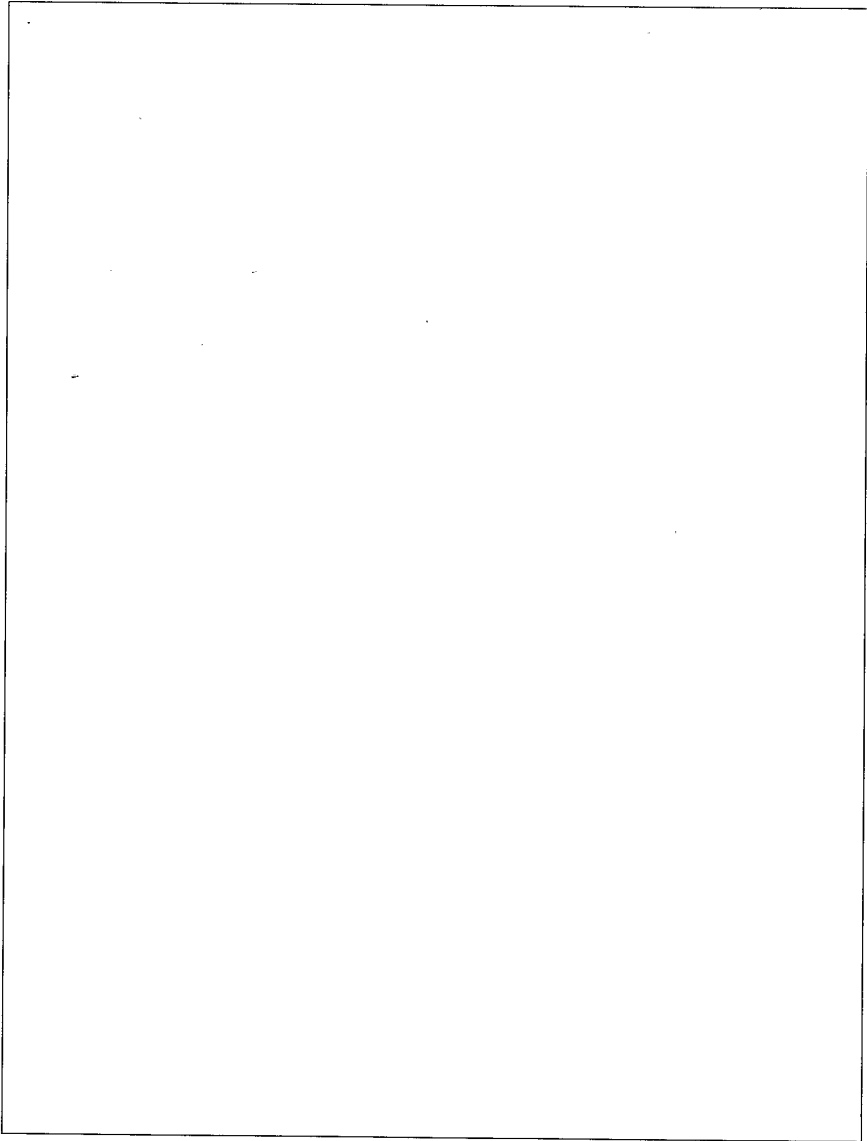
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27 July 1990





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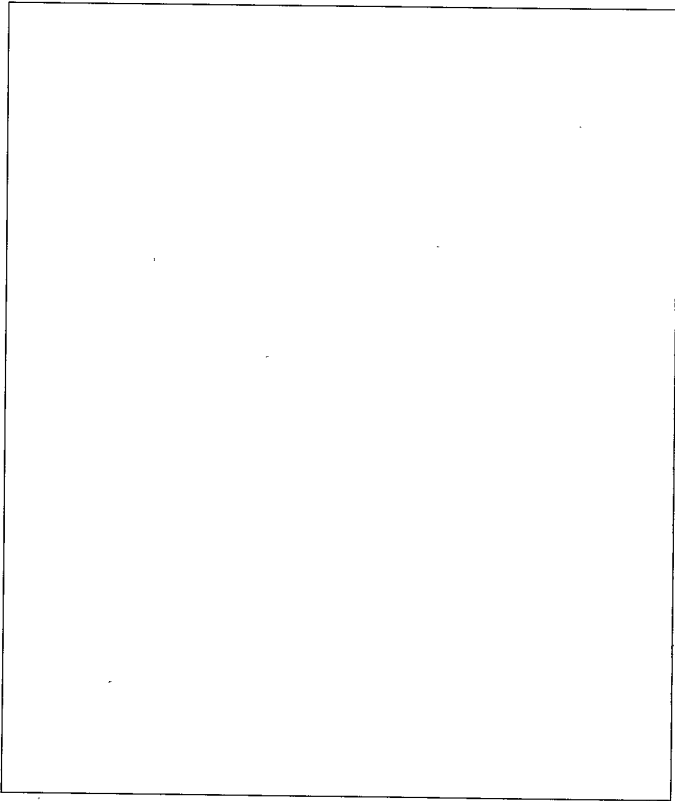
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27 July 1990





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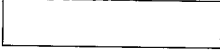
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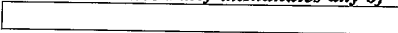


Special Analysis

JAPAN:

Kaifu Riding High

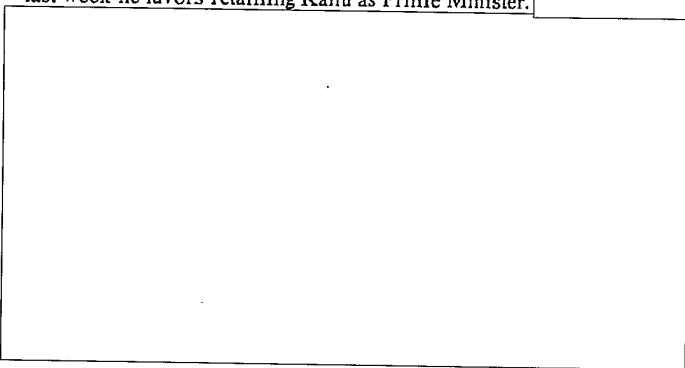
Prime Minister Kaifu is in a far stronger position than when he took office last summer. His strength is based on personal popularity that could erode quickly if the Liberal Democratic Party mishandles any of several controversial issues.



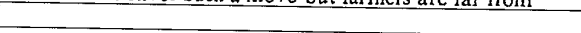
Kaifu, whom party leaders initially viewed as only a stopgap Prime Minister, has won widespread public support; a recent poll showing 63 percent of the voting public backs him makes Kaifu the most popular LDP Prime Minister ever. He has won high marks for resolving trade disputes with Washington and representing Japanese interests at the G-7 summit in Houston. Kaifu's youth and oratorical skills add to his image.



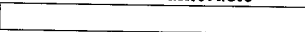
Kaifu's high ratings have won him the support of certain crucial party leaders. LDP strongman Shin Kanemaru, for example, told reporters last week he favors retaining Kaifu as Prime Minister.



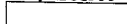
Because Kaifu depends so heavily on public approval, the LDP's management of several controversial issues will be critical to his staying power. This fall, a special Diet session will consider revising the 3-percent consumption tax that helped bring Takeshita down. The party is also moving toward liberalizing Japan's rice market. Polls show urban voters favor such a move but farmers are far from convinced.



Political scandal also could undercut Kaifu's popularity. Earlier this summer, the Prime Minister's aide was implicated in questionable financial dealings. Kaifu emerged unscathed but remains vulnerable to taint from Japanese "money politics."



~~Top Secret~~



**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT DD

EXHIBIT DD

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CONFIDENTIAL

RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 MONROV 06598 01 OF 06 052032Z
ACTION AF-01

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	HA-09	L-03	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	EAP-01	PA-01
	PC-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	INRE-00	OCS-06	FDRE-01	CA-02
	FBO-07	RP-10	A-01	USSS-00	SP-01	M-01	SR-01
	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01	IMMC-01	SCT-03	P-02	T-01
	IML-00	/090 W					

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 INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9409
 USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
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MACINTELCEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
 CINCOSOC MACDILL AFB FL
 USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL
 HQSAC OFFUTT AFB NE//IN//

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: HARRY R MELONE
 DATE/CASE ID: 25 JAN 2007 200603489

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23AF HURLBURT AFB FL
39SOW RHEIN MAIN AB GE//BOI//
21AF MCGUIRE AFB NJ//IN//
COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC
CDRFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA
322 ALD RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC//
437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//
JEWIC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//
CTF FOUR ONE
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CTF SIX TWO
CTF SIX SEVEN
CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 06 MONROVIA 06598

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI
SUBJECT: TFLI01: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1930
- JULY 5, 1990
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REF: MONROVIA 6578

1. (C) SUMMARY: IT WAS A QUIET AFTERNOON ON MOST MILITARY FRONTS, BUT THE CURRENT POSITION OF NPFL AND AFL TROOPS IS UNCLEAR IN SOME AREAS. CONGOTOWN IS VERY QUIET, AND RESIDENTS REPORT REBELS ARE IN THE AREA. THE AFL APPEARS TO CONTROL THE ELWA JUNCTION AND THE BREWERVILLE CHECKPOINT, BUT THE SITUATION IS FLUID. THE ROAD TO SIERRA LEONE MAY BE OPEN IF BREWERVILLE IS IN AFL HANDS. SEVERAL HUNDRED AFL SOLDIERS MOVED INTO TOWN FROM THE DIRECTION OF CAMP SCHIEFFLIN THIS AFTERNOON. THE AN-32 RETURNED TO SPRIGGS PAYNE THIS AFTERNOON, AND TOOK OFF AGAIN. END SUMMARY.

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MILITARY SITUATION

2. (C) IT WAS A QUIET AFTERNOON ON MOST FRONTS. SOME HEAVY FIGHTING REPORTEDLY TOOK PLACE IN THE PAYNESVILLE AREA DURING THE MORNING. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHO CONTROLS THE ELWA JUNCTION. AN EMBASSY DRIVER WHO WALKED TO CONGOTOWN ON JULY 5 REPORTS THAT THE RESIDENTS WERE NOT VENTURING OUT, AND A LOCAL WARNED HIM THAT REBELS WERE IN THE AREA HOWEVER. THERE WAS NO SIGN OF THE AFL IN CONGOTOWN, AND NO TRAFFIC ON THE ROAD. THERE WERE NO AFL VISIBLE AT THE PARTIALLY CONSTRUCTED DEFENSE MINISTRY A MILE THIS SIDE OF ELWA JUNCTION.

3. (C) WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO CONFIRM THE REPORT THAT THE NPFL WAS CONDUCTING HOUSE TO HOUSE SEARCHES FOR

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
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	HA-09	L-03	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	EAP-01	PA-01
	PC-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	INRE-00	OCS-06	FDRE-01	CA-02
	FBO-07	RP-10	A-01	USSS-00	SP-01	M-01	SR-01
	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01	IMMC-01	SCT-03	P-02	T-01
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INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9410
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY ROME
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RRF MONROVIA
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MACINTELCEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
CINCSOC MACDILL AFB FL
USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL
HQSAC OFFUTT AFB NE//IN//
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CDRFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA
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437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//
JEWIC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//
CTF FOUR ONE
CTF SIX ONE
CTF SIX TWO
CTF SIX SEVEN
CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 06 MONROVIA 06598

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EXHIBIT DD

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S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS, PREL, PHUM, ASEC, CASC, MCAP, PREF, EAID, EINV, LI
SUBJECT: TFLI01: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1930
- JULY 5, 1990

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KRAHN AND MANDIGOS IN PAYNESVILLE. ONE SECOND HAND SOURCE CONFIRMED THAT SEARCHES HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT, BUT SAID THE NPFL WERE ONLY FLUSHING OUT HOSTILE AFL FORCES.

4. (C) AMCITS AT THE ELWA MISSION COMPOUND, ONLY A MILE OR SO FROM THE JUNCTION, ARE SAFE. THEY REPORT THAT THE AFL IS IN CONTROL OF THEIR AREA, BUT THERE HAS BEEN LOTS OF ACTIVITY FROM THE DIRECTION OF RIA. ELWA IS NO LONGER BROADCASTING BECAUSE OF OUR RECOMMENDATION THAT THEY MOVE FROM THE RADIO STATION AREA TO ANOTHER PART OF THEIR COMPOUND AND THE STAFF ARE KEEPING A LOW PROFILE.

5. (C) AMERICAN OFFICIALS AT THE ATO T-SITE REPORT THAT AN AFL CONVOY MADE FOUR RUNS IN THE DIRECTION OF CAMP SCHIEFFLIN THIS AFTERNOON, FERRYING SEVERAL HUNDRED AFL TROOPS FROM THE DIRECTION OF CAMP SCHIEFFLIN BACK TOWARD THE VICINITY OF THE ELWA JUNCTION. THE SITUATION IN THAT AREA IS CONFUSED, AS IT DOES NOT APPEAR THAT THESE REINFORCEMENTS CLASHED WITH NPFL FORCES KNOWN TO BE IN THE VICINITY.

6. (C) SOME AFL TROOPS FROM MARSHALL WANDERED ONTO RIA THIS AFTERNOON, APPARENTLY SEEKING A WAY OUT FROM THEIR REMOTE POST. MOST WERE WITHOUT ARMS, AND THEY WERE REPORTEDLY TAKEN INTO CUSTODY BY REBEL FORCES. THE NPFL IS REPORTEDLY MAINTAINING A VERY LIGHT PRESENCE AT THE AIRPORT.

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7. (C) THE MILITARY PICTURE IS ALSO MUDDLED IN BREWERVILLE. SEVERAL OF THE REFUGEES CLUSTERED AROUND THE R-SITE COMPOUND REPORT THAT THE AFL IS NOW BACK IN CONTROL OF THE WATERLOO CHECKPOINT. THERE WERE NO REPORTS OF A MAJOR ENGAGEMENT IN THE AREA, SO PERHAPS
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THE NPFL FORCES FADED AWAY.

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EXHIBIT DD

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ACTION AF-01

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	PC-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	INRE-00	OCS-06	FDRE-01	CA-02
	FBO-07	RP-10	A-01	USSS-00	SP-01	M-01	SR-01
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USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 06 MONROVIA 06598

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
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GENEVA FOR RMA
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KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI
SUBJECT: TFLI01: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1930
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8. (C) AN AP PHOTOGRAPHER TRAVELLED FROM THE HOTEL AFRICA BACK INTO TOWN THIS AFTERNOON WITHOUT INCIDENT. THE ROAD FROM THE HOTEL (AND 40 OF HIS DOLLARS) IS IN AFL HANDS. RESIDENTS NEAR THE ST. PAUL BRIDGE SAY THERE WAS NO CONFLICT IN THE AREA DURING

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THE DAY, AND THERE HAS BEEN NO GUNFIRE FROM THE DIRECTION OF CALDWELL TODAY. HOWEVER, SHOOTING BROKE OUT ON BOTH SIDES OF THE RIVER AT ABOUT 1915 TONIGHT.

9. (C) VOA IN CAREYSBURG WAS QUIET TODAY. A FEW REFUGEES CONTINUE TO TRICKLE IN. THERE HAVE BEEN NO MORE REPORTS OF ETHNIC KILLINGS IN THE AREA.

SITUATION UP COUNTRY

10. (C) ACCORDING TO CHURCH CONTACTS, THERE HAS BEEN SPORADIC SHOOTING BY UNDISCIPLINED AFL SOLDIERS IN ZWEDRU, GRAND GEDEH, HOME OF PRESIDENT DOE'S KRAHN TRIBE. RESIDENTS ARE BEGINNING TO PANIC AND A GOOD NUMBER OF THEM ARE LEAVING THE TOWN. THE LAST AMERICAN MISSIONARY IN THE TOWN DEPARTED ZWEDRU FOR HARPER EARLY THIS WEEK.

11. (C) CHURCH CONTACTS REPORT THAT THE MARJORITY OF NPFL FORCES IN KAKATA HAVE LEFT THE TOWN AND MOVED TOWARD MONROVIA. EARLY THIS WEEK, SEVERAL MISSIONARIES DROVE FROM GBARNGA TO YEKEPA AND BACK. THEY REPORT THAT THESE TOWNS ARE QUIET; THE GANTA LEPROSARIUM IS STILL IN OPERATION AND THE REMAINING IRISH NUN THERE, SISTER BRIGITTE, IS DOING FINE. A NUMBER OF CIVILIANS REPORTEDLY HAVE RETURNED TO GBARNGA.

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12. (C) OUR CHURCH CONTACTS ALSO REPORT THAT THERE

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PAGE 01 MONROV 06598 04 OF 06 052044Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
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	PC-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	INRE-00	OCS-06	FDRE-01	CA-02
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INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9412

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AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
COM SIXTHFLT
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 06 MONROVIA 06598

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP

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EXHIBIT DD

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HAS BEEN SOME SHOOTING BY NERVOUS AFL SOLDIERS IN BOMI HILLS AND IN THE KLAY AREA. WE ARE IN DAILY CONTACT WITH THE PEACE CORPS TRAINING CENTER AT KLAY, AND THE PC LOCAL EMPLOYEE THERE, HOWEVER, REPORTS THAT THINGS ARE QUIET.

INTER-AFL TENSIONS

13. (C) THE DRIVER WHO WALKED TO CONGOTOWN WAS RETURNING THROUGH THE JALLAHTOWN ROAD AREA WHEN HE SAW A PICK-UP TRUCK WITH AN OFFICER DRIVING AND TWO ARMED SOLDIERS IN THE BACK APPROACH THE FIRST CHECKPOINT. THE KRAHN SOLDIERS AT THE CHECKPOINT CHALLENGED THE TRUCK, AND THE OFFICER DRIVING BECAME IRATE, YELLING, "DON'T YOU KNOW I AM YOUR SUPERIOR?" WHEN THE CHECKPOINT SOLDIERS DID NOT YIELD HE ORDERED THE MEN IN BACK TO "TAKE THEM DOWN." THE SOLDIERS IN THE PICK-UP OPENED FIRE, APPARENTLY KILLING THE TWO CHECKPOINT SOLDIERS. AS THE FIRST CHECKPOINT WAS HIDDEN FROM VIEW FROM THE OTHER THREE ON THE JALLAHTOWN ROAD, THE OTHER CHECKPOINTS WERE UNAWARE OF WHAT HAD HAPPENED AND ALLOWED THE TRUCK TO PASS.

14. (C) CAPTAIN NELSON, THE DIRECTOR OF THE SPECIAL SECURITY SERVICE (LIBERIA'S EQUIVALENT OF THE SECRET SERVICE), APPEARED AT THE EMBASSY JULY 5 SEEKING "POLITICAL ASYLUM". HE SAID THAT TWO PERSONS WERE KILLED BEHIND HIS HOME LAST NIGHT, AND HIS OWN LIFE WAS IN DANGER. NELSON SAID SOLDIERS AT THE EXECUTIVE

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MANSION NO LONGER HAD ANY RESPECT FOR HIS POSITION,
CLAIMING, "NO ONE IS IN CHARGE" OF THE TROOPS. POLOFF
EXPLAINED TO NELSON, WHO IS A BASSA MAN, THAT IT IS
UNABLE TO OFFER REFUGE, AND THE TREMBLING SSS DIRECTOR
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RELUCTANTLY DEPARTED.

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INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
	OPR-01	CIAE-00	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-01
	HA-09	L-03	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	EAP-01	PA-01
	PC-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	INRE-00	OCS-06	FDRE-01	CA-02
	FBO-07	RP-10	A-01	USSS-00	SP-01	M-01	SR-01
	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01	IMMC-01	SCT-03	P-02	T-01
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O 052033Z JUL 90
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2879
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9413
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
COM SIXTHFLT
USEUCOM AIDES VAHINGEN GE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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HQSAO OFFUTT AFB NE//IN//
RHCDAAA/23AF HURLBURT AFB FL
RHFQAAA/39SOW RHEIN MAIN AB GE//BOI//
RUEOLIA/21AF MCGUIRE AFB NJ//IN//
COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC
CDRFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA
RHFQAAA/322 ALD RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC//
RUCLSLA/437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//
JEWIC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//
CTF FOUR ONE
CTF SIX ONE
CTF SIX TWO
CTF SIX SEVEN
CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 06 MONROVIA 06598

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI
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SITUATION IN MONROVIA

15. (U) THERE WAS A BRIEF PANIC IN TOWN AROUND 1500
THIS AFTERNOON, AS THE RUMOR QUICKLY SPREAD THAT THE

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CURFEW HAD BEEN CHANGED, AND NOW STARTED AT 1500. THE PANIC QUICKLY SUBSIDED. THE 1800 TO 0600 CURFEW REMAINS IN EFFECT. JACKSON E. DOE TOLD POLCONS THAT HE DROVE TO THE 72ND ARMOR UNIT AND TO THE BRIDGE AT LOWER CALDWELL TODAY WITHOUT INCIDENT.

16. (C) MONROVIA RESIDENTS ARE BRACING FRO ANOTHER NIGHT OF FEAR. REPORTS OF HARASSMENT BY AFL SOLDIERS BEGAN COMING IN SHORTLY AFTER DARK.

MEDIA

17. (U) IN A JULY 5 INTERVIEW ON THE BBC 'FOCUS ON AFRICA' PROGRAM, NPFL SPOKESMAN TOM WOEWIYU CATEGORICALLY REJECTED ANY INTERIM GOVERNMENT THAT DID NOT INCLUDE CHARLES TAYLOR. WOEWIYU SAID THE INCLUSION OF TAYLOR WAS ESSENTIAL, AS ONLY TAYLOR COULD EFFECTIVELY CONTROL THE 15,000 NPFL TROOPS. WOEWIYU SAID IT WAS "CONNIVING AND SINFUL" TO ANNOUNCE THAT TAYLOR HAD AGREED TO ANY PLAN WHICH EXCLUDED HIM, AND SUGGESTED THAT THE USG WAS BEHIND THE REPORT, AS THE STATE DEPARTMENT SEEMED TO HAVE "ITS OWN AGENDA" AND "SOMEONE IN MIND" TO HEAD THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT IN THE ECOWAS PROPOSAL. WOEWIYU SAID THE NPFL WAS WILLING TO RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, BUT ECOWAS AND OTHER MEDIATORS SHOULD NOT SET "PRECONDITIONS"
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SUCH AS TAYLOR'S EXCLUSION. WHEN ASKED IF THE NPFL

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
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	HA-09	L-03	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	EAP-01	PA-01
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	FBO-07	RP-10	A-01	USSS-00	SP-01	M-01	SR-01
	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01	IMMC-01	SCT-03	P-02	T-01
	IML-00	/090 W					

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O 052033Z JUL 90
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2880
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9414
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE

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EXHIBIT DD

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AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
COM SIXTHFLT
USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
USMISSION GENEVA
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23AF HURLBURT AFB FL
39SOW RHEIN MAIN AB GE//BOI//
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COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC
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437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//
JEWIC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//
CTF FOUR ONE
CTF SIX ONE
CTF SIX TWO
CTF SIX SEVEN
CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 06 MONROVIA 06598

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)

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ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS, PREL, PHUM, ASEC, CASC, MCAP, PREF, EAID, EINV, LI
SUBJECT: TFLI01: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1930
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WOULD CEASE FIRE WHILE TALKS CONTINUED, WOEWIYU
ANSWERED EMPHATICALLY: "ABSOLUTELY NOT."

AN-32 RETURNS, DEPARTS AGAIN

18. (C) THE AN-32 RETURNED TO MONROVIA FROM FREETOWN
THIS AFTERNOON, AND DEPARTED AGAIN AT ABOUT 1700. WE
PRESUME, BUT CANNOT YET VERIFY, THAT THE SOVIET
EMBASSY STAFF WAS ABOARD. WE ALSO PRESUME THAT THE
SIX SOVIETS STUCK AT HOTEL AFRICA YESTERDAY THAT WERE
THE RELIEF CREW FOR THE AN-32 WENT OUT WITH IT.

19. (C) ON A LIGHTER NOTE, PROMINENT AMERICANO-LIBERIAN
SENATOR AND VOA CONTRACTOR ARCHIE BERNARD, A
SELF-ADMITTED HUSTLER, IS NOW DRIVING A CAR WITH
DIPLOMATIC PLATES. ASKED WHOSE CAR IT IS, BERNARD
EXPLAINED THAT AS A SENATOR, HE BELIEVES HE "SHOULD
HAVE" DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY, SO HE WENT TO THE VEHICLE
REGISTRATION BUREAU AND "DEMANDED" DIP PLATES. HE GOT
THEM AND NOW HE DRIVES THROUGH AFL CHECKPOINTS WITH NO
PROBLEMS. YESTERDAY, HE SAID, HE DROVE THROUGH THE
LAST AFL CHECKPOINT TO HIS HOME IN PAYNESVILLE TO GET
THE FOOD OUT OF HIS DEEP FREEZER. DE VOS##

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**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

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EXHIBIT EE

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E32

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RELEASED IN FULL

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
	OPR-01	CIAE-00	H-01	IO-19	FMP-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00
	SSO-01	HA-09	L-03	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	MFLO-01
	EAP-01	PA-01	PC-01	PER-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	INRE-00
	OCS-06	FDRE-00	CA-02	FBO-07	RP-10	A-01	UOSS-00
	SP-01	M-01	MMP-01	SR-01	PRS-01	DS-01	IMMC-01
	OIS-01	SCT-03	P-02	IML-00	/092 W		

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O 192002Z JUL 90
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3325
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9514
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
COM SIXTHFLT
USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
ATO MONROVIA
RRF MONROVIA
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MACINTELCEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
CINCSOC MACDILL AFB FL
USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL
HQAC OFFUTT AFB NE//IN//

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: HARRY R MELONE
DATE/CASE ID: 25 JAN 2007 200603489

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EXHIBIT EE

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23AF HURLBURT AFB FL
39SOW RHEIN MAIN AB GE//BOI//
21AF MCGUIRE AFB NJ//IN//
COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC
CDRFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA
322 ALD RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC//
437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//
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CTF FOUR ONE
CTF SIX ONE
CTF SIX TWO
CTF SIX SEVEN
CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 MONROVIA 07157

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA A FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI
SUBJECT: TFLI01: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1800
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- JULY 19, 1990

REF: MONROVIA 7097

1. SUMMARY: SHOOTING BROKE OUT ON BUSHROD ISLAND NEAR THE PORT TODAY WHICH CLOSED THE ONLY ROAD OUT OF MONROVIA AND BROUGHT THE CONFLICT BACK TO THE CITY. WHILE THE CLASH IS AN INDICATION THAT THE LULL IN FIGHTING MAY BE ENDING, THERE STILL DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN ANY SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN MILITARY POSITIONS. IN WHAT MAY BE A PRELUDE TO A BREAKDOWN IN SOCIAL STABILITY, LOOTING IS GROWING IN MONROVIA. IT APPEARS TO BE A PROBLEM IN NPFL-HELD AREAS AS WELL.
END SUMMARY.

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MILITARY SITUATION

2. (C) THERE ARE CONTINUED REPORTS OF SHOOTING AND CASUALTIES ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF MONROVIA INDICATING THAT THE LULL IN THE FIGHTING MAY BE ENDING. NEVERTHELESS, THERE DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN MILITARY POSITIONS. IN WHAT MAY HAVE BEEN AN NPFL AMBUSH, A VEHICLE CARRYING SOLDIERS WAS FIRED UPON NEAR THE CALDWELL JUNCTION ON NORTHERN BUSHROD ISLAND AT ABOUT 1400 HOURS THIS AFTERNOON. PANIC ENSUED IN SOME PARTS OF BUSHROD, AS SOLDIERS BEGAN FIRING INTO THE AIR AND BLOCKING ROADS, INCLUDING THE ROAD THAT CROSSES THE ISLAND LEADING TO SIERRA LEONE. IT APPEARS THE AFL SUFFERED SOME CASUALTIES, AS CONTACTS ON BUSHROD OBSERVED AMBULANCES SPEEDING INTO THE ISLAND CLINIC. REPORTS THAT THE NPFL MOVED AGAINST THE LEC POWER PLANT NEAR THE BONG MINES BRIDGE ON BUSHROD HAVE NOT BEEN SUBSTANTIATED,

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INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
	OPR-01	CIAE-00	H-01	IO-19	FMP-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00
	SSO-01	HA-09	L-03	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	MFLO-01
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	SP-01	M-01	MMP-01	SR-01	PRS-01	DS-01	IMMC-01
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O 192002Z JUL 90
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3326
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9515
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY DAKAR

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EXHIBIT EE

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USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
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MACINTELCEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 MONROVIA 07157

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
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E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
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- JULY 19, 1990

BUT CONSIDERABLE SHOOTING CONTINUES IN THAT AREA AS WELL.

3. (LOU) WE HAVE FEW REPORTS OF SHOOTING IN THE PAYNESVILLE AREA TODAY, BUT A FEW MORE AFL CASUALTIES FROM THERE WERE BROUGHT TO CATHOLIC HOSPITAL LAST NIGHT.

4. (C) THE NPFL HAS VISITED THE ELWA MISSION COMPOUND ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, ACCORDING TO A RELIABLE CONTACT WHO SPOKE WITH MANY OF THE PERSONS SEEKING REFUGE AT ELWA. NPFL REPRESENTIVES ALLEGEDLY ASSURED THE DISPLACED THAT THE NPFL WOULD NOT ATTACK THE COMPOUND ITSELF.

SITUATION IN MONROVIA

5. (LOU) THE STREETS WERE AGAIN FILLED WITH PEDESTRIANS THIS MORNING. HAWKERS WERE OUT IN LARGE NUMBERS, BUT MOST STORES STILL REMAIN SHUT. MAMBA POINT, WHERE THE EMBASSY IS LOCATED, AND SEVERAL OTHER PARTS OF THE CITY HAVE HAD COMMERCIAL POWER FOR THE PAST SIX NIGHTS, BUT CITY WATER REMAINS CUT.

6. (C) LOOTING CONTINUES ON A NIGHTLY BASIS IN SOME SUBURBAN LOCATIONS. THE HOME OF A DEPARTED AMCIT WHO WORKED FOR THE INTERNATIONAL TRUST COMPANY (ITC) WAS ROBBED JULY 17. THERE MAY BE SEVERAL GANGS OF MILITARY/CIVILIAN LOOTERS DEVELOPING A SYSTEMATIC PATTERN. FOR EXAMPLE, ACCORDING TO A QUALIFIED OBSERVER, AFL SOLDIERS ARE SHOWING UP AT A WAREHOUSE NEAR SPRIGGS PAYNE AIRPORT WITH THEIR LOOT, WHICH WILL
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BE SOLD LATER. THE OBSERVER REPORTS THAT SWEN DIXON,
A FORMER PRC MEMBER WHO IS CURRENTLY A REPRESENTATIVE

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3327

INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9516

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE

COM SIXTHFLT

USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

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AMEMBASSY LOME

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

ATO MONROVIA

RRF MONROVIA

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PAGE 02

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- JULY 19, 1990

IN THE LEGISLATURE, IS ONE OF THE LEADING LOOTERS.
DIXON WAS REFUSED REFUGE AT THE EMBASSY SOME TWO WEEKS
AGO. HE WAS SEEN BY EMBASSY OFFICERS AT THE EXECUTIVE
MANSION A FEW DAYS LATER, AND AGAIN ASKED FOR REFUGE,
PRESUMABLY IN FEAR OF SOLDIERS. NOW HE APPEARS TO
HAVE DONNED A UNIFORM AND JOINED THEM.

7. (C) SPORADIC KILLINGS ALSO CONTINUE. ACCORDING TO
A CONTACT IN SINKOR, AFL SOLDIERS SHOT AND KILLED
THREE KISSI AND THREE GREBO THERE LAST NIGHT. THE
CONTACT SAID THE MOTIVE WAS UNCLEAR, BUT MAY HAVE BEEN
ROBBERY OR A SETTling OF OLD SCORES.

REBEL RADIO

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EXHIBIT EE

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8. (LOU) NPFL RADIO STATIONS IN GBARNGA AND VOINJAMA BROADCAST ANNOUNCEMENTS ON JULY 18 THAT WERE VIRTUAL MIRROR IMAGES OF ANNOUNCEMENTS CARRIED ON THE GOL RADIO STATION LAST WEEK. ELRV IN VOINJAMA WARNED THAT ANYONE CAUGHT IMPERSONATING NPFL MEMBERS OR CAUGHT LOOTING WOULD BE EXECUTED. ELRG IN GBARNGA ANNOUNCED APPOINTMENTS OF EIGHT PERSONS AS COMMANDERS OF SINGLE BARREL SQUADRONS IN EIGHT DISTRICTS OF BONG COUNTY, AND URGED CHURCH LEADERS AND MARKETEERS TO RESUME BUSINESS AS USUAL.

DISPLACED NUMBERS UPDATE

9. (U) A TOTAL OF ABOUT 35,000 DISPLACED PERSONS ARE CURRENTLY SEEKING REFUGE AT 23 IDENTIFIED LOCATIONS IN CONFIDENTIAL

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TOWN. THE NUMBERS RANGE FROM 100 AT THE SPANISH EMBASSY TO 11,000 AT THE ELWA COMPOUND. ALL 23 HAVE

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INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
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	SSO-01	HA-09	L-03	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	MFLO-01
	EAP-01	PA-01	PC-01	PER-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	INRE-00
	OCS-06	FDRE-00	CA-02	FBO-07	RP-10	A-01	USSS-00
	SP-01	M-01	MMP-01	SR-01	PRS-01	DS-01	IMMC-01
	OIS-01	SCT-03	P-02	IML-00	/092 W		

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O 192002Z JUL 90
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3328
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9517
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
COM SIXTHFLT
USEUCOM AIDES VAHINGEN GE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

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EXHIBIT EE

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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
ATO MONROVIA
RRF MONROVIA
PROJECT2002 WASHDC//DIS//
CTOSCE18ABC FT BRAGG NC
DIA WASHDC
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK
FOSIF ROTA SP
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MACINTELCEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
CINCSOC MACDILL AFB FL
USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL
HQSAF OFFUTT AFB NE//IN//
23AF HURLBURT AFB FL
39SOW RHEIN MAIN AB GE//BOI//
21AF MCGUIRE AFB NJ//IN//
COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC
CDRFORSOC FT MCPHERSON GA
322 ALD RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC//
437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//
JWC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//
CTF FOUR ONE
CTF SIX ONE
CTF SIX TWO
CTF SIX SEVEN
CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 MONROVIA 07157

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS, PREL, PHUM, ASEC, CASC, MCAP, PREF, EAID, EINV, LI

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SUBJECT: TFLI01: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1800
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- JULY 19, 1990

BEEN SUPPLIED WITH FOOD ASSISTANCE BY MSF, CRS, AND ICRC. THE RELIEF AGENCIES BELIEVE THAT FURTHER FOOD ASSISTANCE TO THE DISPLACED CENTERS AT PRESENT COULD HEIGHTEN RESENTMENT THAT DISPLACED ARE RECEIVING RICE, WHILE MOST MONROVIANS GO WITHOUT. THEY WILL CONSIDER HOW TO DEAL WITH THESE DELIVERIES AS THE PROPOSAL TO MONETIZE RICE FOR DISTRIBUTION TO COMMERCIAL DEALERS IS CONSIDERED.

MORE AMCITS DEPART

10. (LOU) 20 AMERICAN CITIZENS LEFT LIBERIA ON AN AIR CARGO LIBERIA CHARTER TODAY AND OTHER ARE PREPARING TO GO. ABOUT A DOZEN MORE IN LOFA COUNTY PLAN TO DEPART OVERLAND TOMORROW, CROSSING INTO THE IVORY COAST FROM UPPER NIMBA COUNTY.

FSN DETAINED

11. (C) SECURITY FORCES PICKED UP A VOICE OF AMERICA FSN TECHNICIAN FROM HIS HOME IN MONROVIA JULY 19 AND TOOK HIM TO THE EXECUTIVE MANSION. WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO FIND OUT THE CHARGES, IF ANY. DE VOS

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**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT FF

EXHIBIT FF

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RELEASED IN FULL

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
	CIAE-00	DODE-00	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-01
	HA-09	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-01	EAP-01	PA-01	CCO-00
	OMB-01	INRE-00	FDRE-01	ACDA-13	USIE-00	SP-01	SNP-01
	PRS-01	DS-01	IMMC-01	SCT-03	P-02	T-01	IML-00

/073 W

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O 251611Z JUL 90 ZFF-4
 FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3522
 INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9556
 USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
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 USEUCOM AIDES VAHINGEN GE
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS
 AMEMBASSY ACCRA
 AMEMBASSY DAKAR
 USMISSION GENEVA
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 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY LOME
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 AMEMBASSY SEOUL
 ATO MONROVIA
 RRF MONROVIA
 PROJECT2002 WASHDC//DIS//
 CTOSCE18ABC FT BRAGG NC
 DIA WASHDC
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK
 FOSIF ROTA SP
 MACINTELCEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
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CINCSOC MACDILL AFB FL
 USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL
 HQSAC OFFUTT AFB NE//IN//
 23AF HURLBURT AFB FL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: HARRY R MELONE
 DATE/CASE ID: 25 JAN 2007 200603489

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EXHIBIT FF

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39SOW RHEIN MAIN AB GE//BOI//
21AF MCGUIRE AFB NJ//IN//
COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC
CDRFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA
322 ALD RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC//
437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//
JEWIC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//
CTF FOUR ONE
CTF SIX ONE
CTF SIX TWO
CTF SIX SEVEN
CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 06 MONROVIA 07365

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI
SUBJECT: TFLI01: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1400
- JULY 25, 1990
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REF: MONROVIA 7329

1. (C) SUMMARY: FIGHTING AND HEAVY SHOOTING BROKE OUT IN SEVERAL SECTIONS OF DOWNTOWN MONROVIA, SINKOR AND ELWA THIS MORNING AS THE REBELS STEPPED UP THEIR PRESSURE ON THE GOL AND APPARENTLY PENETRATED DEEPER INTO THE CITY. AT MID-MORNING, AN AFL UNIT ATTACKED NPFL FORCES AT ELWA, BUT SEEM TO BE RETREATING, AS THE FIGHTING DIMINISHES. THE EXECUTIVE MANSION TOLD EMBASSY THE AFL MAY LAUNCH AN ATTACK ON ELWA AND SUGGESTED WE ADVISE AMCITS IN THE AREA TO LEAVE. WE DID SO IMMEDIATELY, BUT ELWA PERSONNEL DID NOT FEEL SUFFICIENTLY SECURE TO LEAVE THE PREMISES. DOWNTOWN MONROVIA REMAINS BUTTONED UP TIGHTLY. LAST NIGHT AND

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EXHIBIT FF

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THIS MORNING, THE AFL CONTINUED TO KILL CIVILIANS, PRIMARILY MANO/GIO, AND LOOTED SEVERAL LARGE SUPERMARKETS. THEY ALSO BROKE INTO THE BUILDING WHERE USIS IS LOCATED, LOOTED PROPERTY, AND SEVERELY BEAT A GIO CONTRACT GUARD. SOLDIERS ENTERED JFK HOSPITAL AND BEGIN BEATING AND EVICTING DISPLACED PERSONS. WITHIN THE PAST FEW DAYS, SOLDIERS FORCIBLY EVICTED 1,200 DISPLACED PERSONS FROM AN ICRC-PROTECTED CENTER; MANY FLED TOWARD ELWA. THE NPFL FORCES AT ELWA EXECUTED KRAHN, MANDINGO AND GOL OFFICIALS. FORCES ON BUSHROD ISLAND APPEAR TO BE INTERESTED IN KILLING THOSE THEY SUSPECT OF BELONGING TO THE AFL.. END SUMMARY.

MILITARY SITUATION

2. (C) NPLF AND INPFL FORCES INCREASED THEIR PRESSURE AT SEVERAL POINTS IN AND AROUND MONROVIA ON JULY 25.

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ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-01 INR-05 EUR-01 SS-01 OIC-02
CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-01
HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-01 EAP-01 PA-01 CCO-00
OMB-01 INRE-00 FDRE-01 ACDA-13 USIE-00 SP-01 SNP-01
PRS-01 DS-01 IMMC-01 SCT-03 P-02 T-01 IML-00
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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
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INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9557
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
COM SIXTHFLT
USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
ATO MONROVIA
RRF MONROVIA
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MACINTELCEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
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CTF FOUR ONE
CTF SIX ONE
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CTF SIX SEVEN
CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 06 MONROVIA 07365

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S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
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GENEVA FOR RMA
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E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
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EARLY THIS MORNING, FIRE WAS EXCHANGED BETWEEN POSITIONS AT/NEAR THE EXECUTIVE MANSION AND BUSHROD ISLAND. HEAVY SHOOTING WENT ON ALL MORNING AT THE TWO BRIDGES LEADING FROM BUSHROD INTO THE CITY, IN WATERSIDE AND PARTS OF DOWNTOWN MONROVIA. SOME SOURCES INDICATED THE AFL WAS UNSUCCESSFULLY TRYING TO CROSS ONTO BUSHROD ISLAND. OTHERS REPORT THE SHOOTING WAS BETWEEN AFL SOLDIERS AND REBEL FORCES WHO INFILTRATED THE DOWNTOWN AREA. AT 1040 HOURS, REBELS IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES AND AFL SOLDIERS ENGAGED IN A FIRE FIGHT AT THE CORNER OF CAREY AND CENTER STREETS. CONTACTS REPORT SEEING A NUMBER OF BODIES ON DOWNTOWN STREETS.

3. (S/NOFORN) HEAVY SHOOTING AND FIGHTING ALSO OCCURRED THIS MORNING IN THE SINKOR/CONGO TOWN AREA. EXECUTIVE MANSION CONTACTS BELIEVE NPFL ELEMENTS MOVED FROM THE ELWA RED LIGHT IN PAYNESVILLE THROUGH THE BUSH ON EITHER SIDE OF TUBMAN BOULEVARD AS SKIRMISHES TOOK PLACE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ROAD. SOME OF THE NPFL ELEMENTS MAY HAVE PENETRATED AS FAR AS SPRIGGS-PAYNE AIRFIELD, WHERE HEAVY FIRING WAS HEARD THIS MORNING. THE MANAGER OF AIR CARGO LIBERIA PASSED ON AN UNCONFIRMED/UNCONFIRMED REPORT THAT THE REBELS TOOK OVER SPRIGGS-PAYNE AIRFIELD. HEAVY SHOOTING CONTINUED IN THE AREA AT 1300 HOURS.

ELWA

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4. (C) CONSIDERABLE MILITARY ACTIVITY HAS ALSO TAKEN PLACE AT THE ELWA RADIO STATION/HOSPITAL COMPLEX ON THE ROAD TO RIA. LAST NIGHT, NPFL COMMANDERS ASKED ELWA MISSIONARIES TO RESUME AM RADIO BROADCASTS, BUT
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THE MISSIONARIES STALLED. THE NPFL WAS ALSO SINGLING

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ACTION AF-01

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	PRS-01	DS-01	IMMC-01	SCT-03	P-02	T-01	IML-00
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O 251611Z JUL 90 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3524
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9558
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
COM SIXTHFLT
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CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 06 MONROVIA 07365

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
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E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
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OUT KRAHN, MANDINGO AND GOL OFFICIALS FROM AMONG THE
20,000 DISPLACED PERSONS. THIS MORNING, THE AFL
MOUNTED AN ATTACK ON NPFL FORCES AT THE SOUTH SIDE OF
THE SPRAWLING COMPOUND. AT LEAST TWO CIVILIANS WERE
KILLED AND SEVERAL WOUNDED DURING THE FIGHTING. BY

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NOON, THE NPFL HAD DRIVEN BACK THE ATTACKERS, BUT DWINDLING FIGHTING CONTINUES.

5. (C) ACTING MINISTER OF STATE WESEH MCCLAIN TELEPHONED THE AMBASSADOR THIS MORNING TO WARN THAT THE AFL WOULD BE ATTACKING NPFL FORCES AT ELWA. HE URGED THAT WE CONTACT THE AMERICAN CITIZENS AT ELWA AND ADVISE THEM TO EVACUATE. WE REACHED THEM IMMEDIATELY BY RADIO, BUT BY THAT POINT, THE ATTACK DESCRIBED ABOVE WAS UNDERWAY AND IT WAS UNSAFE FOR THEM TO LEAVE. MCCLAIN HAS SINCE CALLED AGAIN AND URGED AMCITS TO LEAVE ELWA, SAYING THE AFL IS GOING TO LAUNCH A HEAVY OFFENSIVE AGAINST ELWA. WE HAVE AGAIN ADVISED THE ELWA PEOPLE OF OUR LATEST INFORMATION AND THEY ARE CONSIDERING WHAT ACTION TO TAKE.

SITUATION IN MONROVIA

6. (U) DOWNTOWN MONROVIA REMAINS BUTTONED UP TIGHTLY. LAST NIGHT AND THIS MORNING, THE AFL CONTINUED TO KILL CIVILIANS, PRIMARILY MANO/GIO, AND LOOTED SEVERAL LARGE SUPERMARKETS. THEY ALSO BROKE INTO THE BUILDING WHERE USIS IS LOCATED "LOOKING FOR REBELS," LOOTED PROPERTY, AND CRITICALLY INJURED A GIO CONTRACT GUARD. WE HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO GET TO THE BUILDING TO DETERMINE THE EXTENT OF THE DAMAGE. WE FILED AN ORAL PROTEST WITH THE EXECUTIVE MANSION, AND WILL FOLLOW UP WITH A FORMAL NOTE.
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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
	CIAE-00	DODE-00	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-01
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	DS-01	IMMC-01	SCT-03	P-02	T-01	IML-00	/073 W

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O 251611Z JUL 90 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3525
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9559
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE

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EXHIBIT FF

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AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
COM SIXTHFLT
USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
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CINCSOC MACDILL AFB FL
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CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 06 MONROVIA 07365

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP

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EXHIBIT FF

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USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA.
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI
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SITUATION ON BUSHROD

7. (LOU) A MANDINGO, WHO SPENT FIVE DAYS ON BUSHROD ISLAND, TOLD US ALL INSURGENTS THERE ARE LOYAL TO PRINCE JOHNSON, WHO RECEIVED A WARM WELCOME FROM LOCAL RESIDENTS. THE INPFL FORCES WERE DISCIPLINED AND APPEARED NOT TO BE SCREENING RESIDENTS TO LOCATE KRAHN AND MANDINGO. THEY WERE, HOWEVER, KILLING ALL IDENTIFIABLE AFL SOLDIERS. HE ESTIMATED UP TO 300 AFL TROOPS HAD BEEN KILLED, AND OBSERVED INPFL TROOPS EXECUTE 8 PERSONS FOR LOOTING. THE CONTACT REPORTED INPFL SOLDIERS ARE SELLING RICE AT THE PORT, AND APPEAR TO BE IN FIRM CONTROL OF THE ENTIRE ISLAND. ALONG WITH 10 OTHER MEN, HE WAS DETAINED AND INTERROGATED BY AFL TROOPS WHEN HE CAME BACK IN TO THE CITY FROM BUSHROD ISLAND AND THEN SET FREE. THE OTHER 10 WERE SHOT AS SUSPECTED REBELS.

DISPLACED PERSONS CENTERS

8. (U) AS THE REBELS PENETRATE FARTHER INTO THE CITY, THE AFL IS GROWING INCREASINGLY SUSPICIOUS OF DISPLACED PERSONS WHO HAVE TAKEN REFUGE AT AREA CHURCHES, SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS. EARLY THIS AFTERNOON, A GROUP OF SOLDIERS ENTERED JFK HOSPITAL AND BEGAN BEATING AND CHASING AWAY DISPLACED PERSONS THERE. THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR REPORTS SOME OF THE DISPLACED ARE BEING KILLED. LATER IN THE DAY, THE AFL

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GRABBED 30 DISPLACED FROM ANOTHER CENTER. A FEW DAYS
AGO, TWO TRUCKLOADS OF SOLDIERS DROVE UP TO J.J.
ROBERTS HIGH SCHOOL, BROKE INTO THE NOMINALLY
ICRC-PROTECTED COMPOUND, AND FORCED THE 1200 DISPLACED
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EXHIBIT FF

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
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	HA-09	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-01	EAP-01	PA-01	CCO-00
	OMB-01	INRE-00	FDRE-01	ACDA-13	USIE-00	SP-01	SNP-01
	PRS-01	DS-01	IMMC-01	SCT-03	P-02	T-01	IML-00

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-----216671 251637Z /41

O 251611Z JUL 90 ZFF-4

FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3526

INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9560

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE

COM SIXTHFLT

USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LOME

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

ATO MONROVIA

RRF MONROVIA

PROJECT2002 WASHDC//DIS//

CTOSCE18ABC FT BRAGG NC

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CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK

FOSIF ROTA SP

MACINTELCEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//

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CINCSOC MACDILL AFB FL
USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL
HQSAC OFFUTT AFB NE//IN//
23AF HURLBURT AFB FL
39SOW RHEIN MAIN AB GE//BOI//
21AF MCGUIRE AFB NJ//IN//
COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC
CDRFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA
322 ALD RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC//
437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//
JEWIC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//
CTF FOUR ONE
CTF SIX ONE
CTF SIX TWO
CTF SIX SEVEN
CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 06 MONROVIA 07365

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI
SUBJECT: TFLI01: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1400
- JULY 25, 1990
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PERSONS TO FLEE. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, NO ONE WAS KILLED OR INJURED IN THAT INCIDENT. OTHER DISPLACED PERSONS ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY NERVOUS AND LEAVING CENTERS ON THEIR OWN ACCORD, WITH MANY APPARENTLY HEADING FOR REBEL TERRITORY IN PAYNESVILLE AND BEYOND.

9. (U) VOA REMAINS CALM. THE NPFL TRANSPORTED A

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GRAVELY ILL WOMAN TO THE FIRESTONE HOSPITAL FOR TREATMENT YESTERDAY. A NUMBER OF DISPLACED ARE MAKING THEIR WAY TO KAKATA FROM THE FENDELL DISPLACED PERSONS CENTER, WHICH IS EXPERIENCING SERIOUS SANITATION AND WATER PROBLEMS.

10. (C) ACCORDING TO BONG MINE CONTACTS, MRS. CHARLES TAYLOR IS IMMERSING HERSELF IN RELIEF WORK. SHE VISITED THE BONG MINE AREA ON JULY 24 AND ANNOUNCED THAT A MEETING WOULD SOON BE HELD IN BUCHANAN FOR RELIEF PERSONNEL.

STATUS OF AMERICANS

11. (U) WE HAVE NO CONFIRMED INFORMATION ON THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE SEVEN AMERICAN CITIZEN MISSIONARIES WHO WERE DETAINED BY GOL AUTHORITIES AS THEY ATTEMPTED TO CROSS THE BORDER INTO SIERRA LEONE A FEW DAYS AGO. THE GOL HAS BEEN UNABLE TO HELP. MINISTER MCCLAIN INFORMED THE EMBASSY JULY 24 THAT THE GOL HAD LOST CONTACT WITH ITS OFFICIALS AT THE BORDER CROSSING AND THAT THERE WAS HEAVY FIGHTING IN THE ROBERTSPORT/CAPE MOUNT AREA. OTHER RELIABLE REPORTING INDICATES THAT NPFL FORCES HAVE TAKEN OVER THE BORDER AREA. ACCORDING TO A SECOND HAND REPORT, SEVEN WHITE PERSONS WERE SEEN "WALKING TO SIERRA LEONE" RECENTLY.

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PAGE 04 MONROV 07365 05 OF 06 251619Z

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EXHIBIT FF

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COM SIXTHFLT
USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
ATO MONROVIA
RRF MONROVIA
PROJECT2002 WASHDC//DIS//
CTOSCE18ABC FT BRAGG NC
DIA WASHDC
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK
FOSIF ROTA SP
MACINTELCEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
CINCSOC MACDILL AFB FL
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 MONROV 07365 06 OF 06 251619Z

USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL
HQ SAC OFFUTT AFB NE//IN//
23AF HURLBURT AFB FL
39SOW RHEIN MAIN AB GE//BOI//
21AF MCGUIRE AFB NJ//IN//
COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC
CDRFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA
322 ALD RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC//
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JEWIC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//
CTF FOUR ONE
CTF SIX ONE
CTF SIX TWO
CTF SIX SEVEN
CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 06 MONROVIA 07365

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD

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EXHIBIT FF

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ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI
SUBJECT: TFLI01: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1400
- JULY 25, 1990

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12. SIGNS OF THE TIMES: A NEW MEDICAL UNIT OPENS UP TODAY ON THE COMPOUND UNDER THE AEGIS OF OUR VISITING RMO. ITS PURPOSE IS TO BE ANOTHER OF OUR PRECAUTIONARY CONTINGENCIES SHOULD THE INCREASING VIOLENCE IN MONROVIA TOUCH US. WAGS, HOWEVER, ARE COMMENTING THAT THE NEW FACILITY IS REALLY INTENDED TO CARE FOR VICTIMS OF THE LAUGH-OLYMPICS BEING ORGANIZED BY THE IRREPRESSIBLE MARINES THIS WEEKEND.
DE VOS

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EXHIBIT FF

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT GG

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CONFIDENTIAL

RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 MONROV 07704 01 OF 02 031310Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
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	TRSE-00	PM-01	PA-01	PC-01	OMB-01	INRE-00	USIE-00
	SP-01	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01	SCT-03	P-02	T-01

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-----141271 040031Z /63

R 031310Z AUG 90
 FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3792
 INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN.
 AMEMBASSY ACCRA
 AMEMBASSY CONAKRY
 AMEMBASSY DAKAR
 AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS
 AMEMBASSY LOME
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
 COM SIXTHFLT
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE
 DIA WASHDC
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK
 FOSIF ROTA SP
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 CTF SIX SEVEN
 CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MONROVIA 07704

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 MONROV 07704 01 OF 02 031310Z

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, LI
SUBJECT: TFLI01: WHY DOE DOESN'T GO

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: HARRY R MELONE
DATE/CASE ID: 25 JAN 2007 200603489

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2. WHAT YOU SEE DEPENDS IN LARGE PART ON WHERE YOU SIT. PERCHED ON HIS SIXTH FLOOR BALCONY IN THE EXECUTIVE MANSION, PRESIDENT SAMUEL DOE MAY THINK AT THIS PARTICULAR MOMENT THAT HIS OWN VIEW OF EVENTS IN LIBERIA IS NOT ALL THAT TERRIBLE. IN HIS PRONOUNCEMENTS OF THE PAST FEW WEEKS, THE PRESIDENT HAS APPEARED BOTH EXTREMELY CONFIDENT IN MANNER AND DETERMINED TO REMAIN IN OFFICE UNTIL NEXT YEAR.

3. DOE HAS TOLD US THAT THE MILITARY SITUATION IS NOWHERE NEAR AS CRITICAL AS THE U.S. PORTRAYS IT TO BE. IN HIS OWN MIND, HE MAY BE RIGHT. AFTER THE INITIAL NPFL ASSAULT ON MONROVIA IN EARLY JULY, TWO WEEKS OF RELATIVE PEACE RETURNED VIRTUALLY OVERNIGHT TO THE CAPITAL. THE SUDDEN APPEARANCE OF DISSIDENT REBEL PRINCE JOHNSON'S INPFL ON BUSHROD ISLAND AND THE ATTACK ON DOWNTOWN MONROVIA WAS A SETBACK, TO BE SURE; BUT THAT THE INPFL DID NOT TAKE OVER THE REST OF THE CAPITAL AND THAT THE AFL BEGAN TO DEMONSTRATE SOME BACKBONE MUST HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT HEARTENING FOR THE EMBATTLED PRESIDENT. MOREOVER, DOE HAS ALWAYS SAID HIS REAL PERIMETER IS THE AREA ABOUT THE VERY HEAVILY FORTIFIED EXECUTIVE MANSION--AND THAT ZONE, PLUS THE SINKOR AREA, IS STILL VERY MUCH UNCHALLENGED AFL TERRITORY. INDEED, IT WILL TAKE QUITE AN OFFENSIVE TO BREACH DOE'S MANSION BUNKER. THUS, HE DOES NOT SEE THE END AS BEING NECESSARILY NEAR.

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4. ANOTHER SILVER LINING FOR DOE MUST BE THE NEWS THAT THE TAYLOR FORCES MAY SOON BE TAKING ON THE JOHNSON REBELS. NOTHING COULD BE AS PROPITIOUS AT THE MOMENT FOR DOE THAN TO HAVE THE TWO GROUPS ATTEMPT TO DECIMATE ONE ANOTHER. HAD THE CONTRARY OCCURRED, AND THE TWO INSURGENT LEADERS COLLABORATED IN UNISON AGAINST DOE, THE LATTER'S PLIGHT WOULD HAVE BEEN FAR WORSE.

5. MOREOVER, PREVIOUSLY DOE HAS BEEN CLOSE TO THE BRINK ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION. HE HAS TOLD US THAT DURING HIS MORE THAN TEN YEARS IN OFFICE THERE HAVE BEEN 38 KNOWN COUP ATTEMPTS AGAINST HIM. THE MOST SERIOUS, OF COURSE, WAS THE 1985 QUIWOMPKA EFFORT WHICH ALMOST TOPPLED HIM. REBELS HAD, IN FACT,

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VIRTUALLY SURROUNDED THE EXECUTIVE MANSION AND MONROVIANS WERE CELEBRATING IN THE STREETS BEFORE TV CAMERAS WHEN THE CAMP SCHIEFFLIN BATTALION APPEARED SUDDENLY TO THE RESCUE. DOE HAS A KEEN MEMORY, AND, UNDOUBTEDLY, HE RECALLS WITH SATISFACTION THE OUTCOME OF THAT CLOSE CALL AND OTHERS. HE CLAIMS "TOUGH GUYS ENDURE, TOUGH TIMES DO NOT," AND THAT ABOVE ALL HE IS A SURVIVOR.

6. NOR SHOULD DOE'S ALLEGED BELIEF IN THE OCCULT BE DISREGARDED. STRANGE AS IT MAY SEEM TO AN AMERICAN, "JUJU" (MAGIC) PROTECTION IS REAL--AT LEAST IN PART-- TO "COUNTRY" LIBERIANS, EVEN THOSE LIVING IN URBAN AREAS. DOE HAS HIS OWN SPECIAL CONSULTANT ON "JUJU," AND HAS DEMONSTRATED ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS TO U.S. VISITORS HIS CONFIDENCE IN THE SPECIAL PROTECTION THEREBY AFFORDED HIM. RECENTLY DURING A MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR, GUNSHOTS WERE HEARD VERY NEARBY. DOE RUSHED TO THE BALCONY EDGE TO ASCERTAIN WHAT WAS

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
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	SP-01	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01	SCT-03	P-02	T-01
	/057 W						

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R 031310Z AUG 90
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3793
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

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AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
COM SIXTHFLT
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE
DIA WASHDC
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MONROVIA 07704

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
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PAGE 02 MONROV 07704 02 OF 02 031311Z

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, LI
SUBJECT: TFLI01: WHY DOE DOESN'T GO

HAPPENING. WHEN THE AMBASSADOR QUERIED IF IT WERE WISE TO BE SO BOLD, THE PRESIDENT SMILED AND SAID HE WAS NOT AFRAID OF BULLETS. INDEED, DOE MAY GENUINELY BELIEVE WHAT HE OFTEN REPEATS, NAMELY THAT HE CANNOT BE KILLED, AND THAT ONLY GOD CAN REMOVE HIM FROM EARTH.

7. ANOTHER ASSET, IN DOE'S WAY OF THINKING, IS THAT HE STILL ENJOYS A DEGREE OF POPULAR SUPPORT. IN EARLY JULY HE TOURED THE CITY IN AN OPEN CAR. IT MATTERED LITTLE TO HIM THAT HE WAS NOT WORSHIPPED BY THE MASSES. HE WAS ABLE TO RATIONALIZE AS SUCCESS THE FACT THAT HE MADE THE APPEARANCE AT ALL. IN SPITE OF THE MANY CONSTITUTIONAL VIOLATIONS DURING DOE'S DECADE IN OFFICE, HE HAS HIGHLIGHTED (HYPOCRITICALLY) THE NEED TO PRESERVE THE CONSTITUTION, A CONCEPT THAT APPEALS TO MANY LIBERIANS WHO SUPPORT THAT CHARTER

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DOCUMENT AS A MATTER OF NATIONAL DOGMA, AS ONE JUSTIFICATION FOR REMAINING IN OFFICE. EVEN REBEL (NPFL) LEADER CHARLES TAYLOR, WHEN HE ANNOUNCED (PRECIPITOUSLY) THE DEMISE OF THE DOE REGIME ON THE ELWA RADIO LAST WEEK, BASED HIS ARGUMENTS ON CONSTITUTIONAL GROUNDS, AND CLAIMED HE WAS SUSPENDING ONLY CERTAIN OF ITS ARTICLES. ALTHOUGH DOE IS HARDLY THE POPULAR FIGURE HE IMAGINES HIMSELF, HE HAS LEARNED OVER THE YEARS TO PLAY TO THE CROWDS, AND PROBABLY HAS PERSUADED HIMSELF THAT, IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY CHALLENGE TO HIS PERSONALITY, THEY WILL STILL TURN TO HIM DURING THIS CRISIS.

8. AND DOE DOES NOT FEEL HE IS ALONE. HE SEES
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SUPPORTERS IN REGIONAL POWERHOUSE NIGERIA, GUINEA AND OTHERS. THEY HAVE HELPED HIM POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY, AID WHICH IS ONGOING. MOREOVER, HE WELCOMED INITIATIVES SUCH AS THE ECOWAS AND POSSIBLE UN INTERCESSIONS IN THAT THEY BUY HIM TIME AND OFFER HOPES FOR WHAT IN HIS CALCULATION MIGHT BE AN "HONORABLE" RESULT. HE IS VERY MUCH A HISTORY BUFF, AND UNDOUBTEDLY DESIRES TO WRITE THE ULTIMATE CHAPTER OF HIS LEADERSHIP OF HIS NATION WITH A HAPPY ENDING. SO FAR, THERE HAVE BEEN AMPLE OPPORTUNITIES FOR HIM TO PROCRASTINATE ON AN ALTERNATE CONCLUSION.

9. IN SUM, DOE IS WONT TO GRASP AT STRAWS AND NOW IS CLINGING FIERCELY TO SOME VERY WEAK REEDS. IT IS TRUE THAT HE HAS SO FAR AVOIDED CATASTROPHE FOR HIMSELF, BUT IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT THE CIRCLE IS GROWING EVER TIGHTER AROUND THE EXECUTIVE MANSION. THE SAD REALITY IS THAT IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY A LEADER IN DOE'S SITUATION WOULD HAVE BEEN LONG GONE ON HIS OWN VOLITION. UNFORTUNATELY FOR LIBERIA AND ITS PEOPLE, THIS PRESIDENT'S INTRANSIGENCE AND INDIFFERENCE TO THE PLIGHT OF HIS PEOPLE FORECASTS AN EXTENDED PERIOD OF CONTINUED SUFFERING.

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**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT HH

EXHIBIT HH

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CONFIDENTIAL

RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 MONROV 07743 01 OF 06 041947Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
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	SSO-01	HA-09	L-03	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	MFLO-01
	EAP-01	PA-01	PC-01	PER-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	INRE-00
	OCS-06	FDRE-01	AGRE-00	CA-02	FBO-07	RP-10	A-01
	USSS-00	SP-01	M-01	MMP-01	SR-01	PRS-01	DS-01
	IMMC-01	OIS-01	SCT-03	IML-00	/091 W		

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 FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3825
 INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9643
 USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
 COM SIXTHFLT
 USEUCOM AIDES VAHINGEN GE
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS
 AMEMBASSY ACCRA
 AMEMBASSY DAKAR
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY LOME
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 AMEMBASSY SEOUL
 ATO MONROVIA
 RRF MONROVIA
 PROJECT2002 WASHDC//DIS//
 CTOSCE18ABC FT BRAGG NC
 DIA WASHDC
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK
 FOSIF ROTA SP
 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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MACINTELCEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
 CINCUSOC MACDILL AFB FL
 USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL
 HQSAC OFFUTT AFB NE//IN//

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: HARRY R MELONE
 DATE/CASE ID: 25 JAN 2007 200603489

UNCLASSIFIED

EXHIBIT HH

UNCLASSIFIED

23AF HURLBURT AFB FL
39SOW RHEIN MAIN AB GE//BOI//
21AF MCGUIRE AFB NJ//IN//
COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC
CDRFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA
322 ALD RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC//
437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//
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CTF FOUR ONE
CTF SIX ONE
CTF SIX TWO
CTF SIX SEVEN
CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 06 MONROVIA 07743

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. PETERSON
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI
SUBJECT: TFLI01: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1800
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- AUGUST 4, 1990

REF: MONROVIA 7729

1. (C) SUMMARY: PRINCE JOHNSON HAS THREATENED TO TAKE FOREIGN HOSTAGES AND BLOW UP MONROVIA AS A MEANS OF PROVOKING INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION WHILE PREVENTING A UNILATERAL NIGERIAN ATTEMPT TO EVACUATE ITS NATIONALS. REPORTS THAT ECOWAS, OAU AND INDIVIDUAL WEST AFRICAN COUNTRIES ARE CONSIDERING INTERVENTION IN THE LIBERIAN CONFLICT PROMPTED CHARLES TAYLOR TO THREATEN TO ATTACK ANY FOREIGN PEACEKEEPING FORCE. JOHNSON HELD OVERNIGHT THE CRS REPRESENTATIVE WHO HAS ORGANIZED RICE DISTRIBUTIONS IN INFPL TERRITORY AND KILLED HIS LIBERIAN ASSISTANT.

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2. (C) MEANWHILE, THE MILITARY SITUATION ON THE GROUND HAS CHANGED LITTLE IN THE PAST 24 HOURS. THERE WAS SPORADIC SHOOTING AND FIGHTING IN MONROVIA BETWEEN AFL AND INPFL TROOPS, AND REPORTS LATE IN THE AFTERNOON OF FIGHTING BETWEEN THE INPFL AND NPFL NORTHEAST OF BUSHROD ISLAND. THE SITUATION GROWS EVER MORE DESPERATE FOR THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF MONROVIA, WHICH WOULD WELCOME ANY RESPITE. THE SUFFERING EXTENDS FAR BEYOND MONROVIA. SOME 30,000 BEDRAGGLED DISPLACED HAVE FLED TO BOMI AND ROBERTSPORT AND THE FOOD SHORTAGE IS REPORTEDLY CRITICAL. END SUMMARY.

JOHNSON THREATENS FOREIGNERS

3. (C) IN A CONVERSATION WITH WESTERN JOURNALISTS TODAY, INPFL LEADER PRINCE JOHNSON EXPRESSED CONCERN

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S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. PETERSON
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OVER NEWS REPORTS OF NIGERIAN INTENTIONS TOWARD LIBERIA, ACCUSING THE NIGERIANS OF PLANNING TO MOUNT AN INVASION UNDER THE GUISE OF AN EVACUATION OF THEIR CITIZENS. HE TOLD THE JOURNALISTS THAT HE WELCOMED A UN, OAU OR AN ECOWAS PEACEKEEPING FORCE, SANS NIGERIA, AND INTENDED TO PROVOKE FOREIGN INTERVENTION BY TAKING BRITISH AND AMERICAN FOREIGN NATIONALS HOSTAGE BEGINNING MONDAY, AUGUST 6. ONE OF THE JOURNALISTS, WHO HAS SPOKEN WITH JOHNSON ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS SINCE HE OCCUPIED BUSHROD, REPORTS THAT JOHNSON REMAINS LUCID, BUT DOES NOT HESITATE TO EMPLOY DRASTIC MEASURES WHICH HE BELIEVES WILL FURTHER HIS OBJECTIVES.

4. (C) IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS WITH R-SITE AND EMBASSY OFFICERS, JOHNSON'S PUBLIC RELATIONS TEAM EXPRESSED SIMILAR CONCERNS ABOUT NIGERIAN INTENTIONS AND SAID THE INPFL WOULD "BLOW UP MONROVIA, ESPECIALLY THE EXECUTIVE MANSION," IF NIGERIA ATTEMPTED TO INTERVENE. THE REPRESENTATIVES, WHO APPEARED TO BE OUT OF THE LOOP ON JOHNSON'S DISCUSSION WITH THE PRESS, DENIED THAT JOHNSON THREATENED TO TAKE FOREIGN HOSTAGES OR ATTACK FOREIGN INSTALLATIONS IF THE NIGERIANS INTERVENED. THEY SAID INPFL FORCES WOULD ATTACK THE NIGERIANS AND FOREIGNERS OR FOREIGN INSTALLATIONS MIGHT GET CAUGHT IN THE CROSSFIRE, BUT CLAIMED THE INPFL WOULD "NEVER" DELIBERATELY TARGET AMERICANS OR AMERICAN FACILITIES SINCE THE U.S. WAS LIBERIA'S "BEST FRIEND AND MOTHER COUNTRY". THE EXECUTIVE MANSION LATER PASSED WORD TO THE EMBASSY THAT THEIR "INTELLIGENCE" INDICATED REBELS WERE IN THE VICINITY OF MAMBA POINT, AND REQUESTED THAT THE EMBASSY ASK THEM TO LEAVE.

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TAYLOR THREATENS TO TAKE ON PEACEKEEPING FORCE

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5. (U) IN A BBC BROADCAST THIS MORNING, NPFL LEADER CHARLES TAYLOR SAID HE WOULD CONSIDER ECOWAS INTERVENTION IN LIBERIA TO BE A HOSTILE ACT AND WOULD ATTACK ANY ECOWAS PEACEKEEPING FORCE.

OAU ROLE

6. (LOU) IN RECOGNITION OF THE SITUATION IN MONROVIA, OAU CHAIRMAN MUSEVENI SAID ON THE BBC THIS MORNING THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN LIBERIA HAS COLLAPSED, THEREFORE OAU STRICTURES ON INTERFERENCE IN A

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SOVEREIGN STATE DO NOT APPLY. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE AFRICANS, OR ANY OTHER GROUP, CAN DEPLOY THE RESOURCES TO RESTORE ORDER.

MILITARY SITUATION

7. (LOU) INPFL AND AFL FORCES SKIRMISHED LESS THAN A MILE FROM THE EMBASSY THIS MORNING, BUT THERE HAS BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE MILITARY SITUATION ON THE GROUND. ROCKETS FIRED FROM THE EXECUTIVE MANSION AROUND 2330 LAST NIGHT REPORTEDLY IMPACTED IN LOGANTOWN ON BUSHROD ISLAND, ACCORDING TO INPFL REPRESENTATIVES WHO VISITED R-SITE THIS MORNING. THE AFL IS MAINTAINING A LARGE CHECKPOINT ONLY A BLOCK OR SO FROM THE BARCLAY TRAINING CENTER, AND CONTINUES TO HOLD THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE ON BENSON STREET. INPFL LINES ARE ONLY TWO BLOCKS AWAY, INDICATING A VERY CONFIDENTIAL

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LIMITED AFL PERIMETER ON THE NORTHWEST SIDE OF TOWN.

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8. (C) THE AFL CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN A LARGE PRESENCE ON THE EAST SIDE OF TOWN. JUST BEFORE NOON, AFL TROOPS MOUNTED AN OPERATION AGAINST UNKNOWN TARGETS ON THE NORTH SIDE OF TUBMAN BOULEVARD, NEAR NINTH STREET IN SINKOR. CONTACTS AT THE CATHOLIC HOSPITAL REPORT SEVERAL PERSONS WOUNDED IN HEAVY SHOOTING IN THE AREA WERE BROUGHT IN FOR TREATMENT.

9. (LOU) AFL TROOPS RETURNED TO THE USAID CAR POOL WITH MECHANICS YESTERDAY AND THIS MORNING, INTENT ON STEALING THE IMMOBILIZED USG CARS THAT REMAIN. EMBASSY HAS BEEN UNABLE TO CONDUCT AN INSPECTION OF THE HOMES OF MISSION PERSONNEL IN SINKOR AND CONGOTOWN, BUT HAS REPORTS THAT MANY, PERHAPS MOST, HAVE BEEN COMPLETELY LOOTED.

10. (C) THE INPFL TOLD EMBASSY THEY HAD CAPTURED LARGE STOCKS OF EXPLOSIVES WHEN THEY TOOK THE AFL ARSENAL ON BENSON STREET, BUT DID NOT WISH TO DEPLOY THEM IN TOWN DUE TO CONCERN ABOUT CIVILIAN CASUALTIES AND PROPERTY DAMAGE. (NOTE: DAO REPORTS THAT MOST OF THE AMMUNITION AT THE ARSENAL WAS MOVED TO THE EXECUTIVE MANSION BEFORE FIGHTING INTENSIFIED IN TOWN.)

11. (C) CONTACTS REPORT SHOOTING IN THE VICINITY OF GARNERSVILLE, AND SUSPECT THAT FIGHTING MAY HAVE BROKEN OUT BETWEEN INPFL AND NPFL FORCES. THERE ARE NO REPORTS OF CONFLICT FROM THE VICINITY OF CAMP SCHIEFFLIN.

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12. (LOU) GRIM REPORTS OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE

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BATTLE FOR MONROVIA CONTINUE TO MOUNT. THE FEW PEOPLE

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WHO HAVE VENTURED OUT INTO THE DOWNTOWN AND SINKOR
AREAS IN RECENT DAYS INVARIABLY REPORT THAT MANY
BODIES REMAIN IN THE STREETS, AND AN EPIDEMIC BECOMES
A REAL THREAT. THE 186 PERSONS KILLED IN THE MASSACRE
AT THE LUTHERAN CHURCH REMAIN WHERE THEY FELL. AFTER
SIX DAYS, THE BODIES CAN NO LONGER BE MOVED, AND MSF
BELGIAN DOCTORS HOPE TO FIND MEANS TO BLANKET THE
PLACE WITH A CAUSTIC SOLUTION OR TO BURN THE BODIES,
WHICH WOULD PROBABLY ENTAIL BURNING THE CHURCH ITSELF.

13. (LOU) THE STALEMATED MILITARY SITUATION AND
GROWING FOOD SHORTAGES ARE SLOWLY SQUEEZING THE LIFE
OUT OF MONROVIA. DESPERATE RESIDENTS HARDLY CONSIDER
THE POLITICAL MERITS OF THE VARIOUS ANTAGONISTS, AND
WOULD WELCOME RELIEF FROM ANY QUARTER.

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SITUATION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

14. (C) THE SUFFERING EXTENDS FAR BEYOND MONROVIA. MISSIONARY CONTACTS REPORT SOME 30,000 BEDRAGGLED DISPLACED HAVE FLED TO BOMI AND THE FOOD SHORTAGE IS REPORTEDLY CRITICAL. MONROVIANS TRAVELLING TO ROBERTSPORT FIND LITTLE RELIEF, AS RICE STOCKS THERE ARE DEPLETED. THE NPFL'S RICE DISTRIBUTION EFFORT HAS HELPED IN SOME PLACES, BUT CANNOT MEET THE COUNTRYWIDE DEMAND. FUEL IS UNAVAILABLE IN MOST PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, HAMPERING THE FEW MEAGER DISTRIBUTION EFFORTS.

15. (C) MISSIONARY CONTACTS REPORT THE BORDER BETWEEN GUINEA AND LOFA COUNTY REMAINS CLOSED. NPFL FORCES MAY HAVE ORDERED THE CLOSURE DUE TO A PERCEIVED THREAT
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CRS REP HELD OVERNIGHT

16. (C) THE CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES EFFORTS TO MONETIZE AND DISTRIBUTE RICE ON BUSHROD RAN INTO BIG PROBLEMS ON AUGUST 3 WHEN PRINCE JOHNSON'S FORCES ARRESTED JACQUES MONTOUROY, THE CRS REPRESENTATIVE. JOHNSON PERSONALLY EXECUTED A LIBERIAN RED CROSS ASSISTANT, WHO WAS HANDCUFFED TO MONTOUROY AT THE TIME. THE PROBLEM CENTERED AROUND JOHNSON'S LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE MONETIZATION PROCESS AND THE CRS ROLE IN IT. APPARENTLY, JOHNSON THOUGHT THE RICE WOULD BE DISTRIBUTED FREE OF CHARGE, AND ACCUSED THOSE INVOLVED WITH PROFITEERING. SHOWING SIGNS OF MOUNTING PARANOIA, JOHNSON ALSO ARRESTED LAURENCE GREEN, THE AMCIT INPFL INTERMEDIARY WHO MADE CONTACT WITH THE EMBASSY AND HELPED ORGANIZE THE RELIEF EFFORT, AND ALLEGEDLY ACCUSED HIM OF IMPROPRIETIES IN CONNECTION WITH THE RICE DISTRIBUTION.

17. (C) JOHNSON HELD MONTOUROY OVERNIGHT UNTIL THE EMBASSY AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR SENT WORD THROUGH AN INTERMEDIARY ABOUT THE NATURE OF MONTOUROY'S EFFORTS. MONTOUROY WAS RELEASED AND TOOK REFUGE AT ATO'S R-SITE. JOHNSON'S REPRESENTATIVES TOLD THE EMBASSY ON AUGUST 4 THAT HE WANTS AN EMBASSY REPRESENTATIVE TO VISIT HIS HEADQUARTERS TO FORMALIZE THE DISTRIBUTION PROCESS. PROSPECTS FOR A CONTINUATION OF THE DISTRIBUTION PROGRAM CURRENTLY APPEAR DIM.

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EXHIBIT HH

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EXHIBIT HH

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT II

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COMMAND CHRONOLOGY

1 JULY TO 31 DECEMBER 1990

- SECTION I ORGANIZATIONAL DATA
- SECTION II NARRATIVE SUMMARY
- SECTION III SEQUENTIAL LISTING OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS
- SECTION IV SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

ENCLOSURE (1)

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EXHIBIT II

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SECTION 1

ORGANIZATIONAL DATA

1. (U) Unit Designation

- a. (U) Reporting Unit Code: 20179
- b. (U) Table of Organization Number: 4916C

2. (U) Period Covered and Location:

1 Jul - 21 Aug 90	Monrovia Liberia, (MODLOC)
21 Aug - 30 Aug 90	Underway/Translant
30 Aug - 2 Sep 90	Roosevelt Roads, Puerto Rico
2 Sep - 6 Sep 90	Underway/Translant
7 Sep - 11 Dec 90	Camp Lejeune, North Carolina
12 Dec - 18 Dec 90	Guantanamo Bay, Cuba
19 Dec - 31 Dec 90	Camp Lejeune, North Carolina

3. (U) Personnel Information

a. (U) Commanding Officer:

Colonel Granville R. AMOS	1 Jul - 21 Sep 90
Colonel Wheeler L. BAKER	22 Sep - 31 Dec 90

b. (U) Executive Officer:

Lt. Colonel Stephen LABADIE Jr.	1 Jul - 14 Nov 90
Lt. Colonel Thomas W. PARKER	15 Nov - 31 Dec 90

c. (U) Subordinate Commanders:

(1) Battalion Landing Team 2/4:

Lt. Colonel Richard L. PUGH	1 Jul - 6 Oct 90
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(2) Marine Medium Helicopter Squadron 261:

Lt. Colonel Emerson N. GARDNER	1 Jul - 6 Oct 90
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(3) MEU Service Support Group 22:

Lt. Colonel James W. HEAD 1 Jul - 6 Oct 90

d. (U) Principal Staff Officers:

S-1:	Capt George A. KELLING	1 Jul - 31 Dec 90
S-2:	Maj Stephen L. SAYKO	1 Jul - 26 Nov 90
	Maj Earnest C. D'ANTONIO	18 Sep - 31 Dec 90
S-2A:	Capt David W. CARLSON	1 Jul - 7 Dec 90
	Capt Thomas L. SAWICKI	1 Dec - 31 Dec 90
CIO:	CWO2 Joe E. ORICK	1 Jul - 10 Oct 90
S-3:	LtCol Thomas W. PARKER	1 Jul - 24 Sep 90
	LtCol Paul C. ALLEN	25 Sep - 31 Dec 90
S-3A:	Capt Thomas BRANDL	1 Jul - 31 Dec 90
AirO:	Capt Robert C. CARNEY	1 Jul - 31 Dec 90
AirObserv:	Capt Scott A. GARRIS	1 Jul - 10 Oct 90
	Capt Phillip G. DOYLE	4 Dec - 31 Dec 90
FSC:	Capt Randy N. GRADDIC	1 Jul - 13 Nov 90
TIO:	Capt Jeffrey A. MUNSHAUR	1 Jul - 10 Oct 90
NBCO:	CWO2 Gerald A. JONES	1 Jul - 10 Oct 90
S-4:	Maj Donald P. EDWARDS	1 Jul - 31 Dec 90
MMO:	1stLt John C. DOVE	1 Jul - 14 Oct 90
	1stLt Salvatore A. DIPAOLA	15 Oct - 31 Dec 90
EmbO:	Capt Carl A. VAN DIEST	1 Jul - 31 Dec 90
SupO:	1stLt David A. FENNELL	1 Jul - 31 Dec 90
CommO:	Capt Wayne A. PAVLISCHEK	1 Jul - 31 Oct 90
	Capt Eric L. ROLAF	1 Nov - 31 Oct 90
HQCmnt:	1stLt Anthone R. WRIGHT	1 Jul - 19 Oct 90
SJA:	Capt Kurtis D. SNYDER	1 Jul - 14 Dec 90
Surg: LT (USN)	Edward S. SCHROEDER Jr.	1 Jul - 9 Oct 90
Med Reg:	LT (USN) Paul A. HENSON	1 Jul - 13 Nov 90
Chap:	LT (USN) Charles R. KESSLER	1 Jul - 4 Oct 90
RadBn Det OIC:		
	Capt James E. MCGINLEY	1 Jul - 6 Oct 90
FORECON Det OIC:		
	Capt Michael J. PAULOVICH	1 Jul - 6 Oct 90
ANGLICO Det OIC:		
	Capt David J. MOLLAHAN	1 Jul - 6 Oct 90
e. (U) Staff Historian:		
	Capt Scott A. GARRIS	1 Jul - 10 Oct 90
f. (U) Sergeant Major:		
	SgtMaj David J. MCINEREY	1 Jul - 31 Dec 90

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4. (U) Average Monthly Strength:

	USMC Officer/Enlisted	USN Officer/Enlisted
Jul	26/131	3/2
Aug	26/131	3/3
Sep	26/126	3/2
Oct	28/123	2/2
Nov	14/037	0/1
Dec	13/037	0/1

5. (U) Equipment: None.

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EXHIBIT II

SECTION II

NARRATIVE SUMMARY

COMMAND, OPERATIONS AND TRAINING

1. (S) Just prior to the beginning of this Command Chronology reporting period (17 May), the 22d MEU entered port in Toulon, France. Training and liberty continued until 24 May. With hostilities in Liberia escalating, MARG 2-90 was ordered out of port early, and directed to depart the Mediterranean Sea, to the vicinity of Monrovia, Liberia. On 27 May, Deputy CINCEUR, General McCarthy, and CINCUSNAVEUR, Admiral Howe, came onboard USS Saipan to receive COA briefs for Operation Sharp Edge. On 31 May, the Forward Command Element (FCE) of 22d MEU arrived in Monrovia after flying out of Rota, Spain.
2. (S) By 3 June the MARG arrived at its Modified Location (MODLOC), vicinity Monrovia, Liberia. This MODLOC was to become known as "Mamba Station". On 5 June two KC-130's from VMGR-252 arrived in theater, and were shorebased in Freetown, Sierra Leone. The remainder of June saw the 22d MEU conducting several day and night rehearsals of anticipated missions that could be assigned.
3. (S) During July, 22d MEU continued training while remaining in a MODLOC status off the coast of Monrovia. The FCE continued their liaison mission with American Embassy personnel. Additionally, planning, preparation and rehearsals for possible execution of Operation Sharp Edge was ongoing.
4. (S) On 4 August the order to execute Operation Sharp Edge was received. Elements of 22d MEU conducted a heliborne reinforcement of the American Embassy, Monrovia. American citizens and Foreign Nationals were evacuated from the Receiver Site, Transmitter Site, and American Embassy Compound. Daily logistic flights provided reinforcement of Marines, and provided fuel, food, and water. The first three weeks of August saw daily evacuation operations continuing. By 21 August a total of 1648 evacuees were processed, (132 American Citizens and 1516 Foreign Nationals). The end of August saw 22d MEU withdrawing forces from Monrovia, and conducting an at sea turnover with replacements from MARG 3-90/26th MEU.
5. (S) Upon completion of the turnover, 22d MEU was underway, destination Roosevelt Roads, Puerto Rico. Inport from 30 August - 2 September, the 22d MEU conducted a washdown of vehicles/equipment.
6. (C) On 6 September 22d MEU arrived in Morehead City, and Onslow Beach North Carolina for offload of MARG shipping and prepare for SLAP inspection. On 21 September 22d MEU conducted it's Change of Command Ceremony.

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7. (S) On 5 October 22d MEU was decomposited. 22d MEU continued training and work up for the Landing Force Sixth Fleet 2-91 deployment. However, this commitment was "put on hold" because of a change to the MEU rotation cycle due to the number of forces deployed in support of Operation Desert Shield/Storm.

8. (U) During November, 22d MEU conducted routine training. Specific emphasis was dedicated to assuming the role of the Tactical Exercise Control Group (TECG) for Socex 1-91 to be conducted 17-21 December 90.

9. (S) On 1 December 22d MEU was activated for operations and, on 8 December assumed the commitment of the Air Contingency Force (ACF).

10. (S) From 12-18 December, 22d MEU deployed to a forward staging Base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba for possible contingencies in support of Operation Victor Squared, Port au Prince, Haiti.

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INTELLIGENCE

1. (U) 1 Jul - 4 Aug. Provided pre operational intelligence support to Liberian NEO Contingency, Operation Sharp Edge to include incorporating national level assets, producing terrain models, Helicopter Landing Zone (HLZ) studies, and providing multi-discipline current analysis.
2. (S) 5 Aug - 21 Aug. Provided intelligence support for the execution of Liberian NEO, Operation Sharp Edge through a MAGTF multi-discipline, all source fusion center using national and theater assets.
3. (U) 20 Aug - 21 Aug. Completed intelligence turnover with 26th MEU.
4. (U) 31 Oct. Intelligence scenario provided for 22nd MEU Middle East STX.
5. (U) 8 Dec. Received SRI Det, for 22nd MEU.
6. (S) 12 Dec - 18 Dec. Provided all source multi intelligence discipline to Operation Victor Square incorporating USCINCLANT-THEATER level intelligence support systems. Conducted first time operational deployment and test of the USCINCLANT Mount Whitney Experiment (MWE) and the first time operational deployment of the MWE used in conjunction with the USCINCLANT Portable Intelligence Communication System (PICS). Systems provided direct dedicated intelligence connectivity linking the MAGTF with Theater and National Level assets.
7. (U) 17 Dec - 21 Dec. Provided personnel support, intelligence to 24th MEU SOCCEX.

ADMINISTRATION

1. (C) By this time of the deployment, daily Administrative work was running smoothly. During our time in MODLOC, Liberty runs were began to Rota, Spain, no major difficulties were encountered. Upon returning from deployment, the post deployment and standown went smoothly. On 8 December 1990 this command assumed the air contingency force mission. Although a new experience, no major administrative problems were encountered.

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2. (U) Administrative highlights included:

a. (U) The split pay option worked well, once everyone understood the system.

b. (U) This command received approximately 150 PME books from MCB Camp Lejeune that were used extensively.

c. (U) The CMCC packages that turnover with deploying MEUs were inventoried, and missing or outdated material was identified to be ordered or destroyed.

3. (U) Within the S-1 section, the personnel were well qualified and eager to deploy. The personnel assigned to line numbers are filled by Marines of higher grades than indicated. This presented problems in assigning personnel to monthly billets to the ships platoon.

LEGAL

1. (U) The following Legal proceedings were held:

a. (U) No Courts-Martials were convened during this period.

b. (U) No NJP's were held during this period.

c. (U) No Special Courts Martial was held.

d. (U) No Investigations were conducted.

ENCLOSURE (1)

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LOGISTICS AND SUPPLY

1. (U) Logistics support was provided to designated units in support of the evacuation and reinforcement of the American Embassy. Plans had already been developed to ensure that sufficient relief supplies were readily available for transport to the American Embassy. This included medical supplies, food, fuel and potable water as well as a reverse osmosis water purification machine set up on Embassy grounds to aid in supplying sufficient CSS to meet the demands of an ever-changing situation ashore.
2. (U) Following a turnover at sea with LF6F 3-90, 22d MEU (SOC) departed "Mamba Station" on 22 Aug 90. During the transit to Puerto Rico, Marine units embarked on the USS SAIPAN conducted extensive care and maintenance of equipment to include washdown of 75 vehicles. This effort paid dividends in that it facilitated the agricultural washdown of 22d MEU (SOC) at Naval Station Roosevelt Roads, P.R. and subsequent offload at Morehead City, N.C. and Onslow Beach, CLNC on 7 Sep 90.
3. (U) The remainder of September 90 was spent in preparing for FMFLANT Supply Logistics Analysis Program Inspection, 22d MEU Change of Command, LF6F 2-90 stand down actions and oral history debriefs. The months of October, November and December were dedicated to logistically preparing 22d MEU to assume the mission of Air Contingency Force and Special Purpose MAGTF, Atlantic.

MEDICAL

1. (U) 22d MEU Surgeon and Medical Planner, planned/coordinated medical support with the BLT, HMM, MSSG and the American Embassy. Utilizing daily helo flights to the embassy, medical personnel rotated in and out to the MARG. This provided an excellent opportunity for 22d MEU medical personnel to provide support to the company ashore, support NEO, and coordinate with embassy medical personnel.
2. (U) Following turnover with LF6F 3-90, and during transit to CONUS a detailed inventory of assigned AMAL's and ADAL's was conducted for turn in to 2d FSSG during September.

ENCLOSURE (1)

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EXHIBIT II

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SECTION III

1 Jul - 30 Jun 90

SEQUENTIAL LISTING OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

- (C) 1 Jul - MODLOC, Monrovia, Liberia. (Arrived 3 Jun)
- (S) 1-5 Jul - Forward Command Element (FCE) continuing Liaison mission, American Embassy Monrovia (Arrived 31 May).
- Staff planning and preparation for Operation Sharp Edge (Liberian NEO).
- E Co, BLT 2/4 conducts small arms Live Fire Ex
- AV-8B's, HMM-261 conducted Bomb Ex with MK-76.
- LAAD conducted STEL shoot.
- (C) 6-12 Jul - AV-8B's, HMM-261, conducted MK-76 flare drop
- (U) 9 Jul - E Co, BLT 2/4 conducts small arms Live Fire Ex
- (U) 11 Jul - LAI/ENG, BLT 2/4 conducts small arms Live Fire Ex.
- (U) 13, 14, 16 Jul - BLT 2/4 conducts Close Air Support Ex (CAS).
- (U) 13, 16-18 JUL - LAI, CEB, BTRY I, and WPNS Co, BLT 2/4 conducts small arms Live Fire Ex.
- (U) 13 Jul - Co H, BLT 2/4 and British Midshipmen conduct rappelling/fastrope training.
- (C) 13-19 Jul - AV-8B's conducted Bomb Ex (MK-76), KC-130 Det provided refueling support
- (C) 20 Jul - Det FORECON along with Navy EOD/SEALS conduct Recovery/Salvage ops in Freetown, Sierra Leone.
- (S) 20-26 Jul - S-2 Officer to Freetown, to conduct debrief of former Chief of Military Mission, Liberia.
- (C) 20-26 Jul - AV-8B's conducted Bomb Ex (MK-76), KC-130 Det provided refueling support.
- (C) 24 Jul - Conducted daylight rehearsal of COA(2A)
- (U) 24-25 Jul - BLT 2/4 conducts small arms Live Fire Ex.
- (U) 27 Jul - TACP Team conduct CASEX.
- (C) 28 Jul - Conducted Night/Low Light rehearsal of contingency plans.
- (U) 27 Jul - 2 Aug - CH-46's, HMM-261, conduct Live Fire Ex.
- (S) 4 AUG - Received Operation Sharp Edge execute order.
- (S) 5 Aug - Executed Operation Sharp Edge, reinforcement of American Embassy, Monrovia. Conducted drawdown of American Citizens and Foreign Nationals.
- (U) 5 Aug - E Co/HMG conducted heliborne evacuation of Receiver/Transmitter site.
- (S) 5-9 Aug - Conducted daily evacuation of American Citizens and Foreign Nationals from American Embassy Compound. Reinforcement provided by H Co and HMG PLT, Log Support provided by MSSG-22.

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- (S) 5-16 Aug - Daily evacuations continue. (EVAC 688 to date).
- (S) 13 Aug - Conducted heliborne/surface evacuation of (99) American Citizens/Foreign Nationals located at Buchanan, Liberia.
- (S) 17-21 Aug - Daily evacuations continues; 132 American Citizens and 1516 Foreign Nationals; total 1648 evacuated to date.
- (C) 20-21 Aug - Conducted an at Sea turnover with MARG 3-90/26th MEU. All 22d MEU Forces withdrawn from Liberia 211415Z Aug 90. Commence TRANSLANT enroute Roosevelt Roads, PR.
- (C) 21-30 Aug - UNDERWAY/TRANSLANT.
- (U) 24-29 Aug - Conducted Washdown of 75 vehicles during TRANSLANT on USS SAIPAN (LHA-2).
- (C) 30 Aug - 2 Sep - Inport Roosevelt Roads. Conducted washdown of vehicles and equipment.
- (C) 2-6 Sep - UNDERWAY/TRANSLANT.
- (C) 5-6 Sep - Conducted Offload/Debarck of MARG Shipping
- (C) 7-13 Sep - Complete offload of MARG Shipping (Morehead City, and Onslow Beach, NC), Prep for SLAP inspection.
- (U) 17-20 Sep - SLAP inspection.
- (U) 21 Sep - MEU Change of Command Ceremony.
- (U) 25 Sep - Post deployment brief.
- (U) 25-30 Sep - S-4 personnel participate in oral history program for USMC Historical Branch and Center for Naval Analysis.
- (C) 5 Oct - Decomposite MEU.
- (U) 6 Oct - 30 Nov - Routine training.
- (U) 13 Oct - Completed logistical stand down actions for LFGF 2-90.
- (C) 1 Dec - 22d MEU activated.
- (C) 8 Dec - 22d MEU designated as Air Contingency Force (ACF).
- (S) 12 Dec - Formed CAT to conduct mission analysis for possible Victor Squared contingency.
- (S) 13 Dec - Received Deployment Order to conduct No-Notice exercise. Deployed Liaison element to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.
- (S) 14 Dec - Deployed main body to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.
- (S) 15 Dec - Main body arrives. Prepare COA's and mission analysis.
- (S) 16 Dec - Forecon conducts weapons and fast rope training. Rehearse SOP's.
- (S) 17 Dec - Receive Redeployment Order.
- (S) 18 Dec - Main body arrives Camp Lejeune, NC.
- (U) 17-21 Dec - Designated personnel participation in Socex 1-91 as TEOG element.
- (U) 22-31 Dec - Conduct Port/Starboard Christmas leave period.

ENCLOSURE (1)

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT JJ

EXHIBIT JJ

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CONFIDENTIAL

RELEASED IN FULL

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
	CIAE-00	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-01	HA-09
	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-01	IMIS-01	PA-01	SJK-01	OMB-01
	INRE-00	ACDA-13	USIE-00	SP-01	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01
	SCT-03	P-02	T-01	/072 W			

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R 201814Z SEP 90 ZDK
 FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5019
 INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
 AMEMBASSY ACCRA
 AMEMBASSY BANJUL
 AMEMBASSY CONAKRY
 AMEMBASSY DAKAR
 AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS
 AMEMBASSY LOME
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
 DIA WASHDC
 USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE
 USEUCOM AIDES VAHINGEN GE
 CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK
 COM SIXTHFLT
 FOSIF ROTA SP
 CONTINGENCY MAGTF 3-90
 CTF FOUR ONE
 CTF SIX ONE
 CTF SIX TWO
 COMJTF SHARP EDGE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 MONROVIA 09146
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 MONROV 09146 01 OF 05 210748Z

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, MOPS, ECOWAS, LI
 SUBJECT: TFLI01: THE MILITARY STALEMATE IN MONROVIA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: HARRY R MELONE
 DATE/CASE ID: 31 JAN 2007 200603489

UNCLASSIFIED

EXHIBIT JJ

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1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. INTRODUCTION

AFTER MONTHS OF WARFARE, NUMEROUS DEFEATS AND A STEADY SERIES OF WITHDRAWALS, THE ARMED FORCES OF LIBERIA (AFL) OCCUPIES ONLY A SQUARE MILE OF CENTRAL MONROVIA. THE ONCE CONFIDENT ARMY FINDS ITSELF REDUCED TO THE EQUIVALENT OF A BATTALION. AS A MILITARY ORGANIZATION HOWEVER, THE AFL HAS BEEN BADLY BATTERED BUT IT HAS NOT BEEN ELIMINATED. THE AFL PROVED INCAPABLE OF WINNING THE CONFLICT, ALTHOUGH BY ITS CONTINUED EXISTENCE HAS FRUSTRATED PREEMINENCE BY EITHER OF THE REBEL GROUPS. NONE OF THE OTHER PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO TAKE OUT THE AFL IN A WAY COMPATIBLE WITH THEIR LONGER TERM INTERESTS. THE NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA (NPFL) HAS GAINED CONTROL OVER THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE LIBERIAN TERRITORY, BUT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO DISPLACE THE AFL FROM THE EXECUTIVE MANSION. THE BREAKAWAY INSURGENT GROUP, THE INDEPENDENT NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA (INPFL), HAS CAPTURED THE LOGISTICALLY CRITICAL MONROVIA FREEPORT AND KILLED PRESIDENT DOE, BUT HAS FAILED IN ITS EFFORTS TO FINISH OFF THE AFL. THE ECOWAS SPONSORED REGIONAL MILITARY FORCE (ECOMOG) HAS THUS FAR REFUSED TO ATTEMPT TO EITHER DESTROY THE AFL, OR TO EFFECT THEIR EVACUATION FROM MONROVIA. AS A CONSEQUENCE, INSTEAD OF SEEING A VICTOR EMERGE TO

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RULE LIBERIA, THE CAPITAL CITY FINDS ITSELF ENDURING AN OPPRESSIVE STALEMATE. THIS REPORT DESCRIBES THE FOUR MILITARY FORCES PRESENT IN MONROVIA, EXPLAINS WHY THE EXECUTIVE MANSION AND BARCLAY TRAINING CENTER STILL STAND, AND EXAMINES WHY THE AFL STILL EXISTS AS AN ORGANIZATION.

3. THE MAIN PLAYERS

A. THE AFL

THE DEMORALIZED REMNANTS OF PRESIDENT DOE'S KRAHN-DOMINATED ARMY CONSIST OF 400-500 UNDERFED SOLDIERS, ACCOMPANIED BY THEIR DEPENDENTS AND SEVERAL HUNDRED CO-ETHNICS, HUDDLING IN CENTRAL MONROVIA. THE

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AFL OCCUPIES THE EXECUTIVE MANSION AND THE BARCLAY TRAINING CENTER, PLUS THE AREA AROUND THE LIBERIAN NATIONAL POLICE HEADQUARTERS. THE AFL LEADERSHIP CLAIMS THAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO SURRENDER AND BE ESCORTED OUT OF LIBERIA, BUT DOUBT THAT PRINCE JOHNSON WILL PERMIT THEM TO LEAVE IN SAFETY. ALTHOUGH CONCERNED ABOUT THEIR SECURITY, THE AFL MAY ALSO BE MOTIVATED BY THE DESIRE FOR REVENGE, ESPECIALLY AGAINST JOHNSON AND THE INPFL.

WITH THE DEATH OF SAMUEL DOE, THE AFL BOTH LOST THEIR LEADER AND HAD THEIR SENSE OF UNITY AND LEGITIMACY SHAKEN. DOE WAS AN UNSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLE TO PEACE IN LIBERIA, BUT A UNIFYING FORCE BEHIND WHOM THE KRAHN-DOMINATED AFL COULD RALLY.

THE AFL IS CORNERED, WITH NO PLACE TO GO. THEY ARE MORE A WELL ARMED RABBLE THAN A PROFESSIONAL MILITARY;

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
	CIAE-00	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-01	HA-09
	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-01	IMIS-01	PA-01	SJK-01	OMB-01
	INRE-00	ACDA-13	USIE-00	SP-01	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01
	SCT-03	P-02	T-01	/072 W			

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R 201814Z SEP 90 ZDK
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5020
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

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AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY BANJUL
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
DIA WASHDC
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK
COM SIXTHFLT
FOSIF ROTA SP
CONTINGENCY MAGTF 3-90
CTF FOUR ONE
CTF SIX ONE
CTF SIX TWO
COMJTF SHARP EDGE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 05 MONROVIA 09146
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PAGE 02 MONROV 09146 02 OF 05 210750Z

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, ECOWAS, LI
SUBJECT: TFLI01: THE MILITARY STALEMATE IN MONROVIA

MANY OF THE CURRENT AFL SOLDIERS WERE "JAIL-BIRDS," RECRUITED BECAUSE OF THEIR ETHNIC ORIGIN AND THEIR WILLINGNESS TO KILL. THEY WILL CONTINUE THE FIGHTING BECAUSE THEY KNOW THEY WILL DIE IF THEY FALL INTO THE HANDS OF JOHNSON OR TAYLOR. ALTHOUGH THEY ARE DEFEATED FROM A STRATEGIC VIEWPOINT, THEY REMAIN DANGEROUS. THEY STILL HAVE SUFFICIENT BATTLE HARDENED MEN UNDER ARMS WITH SOME HEAVY WEAPONS AND ARMOR VEHICLE SUPPORT TO PRESENT SERIOUS TACTICAL CHALLENGES TO THE OPPOSING INPFL AND NPFL FORCES. UNLESS THEY CAN BE PROVIDED SECURITY AND EVACUATED OUT OF THE COUNTRY, THEY WILL CONTINUE THEIR LOOTING FORAYS AND KILLING RAMPAGES INTO THE PARTS OF CENTRAL MONROVIA TO WHICH THEY HAVE IMMEDIATE ACCESS.

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B. THE NPFL

CHARLES TAYLOR'S NPFL CONTROLS THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE NATIONAL TERRITORY AND IS THE LARGEST OF THE THREE LIBERIAN FACTIONS. THE NPFL HAS PROVEN TO BE A BETTER FIGHTING FORCE THAN THE AFL, BUT IS NOT AS AGGRESSIVE, DISCIPLINED OR COMBAT EFFECTIVE AS THE INPFL.

THE NPFL WAS ONLY PARTIALLY SUCCESSFUL IN ITS ATTACK ON MONROVIA, AND WAS UNSUCCESSFUL IN ITS ATTEMPTS TO UNSEAT DOE AND ELIMINATE THE REMAINING AFL TROOPS. PRIOR NPFL SUCCESSES FOR THE MOST PART WERE THE RESULT OF SUPERIOR MANEUVERING, RATHER THAN COMBAT VICTORIES;
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THE NPFL MOVED INTO AREAS ABANDONED BY THE AFL AFTER GIVING ONLY MINIMAL RESISTANCE. THE FEW GENUINE NPFL BATTLEFIELD SUCCESSES WERE ACHIEVED PRIOR TO THE DEATH OF TAYLOR'S MILITARY ADVISOR, ELMER JOHNSON. THE NPFL HAS EXPERIENCED EXTREME DIFFICULTIES IN ITS TRANSITION FROM EMPLOYING THE GUERRILLA TACTICS OF A BUSHWAR INSURGENCY TO THE CONVENTIONAL TACTICS REQUIRED TO WIN THE PRESENT URBAN COMBAT. IT HAS RESORTED TO THE AFL'S TACTIC OF INTIMIDATING AND KILLING CIVILIANS AND RELIANCE ON INDIRECT FIRE POWER INSTEAD OF CLOSE COMBAT INFANTRY ASSAULTS. TAYLOR IS FACED WITH WEAKENED MORALE AND DECLINING POPULARITY. THE NPFL MAY BE SUFFERING DESERTIONS FOLLOWING THE CAPTURE AND DEATH OF DOE, AS THE MAJORITY OF ITS COMBATANTS WERE BELIEVED TO BE MOTIVATED BY THE DESIRE TO DEPOSE DOE RATHER THAN TO IMPOSE TAYLOR. A HARD CORE WILL REMAIN IN THE FIELD WITH TAYLOR, HOWEVER, MOTIVATED BY EITHER THE DESIRE FOR REVENGE AGAINST THE REMAINING KRAHN OR THE LUST FOR THE ANTICIPATED SPOILS OF WAR.

SINCE NPFL LEADER CHARLES TAYLOR HAS CONSISTENTLY REJECTED A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, HE APPEARS TO BE ATTEMPTING TO WIN THE WAR BY BLUSTER AND PROPAGANDA, NOT BY MILITARY MEANS. HE MAY ALSO BE AWAITING THE ATTRITION AS A RESULT OF THE CONTINUED FIGHTING BETWEEN THE AFL AND INPFL, HOPING TO MAKE HIS MOVE AGAINST SERIOUSLY WEAKENED OPPOSITION. ALTHOUGH HE HAS MILITARY CAPABILITIES, HE HAS RECENTLY DEMONSTRATED AN INABILITY TO EMPLOY THEM EFFECTIVELY

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WITHIN MONROVIA.

THE NPFL IS FIGHTING AGAINST THE INPFL IN EASTERN MONROVIA (SINKOR), AND HAS ATTACKED ECOMOG AND INPFL

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R 201814Z SEP 90 ZDK
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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5021
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E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, ECOWAS, LI
SUBJECT: TFLI01: THE MILITARY STALEMATE IN MONROVIA

POSITIONS ON BUSHROD ISLAND FROM THE NORTH ACROSS THE
ST PAUL RIVER AND THE EAST FROM THE GARDNERSVILLE AREA.

C. THE INPFL

INPFL LEADER PRINCE JOHNSON IS CHARISMATIC (ALTHOUGH
EMOTIONALLY UNSTABLE) AND HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL AS A
BATTLEFIELD LEADER IN HIS CAPTURE OF BUSHROD ISLAND.
HE IS NOT AFRAID TO FIGHT, BUT HAS BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL
IN HIS ATTEMPTS TO CAPTURE THE EXECUTIVE MANSION AND
BARCLAY TRAINING CENTER.

PRINCE JOHNSON'S BREAKAWAY INSURGENT FORCE IS COMPOSED
OF HIGHLY MOTIVATED LIGHT INFANTRY. MAN-FOR-MAN,
JOHNSON'S FORCE SEEMS TO BE THE MOST COMBAT EFFECTIVE
OF THE THREE LIBERIAN FACTIONS, BUT HE PROBABLY HAS
ONLY 500-600 COMBATANTS. ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY, HE
EMPLOYS LIGHT INFANTRY TACTICS WHICH DO NOT REQUIRE
HEAVY WEAPONS SUPPORT. EVEN AFTER RECEIVING A SMALL
NUMBER OF HEAVY WEAPONS, HE DOES NOT APPEAR INCLINED
TO USE THEM (OTHER THAN THE MAN-PORTABLE RPG). HE IS
LIMITED PRIMARILY BY THE SMALL SIZE OF HIS FORCE, AND
RECURRENT SHORTAGES OF AMMUNITION.

HIS STATED INTENTION IS TO FIGHT AND DEFEAT BOTH THE
AFL AND THE NPFL IF THEY DO NOT GIVE UP (AFL) OR JOIN
THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT PROCESS (NPFL). GIVEN HIS
MANPOWER AND MUNITIONS CONSTRAINTS, HOWEVER, THIS
COULD PROVE TO BE A PROTRACTED PROCESS.

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D. ECOMOG

IN TERMS OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT, ECOMOG IS EASILY THE BEST ARMED PARTY TO THE CONFLICT. ECOMOG HAS THE MILITARY POWER REQUIRED TO ELIMINATE THE AFL (OR ANY OTHER SINGLE PARTY TO THE LIBERIAN CONFLICT), BUT TO DATE HAS LACKED THE POLITICAL MANDATE FROM THE ECOWAS LEADERSHIP TO CARRY OUT SUCH A CAMPAIGN. THE ECOWAS POLITICAL LEADERSHIP MAY HAVE RECENTLY GIVEN THE ECOMOG COMMANDER A CLEAR MANDATE TO USE THE MILITARY POWER PLACED AT HIS DISPOSAL. IF SO, WE MAY SEE THE AFL REMOVED FROM MONROVIA AND CHARLES TAYLOR FORCED TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE.

IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE ARRIVAL OF ECOMOG, THE FIGHTING IN THE VICINITY OF THE EXECUTIVE MANSION WAS TOO INTENSE FOR THE INTERPOSITIONING OF ECOMOG FORCES. ADDITIONALLY, THE COMMANDER WAS NOT DISPOSED TO MOVE AGAINST A SITTING PRESIDENT. AFTER THE EVENTS SURROUNDING DOE'S CAPTURE AND DEATH, ECOMOG IS LEERY OF DISARMING THE KRAHNS AND MOVING THEM INTO JOHNSON'S TERRITORY, FEARING LARGER ATROCITIES.

ECOMOG SUFFERS FROM WEAK COMMAND AND CONTROL. THE PRESENT ECOMOG COMMANDER, LTG ARNOLD QUAINOO, IS NOT A FIGHTING GENERAL. IN ADDITION TO A CLEARER MANDATE, ECOMOG MAY REQUIRE A NEW COMMANDER BEFORE THE REGIONAL FORCE WILL BE CAPABLE OF CONTROLLING EVENTS IN MONROVIA. THERE HAVE BEEN RECENT UNCONFIRMED REPORTS THAT QUAINOO WILL, IN FACT, BE REPLACED BY A MORE FORCEFUL OFFICER COMMANDER.

THE ECOMOG FORCE IS PRESENTLY IN AN ESSENTIALLY DEFENSIVE POSTURE ON BUSHROD ISLAND, FACING THE NPFL

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R 201814Z SEP 90 ZDK
 FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
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 COMJTF SHARP EDGE

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E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, MOPS, ECOWAS, LI
 SUBJECT: TFLI01: THE MILITARY STALEMATE IN MONROVIA

ACROSS THE ST PAUL RIVER AND STOCKTON CREEK, AND WITH
 INPFL COMBATANTS WANDERING FREELY THROUGH ECOMOG
 POSITIONS. ADDITIONAL COMBAT TROOPS HAVE BEEN
 DISPATCHED TO MONROVIA IN SUFFICIENT NUMBERS TO PERMIT
 ECOMOG TO COMMENCE OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS.

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ADDITIONALLY, THE RECENT AIRSTRIKES AGAINST NPFL POSITIONS BY ECOMOG AIRCRAFT HAVE PUT TAYLOR ON NOTICE THAT ECOMOG IS PREPARED TO IMPLEMENT A MORE FORCEFUL POLICY.

4. WHY DOES THE MANSION STILL STAND?

A WEEK AGO IT SEEMED THAT THE FIGHT WAS NEARLY OVER. EXPLOSIVE ROUNDS WERE LANDING IN THE VICINITY OF THE MANSION AND THE AFL WAS APPARENTLY PERCHED ON THE EDGE OF EXTINCTION; TODAY THEY ARE MOUNTING LIMITED OFFENSIVE SORTIES AND PUSHING THE INPFL BACK. IS THERE "JUJU" AT THE EXECUTIVE MANSION AFTER ALL?

THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURES AND THE POSITIONS OCCUPIED BY THE AFL HAVE BEEN FIRED AT BY A VARIETY OF WEAPONS OVER THE PAST SIX WEEKS. BUT NEITHER THE EXECUTIVE MANSION NOR BARCLAY TRAINING CENTER HAVE BEEN HIT WITH SUSTAINED ACCURATE HEAVY SHELLING. AN UNUSUALLY HEAVY DAY OF SHELLING (RPG OR RECOILESS RIFLE ROUNDS, MORTAR ROUNDS OR MLRS ROCKETS), IN THE LIBERIAN CONTEXT, HAS SEEN 35-40 ROUNDS EXPLODE IN THE GENERAL AREA OCCUPIED BY THE AFL, WITH A MORE COMMON DAY HAVING ONLY 10-12. CONFIDENTIAL

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MANY OF THE ROUNDS HAVE IMPACTED ON OPEN GROUND (OR EVEN IN THE WATER OFFSHORE), STRUCK THE OUTER WALLS OF THE EXECUTIVE MANSION OR BTC, HIT EMPTY OUTBUILDINGS OR HIT PARTS OF THE BUILDING NOT OCCUPIED BY SOLDIERS. STILL OTHERS HAVE BEEN AIRBURSTS AT A HEIGHT OF 300-400 FEET ABOVE THE GROUND, FAR TOO HIGH TO ACHIEVE SIGNIFICANT EFFECT WERE THE ROUND EVEN DIRECTLY ABOVE AFL POSITIONS. THE SAME IS MOST LIKELY TRUE FOR SMALL ARMS FIRE. THE TOTAL NUMBERS OF COMBATANTS INVOLVED IN THE FIGHTING HAVE BEEN LOW, AND THEY HAVE BEEN SPREAD ACROSS A MUCH WIDER AREA THAN WOULD BE NORMAL IN A MODERN WESTERN CONFLICT. NUMEROUS ROUNDS MISS THE AFL POSITIONS ENTIRELY. STILL OTHERS HIT THE PROTECTION BEHIND WHICH THE AFL SEEKS COVER. BY THE STANDARDS OF 20TH CENTURY WARFARE, THE AFL HAS BEEN EXPOSED TO LOW TOTAL VOLUMES OF FIRE, AND THE ACCURACY OF THE ORDNANCE FIRED HAS BEEN AT LEAST AS LOW AS THAT EXPERIENCED IN OTHER CONFLICTS PITTING ILL-TRAINED COMBATANTS ARMED WITH AUTOMATIC WEAPONS ONE AGAINST THE OTHER. ALTHOUGH THE SITUATION IN THE VICINITY OF THE EXECUTIVE MANSION HAS

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BEEN REGRETTABLE, THE ACTUAL DESTRUCTIVENESS OF THE FORCES INVOLVED HAS BEEN COMPARATIVELY LOW; THE AFL HAS NOT YET FOUND THEIR POSITION TRULY UNTENABLE (IN FACT, THE AFL IS PROBABLY AFFLICTED MORE BY THE LACK OF FOOD THAN BY THE VOLUME OF FIRE) AND THEY REMAIN PENNED UP IN THE CITY CENTER.

5. STALEMATE

THE CURRENT STALEMATE IN MONROVIA PITS THE NPFL AGAINST THE LOOSE INPFL/ECOMOG COALITION, WITH THE STILL DANGEROUS AFL RELEGATED TO A SECONDARY OBJECTIVE FOR EACH OF THE OTHER FACTIONS. NEITHER THE NPFL NOR THE INPFL FEEL FREE TO CONCENTRATE ON THE AFL WITHOUT

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ENDANGERING THEIR LONGER TERM INTERESTS. THE AFL, ALTHOUGH STILL IN EXISTENCE, HAS LOST THE WAR; BOTH ECOMOG AND THE INPFL CONSIDER CHARLES TAYLOR AS THE GREATEST (AND MOST DANGEROUS) OBSTACLE TO PEACE IN LIBERIA AND HAVE FOCUSED THEIR EFFORTS AGAINST THE NPFL. TAYLOR, FOR HIS PART, HAS BEEN STYMIED BY ECOMOG (IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE INPFL) TO THE EAST OF THE EXECUTIVE MANSION, AND VIEWS ECOMOG AS THE ONLY FORCE CAPABLE OF FRUSTRATING HIS DESIRE TO RULE LIBERIA. WITH THE OPPOSING LINES THUS DRAWN, THE AFL FINDS ITSELF TRAPPED, BUT ALIVE, ON CAPITAL HILL AND IN THE BARCLAY TRAINING CENTER. ANY OF THE OTHER THREE FACTIONS ARE PROBABLY CAPABLE OF RAPIDLY DISPOSING OF THE AFL IF LEFT TO THEIR OWN DEVICES, BUT HAVE THUS FAR EITHER BEEN PREVENTED FROM DOING SO BY THIRD PARTIES OR HAVE CHOSEN TO DO OTHERWISE.

THE KEY TO ENDING THE CURRENT STALEMATE IN CENTRAL MONROVIA LIES WITH ECOWAS. IF ECOWAS HAS THE POLITICAL WILL, ECOMOG HAS THE MILITARY CAPACITY TO REMOVE THE AFL FROM THE FIELD, DRIVE THE NPFL FROM THE CITY, AND IMPOSE A "CORDON SANITAIRE" OVER THE ENTIRETY OF MONROVIA.

6. THIS REPORT WAS PREPARED BY THE ACTING DEFENSE ATTACHE. DE VOS

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EXHIBIT JJ

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT KK

EXHIBIT KK

104th Congress }
2d Session }

JOINT COMMITTEE PRINT

COUNTRY REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS
PRACTICES FOR 1995

REPORT

SUBMITTED TO THE

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

AND THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
U.S. SENATE

BY THE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTIONS 116(d) AND 502B(5) OF THE
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961, AS AMENDED



APRIL 1996

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The 1993 Labor Code spells out basic worker rights, including a 45-hour work-week, a weekly rest period of at least 24 hours, 12 days' paid leave per year, and paid public holidays. The Code requires employers to provide adequate light, ventilation, and sanitary facilities for employees and to install and maintain machinery to minimize the risk of injury. In practice, employers generally follow these regulations only within the wage economy in urban areas, and the Ministry of Labor and Employment enforces the regulations haphazardly. The Labor Code does not explicitly protect the right of workers to remove themselves from hazardous situations without prejudice to employment. But Labor Code sections on safety in the workplace, and dismissal, imply that dismissal in such circumstances would not be legal.

LIBERIA

Although the first 8 months of 1995 saw a continuation of civil war, a new peace accord signed in Abuja, Nigeria on August 19 offered some hope that the 6-year conflict would end. The factions signing the Abuja Accord included: the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), two ethnic subfactions—Krahn and Mandingo—of the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO), and a coalition of anti-NPFL forces comprised of the Liberia Peace Council (LPC), the Lofa Defense Force, and a breakaway-NPFL group called the Central Revolutionary Council. A cease-fire agreed to in the new accord went into effect August 26, and a new Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG-II, the successor to the LNTG-I) was inaugurated on September 1. A six-person Council of State—three members representing the warring factions and three representing civilians—began filling government positions in September.

Under the Abuja Accord timetable, the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and the U.N. Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) were to deploy into areas previously controlled by the factions, starting in October. ECOMOG's deployment was delayed, however, due to logistical problems. ECOMOG did begin further deployment in December but temporarily halted this process when its troops were attacked by rebels near Tubmanburg, Bomi county, at the end of the year.

The Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) remained largely inactive, although they did man checkpoints near the Schiefflin Camp on the Monrovia-Buchanan highway. The AFL as an institution was not identified with human rights abuses, but many AFL soldiers were recruited into the LPC.

The Liberian National Police (LNP), which reports to the Ministry of Justice, together with the National Security Agency (NSA) and the Special Security Services (reporting directly to the LNTG) also have responsibility for internal security, but they lacked the resources and training to function effectively. In the spring, the LNP established a special operations department, composed of a task force and rapid response unit to combat soaring crime in Monrovia. While civilian authorities generally maintained control of these groups, there were instances in which individual members acted independently of governmental authority and committed human rights abuses.

ECOMOG was the key military force supporting the LNTG-II, as for all previous interim governments. At the end of 1995 ECOMOG was composed of approximately 7,200 troops from six West African countries; over half were Nigerian. ECOMOG is supported primarily by nations who have contributed troops. ECOMOG has in effect acted as the interim governments' security force. In addition, absent an effective central government, it assumed many police powers in areas under its control. ECOMOG also continued its humanitarian role and maintained a protective cordon around the cities of Monrovia and Buchanan where 1.2 million people (almost half of the country's population) live. There were reports that a few ECOMOG soldiers committed human rights abuses such as arbitrary detentions.

The economy, ravaged by civil war, remained in severe disarray. Prior to 1990 it was based primarily on iron ore, rubber, timber, diamond, and gold exports. Eighty to 90 percent unemployment, massive displacements of civilians, and wanton destruction and looting devastated productive capacity, despite the country's rich natural resource endowments and potential self-sufficiency in agriculture. Gross domestic product was estimated to be less than one-fifth of its prewar level.

The war has taken a horrendous toll on civilians. Of a prewar population of 2.8 million, 150,000 people have been killed, 750,000 have fled the country, and 1.2 million are internally displaced. The media, eyewitnesses, human rights monitoring groups, and international observers all reported flagrant disregard for human rights by the 40,000 to 60,000 fighters in the major factions. The factions looted and

burned villages; used excessive force; engaged in arbitrary detentions and imprisonment, particularly of children under the age of 18; employed forced labor; committed torture, individual and gang rape, summary executions, mutilations, and cannibalism.

Massive emergency operations by the United Nations, as well as by other Western relief agencies and nongovernmental organizations (NGO's) brought subsistence-level humanitarian aid to people living in the ECOMOG protective-cordon around Monrovia and Buchanan. Continued fighting and attacks on civilians and humanitarian relief conveyed prevented regular delivery of humanitarian assistance outside ECOMOG-controlled areas, although sometimes NGO convoys, crossing the borders from Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, or factional lines within the country, managed to deliver food and medical supplies to needy civilians upcountry.

Because of the war, citizens have not been able to elect a representative government. The judicial system continued to be hampered by inefficiency and corruption. Prison conditions were life threatening. There were some attempts to limit freedom of the press and freedom of association. Violence against women is a longstanding problem. The practice of female genital mutilation persists. No progress was made in resolving outstanding incidents of past human rights abuses.

Although the 1985 Constitution, the Penal Code, and the Labor Code remain in effect, because of the civil war the rights provided for in these documents were largely not protected in practice.

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Section 1. Respect for the Integrity of the Person, Including Freedom from:

a. *Political and Other Extrajudicial Killing.*—There were no reports of extrajudicial killings by the AFL, LNTG-I, or LNTG-II security forces, but five members of the LNTG-II police were jailed pending internal investigation for the beating death November 18 of a Mandingo merchant.

Although they professed adherence to the rule of law, the leaders of the major warring factions condoned and in some instances seemingly appeared to encourage the murderous savagery that killed or maimed more civilians than combatants (see Section 1.g). In the many killings committed by the factions, it was often impossible to determine whether they were politically motivated or driven by tribal hatred (see Section 5). One such example is the ritualistic mutilation, murder, and dismemberment of a University of Liberia student, a Mandingo, in Tubmanburg on August 14 by ULIMO-Krahn fighters. After beheading and cannibalizing the young man, soldiers took his body to Lofa Bridge where the Krahns were fighting the Mandingos for control of the diamond mines. The student's mangled body was found outside Tubmanburg 3 days later. ECOMOG soldiers later arrested several ULIMO-Krahn fighters.

The majority of civilian deaths took place during raids on villages (see Section 1.g). There were reports that ULIMO-Mandingo fighters harassed and executed civilians in Lofa county for religious and ethnic reasons.

In late September, during an intra-NPFL dispute, factional fighters murdered civilians in Tappeta and destroyed the town. A number of NPFL commandos were tried in Gbarnga by the NPFL for the Tappeta incidents in November and found guilty. They were released after serving three months of their 12-month sentences.

There were credible reports that George Boley, leader of the LPC faction and member of the LNTG-II, authorized the summary execution of seven of his fighters November 14 for harassment of civilians. Boley did not deny these allegations. Displaced persons reported that factions usually did not hold prisoners, but either released them or shot and killed them on the spot.

No progress was made in the investigation of the December 1994 massacre at Dupont Road on the outskirts of Monrovia in which more than 60 civilians, most of them children, were murdered (see Section 1.d).

b. *Disappearance.*—There were no reports of disappearance perpetrated by the AFL, LNTG-I or LNTG-II police or security forces, nor by ECOMOG. The major factions were responsible for many unexplained disappearances however, notably by impressment of children (see Sections 1.g, 5, and 6.d). Many families remained divided by the war. Among those are families living in Monrovia, those located in other parts of Liberia, and those who fled the country. The International Committee of the Red Cross has a family tracing program but, because of the inaccessibility of major sectors of the country through most of the year, located only a small percentage of the missing persons brought to its attention.

Ten ECOMOG soldiers were missing after the ULIMO-Krahn attack in Tubmanburg in December. They are presumed dead.

c. *Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.*—Although the Constitution prohibits torture and other degrading treatment, the factions continued to perpetrate massive abuses. There were no reports of torture by the AFL, LNTG-I or LNTG-II police or security forces, nor by ECOMOG.

Although the Supreme Court ruled that “trial by ordeal” or “sassywood”—commonly, the placement of a burning metal object on a suspect’s body to induce confession in a criminal investigation—is unconstitutional, the Ministry of Internal Affairs continued to have licensed agents who subjected suspects to this practice. A lawsuit brought in 1994 for injuries resulting from sassywood is pending before the Supreme Court.

A LNTG-I policeman beat a journalist; authorities did not investigate the incident. Eyewitnesses report that ECOMOG soldiers beat individuals at ECOMOG checkpoints in an effort to curb criminal activity.

All the major factions engaged in torture and other cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment. After the seating of the LNTG-II Council of State in September, faction leaders and their bodyguards traveling in motor vehicle convoys in Monrovia routinely intimidated and sometimes beat civilians who did not give way fast enough to their processions. NPFL fighters stripped, beat, and tortured civilians at numerous highway checkpoints in the NPFL areas, usually in connection with extortion or other forms of intimidation. In addition, the NPFL was charged by the Justice and Peace Commission (JPC) with numerous massacres of civilians (see Section 1.g.). Roving bands of ULIMO-Krahn and ULIMO-Mandingo fighters raided villages in Cape Mount and Bomi counties, pillaging, beating, raping and murdering civilians as they went. LPC fighters were widely accused of beating, torturing, and killing civilians, especially persons suspected of being NPFL sympathizers, and torching their villages. Members of all factions practiced cannibalism (see Section 1.g.). Displaced persons escaping to Buchanan in February claimed that the LPC held 6,000 persons hostage in and around Compound Number 3 and the Liberian Agricultural Company plantation, under the guise of offering them security but in reality using them for forced labor. On February 13, LPC fighters severely manhandled an expatriate NGO nurse and badly beat another NGO’s local staff member. At year’s end, forced labor reportedly continued in the Southeastern counties, despite George Boley’s December 14 order to his LPC/Coalition fighters to prepare to report to assembly sites for disarmament. The warring factions regularly committed violence against women, including individual and gang rape, as in the case of three rapes December 14 near Sinje, Grand Cape Mount county, which were committed either by Mandingo or ULIMO-Krahn fighters.

Neither the LNTG-I nor LNTG-II addressed the life threatening conditions in government jails. There were credible reports of death among prisoners due to starvation. The interim governments did not provide prisoners with adequate food or medical care. Cells were small, crowded, and filthy.

Women, representing 5 percent of the central prison population, were held in separate cells, but there were no separate facilities for juvenile offenders. The LNTG-I and II regularly granted human rights groups access to prisoners in Monrovia, and these groups frequently obtained needed medical treatment for their clients. In a number of cases, the pro bono work of human rights groups and interested individuals resulted in the release of prisoners, many of whom were held for up to 1 year without charge.

The conditions of detention by factions were reportedly even worse. Factions held prisoners in makeshift, substandard facilities and subjected them to various forms of mistreatment, both physical and psychological—including beatings, rape, threatened executions, and “tarbeying” (tying the elbows together behind the back).

d. *Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, or Exile.*—The Constitution prohibits arbitrary arrest and provides for the rights of the accused, including warrants for arrests and the right of detainees to be either charged or released within 48 hours. In practice, Liberian National Police officers, who operate only in the cities of Monrovia and Buchanan, and during part of the year in Tubmanburg, often disregarded these rights and made arbitrary arrests. Many of these officers, who often do not receive their monthly salary of \$5, accepted bribes to arrest persons based on unsubstantiated allegations. Approximately 90 percent of the prison population was held without charge for more than 1 year. ECOMOG soldiers played the major role in policing the greater Monrovia area. Citizens continued to turn to ECOMOG rather than the largely unarmed police force to arrest and detain alleged criminals. ECOMOG regularly turned detainees over to civilian authorities, although the police denied in a year-end dispute that ECOMOG had turned over 11 suspects in the December 1994 Dupont Road massacre. There were unconfirmed reports that ECOMOG coerced confessions from suspects.

There were no known political detainees in the cities of Monrovia and Buchanan.

The factions arbitrarily detained numerous persons and held so-called "prisoners of war" from the AFL and other factions. The NPFL committed repeated arbitrary detentions in its territory where martial law has been in effect since the war began. NPFL fighters had almost unbridled power to make warrantless arrests. They exercised that power often and capriciously, detaining persons on spurious grounds or without charge for periods ranging from several hours to several weeks. Just prior to the seating of the LNTG-II, over 300 children from the Fatima Cottage-Orphanage Mission, abducted by Taylor's NPFL forces during "Operation Octopus," were returned from Gbarnga to Monrovia.

Approximately 750,000 citizens, including former political leaders, have fled the country because of the war.

e. *Denial of Fair Public Trial.*—While the Constitution provides for an independent judiciary, because of the war the judiciary does not function in most areas of the country. Where it does function, it is in practice subject to political, social, familial, and financial suasion. Under the Constitution, defendants have due process rights conforming to internationally accepted norms of fair trial. Most of these rights, however, were ignored in practice.

The court structure is divided into four levels with the Supreme Court, whose members are appointed by the LNTG-II, at the apex. Although devastated by years of civil war, all levels of the court system, including the Supreme Court, were functioning in 1995 in Monrovia, although erratically. Corruption and incompetent handling of cases remained a recurrent problem. Although the judiciary was allocated some resources by the interim governments, little progress was made.

Customary law was also used in Monrovia. The Ministry of Internal Affairs subjected persons accused of occult practices and other crimes to "trial by ordeal," submitting defendants to physical pain to adjudicate guilt or innocence (see Section 1.c.).

In the areas controlled by the major factions, there was little pretense of due process; swift judgment was meted out by the faction leaders. Both ECOMOG and the AFL chief of staff under the LNTG-I issued warnings to lawyers to desist from defending armed robbers.

f. *Arbitrary Interference with Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence.*—While the Constitution provides for these rights, in wartime Liberia LNTG-I and LNTG-II authorities sometimes ignored them. The Constitution provides that police must obtain a warrant or have a reasonable belief that a crime is in progress or is about to be committed before entering a private dwelling. In practice, the police forced entry without a warrant to carry out arrests and investigations. Members of the NSA harassed the director of a well-known human rights organization in July. The director's nephew was detained by police, NSA agents and ECOMOG soldiers July 28 and beaten when he denied knowledge of the director's whereabouts.

The warring factions committed the most egregious abuses, including confiscation, indiscriminate looting, pillaging, and destruction of property. Combatants looted villages, with ULIMO-Krahn and ULIMO-Mandingo factions in Bomi and Cape Mount counties and LPC and NPFL fighters in Southeast counties and elsewhere drawing public outrage. These forces pilfered virtually any item of value and regularly demanded scarce food and personal valuables from already impoverished residents or displaced persons, often robbing them of their clothes and physically abusing them, particularly at checkpoints. Confiscation of private homes and vehicles was common practice.

g. *Use of Excessive Force and Violations of Humanitarian Law in Internal Conflicts.*—The major warring factions inflicted considerably more harm on noncombatants than on each other. They deliberately targeted, tortured, and murdered innocent civilians and regularly committed violence against women, children, and the elderly. The four militarily active factions indiscriminately ransacked villages and confiscated scant food supplies.

Displaced persons reported many incidents in which civilians died at the hands of marauding fighters. In March the Catholic Church's human rights organization, the JPC, published a report charging the NPFL with killing or abducting 2,000 civilians, or 10 percent of the town's population, in its 6-month siege of Bong Mines and raids on neighboring areas. The JPC also accused the NPFL of a massacre over 300 civilians who were taken hostage on their way to the Heindi market near Bong Mines on March 7; the NPFL reportedly later returned to kill 200 more civilians and burn 50 houses. The JPC reported a massacre at Heindi early in the week of March 25, where 64 bodies were hastily buried in a common grave and 450 houses burned. Displaced persons who had fled fighting between the NPFL and ULIMO-Krahn in Nyehn, southwest of Kakata, in April reported that the NPFL massacred 150 persons, raped women, burned houses and mutilated babies. On April 9 in Yorselown, 62 people, including women and children, were killed with cutlasses and

knives. Survivors said the NPFL was responsible; they also reported that bodies were cannibalized. Survivors of a massacre of 74 civilians on the railroad between Bong Mines and Monrovia on May 3 said the NPFL was responsible.

In late February, ULIMO-Mandingo fighters killed 27 persons in Gbarma, Grand Cape Mount, and burned to the ground the neighboring villages of Tarkpoina and Zuo. In two separate incidents in the first 2 weeks of March, 300 ULIMO-Krahn fighters, said to be "on a rampage" in Grand Cape Mount, massacred 50 people near Madina. ULIMO-Mandingo fighters killed hundreds of civilians in Menkor Town, Grand Cape Mount, and abducted many others, whose fate is unknown. ULIMO-Mandingo fighters ambushed vehicles on the Bomi Highway, killing at least five civilians and injuring others at the end of March. ULIMO-Mandingo fighters entered Kpeneji town in Grand Cape Mount on April 4, killing three civilians and setting the town afire, including a large refugee/displaced persons camp. ULIMO-Krahn fighters, headquartered in Roysville, Grand Cape Mount, launched daily operations against nearby villages such as one early morning raid on April 15 when they raped women, flogged men and boys, and buried people up to their necks on the beach. Mandingo forces murdered 55 civilians in Guthrie in late April. During another looting raid, ULIMO-Krahn fighters killed a Baptist clergyman and injured an additional 6 civilians on May 2 in Bendu Mission, Grand Cape Mount, an incident confirmed by the Baptist Church in Monrovia. Skirmishing between the two ULIMO subfactions was continuous at the diamond-rich Lofa Bridge area in southern Lofa county. At the end of December, ULIMO-Krahn fighters attacked ECOMOG soldiers near Tubmanburg who were deploying to begin disarmament measures called for in the Abuja Accord. They killed and wounded numerous people, forcing over 15,000 civilians to flee the area.

In the southeastern counties, the NPFL and LPC vied for control. NPFL fighters in Rivercess routinely tortured women by placing hot metal between their legs and forcing men to rape women. In February NPFL fighters killed at least 10 people and wounded several others in Kabeh town. Displaced persons reported that the LPC frequently burned women between their breasts, on their thighs or their backs; burned men on their genitals and legs; and buried people alive. The rape of both old and young women was common. Displaced persons arriving at Monrovia shelters reported that LPC fighters in Greenville in March killed 55 persons who had surrendered to them.

At the end of March LPC fighters murdered a number of civilians in Sakpoh, Clark's Town, and Cheasbeh, Sinoe county. By the end of April, fighting between the NPFL and LPC reportedly resulted in the death of over 1,000 civilians in a 1-month period in these counties, with few injuries to the fighters.

There were credible reports that NPFL, ULIMO-Krahn, ULIMO-Mandingo, and LPC fighters committed acts of cannibalism (see Section 1.a.). In some instances, the fighters ate specific organs in the belief that it would make them stronger.

Relief organizations estimated 1.2 million persons have been internally displaced since the war began. Most of these are dependent on humanitarian aid for survival. Faction leaders and their followers, suspicious of the possible supply of aid to the enemy, often refused to allow international and humanitarian relief agencies access beyond their checkpoints to distribute food and supplies. The U.N. and relief agencies reported regular harassment of their staffs and the looting of food and medical supplies and gasoline. In August, after the cease-fire went into effect and the humanitarian community had access upcountry for the first time, they found severe malnutrition in many areas. Throughout the year, due either to unstable conditions or sporadic skirmishes between the factions, it remained difficult to deliver humanitarian assistance outside ECOMOG-protected areas.

Credible reports indicated that members of ECOMOG facilitated the delivery of—if they did not actually deliver—weapons and ammunition to the LPC and both ULIMO subfactions.

Section 2. Respect for Civil Liberties, Including:

a. *Freedom of Speech and Press.*—These freedoms are provided for in the Constitution and, with some significant limitations, were generally exercised in Monrovia, although toward the end of the year the LNTG-II attempted to intimidate and restrict the press. Citizens, including journalists, usually showed restraint and self-censorship in favor of the interim governments. Due primarily to continued economic stagnation, all newspapers struggled to get their editions published. Until October there were eight privately owned newspapers in Monrovia, which published from one to five times weekly, bimonthly or, in the case of the human rights newspaper, as the situation warranted. Since mid-October, 7 new tabloid newspapers have appeared, bringing the total to 15, an indication of a vibrant press. One of the new newspapers focused solely on women's issues; another was dedicated to cover-

ing disarmament and demobilization. The press tended to be anti-NPFL, openly criticizing Taylor, a member of the LNTG-II. This too was indicative of an increasingly strong media. In August a new independent and privately owned radio station was inaugurated.

The restrictive Media Law, instituted during the Doe regime, remains in force and provides the Ministry of Information wide discretion in licensing and regulating journalists. A 1993 decree, which also remains in effect, set up guidelines for reporting on war-related issues.

On October 9, the LNTG-II Chief Justice warned the press, lawyers, and others against criticizing decisions of the Court, specifically naming the former Chairman of the LNTG-I, who had commented publicly on an appeal motion. In November and December, the Minister of Justice brought a number of questionable lawsuits against prominent opposition figures for alleged criticism of the Council of State. These cases were pending at the end of the year.

The interim governments failed to take action in several incidents in which journalists were mistreated. On April 26, Budu Kaisa, a journalist affiliated with the British Broadcasting Corporation, in search of an interview, was flogged by a police major assigned to the Labor Ministry. In May photojournalist James Momo received death threats from coalition fighters irked by his publication of a photo showing a naked NPFL fighter holding the head of his beheaded NPFL colleague. On July 30, journalist Bill Jarkloh was flogged by ULIMO-Krahn fighters.

Members of the LNTG-I and II interim governments also harassed and intimidated journalists, rationalizing their behavior by pointing to a lack of professionalism on the part of journalists and editors. In January the Information Minister, who insisted on having prior knowledge of program contents before broadcast, canceled the government radio station's public affairs program. The Council of State, however, warned the Minister to desist from such censorship. At times journalists were requested to meet privately with government officials and senior ECOMOG officers who had been offended by articles. Some journalists admitted to self-censorship in favor of the interim government. Except when fighting became too widespread, international journalists were able to visit contested zones and to write news articles for their publications with no official censorship.

After the inauguration of the LNTG-II, threats against the press increased. An October 4 front page article in the local press claimed that the new police director had instructed the owner of the printing press which publishes daily newspapers in the capital to submit copies of all issues to his office before releasing them to the public. The press united in condemning this instruction, and the police director let it drop. State councilmen and their representatives made repeated attacks on the press for publishing articles or airing comments they considered critical of members of the LNTG-II Council. Journalists responded vigorously to each threat.

On December 8, the Liberia Broadcasting System justified stopping a number of religious and political radio programs, claiming the content was inflammatory or dangerous to the peace process. In mid-December the Ministry of Information informed the Press Union of Liberia (PUL) that it would accredit journalists in the future, an activity previously carried out by PUL. No newspapers were forcibly closed during the year.

There was one pro-NPFL newspaper intermittently published in NPFL territory; none, official or private, were printed in ULIMO- or LPC-controlled areas.

The government radio station, ELBC, continued to broadcast throughout the year, using equipment donated by ECOMOG. Its news reports were favorable (at times sycophantic) to the LNTG, and while some talk shows criticized ECOMOG and the LNTG, many credible journalists alleged substantial censorship of ELBC. Two privately owned religious radio stations also broadcast from Monrovia throughout the year, but the content of their programs was noncontroversial. Since the cease-fire in August two independent stations began airing programs. The NPFL also opened a private radio station with news programs uncritically supporting the NPFL and Charles Taylor's political agenda.

Academic freedom was generally respected at the University of Liberia, which continued to operate despite some delays caused by financial problems. In November LNTG-II police and NSA officers went to the University to arrest the leader of the student union for supporting the teachers' strike. However, the officers left the campus after seeing student support for their leader.

b. *Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association.*—The Constitution provides for the rights of peaceful assembly and association. The LNTG-I and II permitted political parties and other groups to organize freely and hold public meetings in Monrovia, but ECOMOG generally discouraged large-scale parades or demonstrations for security reasons. The factions severely restricted freedom of assembly and association in areas they controlled.

c. *Freedom of Religion.*—The Constitution recognizes freedom of religion as a fundamental right, and Liberia has no established state religion. Although Islam is gaining adherents, as much as 40 percent of the population profess to be Christian. A significant portion of the population follows traditional animistic religions or practices a mixture of traditional religions with Christianity or Islam. Islamic leaders complained that Muslims were discriminated against (see Section 5). There was no evidence of systematic violation of religious freedom by warring factions.

d. *Freedom of Movement Within the Country, Foreign Travel, Emigration, and Repatriation.*—The Constitution provides for freedom of movement throughout the country as well as the right to leave or enter. To protect the 1.2 million people in Monrovia and Buchanan from rampant lawlessness and banditry, ECOMOG established a protective cordon around those cities and numerous checkpoints within the capital. There were reports that some ECOMOG soldiers beat individuals at checkpoints (see Section 1.c.). ECOMOG arrested numerous persons for noncompliance with the curfew and periodically meted out corporal punishment to repeat curfew violators. After the cease-fire, ECOMOG reduced the hours of the nighttime curfew.

Before the cease-fire on August 26 factional fighting prevented freedom of movement, restricting a range of activities from resettlement of displaced to ordinary commerce and travel. The warring factions impeded the movement of relief workers and supplies and extorted, humiliated, and harassed citizens throughout the country at checkpoints and makeshift barricades. When ECOMOG could not guarantee safe passage upcountry, it restricted the movement of civilians and humanitarian aid workers at various times throughout the year. Even after the seating of the LNTG-II Council of State, there were reports that beatings of international humanitarian workers and thefts of foodstuffs and humanitarian vehicles by the warring factions continued.

Since 1990 approximately 1.2 million citizens (of an estimated prewar population of 2.8 million) have been internally displaced. There are more than 750,000 Liberian refugees in neighboring West African countries, although the number of refugees fluctuated depending on the intensity and proximity of the fighting to population centers in Liberia. Many of the internally displaced went to Monrovia because of the greater security provided by ECOMOG and more reliable relief supplies.

There are approximately 120,000 Sierra Leonean refugees in Liberia. Many Sierra Leoneans were mistreated by both ULIMO factions and the NPFL as they were displaced by fighting. The interim governments cooperated with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other humanitarian organizations in assisting refugees. There were no reports of forced expulsion of those having a valid claim to refugee status.

Section 3. Respect for Political Rights: The Right of Citizens to Change Their Government

Despite constitutional and statutory guarantees of free and fair elections, due to the civil war citizens could not exercise the right to change their government. A new interim government, the third since the war began, was installed on September 1, as a result of the signing of the Abuja Accord on August 19. The peace accord provides for national elections to take place in August 1996.

There are no restrictions on the participation of women in politics. While there is only one female cabinet minister in the LNTG-II, several women hold key positions and exert considerable influence. Overall numbers of women in the LNTG-II and the various political parties are small.

Section 4. Governmental Attitude Regarding International and Nongovernmental Investigation of Alleged Violations of Human Rights

The interim governments have generally permitted domestic and international groups to operate freely. However, NSA agents harassed a prominent human rights lawyer and his family (see Section 1.e.).

The few domestic human rights organizations are underfunded and lack adequate training but made progress in improving their influence, visibility, and performance. One group has a weekly radio program; another group occasionally published a newspaper dedicated to human rights. There is a Monrovia-based consortium of NGO's monitoring human rights, consisting of the Center for Law and Human Rights Education, the Justice and Peace Commission, Liberian Human Rights Chapter, Liberian Watch on Human Rights, Association of Female Lawyers, and Association of Human Rights Promoters. One new group, the National Human Rights Monitor, was formed. Some groups visited prisoners in government jails. None of these organizations reported governmental interference with their activities.

There were no domestic human rights organizations extant outside the cities of Monrovia and Buchanan due to the warring factions' hostility to such organizations.

Although UNOMIL has responsibility for monitoring human rights, for most of the year no one carried out this function. In October one trained human rights observer was assigned to UNOMIL. No UNOMIL reports on human rights were made public.

Section 5. Discrimination Based on Race, Sex, Religion, Disability, Language, or Social Status

The Constitution prohibits discrimination based on ethnic background, race, sex, creed, place of origin, or political opinion, but de facto and in some cases de jure discrimination exist.

Women.—In the massive violence inflicted on civilians during the conflict, women suffered a gamut of abuses (see Sections 1.c. and 1.g.). Rape was commonplace. Even prior to the war, domestic violence against women was extensive but never seriously addressed as an issue by the Government, the courts, the media, or women's groups. Since the war began, several women's organizations were established in Monrovia and Gbarnga to advance family welfare issues, to help promote political reconciliation, and to assist in rehabilitating former combatants as well as civilian victims of war. Several NGO's in Monrovia and Buchanan have developed programs for treating abused women and girls and increasing their awareness of their human rights.

The status of women varies by region, ethnic group, and religion. Before the outbreak of the civil war, women held one-fourth the professional and technical occupations available in Monrovia. Some women currently hold skilled jobs in government, including in the judiciary. On the whole, however, the situation of women deteriorated dramatically with the onset of war, the closing of many schools, and the loss of their traditional role in production, allocation, and sale of food. In urban areas, women can inherit land and property. In rural areas, where traditional customs are stronger, a woman is normally considered the property of her husband and his clan and usually is not entitled to inherit from her husband.

Children.—Denied a normal childhood, Liberian youth have been the most tragic victims of the civil war. The factions have abused children and given no attention to their welfare; education and nurturing have been completely disrupted. Many who were disabled, orphaned, abandoned, or "lost" during a military attack on their homes or villages, accepted the protection and sustenance that joining a faction brought. The NPFL, LPC, and the ULIMO-Mandingos recruited and trained children as cooks, spies, errand runners, guards, patrols, and in many instances, combatants. Faction leaders provided addictive drugs to children, thereby ensuring their compliance and continued participation in warfare. Many have been killed or wounded, have witnessed terrible atrocities, or themselves committed atrocities. There are no precise figures on the number of child soldiers, but some sources believe that 10 percent of the estimated 60,000 combatants are under 15 years of age; about 50 percent may be under 19. Children have become both victims and abusers in the conflict. Many suffer from post-traumatic stress syndrome and have become addicted to drugs. Some NGO's have initiated small retraining and rehabilitation programs for a limited number of former child fighters (see Section 6.d.).

Female genital mutilation (FGM) has been widely condemned by international health experts as damaging to both physical and psychologically health. FGM traditionally has been performed on young girls by northern, western, and central tribes, particularly in rural areas and among traditional societies. It was difficult to confirm the extent to which this procedure was practiced in 1995 by the uprooted, displaced, and often inaccessible population. In some instances, female health professionals in the tribes participated in the practice to the extent of providing hygienic conditions and postoperative care. The most extreme form of FGM, infibulation, is not practiced.

People With Disabilities.—The 6-year civil war has produced a large number of persons with permanent injuries in addition to persons disabled from other causes. There is no legal discrimination against the disabled, but in practice they do not enjoy equal access. There are no laws mandating accessibility to public buildings or services.

Religious Minorities.—The law prohibits religious discrimination. Some Muslims, however, who represent a growing share of the population, believe that Liberia's secular culture gives preference to Christianity in civic ceremonies and observances, and that discrimination spills over into areas of individual opportunity and employment. Although there are some notable Muslims in top government positions, including on the Council of State, many Muslims believe that they are bypassed for the highly sought-after technical and bureaucratic jobs available in government.

National/Racial/Ethnic Minorities.—Although the Constitution bans ethnic discrimination, it also provides that only "persons who are negroes or of negro descent"

may be citizens or own land, thus denying full rights to many persons who were born or lived most of their lives in Liberia. There has been no legislative initiative to repeal this racial test, but there are reports that non-Liberians have acquired Liberian passports. The 1975 Economic "Liberianization" law prohibits foreign ownership of certain businesses, such as travel agencies, retail gasoline stations, and beer and soft-drink distributors.

The roots of the current civil conflict can be found, to a large extent, in the historical division between the Americo-Liberian minority and the 16 indigenous ethnic groups. Ethnic tensions were exacerbated during the Doe regime because of domination by his ethnic group, the Krahn. Throughout the civil war, the factions used an individual's language to identify ethnicity and often summarily executed those from groups considered hostile.

Section 6. Worker Rights

a. *The Right of Association.*—The Constitution states that workers, except military and police, have the right to associate in trade unions. The Constitution also states that unions are prohibited from partisan political activity, and this restriction has been observed in practice. Government interference in union activities, especially elections and leadership conflicts, was commonplace before the war. More than 20 trade unions, representing about 15 percent of the wage-earning work force, were registered with the Ministry of Labor before the war began in 1989. Ten national unions were members of the Liberian Federation of Labor Unions. However, the actual power the unions exercised was limited.

Like virtually all other organized activity in the country, unions disappeared as economic activity ceased at the beginning of the war. In subsequent years the ability of unions to operate was a direct function of the level of factional fighting and the effect of the war on extractive industries. Union activity practically halted with the increase of factional fighting prior to the August cease-fire. The most active organization was the Ship Workers' Union, which urged the LNTG-I and II to pressure Liberian flag vessels to employ more Liberian workers.

Liberia's status as a beneficiary of trade preferences under the United States' Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) program was suspended in 1990 as a result of the Doe government's failure to take steps to provide internationally recognized worker rights. The Constitution is silent on the right to strike, but labor laws do protect this right. During the year, neither LNTG-I nor LNTG-II took discriminatory actions against organized labor, even though the LNTG-I State Council chairman threatened to fire government employees if they stayed home on March 8, a successful 1-day work "stoppage" called by civilian groups to demonstrate their discontent with the lack of progress in the peace process. No one was fired for participating. The Liberian Electric company employees, who staged a 1-week strike in September to demand back wages, were paid and returned to work. During a 3-week November teachers' strike for back pay and other benefits, the Government negotiated with the Teachers' Union and promised to pay; the teachers returned to work. In December health personnel asked for their delayed pay checks, threatening a work slowdown. Government officials were attempting to solve the problem of salary arrearages for all civil servants at year's end.

Labor unions have traditionally affiliated with international labor groups.

b. *The Right to Organize and Bargain Collectively.*—With the important exception of civil servants, workers (including employees of public corporations and autonomous agencies) have the right to organize and bargain collectively. In the past, agreements were negotiated freely between workers and their employers without government interference. In 1995 these rights were largely moot because of the lack of economic enterprise, especially in Monrovia, where only a few businesses resumed operations, usually with reduced staffing.

c. *Prohibition of Forced or Compulsory Labor.*—The Constitution prohibits forced labor, but even before the civil war this prohibition was widely ignored in rural areas where farmers were pressured into providing free labor on "community projects" which often benefited only local leaders. This year the warring factions continued to use forced labor, especially for moving equipment or supplies. There were credible reports that ULIMO-Mandingo fighters also used Sierra Leonean refugees to acquire food for them.

d. *Minimum Age for Employment of Children.*—Even before the civil war, enforcement of the law prohibiting employment of children under age 16 during school hours in the wage sector was limited. Small children continued to assist their parents as vendors in local markets and on family subsistence farms. This practice persists, particularly in those areas affected by the war, where there are no schools. Throughout the conflict, the NPFL and ULIMO-Mandingos recruited young children

as soldiers. Many of these children, especially in NPFL-controlled territories, remained under arms (see Section 5).

e. *Acceptable Conditions of Work.*—The Labor Law provides for a minimum wage, paid leave, severance benefits, and safety standards, but with the war enforcement mechanisms collapsed. In the war-decimated economy citizens were forced to accept any work they could find, regardless of wage. A legal minimum wage of approximately \$0.90 per day for agricultural workers and 3 or 4 times that amount for industrial workers remains in force, but because of the war it was not enforced.

The Labor Code provides for a 48-hour, 6-day regular workweek with a 30-minute rest period per 5 hours of work. The 6-day workweek may extend to 56 hours for service occupations and to 72 hours for miners, with overtime pay beyond 48 hours. Prior to 1990 there also were government-established health and safety standards, enforced in theory by the Ministry of Labor. Because of the war these regulations were not in fact enforced. Even under the Labor Code, workers did not have a specific right to remove themselves from dangerous work situations.

MADAGASCAR

Madagascar's transition from the 16-year authoritarian Socialist rule of Didier Ratsiraka officially ended in 1993 with the fair election of Albert Zafy as President and the selection of Francisque Ravony as Prime Minister by the National Assembly. Under the 1992 Constitution, power is divided between the President, the Prime Minister and his Government, and the National Assembly. A number of institutions provided by the new Constitution, including an upper house (Senate) of the National Assembly had not been established by year's end. However, communal elections, which are a necessary first step toward the creation of the Senate, took place on November 5. Departmental and regional elections, which must also precede a senate election, are scheduled to take place in 1996, although no date had yet been set.

Relations between the President and the Prime Minister deteriorated amid charges of corruption and mismanagement of the economy, forcing a realignment of parties in the National Assembly and a national referendum—called by President Zafy—to amend the Constitution. Malagasy voters strongly supported increased presidential powers during the September 17 referendum, which was conducted in a free and fair manner. The Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers resigned in October, opening the way for President Zafy to name Emmanuel Rakotovahiny as Prime Minister, along with a new cabinet.

In August the Government increased civilian control over the military through the passage of a new defense law. The law established a new cabinet-level policy body, the High Council of Defense, chaired by the President, and an Interministerial Defense Committee, chaired by the Prime Minister, to carry out the decisions of the High Council. After allowing the forces to shrink gradually, the Government has stabilized the overall size of the military at about 21,000 (13,000 military, 8,000 gendarmes). There were occasional reports that police committed human rights abuses and many reports of abuses by village-level law enforcement groups.

The Government has established targets for improved economic management, reduced government expenditures, and increased revenues. Although some of these targets were met, the country's overall economic performance was mixed. Living standards remained extremely low, and purchasing power continued to erode. Per capita gross domestic product was estimated at \$230 for 1994. In early 1995, inflation was progressing at an annual rate of 60 percent, but with stricter economic management, including tighter control over the money supply, the inflation rate declined considerably by the end of the year. The economy remains highly dependent on agriculture. Primary commodities such as shrimp, vanilla, and coffee did relatively well, and rice production, the major staple, increased over previous years. Tourism also increased as did manufacturing in the export processing zones. The smuggling of vanilla, gold, precious stones, and cattle continued to be a major concern as did the rise in criminal activity. Unemployment and underemployment also remained serious problems, especially among those under 25, who comprise about 60 percent of the population.

The human rights situation remained the same. There was a notable absence of political violence, despite demonstrations and heated political rivalry between supporters of the President and then Prime Minister Ravony. However, there continued to be human rights abuses in the law enforcement and judicial systems. There were occasional reports of police brutality against suspects and detainees as well as instances of arbitrary arrest and detention. Prison conditions are harsh and life threatening, and in some prisons women may experience physical abuse, including

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT LL

EXHIBIT LL

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	NSAE-00	SSO-01	HA-09	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-01	MFLO-01
	EAP-01	PA-01	PER-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	INRE-00	OCS-06
	COR-01	FDRE-01	AGRE-00	CA-02	FBO-07	RP-10	A-01
	SP-01	M-01	MMP-01	SR-01	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01
	IMMC-01	OIS-01	SCT-03	P-02	T-01	/096 W	

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2544
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9302
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN PRIORITY
COMSIXTHFLT NAPLES IT
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AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL
HQSAO OFFUTT AFB NE//IN//

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: HARRY R MELONE
DATE/CASE ID: 25 JAN 2007 200603489

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23AF HURLBURT AFB FL
39SOW RHEIN MAIN AB GE//BOI//
21AF MCGUIRE AFB NJ//IN//
COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC
CDRFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA
322 ALD RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC//
437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//
JEWIC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//
CTF FOUR ONE
CTF SIX ONE
CTF SIX TWO
CTF SIX SEVEN
CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 07 MONROVIA 06153

C O R R E C T E D COPY REF ADDED

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
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SUBJECT: TFLI01: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1830
- JUNE 20, 1990

REF: MONROVIA 6104

1. (C) SUMMARY: FIGHTING REPORTEDLY BROKE OUT IN CAREYSBURG NEAR VOA LATE THIS AFTERNOON AND IS STILL GOING ON. TWO SEPARATE REPORTS INDICATE THAT LARGE NUMBERS OF REBELS MOVED EARLIER IN THE WEEK, PROBABLY IN THE DIRECTION OF KAKATA. EVIDENCE MOUNTS THAT THE NPFL CONTROLS ALL OR MOST OF RIVERCESS COUNTY. THE AFL IS MAKING PLANS TO ATTACK BUCHANAN AND KAKATA IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THE GOL BARGAINING POSITION IN THE FREETOWN PEACE TALKS. THE GOL DROPPED THE OFFICIAL PRICE OF RICE IN MONROVIA TO LDOLS 25.00 PER 100 POUND

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BAG. END SUMMARY.

FIGHTING AT CAREYSBURG

2. (LOU) ACCORDING TO CONTACTS AT VOA, FIGHTING BROKE OUT AT CAREYSBURG AT ABOUT 1745 ON JUNE 20. THE SHOOTING IS CURRENTLY HEAVY, PUNCTUATED BY HEAVY EXPLOSIONS PRESUMED TO BE GRENADES OR MORTAR ROUNDS. LOCAL VILLAGERS HAVE Poured ONTO THE VOA COMPOUND. A GROUP OF AFL CAME ON THE COMPOUND AS WELL, BUT APPARENTLY WERE ONLY LOOKING FOR THE SHORTEST ROUTE TO BENSONVILLE (AND AWAY FROM THE FIGHTING) AND DEPARTED.

SITUATION IN BONG/LOFA COUNTIES

3. (C) CONTACTS AT PHEBE HOSPITAL NEAR GBARNGA REPORT HEAVY REBEL TRAFFIC ON THE ROAD TO MONROVIA EARLY THIS CONFIDENTIAL

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WEEK. THIS REPORT WAS VERIFIED BY CATHOLIC BROTHERS

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	NSAE-00	SSO-01	HA-09	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-01	MFLO-01
	EAP-01	PA-01	PER-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	INRE-00	OCS-06
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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
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INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9303
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY DAKAR

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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
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JWC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//
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CTF SIX TWO
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 07 MONROVIA 06153

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

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WHO REMAIN AT THE ST. MARTINS MISSION IN GBARNGA.
HOWEVER, THEY WERE UNCERTAIN OF WHICH DIRECTION THE
REBELS WERE HEADING.

4. (C) ACCORDING TO A QUALIFIED OBSERVER, REBEL
FORCES WERE OBSERVED IN BELAFONAI (9 DEGREES 26
MINUTES WEST, 7 DEGREES 16 MINUTES NORTH) IN NORTHERN
BONG COUNTY A FEW DAYS AGO. THE NEARBY AFL BASE AT
CAMP JACKSON REMAINS IN AFL HANDS.

5. (C) A CRS WORKER WHO JUST RETURNED FROM ZORZOR IN
LOFA COUNTY SAID HE HEARD RELIABLE REPORTS THAT REBELS
TOOK BELAFONAI ON JUNE 18. HE SAW WOUNDED AFL
SOLDIERS WHO WERE TAKEN TO THE LUTHERAN CURRAN
HOSPITAL IN ZORZOR, AND HEARD SEVERAL REPORTS THAT THE
REBELS HAD MOVED BEYOND BELAFONAI TO THE ST. PAUL
RIVER BRIDGE ON THE BORDER WITH LOFA COUNTY.

6. (C) THE CRS WORKER HELPED DISTRIBUTE SOME 30
METRIC TONS OF RICE IN THE ZORZOR AREA OVER THE
WEEKEND. HE REPORTS, HOWEVER, THAT THE TOWN HAS BEGUN
TO EMPTY OUT IN ANTICIPATION OF A REBEL ADVANCE. MOST
OF THE FLEEING RESIDENTS (WHICH INCLUDED SOME AMCITS
WORKING IN ZORZOR) ARE CROSSING INTO GUINEA, ONLY FIVE
MILES TO THE NORTH. A MSF WORKER IN THE BORDER AREA
ESTIMATED THAT AS MANY AS 1500 REFUGEES A DAY ARE NOW
CROSSING FROM LOFA INTO GUINEA.

SITUATION IN BUCHANAN

7. (C) ACCORDING TO AN EMPLOYEE AT THE LIMCO HOSPITAL
IN BUCHANAN, THE HOSPITAL REMAINS OPEN AND CONTINUES
TO PROVIDE TREATMENT, BUT IT IS RUNNING LOW ON DRUGS.
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THE STAFF AT THE HOSPITAL, WHICH IS OWNED BY THE GOL
BUT MANAGED BY THE US-OWNED AMCL, HAS NOT BEEN PAID

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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2546
 INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9304
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 AMEMBASSY FREETOWN PRIORITY
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CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 07 MONROVIA 06153

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
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SINCE THE NPFL ENTERED THE CITY; WORKERS HAVE LITTLE OR NO MONEY LEFT WITH WHICH TO BUY FOOD. SEVERAL OF THE LIMCO TELEPHONE LINES BETWEEN BUCHANAN AND MONROVIA REMAIN OPEN.

SITUATION IN RIVERCESS

8. (C) EVIDENCE CONTINUES TO MOUNT THAT REBELS ARE IN CONTROL OF RIVERCESS COUNTY. ONE PRESS ACCOUNT FROM A RESIDENT OF CESS TOWN WHO FLED TO MONROVIA CLAIMS THAT REBELS DESTROYED SEVERAL HOMES IN THE CITY, AND EXECUTED FIVE PERSONS. ALL THREE OF THE PROMINANT CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN RIVERCESS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN OCCUPIED BY THE REBELS. DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION MOSES WASHINGTON CLAIMS THAT ALL

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COMMUNICATION WITH RIVERCESS HAS BEEN CUT SINCE MONDAY. A NEW TRIBES MISSION PLANE MADE A FORCED LANDING IN RIVERCESS COUNTY EARLIER THIS WEEK AFTER DEVELOPING FUEL PROBLEMS. NO CONTACT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED WITH THE PLANE OR THE AMCIT PILOT, BUT IT IS PRESUMED TO BE IN REBEL HANDS. AN ARU PLANE WAS FIRED UPON WHEN IT APPROACHED RIVERCESS ON JUNE 8, AND A WEASUA CHARTER PLANE WAS ALSO FIRED ON WHEN IT PASSED OVER RIVERCESS ON JUNE 16.

SITUATION IN MONROVIA

9. (U) ALONG WITH THE RAIN, NEWS ABOUT RICE FLOODED MONROVIA TODAY AND SHOULD HELP TO EASE TENSIONS SOMEWHAT. A SHIP CARRYING 104,000 BAGS OF POOR QUALITY RUSSIAN RICE DOCKED AT THE PORT OF MONROVIA
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TODAY (SEPTTEL), AND PRESIDENT DOE ANNOUNCED THAT HENCEFORTH RICE WOULD SELL AT LIBERIAN DOLLARS 25.00

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
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INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9305
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 07 MONROVIA 06153

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PER BAG, DOWN FROM THE OFFICIAL PRICE OF 35.00 AND FROM THE MARKET PRICE OF 50-70.00 IN RECENT WEEKS. DOE MADE THE ANNOUNCEMENT WHILE ON AN UNSCHEDULED VISIT TO THE COMMERCE MINISTRY, WHERE HE WAS BOOED BY MARKET WOMEN WAITING FOR RICE OUT FRONT.

10. (C) COMMENT: DOE IS RESPONDING TO THE PUBLIC OUTCRY OVER TREMENDOUS PRICE INCREASES OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS, BUT THE ANNOUNCED PRICE REDUCTION IS UNLIKELY TO MAKE A LASTING DIFFERENCE IN PRICE. THE OFFICIAL PRICE IS ALMOST UNIVERSALLY IGNORED, AND MOST MONROVIANS HAVE GROWN ACCUSTOMED TO PAYING 50-70 LDOLS PER BAG. DROPPING THE PRICE WHEN THE GOL'S CASH FLOW IS SO DISMAL INDICATES THE PRESIDENT'S DESPERATION TO IMPROVE HIS SHORT TERM POPULARITY. THE UNFRIENDLY RECEPTION OF THE MARKET WOMEN, TRADITIONALLY CONSIDERED FIRM SUPPORTERS, SHOWS THE DECLINE IN HIS STANDING. END COMMENT.

11. RECENTLY ANNOUNCED POLITICAL REFORMS SUCH AS THE UNBANNING OF PARTIES AND NEWSPAPERS AND THE AMNESTY FOR NPFL COMBATANTS HAVE INSPIRED LITTLE POSITIVE COMMENT. CONTACTS POINT OUT THAT AMNESTY HAS BEEN OFFERED SEVERAL TIMES IN THE PAST, AND REBELS HAVE NOT RESPONDED. THE LIBERIAN NATIONAL STUDENT UNION (LINSU) ISSUED A RELEASE SAYING IT WAS "UNIMPRESSED" WITH THE LIFTING OF ITS 1988 BAN ORDER. A FORMER TOP OFFICIAL IN THE LIBERIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY SAID CURRENT CONDITIONS MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO RECONSTITUTE THE LPP, AND DISMISSED THE REFORMS BECAUSE THEY WERE MADE "WITH A GUN TO HIS (DOE'S) HEAD. WHEN THE GUN IS TAKEN AWAY, THE REFORMS WILL ALSO DISAPPEAR."

12. (C) ACCORDING TO THE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES PRESIDENT LEVEE MOULTON, SEVERAL MORE INCIDENTS OF
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HARRASSMENT OF AMERICO-LIBERIANS BY UNDISCIPLINED AFL SOLDIERS HAVE COME TO LIGHT. HE SAID HIS SISTER AND

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USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
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ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI
SUBJECT: TFLI01: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1830
- JUNE 20, 1990
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TWO OTHER LIGHT-SKINNED WOMEN WERE RECENTLY APPROACHED BY A GROUP OF SOLDIERS WHO GESTURED AT THEM BY DRAWING A FINGER ACROSS THEIR THROATS. MOULTON ADDED THAT ANYONE WHO IS EDUCATED OR LIGHT SKINNED IS CONSIDERED AN "AMERICO."

13. (C) THE DIRECTOR OF ST. JOSEPH'S CATHOLIC HOSPITAL IN MONROVIA HAS BEGUN TO MAKE CONTINGENCY PLANS TO TREAT WOUNDED IF AND WHEN THE CONFLICT MOVES TO THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE CITY. TO THIS POINT, ST. JOSEPH'S, CONSIDERED ONE OF THE BEST HOSPITALS IN LIBERIA, HAS ONLY TREATED A FEW WOUNDED SOLDIERS FROM PRESIDENT DOE'S CLAN. THEY ARE PLANNING TO SET UP A SURGICAL UNIT IN COOPERATION WITH MSF CAPABLE OF HANDLING A WIDER RANGE OF TRAUMA CASES. THE DIRECTOR HOPES TO MAKE CONTACT WITH BOTH SIDES IN THE CONFLICT AND HAVE THE HOSPITAL AREA DECLARED A 'NEUTRAL ZONE' IN THE EVENT FIGHTING MOVES INTO THE CITY.

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MORE ON CAREYSBURG

14. (C) CONTACTS AT VOA REPORT NO SHOOTING LAST NIGHT IN CAREYSBURG, BUT GIO AND MANO VILLAGERS IN THE AREA MOVED ONTO THE VOA COMPOUND AGAIN. AFL TROOPS AT CAREYSBURG BEAT UP A GIO RESIDENT LAST NIGHT BUT DID NOT KILL HIM. AT THE CAREYSBURG CHECKPOINT, AFL TROOPS STRIPPED AND HARASSED A VOA CONTRACT WORKER YESTERDAY, AND CURSED HIM FOR WORKING FOR VOA.

15. (C) WE CONTINUE TO RECEIVE INFORMATION THAT REBEL SCOUTS ARE ACTIVE IN THE CARYSBURG/BENSONVILLE AREA NEAR VOA. A RESIDENT OF BENSONVILLE TOLD EMBASSY THAT SEVERAL YOUNG TEENAGERS CLAIMING TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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THE REBELS VISITED THE TOWN EARLIER THIS WEEK AND WARNED RESIDENTS TO LEAVE THE AREA AS SOON AS

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
	OPR-01	CIAE-00	H-01	IO-19	NEA-01	FMP-01	NSCE-00
	NSAE-00	SSO-01	HA-09	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-01	MFLO-01
	EAP-01	PA-01	PER-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	INRE-00	OCS-06
	FDRE-01	AGRE-00	CA-02	FBO-07	RP-10	A-01	SP-01
	M-01	MMP-01	SR-01	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01	IMMC-01
	OIS-01	SCT-03	P-02	T-01	/095 W		

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O 201958Z JUN 90
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2549
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9307
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN PRIORITY
COMSIXTHFLT NAPLES IT
USEUCOM AIDES VAHINGEN GE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY PARIS

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EXHIBIT LL

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AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
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RRF MONROVIA
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CTOSCE18ABC FT BRAGG NC
DIA WASHDC
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK
FOSIF ROTA SP
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MACINTELCEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
CINCSOC MACDILL AFB FL
USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL
HQSAO OFFUTT AFB NE//IN//
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CDRFORSOCOM FT MCPHERSON GA
322 ALD RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC//
437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//
JEWIC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//
CTF FOUR ONE
CTF SIX ONE
CTF SIX TWO
CTF SIX SEVEN
CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 07 MONROVIA 06153

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
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E.O.12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PINS, PREL, PHUM, ASEC, CASC, MCAP, PREF, EAID, EINV, LI

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POSSIBLE. (COMMENT: ACCORDING TO RELIABLE REPORTS, RESIDENTS OF KAKATA WERE VISITED BY YOUNG REBELS CARRYING A SIMILAR MESSAGE JUST PRIOR TO THE REBEL ATTACK ON KAKATA. END COMMENT) A RESIDENT ALSO TOLD EMBASSY THAT THE AFL HAS BEEFED UP ITS DEFENSES AT THE BENSONVILLE CHECKPOINT, WHERE SECURITY IS ALREADY TIGHT.

AFL PLANS

16. (C) ACCORDING TO A QUALIFIED OBSERVER, JUSTICE MINISTER SCOTT, OPERATING ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT, MET WITH THE AFL GENERAL AND SPECIAL STAFF THIS MORNING TO URGE THEM TO TAKE STEPS TO BOLSTER THE GOL NEGOTIATION POSITION AT THE PEACE TALKS IN FREETOWN NEXT MONDAY. SCOTT ASKED THE OFFICERS TO MAKE GREATER EFFORTS TO STOP AFL HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES (AND IN MAKING THE APPEAL HE WENT THROUGH A LAUNDRY LIST OF RECENT RAPES, BEHEADINGS, KILLINGS, ROBBERIES, HARRASSMENTS, AND OTHER INCIDENTS). HE ALSO ASKED THEM TO TAKE STEPS TO ENABLE PRESIDENT DOE TO STEP DOWN WITH DIGNITY "IN OCTOBER 1991".

17. (C) THE AFL BRASS APPARENTLY HAS TAKEN SCOTT'S REQUEST TO HEART. AFTER THE MEETING, DEFENSE MINISTER BARCLAY SIGNED AN ORDER FOR THE AFL TO MOUNT ATTACKS TO REOPEN THE ROADS TO KAKATA AND BUCHANAN AND TO RETAKE THE TWO TOWNS. ACCORDING TO A QUALIFIED OBSERVER, IT IS UNCERTAIN WHETHER THE AFL WILL BE ABLE TO BEGIN THE OPERATIONS.

18. (U) THE AFL HAS ALSO TAKEN STEPS TO REIN IN AFL SOLDIERS WHO WANDER AROUND MONROVIA HARRASSING
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CIVILIANS. MANY OF THE OLDER VETERANS WHO HAVE BEEN RECALLED TO ACTIVE DUTY ARE ASSISTING MP'S PATROLLING

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
	OPR-01	CIAE-00	H-01	IO-19	NEA-01	FMP-01	NSCE-00

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NSAE-00	SSO-01	HA-09	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-01	MFLO-01
EAP-01	PA-01	PER-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	INRE-00	OCS-06
FDRE-01	AGRE-00	CA-02	FBO-07	RP-10	A-01	SP-01
M-01	MMP-01	SR-01	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01	IMMC-01
OIS-01	SCT-03	P-02	T-01	/095 W		

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O 201958Z JUN 90
 FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2550
 INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9308
 USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY CONAKRY PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY FREETOWN PRIORITY
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MACINTELCEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
 CINCUSOC MACDILL AFB FL
 USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL
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 322 ALD RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC//
 437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//

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JEWC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//
CTF FOUR ONE
CTF SIX ONE
CTF SIX TWO
CTF SIX SEVEN
CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 07 OF 07 MONROVIA 06153

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
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E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
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THE CAPITAL.

19. (C) ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, THE NOTORIOUS COL. HARISON PENNUE WAS ALSO AT THE MEETING IN UNIFORM. HE CLAIMS THAT IF HE IS GIVEN UNIFORMS AND BOOTS FOR SOME 1,000 NEW RECRUITS UNDER HIS COMMAND IN GRAND GEDEH, THEY WILL, AFTER ANOTHER WEEK OF TRAINING, BE ABLE TO RETAKE TAPPITA. (COMMENT: PENNUE IS A VICIOUS, PSYCHOLOGICALLY DISTURBED KILLER WHO HAS BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH SEVERAL RECENT BEHEADINGS AND OTHER CASES OF AFL INDISCIPLINE. END COMMENT)

MEDIA

20. (U) THE BBC AFRICAN NEWS RAN AN INTERVIEW WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN THIS AFTERNOON. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT THE US POSITION TOWARD THE CURRENT CRISIS, SECRETARY COHEN SAID THE USG WANTS A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT WHICH LEADS TO A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND

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WANTS TO AVERT A BATTLE FOR MONROVIA. HE SAID THE USG HAS NO VIEW ON WHO SHOULD HEAD THE GOL OR ON WHETHER DOE SHOULD RESIGN. HE POINTED OUT THAT THERE SHOULD BE ROOM FOR COMPROMISE SINCE DOE'S LEAVING OFFICE IS A ONLY A MATTER OF TIMING. HE ADDED THAT THE USG HAS LITTLE KNOWLEDGE OF THE NPFL, BUT THAT IT HAS HAS CONTACT WITH THE ORGANIZATION AND AMBASSADOR BROWN HAS MET WITH CHARLES TAYLOR.

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**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT MM

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RELEASED IN FULL

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
	OPR-01	CIAE-00	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-01
	HA-09	L-03	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	EAP-01	PA-01
	PC-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	INRE-00	OCS-06	FDRE-00	AGRE-00
	CA-02	FBO-07	RP-10	A-01	UOSS-00	SP-01	M-01
	SR-01	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01	IMMC-01	SCT-03	P-02
	T-01	IML-00	/089 W				

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3194
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9490
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
COM SIXTHFLT
USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
ATO MONROVIA
RRF MONROVIA
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CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK
FOSIF ROTA SP
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MACINTELCEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
CINCSOC MACDILL AFB FL
USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL
HQ SAC OFFUTT AFB NE//IN//

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: HARRY R MELONE
DATE/CASE ID: 25 JAN 2007 200603489

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23AF HURLBURT AFB FL
39SOW RHEIN MAIN AB GE//BOI//
21AF MCGUIRE AFB NJ//IN//
COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC
CDRFORSCOM FT MCPHERSON GA
322 ALD RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC//
437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//
JEWIC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//
CTF FOUR ONE
CTF SIX ONE
CTF SIX TWO
CTF SIX SEVEN
CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 06 MONROVIA 06994

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
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KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI
SUBJECT: TFLI01: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1800
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- JULY 16, 1990

REF: MONROVIA 6930

1. (C) SUMMARY: SUNDAY AND MONDAY WERE RELATIVELY QUIET DAYS IN DOWNTOWN MONROVIA. WHILE THERE WAS SOME ACTION IN OUTLYING AREAS THERE WERE NO APPARENT CHANGES ON ANY MILITARY FRONT. AFL TROOPS MAY BE KILLING PRISONERS HELD IN THE OVERCROWDED BTC PRISON. THE MISSION/PVO FOOD DISTRIBUTION PROGRAM CONTINUED THIS WEEKEND, BUT FOOD IS BECOMING SHORT IN SOME AREAS. END SUMMARY.

MILITARY SITUATION

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2. (C) ACCORDING TO AN AFP REPORTER IN BUCHANAN, THE NPFL LAUNCHED AN ATTACK AGAINST CAMP SCHIEFFLIN ON JULY 14, BUT WERE SUBSEQUENTLY REPULSED. SOURCES NEAR RIA AND AT THE ATO T-SITE CLOSER TO MONROVIA HEARD NO SOUNDS OF CONFLICT COMING FROM CAMP SCHEIFFLIN HOWEVER, AND WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO CONFIRM THE REPORTED ATTACK WITH OTHER CONTACTS. IT IS POSSIBLE, HOWEVER, THAT ONLY SMALL ARMS WERE DEPLOYED.

3. (C) WE HAVE HAD NO OTHER REPORTS OF SIGNIFICANT FIGHTING BETWEEN AFL AND NPFL FORCES DURING THE PAST 48 HOURS.

4. (C) SHOOTING CONTINUED AROUND THE LIBERIAN BROADCASTING SYSTEM STATION NEAR THE ELWA JUNCTION AT ABOUT 0400 ON JULY 16, AND SHOOTING IS HEARD NIGHTLY IN THE VICINITY OF GARNERSVILLE.

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INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
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	HA-09	L-03	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	EAP-01	PA-01
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	CA-02	FBO-07	RP-10	A-01	USSS-00	SP-01	M-01
	SR-01	SNP-01	PRS-01	DS-01	IMMC-01	SCT-03	P-02
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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3195
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9491
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
COM SIXTHFLT
USEUCOM AIDES VAIHINGEN GE
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
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MACINTELCEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
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EXHIBIT MM

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 06 MONROVIA 06994

S/S-O PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
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- JULY 16, 1990

5. (C) THE NPFL REPLACED PRINCE JOHNSON'S INPFL AS THE CONTROLLING FORCE IN THE VILLAGE OUTSIDE OF THE GATE OF THE VOA COMPOUND ON THE AFTERNOON OF JULY 14, AND IT CONTINUES TO OCCUPY THE AREA. INPFL FORCES HAVE REPORTEDLY MOVED SOUTH TO THE FENDALL CAMPUS AREA, BUT WE HAVE NO FURTHER REPORTS OF CLASHES BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS.

6. (C) PRESIDENT DOE MET WITH HIS SENIOR AFL STAFF ON JULY 14 AND AGREED TO A REORGANIZATION PLAN WHICH, IF IMPLEMENTED, COULD IMPROVE COMMAND AND CONTROL AMONG TROOPS DEFENDING MONROVIA. DOE WAS REPORTEDLY RELAXED AND CONFIDENT DURING THE MEETING. A GENERAL MUSTER OF THE 3RD AND 5TH BATTALIONS IN MONROVIA ON JULY 16 NETTED ONLY A FRACTION OF THE SOLDIERS ASSIGNED TO THOSE UNITS.

ENDEMIC HARASSMENT

7. (C) HARASSMENT AND KILLING BY ARMED MEN CONTINUES. ON JULY 16, POST HEARD THREE SEPARATE REPORTS OF MASKED MILITARY MEN COMING TO THE HOMES OF A PROMINANT JOURNALIST AND OPPOSITION POLITICIAN GABRIEL KPOLLEH. MASKED MEN WENT TO THE HOME OF EXECUTIVE MANSION PHOTOGRAPHER B. W. KING ON SATURDAY NIGHT AND ROBBED AND KILLED HIM AFTER TAKING A LARGE

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SUM OF MONEY. SEVERAL SOURCES CONFIRM THAT LARGE
NUMBERS OF KRAHN CIVILIANS HAVE BEEN GIVEN ARMS AND
ARE USING THEM FOR EXTORTION AND INTIMIDATION OF
NON-KRAHNS. SOME AFL TROOPS ADVISED RESIDENTS OF
CONGO TOWN TO LEAVE THE AREA, THEN ENGAGED IN LOOTING
OF THE DESERTED HOMES. LOOTING HAS ALSO BEEN REPORTED
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IN BREWERVILLE.

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ACTION AF-01

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	T-01	IML-00	/089 W				

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3196
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9492
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
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USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

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TAGS: PINS, PREL, PHUM, ASEC, CASC, MCAF, PREF, EAID, EINV, LI
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- JULY 16, 1990

8. (LOU) ON JULY 14, AN AFL PATROL HARASSED THE CONTRACT GUARD AT THE HOUSE OF A U.S. BUSINESSMAN NEAR THE CHINESE EMBASSY IN PAYNESVILLE, AND TOOK DOWN THE AMERICAN FLAG HE HAD HUNG ON THE GATE FOR PROTECTION.

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THE BUSINESSMAN TEMPORARILY LEFT LIBERIA A FEW WEEKS
AGO.

PRISON CONDITIONS

9. (C) AN EMBASSY CONTRACT GUARD WHO WAS HELD AT THE
BTC PRISON FOR SEVERAL DAYS CLAIMS THAT PRISONERS ARE
BEING SYSTEMATICALLY EXECUTED. HE CLAIMS THAT HE WAS
ARRESTED ON JULY 3 ALLEGEDLY BECAUSE HE WAS A "REBEL
INFORMER". (HE IS FROM THE MANO ETHNIC GROUP.) HE
WAS ALLEGEDLY TOLD HE WOULD BE HELD FOR TWO MONTHS,
THEN "GOTTEN RID OF." THE GUARD WAS PLACED IN A 12 BY
12 CELL WITH SOME 50-75 OTHER PRISONERS AT THE BARCLAY
TRAINING CENTER. ON THE NIGHT OF JULY 3, KRAHN
SPEAKING SOLDIERS WEARING CAMOUFLAGE MASKS CAME TO THE
CELL, READ OUT THE NAMES OF 17 PRISONERS, AND
SUBSEQUENTLY TOOK THEM AWAY. ON JULY 4, THE UNIFORMED
MEN TOOK ANOTHER 17, AGAIN SELECTED BY NAME. SEVEN
MORE WERE TAKEN ON JULY 5, AND 15 ON JULY 6.
APPROXIMATELY 15 WERE TAKEN NIGHTLY THEREAFTER, WHILE
10-15 NEW PRISONERS WERE BROUGHT IN EACH DAY. THOSE
TAKEN AWAY NEVER RETURNED. EMBASSY CONTRACT GUARD
MANAGEMENT WAS TIPPED OFF TO THE GUARD'S WHEREABOUTS,
AND PAID LDOLS 125 TO HAVE HIM RELEASED. THE GUARD
REPORTED THAT HE WAS NOT INTERROGATED OR BEATEN. THE
CAPTORS DID NOT PROVIDE FOOD, AND ONLY OCCASIONALLY
BROUGHT THE PRISONERS FRESH WATER.

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EMBASSY FOOD, FUEL AND WATER

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	HA-09	L-03	CTME-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	EAP-01	PA-01
	PC-01	CCO-00	OMB-01	INRE-00	OCS-06	FDRE-00	AGRE-00
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INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9493

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AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
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USEUCOM AIDES VAHINGEN GE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
USMISSION GENEVA
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
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437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//
JWC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//
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- JULY 16, 1990

10. (U) THE EMBASSY AREA OF MAMBA POINT HAS HAD MUNICIPAL POWER FOR MOST OF THE PAST THREE NIGHTS, BUT LARGE PARTS OF MONROVIA REMAIN WITHOUT POWER OR WATER. EMBASSY WATER AND FUEL TRUCKS HAVE RESTOCKED FUEL SUPPLIES, MAKING SEVERAL RUNS A DAY. CURRENT STOCKS AMOUNT TO APPROXIMATELY 54,000 GALLONS OF DIESEL FUEL (ABOUT ONE MONTH'S SUPPLY), 167,000 GALLONS OF WATER IN THE COMPOUND RESERVOIR, AND SOME 110,000 GALLONS IN THE GREYSTONE COMPOUND WELL. CURRENT COMMISSARY AND HOME STOCKS FOR AMERICAN PERSONNEL SHOULD LAST ANOTHER MONTH, AND THE EMBASSY HAS FOOD STOCKS TO CONTINUE FEEDING THE FSN'S AND WACKENHUT GUARDS FOR ANOTHER 10 DAYS. THE ATO R-SITE HAS A MONTH'S SUPPLY OF FUEL, BUT T-SITE WILL RUN OUT ON AUGUST 2 UNLESS WE CAN RESUPPLY.

FOOD TO DISPLACED

11. (LOU) THE ICRC, MSF AND CRS, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF EMBASSY PERSONNEL, MOVED 1,500 BAGS OF RICE FROM THE FREEPORT TO SEVERAL DISPLACED PERSONS CENTERS THROUGHOUT THE CITY ON JULY 13-15. THE SITUATION AT THE PORT WAS TENSE AS LARGE NUMBERS OF CIVILIANS AND AFL PERSONNEL GATHERED, EXPECTING A SHARE OF THE FOOD STORED AT THE PORT. AFL SOLDIERS FIRED INTO THE AIR FREQUENTLY TO FORCE THE CROWDS BACK. ONCE OUT OF THE

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PORT DELIVERIES WENT SMOOTHLY. ANOTHER MOVEMENT OF RICE WAS TO TAKE PLACE TODAY, BUT WAS POSTPONED UNTIL JULY 17 AFTER THE AFL PORT COMMANDER DEMANDED THE HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS OBTAIN NEW APPROVAL FROM

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THE EXECUTIVE MANSION.

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INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9494
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AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY IMMEDIATE
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- JULY 16, 1990

12. (C) A CONTACT AT BONG MINE REPORTS THAT RICE AND GAS STOCKS ARE GETTING LOW, BUT THAT A FUEL TANKER WOULD SOON BE ARRIVING IN BUCHANAN.

13. (LOU) ACCORDING TO FSNS AT VOA IN CAREYSBURG, THE DISPLACED PERSON POPULATION HAS CLIMBED TO 11,000 WITH

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MORE PEOPLE TRICKLING IN ON JULY 15. ONE OF THE NEW ARRIVALS WAS A VOA FSN WHO HAD WALKED FROM THE BARNERSVILLE AREA JUST OUTSIDE OF MONROVIA. HE TOLD MISSION OFFICERS THAT HE WAS ASKED HIS TRIBAL AFFILIATION AT EACH OF THE FIVE NPFL CHECKPOINTS HE ENCOUNTERED, AND WAS ALLOWED TO PASS THROUGH UNHINDERED AFTER HE DISPLAYED HIS VOA IDENTIFICATION CARD.

14. (U) SHORTAGES OF FOOD AND MEDICINE ARE BECOMING SERIOUS AMONG THE DISPLACED AT VOA. LATE THIS AFTERNOON, THE NPFL COMMANDER AGREED TO TRANSPORT SOME OF THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN FROM THE VOA SITE TO KAKATA; THE MEN IN THE FAMILY WERE TOLD THEY WOULD HAVE TO WALK.

15. (U) CHARLES TAYLOR SENT A CAR AND DRIVER TO PICK UP THREE AMCITS AT VOA WHO EARLIER HAD ASKED TO BE EVACUATED. WHEN THE CAR ARRIVED JULY 16 TO DRIVE THEM TO THE COTE D'IVOIRE, THE AMERICANS (MRS. JOHNSON AND HER TWO CHILDREN) HAD CHANGED THEIR MINDS AND SAID THEY WANTED TO REMAIN AT VOA.

16. (U) THE NUMBER OF DISPLACED AT THE ATO R-SITE HAS CLIMBED TO AROUND 7,000, AND THERE ARE ABOUT 11,000 AT THE ELWA MISSION COMPOUND. PVO'S DELIVERED RICE TO BOTH LOCATIONS OVER THE WEEKEND. OMEGA NOW SHELTERS ONLY 200 PERSONS, ALL BUT 20 OF WHOM ARE OMEGA
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EMPLOYEES AND THEIR FAMILIES. OMEGA HAS FUEL TO RUN ITS GENERATORS (AND THE EMBASSY RADIO COMMUNICATIONS

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- JULY 16, 1990

NETWORK) FOR ABOUT TWO WEEKS, AND SENT A TANKER TRUCK
TO VOA TODAY TO OBTAIN MORE.

17. (U) THE EXODUS OF MONROVIANS HAS INCREASED IN
RECENT DAYS (SEPTEL) WITH SOME NEIGHBORHOODS THINNING
OUT CONSIDERABLY. MANY ARE HEADING FOR CAPE MOUNT AND
BOMI COUNTIES AND SIERRA LEONE, BUT SOME ARE TAKING
BUSH TRAILS ACROSS GOVERNMENT LINES TO PAYNESVILLE,
MT. BARCLAY, AND BEYOND. MOST CITE FOOD SHORTAGES,
HARRASSMENT BY SOLDIERS, AND FEAR OF MORE ARTILLERY
BARRAGES AND INCREASED MILITARY CONFLICT AS THE
REASONS FOR THEIR DEPARTURE.

18. (LOU) THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE COMPLAINING OF HUNGER
WITHIN THE CITY INCREASES DAILY. WHILE SOME
SUPERMARKETS ARE OPEN, AND SOME OUTDOOR MARKETS ARE
OPERATING, PERSONS WHO ATTEMPT TO CARRY FOOD THROUGH
THE UBIQUITOUS AFL CHECKPOINTS ARE ROUTINELY
THREATENED AND THEIR FOOD IS OFTEN CONFISCATED.

SITUATION UPCOUNTRY

19. (U) NPFL FORCES ENTERED VOINJAMA IN LOFA COUNTY
ON JULY 12 OR 13. THE LOCAL RADIO STATION IS NOW
BROADCASTING ANNOUNCEMENT THAT THE NPFL IS IN FULL
CONTROL AND APPEALS FOR THE POPULATION TO RETURN TO
THE CITY. DE VOS##

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**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT NN

EXHIBIT NN

October 26, 1990

Liberia: A Human Rights Disaster

Violations of the Laws of War by All Parties to the Conflict

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 - A. Killings of Civilians
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- IV. THE HUMANITARIAN NEEDS OF THE REFUGEES
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INTRODUCTION

In the course of less than a year, Liberia has become a human rights disaster. Over half its population has been displaced from their homes, including over 500,000 who are refugees in West Africa. All parties to the conflict have committed grave abuses of human rights against civilians, violating the humanitarian standards governing non-international armed conflict.

During a visit to the Côte d'Ivoire from September 11-19, Holly Burkhalter, Washington Director of Human Rights Watch, interviewed newly-arrived refugees in several Ivorian villages in the area of Tabou, as well as refugees who fled in July to the Ivorian department of Guiglo.¹ The following report describes abuses by the Liberian Army, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), and the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL) as reported by the eyewitnesses. A May 1990 Africa Watch report entitled "Flight From Terror" described the wave of human rights abuses committed largely by government forces in the first three months of the conflict. This update includes extensive new information on abuses by the NPFL, as well as additional material on abuses by government forces.

A summary of Africa Watch's findings follows:

- The Liberian Army has committed gross violations of human rights and violations of the Geneva Conventions, including killings of civilians throughout President Doe's ten year rule, and particularly within the past year. Krahn soldiers' widespread killing of Mano and Gio civilians in early 1990 set the stage for extraordinary reprisals by the NPFL against Krahn civilians in mid-1990.
- The NPFL has violated the Geneva Conventions by committing widespread killing and torture of noncombatants, particularly Krahn and Mandingos. As a result roughly two thirds of Liberia's 125,000 Krahn have fled the country and the remainder are at risk of genocide.
- Children under the age of 15 are serving with NPFL forces and are engaging in killings and abuse of civilians. The recruitment or enlistment of children violates international humanitarian law.
- Undisciplined NPFL fighters are engaging in widespread killing and looting throughout Liberia.
- Prince Johnson, the head of the INPFL, is himself implicated in the murder of civilians, and he and his forces are responsible for the murder in custody of President Doe and his entourage, in violation of humanitarian law.
- The "peacekeeping force" from the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) is including in its ranks soldiers from the Liberian army as well as the INPFL. Liberian army soldiers continue to loot, raid, and harass in Monrovia.
- Liberian refugees in Sierra Leone, Guinea, and the Côte d'Ivoire are in need of greater food and medical assistance from the international community.
- Africa Watch calls upon the United Nations Secretary General to appoint a special representative on Liberia to help negotiate an end to the conflict and coordinate emergency assistance to civilians within Liberia.
- Africa Watch calls upon the Bush Administration to increase relief aid to the refugees, to permit more Liberian refugees to enter the United States, and screen out known human rights abusers from those Liberians permitted to enter the United States. The United States has a special responsibility for Liberia, not only because of long-standing historical ties, but also because support for the Doe government helped lay the groundwork for the human rights abuses being committed today.

- Western European governments seem to regard the Liberian crisis as a "U.S. problem." Increased contributions for relief assistance to the refugees and to Liberia itself are needed, and Western European governments should press the issue of Liberia at the United Nations.

BACKGROUND TO THE CONFLICT

The current crisis began when a small group of rebel insurgents attacked the Liberian border town of Butuo, in Nimba County, in late December 1989. The Liberia army conducted an extremely brutal counterinsurgency operation in the area in early 1990, in which soldiers killed civilians indiscriminately, burned whole villages, looted, and rampaged. The majority of the victims of this period were Manos and Gios, who have been regarded with hostility and suspicion by the government since an abortive coup attempt in 1985, led by a former officer from Nimba county, which is populated by Manos and Gios.

The army's atrocities against civilians in Nimba County was so vast that within four months, some 160,000 Liberians had fled into neighboring Guinea and the Côte d'Ivoire. The greater portion of the first large wave of refugees to flee in the January - May period, however, appeared to be Mano and Gio people escaping abuses by government soldiers.² Some, however, were Krahn civilians escaping gross abuses by the NPFL forces, which killed noncombatants from that ethnic group who were encountered in the area.

The atrocities committed by the Liberian army in Nimba County and other areas of Liberia intensified the insurgency, which had begun with only a few hundred rebels. Many of the new recruits were children from Nimba County whose parents had been killed by soldiers in the first months of the conflict. As Charles Taylor's NPFL grew, control of those forces evaporated. By July, the NPFL was committing abuses on a massive scale against the Krahn, mirroring, in intensity if not in numbers, Liberian Army abuses against the Mano and Gio people of Nimba County. The brutality of rebel troops is clearly motivated, though in no way excused, by the desire to avenge the abuses of 1985 and early 1990.

The abuses by NPFL forces and by government soldiers against innocent combatants from rival ethnic groups (described below) are not the inevitable consequence of communal hatred. Liberians of various ethnic groups lived together peaceably for decades, and, indeed, intermarriage between ethnic groups (including Americo-Liberians -- the descendants of freed American slaves who settled in Liberia in the 1800s) was common.

It was not until Samuel K. Doe took power in a bloody military coup in 1980, and began a policy of rewarding his own people, that ethnic differences developed into a political problem. By surrounding himself with soldiers and cronies from his own group, the Krahn, promoting and providing economic and educational opportunities for them at the expense of others, and permitting and even encouraging egregious abuses against civilians by Krahn military and police, President Doe's policies sowed the seeds of hatred and set the stage for a civil war that has in the course of nine months reached near-genocidal proportions.³

The situation in Liberia today clearly reflects a high degree of violence motivated by ethnic tensions. But even after extraordinary abuses by both sides to the conflict, Liberian noncombatants, living in refugee camps and left to their own devices, have shown that they can live together in peace.

VIOLATIONS OF THE LAWS OF ARMED CONFLICT

Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions (the rules of war governing non-international armed conflict) requires that rebel forces and government forces alike take steps minimizing harm to civilians.⁴

The presence of foreign forces from the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) does not change the relevance of Common Article 3 to the conduct of the rebel and government forces. As a human rights organization, Africa Watch does not take a position on the presence of ECOWAS military forces (known as ECOMOG) but we are concerned about allegations of abuses by these forces. We have received credible reports that ECOMOG has rocketed some civilian areas of Monrovia and its suburbs, and that ECOMOG soldiers have looted and stolen. Africa Watch has not been able to conduct its own investigation to substantiate these reports. However, in light of frequent reports from various sources, Africa Watch is calling upon ECOWAS to confine ECOMOG's role strictly to a peacekeeping function and to take measures to prevent and to punish abuses against civilians, and conduct that violates humanitarian law.

Africa Watch has received reliable and credible reports that the remnants of the Liberian army are fighting alongside ECOMOG against the NPFL. According to a Liberian civilian who recently came to the U.S. from Monrovia, Liberian army soldiers are being used as guides to assist ECOMOG in flushing out NPFL rebels. This witness estimates that approximately 2,000 Liberian troops and about another 1,000 civilians -- most of whom are family members of the Krahn soldiers or Mandingos -- are housed at Doe's executive mansion. They emerge, heavily armed, from the mansion to raid areas within Monrovia for food.⁵

Africa Watch is concerned about such reports of collaboration between the ECOMOG forces and the brutal and discredited soldiers from the Liberian army, whose participation in gross abuses of human rights is well known. We are also concerned about the participation of INPFL soldiers in ECOMOG operations. The INPFL, like the Liberian army, has consistently violated, and continues to violate human rights. There should be no place for such forces in the ECOMOG "peacekeeping" force.

Article 3 requires that persons taking no active part in hostilities, or combatants who have laid down their arms or are wounded or sick, shall be treated humanely "without any adverse distinction founded on race, color, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth, or any other similar criteria." Summary executions, cruel treatment, the taking of hostages, and humiliating and degrading treatment are strictly prohibited, and the wounded and sick are to be collected and cared for.

Violations of the Laws of Armed Conflict by the Insurgents

The insurgent forces have consistently violated these standards from the outset of the insurgency in late December. Charles Taylor is the commander-in-chief of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) which comprises the bulk of rebel strength. Prince Johnson was a NPFL commander with Charles Taylor until he broke off in February to form the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL). Johnson's forces, thought to number no more than 500 fighters, are based in Monrovia, and control several parts of the city, including Bushrod Island. Troops under both commanders have engaged in violations of the laws of armed conflict, including executions of civilians and captured soldiers, torture, and mutilation.

Gross abuses against civilians by the rebels have accelerated in the course of the conflict. In the period since late June, when rebel forces began to make significant inroads into the Krahn stronghold of Grand Gedeh, and violations reached staggering proportions.

The Mandingo people, a mercantile tribe considered too accommodating to Doe, have also been singled out for persecution and death by rebel troops. Because they have tend to be more wealthy than other Liberians, they have been perceived as having profited from their relationship with the authorities. Many of the refugees pouring into Guinea in recent months are Mandingo business people from Nimba County fleeing the NPFL.

A. Killings of Civilians

Africa Watch interviewed a large number of mainly Krahn refugees in the Côte d'Ivoire who had fled from Grand Gedeh in late June to escape rebel abuses. The majority had come from neighboring villages in Liberia, a walk of approximately three hours, and are concentrated in the Ivorian department of Toulepleu. According to relief personnel, the level of violence against Krahn noncombatants from June to the present has been so great that the Krahn have poured out of Grand Gedeh at the rate of 1,000 per day. At this time, U.S. officials and relief personnel estimate the number of Krahn refugees in the Toulepleu area to be approximately 75,000 to 80,000.⁶ This represents a significant portion of the total Krahn population of Liberia, estimated at 4% of the national population, or approximately 125,000 people.

Liberian refugees in the Ivorian village of Pahoubli had entered Côte d'Ivoire at various times since July. One group crossed the border about a month ago. They fled their village of Gbarzon in Grand Gedeh when rebels attacked them in the middle of the night. Witnesses described how the rebels rocketed houses and shot people in their beds. Sick people or the elderly who couldn't run were killed, and virtually the entire village fled into the forest. When asked how many had lost family members, the group of approximately 50 adults all raised their hands, stating that they didn't know if their family members were dead, still in Liberia, or somewhere else in the Côte d'Ivoire.

One refugee, Harris B., a junior high school teacher and a former commissioner (superintendent) of his district in Liberia, described how rebels entered Grand Gedeh on June 27. His account follows:

The rebels entered Grand Gedeh on June 27. They killed everybody in the area -- Krahn, Mandingo, and Bassa. They didn't try to choose between the groups, but killed everybody because they thought they were all Krahn in Grand Gedeh. I saw them kill a mother and her three-year old twins, and two others. My two brothers are missing, and three other members of my family. I don't know where they are because we fled in all directions when the rebels attacked. So many people died that you don't have enough paper to write down all their names.²

According to this witness, there were soldiers in the town, "but not enough to protect us, they were all killed." Under humanitarian law, the presence of soldiers in an area inhabited by civilians does not permit the rebels to attack the village indiscriminately. The armed soldiers themselves are permissible military targets but civilians and civilian structures such as homes and schools may not be targeted as such. The combatants have the duty to avoid or minimize harm to civilians even when attacking soldiers who may be in the vicinity. That is, it is not permissible for them to shoot into a crowd of civilians because they think that a few enemy soldiers are among them.

Refugees interviewed in the Ivorian town of Pekan Houebli in the Toulepleu area had much the same experiences. Rev. Peter D. fled Duegee Town on June 14th when rebels entered the town and shot and killed civilians and rocketed homes. Rev. Peter D. saw a seventeen year old boy shot and killed with no questions asked. Jackson T., aged approximately 60, also fled from Duegee Town at the same time. Two of his sons, Ricky and Arthur, who were unarmed, were killed by the NPFL.⁸

Another of the refugees, Harry P., also fled Duegee Town when the NPFL attacked. His account follows:

I fled Duegee Town when I saw soldiers and rebels fighting. I saw rebels shooting people indiscriminately, including women and children. I can't tell you their names because I was running, I just saw them drop when hit by soldiers, and I couldn't go back to identify them.²

Africa Watch is extremely concerned about the failure of NPFL leader Charles Taylor to take any measures to prevent such gross abuses against noncombatants. In particular, we are concerned about the killings of civilians targeted solely on account of the fact that they are Krahn or Mandingo.

An interview with a Liberian religious minister reveals the seriousness of this lack of command and control. Rev. A., aged 60, lived in Buchanan where his wife and children remain. He was captured by the rebels five separate times in the period of April through July. According to his testimony, he was singled out in part because he had been appointed by the Doe Government (against his will) in April to be a public safety commissioner and receive arms from rebels turning themselves over to the government. He fled Buchanan for Monrovia in April when rebels came

looking for him, then walked from Monrovia back to Buchanan several months later (about 60 to 70 miles.) His account follows:

All along the way I saw dead bodies lining the road. I was stopped at many rebel checkpoints -- at least 50. At every stop the rebels would ask people to speak Mano or Gio. If they couldn't, they were led away. The rebels took them behind buildings, and I heard shots. Then the rebels would come back, and boast "I killed five," or "I killed 10." This happened once at a checkpoint on July 27. The rebels took away three men just behind a nearby house. I heard three shots, and the rebels returned and said they had killed the three. There were no Liberian army soldiers in the area when these incidents happened; the victims were noncombatants.¹⁰

Africa Watch has also received reports that there were many army deserters in this area who were also killed by the rebels, along with noncombatants, as described by Rev. A. The killing of captured soldiers, or soldiers who have laid down their arms is a violation of the Geneva Conventions.

Rev. A. witnessed the execution of two men, a Krahn named Frederick Tokpah, and Wilbert Matalay, aged 60, a member of the Bassa ethnic group. Wilbert Matalay was grabbed by rebel soldiers on July 27, who accused him of being a government agent, and shot him, though he had not worked for the Doe Government. He was apparently suspected of government ties because he had worked for the Tubman Government, many years before Doe took power.

The execution of Wilbert Matalay demonstrates another group of civilians who were at risk of rebel reprisals: persons on lists compiled by the rebels who were believed to be affiliated with the government. Persons on rebel lists were killed regardless of their ethnicity. Thus Wilbert Matalay, a Bassa, was executed for his wrongly presumed political allegiance, rather than rebel hostility against the Bassa per se.

Another example of rebel hostility to presumed authorities is Rev. A. himself:

I was stopped at a rebel checkpoint and I thought I would be killed this time for sure. A rebel brought a knife to my throat when I said I was a minister, and said "we are looking for ministers, I will kill you." I told him I was a minister of the gospel, and the rebel laughed and told me I should call myself a pastor in the future.

Rev. A. was urged to leave Liberia by an acquaintance working with the rebel forces, who said that Charles Taylor could not control his troops. He told Rev. A. that they would kill him before they found out who he was. Rev. A. escaped Liberia on August 31 through the intervention of a Catholic priest, who brought him to Abidjan.¹¹

B. Executions Committed by Prince Johnson

As Prince Johnson's small force of approximately 500 fighters are based in Monrovia, it is the forces answerable to Charles Taylor (who may number as many as 10,000) who are responsible for most of the rebel abuses outside the capital city. Prince Johnson's forces engage in abuses within Monrovia, however, and the rebel leader himself has murdered innocent civilians in full view of the international press. On August 3, for example, Prince Johnson shot and killed a relief worker accused of profiteering from rice sales, while the victim was handcuffed to a Frenchman working for Catholic Relief Services. The execution was carried out before photographers, and the international press carried photos of a gun-toting and grinning Prince Johnson pointing at the dying victim as he lay on the ground.¹² Another incident was witnessed by a group of Nigerian journalists in mid-September. The journalists reported that Johnson sprayed a car with bullets, killing the driver. A German woman passenger was wounded and taken away by rebels. In another incident, Johnson accused a woman of stealing rice and shot her in the face.¹³

The most dramatic case of rebel atrocities against prisoners is that of Samuel K. Doe himself. Doe was captured by Prince Johnson's forces when he came out of the Executive Mansion with 65 of his bodyguards on September 10, apparently to negotiate his departure from Liberia with the ECOMOG forces. According to eyewitnesses, Doe was

mutilated horribly before he finally died, and his body was displayed and desecrated by the rebels at the Island Clinic.¹⁴ Such treatment, including desecration of the corpse, is strictly prohibited by humanitarian law.

C. Torture, Ill-treatment, and Executions of Detainees

Budu W., a 21-year old student from Harper City fled Liberia on July 17 to escape recruitment by the rebels. On Tuesday, July 11, Budu witnessed the execution of a Krahn man in the Liberian town of Pleebo:

I saw them kill a Krahn man. He was an older fellow, about 45 years old. The rebels were young kids, about 13 or 14 years old. They stripped him in the middle of town in front of everybody. They cut off his ear. Then they gave him a glass of water to drink. Afterwards they shot him dead.¹⁵

Representatives of an international humanitarian organization in the Côte d'Ivoire described the case of a young woman who was brought by her mother to their food warehouse in late August. She was a Krahn who had been captured by rebels in Grand Gedeh about a month previously along with an unidentified number of other Krahn civilians. According to testimony that she provided to relief workers, the rebels kept the prisoners with them as they marched. They attempted to determine which of their captives was Krahn by beating them to see if they would cry out in the Krahn language. When they did, they were slain on the spot. If other captives expressed emotion at the sight of the killings, this was taken as evidence that they also were Krahn, and they too were killed. She was beaten every day. At a moment when security was lax, she escaped, and managed to find her mother amongst the refugees of Toulepleu. The relief workers concerned said that she was apparently injured from the beatings, incoherent, and in a state of shock.

D. Conscription of Children

A number of witnesses described seeing heavily-armed children with the rebels. According to another witness:

When the Krahns entered Nimba [County] all the kids' parents died. Now the kids want revenge. This is the concept in their minds. They are so little that I could shake them till they drop, but the guns give them courage.¹⁶

Two nurses from New Zealand working for a French medical organization within Nimba County in Liberia reported that they recently saw a rebel as young as 7 or 8 years old, staggering under the weight of a Kalashnikov automatic rifle which was as tall as he was, and menacing people with it.¹⁷

A Kenyan nun, Sister Josephine, who was in the Côte d'Ivoire for the Pope's recent visit, stated that her order had operated four schools in Buchanan for elementary and secondary students with over 3,000 students. By June, only 1,000 students were left in school; the remainder had joined the rebels. She reported that children as young as 10 years old -- fifth and sixth graders -- enthusiastically joined the rebels. Those too small to carry guns carried grenades. According to Sister Josephine, Charles Taylor was not recruiting the children, they had joined enthusiastically of their own volition.¹⁸

Whether or not the children joined the rebels voluntarily, their presence with the fighting force is a serious violation of humanitarian norms concerning children in warfare. International standards prohibit the conscription or recruitment of children under the age of 15. For example, article 4(3)(c) of Protocol II to the 1949 Geneva Conventions, although not signed by Liberia, states that "Children who have not attained the age of fifteen years shall neither be recruited in the armed forces or groups nor allowed to take part in hostilities."¹⁹

E. The Taking of Hostages

The taking of hostages is strictly forbidden by Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions, and is binding on rebel and government forces. Yet foreign civilians in Liberia have been attacked by both government forces (see below) and by the NPFL. Charles Taylor has admitted to taking at least 1,000 Nigerians, Ghanaians, and Guineans hostage in Buchanan, where, according to some reports, they are being kept in appalling conditions.²⁰ However, other reports received by Africa Watch indicate that some of the foreign nationals are being held in "protective custody" under what appear to be adequate conditions, but are not permitted to leave. Hundreds of foreign nationals from governments which have sent troops to participate in the ECOMOG force fled to their embassy compounds in Monrovia, and apparently when Charles Taylor controlled these parts of Monrovia he prevented them from leaving. He was reported as saying that "Nobody will leave Liberia until the conflict is over... Remember what the Americans did with the Japanese living in the United States in World War II. They put them in concentration camps."²¹

F. Rebel Killings of Fleeing Soldiers

Relief personnel and the Ivorian authorities are concerned about fleeing army soldiers who have been pursued by rebels into the Côte d'Ivoire. The Ivorian authorities, working through the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), have initiated a policy of disarming rebel soldiers within the Côte d'Ivoire and exchanging their uniforms for civilian clothes. To prevent hostilities from spilling onto Ivorian soil and to keep them from menacing the Mano and Gio refugees, they are then relocated away from the border to the Toulepleu area. The Ivorians have also placed military personnel on the Liberian border to guard against rebel incursions in pursuit of fleeing soldiers.

One such incident took place on September 5 in the Ivorian town of Bliheron when rebels from Charles Taylor's force crossed over to the Côte d'Ivoire, and shot and killed eight soldiers who were attempting to swim across the Cavalla River, which runs between the two countries. The rebel soldiers claimed that they thought they were in Liberia, but turned themselves over to the Ivorian authorities. Refugees interviewed by the delegation in Bliheron witnessed the executions, and were terrified.

Again, it should be noted that soldiers who had deserted or abandoned hostilities are protected under the provisions of Common Article 3 of the Geneva Accords. From our interviews, it seems fairly clear that the soldiers attempting to swim across the Cavalla River were deserting. If they were deserting, rather than fleeing from actual combat, their murder is a violation of this provision of humanitarian law.

Violations by the Liberian Army

The Liberian army has long been associated with grave abuses against civilians. The same rules of non-international armed conflict apply to government forces as to rebels, and the indiscriminate executions and abuses committed by the Liberian Army are strictly forbidden.

The death of Samuel K. Doe on September 10 did not mean the dissolution of his army. The army is now commanded by General David Nimley, who took over following Doe's murder. Nimley has been implicated for years in gross abuses of human rights against Liberian civilians, and is widely thought to have organized a death squad within the armed forces this year. (See below.)

At the time of this writing, at least 1,000 heavily armed government soldiers are in control of certain areas of the country, and the army continues to abuse, loot, and kill with impunity.

A. Killings of Civilians

Africa Watch's May 1990 report, Liberia: Flight from Terror describes in detail the atrocities committed by the Liberian army in its counterinsurgency campaign in Nimba County. Abuses included indiscriminate killing of men, women, and children. Soldiers torched huts with the sick and the elderly inside. Civilians were killed merely on the suspicion that they were of Mano or Gio ethnicity. In the words of a former soldier from Kamplay, ex-lieutenant Hargana Pouden, "No one is safe from the army, if they are Gio, not even old people."²²

In the months before Doe's death on September 10, the group of Krahn soldiers surrounding the president in Monrovia engaged in gross abuses in the capital, including regular executions of captured civilians and the large-scale murder of unarmed displaced persons. Government soldiers outside the capital continued their practice of killing non-Krahn and suspected political opponents.

One particularly grisly incident occurred on July 30 when Liberian army soldiers attacked a large group of displaced civilians who had sought refuge at Saint Peter's Lutheran church. The international press reported that more than 600 men, women, and children were murdered by soldiers who sprayed the church with gunfire. Andrew Voros, an American former Peace Corps volunteer who lived in Liberia for many years, was in Monrovia at the time and tended those wounded in the attack. In an interview with Africa Watch in Washington, DC on August 28, 1990, Voros stated that approximately 185 civilians were killed on the spot when soldiers entered the church and sprayed the men who were sleeping in one room with gunfire, then went to another room where women and children were sleeping and killed them in the same manner. Following the attack, a large group of refugees fled to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) compound and broke down the gates. There were many civilians badly wounded in the attack, according to Voros, who described women and children with hands and feet blown off, and gaping head wounds. A group of Liberian soldiers entered the compound and marched away with about 350 of the civilians. They were taken to the beach near the John F. Kennedy Hospital, where there were reports that the men were separated out and taken away to be killed. Voros speculates that the entire group was actually killed. When this figure is added to the original 185 dead, the total casualties approximate the figure of 600 dead given by French medical groups in Monrovia and reported in the press.²³

Reporters from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) visited the Lutheran Church in October, where bodies of the victims of the massacre remain in an advanced state of decay. The reporters visited a two-story building next to the church where "people are lined up in their mattresses on which they were sleeping when the massacre happened, still lying there now..."²⁴

Gen. Nimley, the commander of the Executive Mansion forces who with the death of Doe claims to be the President, is reportedly one of the officers responsible for death squad activities by the army. The military death squad began executing Mano and Gio soldiers from the Liberian army early in the conflict, and their bodies, as well as those of Liberian civilians regularly appeared on the streets of Monrovia from February on. The army death squad also murdered homeless and mentally disturbed street people. Some sources have also implicated Gen. Nimley in the brutal murder, on January 4, 1990, of Robert Phillips, a former critic of President Doe.

Africa Watch has also received reports that army soldiers killed civilians indiscriminately in towns which were retaken from the rebels. Rev. A. described how in numerous instances when rebels retreated from a village and soldiers returned, anyone who didn't flee was killed. For this reason, the rebels apparently often evacuated civilians from the areas they left. Rev. A., for example, was evacuated by rebels with a large group of civilians from the ELWA religious mission to the Fendall campus of the University in Liberia.

On October 10, 1990, two reporters from the BBC described a "killing field" at Spriggs Payne Airfield, where President Doe's death squads took their victims:

...the area, which is a swamp area, is now littered with corpses, mostly in skeletal form. They had just rotted away and it is just the skulls and bones left. The killing field -- I suppose that is what it is -- is at the end of the runway... The swamp at the end of the runway is thick with bones and skulls and under every bush there is a sign of killing, skulls that have been smashed, bodies that have been torn apart by either machetes or gunfire and in all we counted up to over a hundred we can see.²⁵

While Africa Watch has not been able to visit Liberia itself, foreign reporters in Monrovia have recently reported indiscriminate shooting and looting in the capital by government soldiers. Agence France Presse reported on September 20, 1990 that a Senegalese jeweller saw four of his countrymen shot and killed by Krahn soldiers.²⁶

B. Torture, Inhumane Treatment, and Execution of Detainees

Samuel Doe's forces have long been implicated in torture and inhumane treatment of detainees. Doe himself has been accused of having personally participated in the 1985 murder of Thomas Quiwonkpa. The troops closest to Doe in the Executive Mansion have a reputation for particular brutality.

Andrew Voros, (see above) was himself captured by 17 Liberian soldiers on August 10 and held at the presidential mansion for eight days. He was arrested at the residence of USAID personnel in Monrovia, where he was living, along with Col. Chris Doe (no relation to the president). According to Voros, Col. Chris Doe hid at his home because he had received word from inside the military that he was to be killed because of his attempts to limit abuses by the soldiers.²⁷

Voros and Col. Doe were taken to the Executive Mansion, which has a common cell and a number of others in a cellblock which had been designed originally as a latrine for the Executive Mansion. Voros was questioned by General David Nimley and accused of being a CIA agent. Also in the cellblock with Voros and Col. Doe were several dozen Mano and Gio prisoners, some of whom had been held for months. Some appeared to have been jailed solely because of their ethnicity. Others were common criminals, and there was one woman detainee who was apparently an insane person living on the streets. Her constant ravings and screams kept the other prisoners awake. Conditions within the cells were appalling; there were no toilets, simply an empty adjoining room, thick with excrement, which was used by soldiers and prisoners alike as a latrine. Filth from the latrine was tracked back into the cells where prisoners sat or slept on the floor.

The prisoners (except for Voros) were not given food and water, and many of them were literally starving to death. They begged for food scraps at a tiny opening to the outside at the top of the cell, and passed around crumbs of food between them. When Voros attempted to share the occasional tin of juice given to him by the soldiers, he was prevented from doing so and warned that his own rations would be cut if he shared them.

Periodically, Krahn soldiers would enter the cells and randomly select prisoners to take outside and beat bloody with their heavy cartridge belts. Badly wounded prisoners would be thrown back into the excrement-covered cell. The unlucky ones were taken out and killed by soldiers. On August 14, Col. Chris Doe was one of those killed; he was surrounded by a group of screaming soldiers and cut repeatedly with a machete until he was nearly dead, when they cut his throat.

Occasionally, prisoners would be taken from their cells for "burial duty." Voros saw two very emaciated prisoners, an old man and a younger one, taken away. According to the younger man, the two were taken to a burial ground behind the Executive Mansion and made to dig a mass grave. They buried twelve bodies, most of which were horribly mutilated. When the digging was completed, the older man's throat was cut and he was thrown into the common grave. The younger prisoner was returned to his cell.

On August 18, Voros was taken to Barclay Training Center where Gen. Nimley accused him of firing upon and killing government soldiers.²⁸ Eventually he was released and evacuated from Liberia by U.S. Embassy officials.

C. Looting, Pillaging, and Abuse

The death of Samuel Doe hastened the disintegration of the Liberian army, which was already apparent in the large numbers of defections and desertions earlier this year. In recent months, the remnants of Doe's army are running amok in Monrovia and elsewhere. Africa Watch has received extensive reports of looting, stealing, and harassment of civilians by soldiers.

Refugees interviewed in the Ivorian town of Tabou described how Doe's soldiers had taken over towns on Maryland County, including Pleebo and Harper in mid-August. Comfort J., a young Liberian woman who arrived in the Côte d'Ivoire on August 19, reported the following:

I am from Pleebo, in Maryland County. I came here two weeks ago. The Krahn Army [government forces] was taking people's things, harassing and beating people. I know of people they killed. When they arrived, I left.²⁹

THE HUMANITARIAN NEEDS OF THE REFUGEES

As a consequence of egregious abuses against Liberia's civilian population by all parties to the conflict, approximately half the population of the country has been displaced from their homes. A quarter of these are refugees in West Africa. The people of the Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, and Sierra Leone have responded generously to the plight of the Liberian refugees. The U.S. State Department's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) estimated on October 26, that there were 561,681 Liberian refugees in West Africa, including: 280,000 in Guinea; 206,681 in the Côte d'Ivoire; 70,000 in Sierra Leone; and 5,000 in Ghana.³⁰ In all cases, the host governments have not needed to set up refugee camps because local residents have permitted the refugees to share their dwellings. Host governments and relief organizations have helped the refugees build additional huts. In Guinea, roofing and plastic has been donated by the UNHCR, and hundreds of huts have been built. Relief personnel maintain that this arrangement is far better for the refugees than a camp situation, but it is clear that more must be done to assist the Liberians and their hosts.

The villagers have shared their food, too, which has been particularly important because relief assistance has not been sufficient to meet refugee needs.³¹ The United States is by far the largest donor to the Liberian refugees. Indeed, many of U.S. allies consider Liberia a "U.S. problem," and have not responded as generously as is needed. Africa Watch regards the Liberian disaster as an international problem, and recognizes the need for the international community to respond appropriately. Nonetheless, it is clear that because of the United States' historic relationship with Liberia, and particularly because of past U.S. support for the Doe Government, which helped lay the groundwork for the country's destruction today, the U.S. bears a particular responsibility to aid the victims.

To date, the United States had provided \$41 million for rice through the World Food Program. (This figure includes funds needed for transport.) An additional several million dollars in additional assistance has been donated by the U.S. for the refugees through humanitarian organizations, and \$2 million has been donated by the U.S. to the International Committee of the Red Cross, Catholic Relief Services, and the French medical groups for humanitarian assistance within Liberia.

At the time of our visit, refugees in the Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea were not starving, though they were clearly in need of more food and medical assistance than the humanitarian organizations were able to provide them. In particular, the need for protein, such as dried fish, was acute; refugees interviewed in Peka Houebli and Pahoubli in the Toulepleu area who arrived in late June or July received a relief package that included rice, oil, salt, tomatoes, and

onions. Some also received soap and blankets. No further commodities except rice was provided after the initial package was given, and later arrivals only received rice. Because most of the refugees (particularly the later arrivals) arrive from Liberia starving, their original ration is depleted quickly and their Ivorian hosts are forced to share their scarce food supplies with the refugees.³² Relief personnel in the Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea made a strong appeal that they be given additional food by international donors, and permission to distribute it among the host families.

Large numbers of refugees arrived from Maryland County in recent weeks, due to fighting in that area and an acute shortage of food within Liberia. There are currently about 10,000 refugees in Tabou, most of whom have come since August. Refugees interviewed in Tabou City and surrounding villages experienced the same shortage of food as those in Toulepleu. The Ivorian Prefecture of Tabou, Simeon Agoua, said that the League of Red Cross Societies had promised that there would be dried fish and it was announced on the radio that this commodity was available. No fish was supplied after an initial shipment, however, and the Prefecture expressed concern about the miserable condition of the refugees in his area.³³ According to the Red Cross, an international donor had made some fish available last spring, but when this had been distributed, no additional fish was provided. Representatives from the League of Red Cross Societies interviewed by Africa Watch appealed for international donations of fish and other food commodities needed by the refugees.

The newer arrivals in the Tabou villages were mostly urban dwellers from the town of Harper and surrounding towns in Liberia who had few skills for living in the jungle. An Ivorian living in Prolo, directly across the river from Liberia, noted that the Liberian refugees "don't have the habit of fishing," and stated that he was aware of only one refugee who had attempted to fish. Nor did they have guns to hunt with.³⁴ Relief personnel confirmed that the former city dwellers were unequipped to forage for food or fish or hunt in order to supplement the rice supplied to them by the Red Cross, making them wholly dependent upon their Ivorian hosts for meat and other food. Relief personnel feared that tensions would inevitably develop between the refugees and their hosts, as food supplies were becoming scarce for everybody, refugees and Ivorians alike.

The food situation for refugees in Guinea is much worse than in the Côte d'Ivoire. Refugees are living with the local population in their homes, as in the Côte d'Ivoire, but food distribution is complicated by the fact that there are fewer villages and many more isolated huts in the forest. Moreover, the roads from the Guinean capital of Conakry to the forest area where most of the refugees reside are very poor.³⁵ Only about half of the relief supplies that are needed have reached the refugees via the route from the capital. Until very recently, no aid was being brought across the Ivorian border at all, in part due to Guinean Government reluctance to deal with the Ivorian authorities. A week before our visit, the first food shipments arrived from the Côte d'Ivoire, though the delegation visited some villages where virtually no food at all had been delivered.³⁶

The delegation found cases of malnutrition in refugee children in Guinea, as well as cases of beri beri. Food in Guinea is in particularly short supply from now until harvest in approximately six weeks to two months. Virtually all the rice has been used for seed, and the local people have almost nothing left to share. Refugees and Guineans alike are eating "palm cabbage" -- the inner part of the palm tree. The relief delegation reported that refugee concentrations in the area of Yomou had received no relief assistance at all, and the refugees had been there for a full seven months. There are approximately 6,000 Guineans living in the area, and at least 6,000 Liberian refugees.³⁷ Additional groups of refugees are said to be arriving in Guinea at the rate of 500 per day, fleeing both the fighting and hunger. It is said that there is virtually nothing to eat in Liberia, and many refugees emerge emaciated and ill.

A. Harassment of the Refugees

The Refugees International delegation which visited Guinea experienced some hostility from Guinean soldiers at a local level, and at one point a member of the delegation was arrested for having attempted to take video film of the refugees in the Guinean town of Thuo. When the Liberian refugees witnessed the soldiers' hostility to the delegation, they came forward to describe their own problems with local military authorities. According to the refugees, the refugees are harassed by the soldiers, who have taken Liberian refugee children "hostage," by confining them within military facilities until their parents pay a ransom of food or money. The refugees stated that this was a regular

practice. Guinea's civilian authorities were extremely cooperative with the delegation, and are clearly concerned about the Liberian refugees. Africa Watch is calling upon the Government of Guinea to investigate the reports of harassment by the Guinean army.

B. Medical Care

The Ivorian Government and the French medical groups have visited most refugee areas and vaccinated the refugee children, as well as Ivorian children, for yellow fever and measles. In Guinea, children had been vaccinated in some of the villages the delegation visited, but not all. The French medical group, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) is providing medical assistance to the refugees at small clinics set up in various villages in the Côte d'Ivoire. MSF-Belgium is providing similar services in Guinea. Despite the invaluable work of these medical groups, however, there are extensive medical needs among the refugees and gaps in the provision of medical care.

Newly arrived refugees in the Tabou area of the Côte d'Ivoire did not report significant medical problems, but those who had been in the Côte d'Ivoire longer, such as those interviewed in the Toulepleu area, were in bad need of medical care. In Pekan Houebli, for example, where there are approximately 3,000 refugees and 300 Ivorian locals, refugees interviewed on September 16 reported that 5 adults had died in the previous two weeks of malaria. Also, 4 children had died the previous day of malaria, diarrhea or of a disease which the medical groups speculated might have been elephantiasis, according to the symptoms they described. The refugees interviewed by Africa Watch in Pekan Houebli and Pahoubli also complained of stomach problems from eating "bush cabbage" which they found in the jungle to supplement their rice diet, and coughs and respiratory problems due to sleeping on the ground with no blankets. MSF has a number of clinics in the Côte d'Ivoire, but the refugees in Pekan Houebli were not aware of those clinics, and did not have to access medical care.

The medical situation in Guinea was worse than that of the Côte d'Ivoire, according to the delegation from Refugees International and Project Mercy who visited a number of villages in the forest area. The group saw cases of beri beri, and children who were clearly malnourished.

In Guinea, as in the Côte d'Ivoire, skin diseases were common, as many of the refugees were sleeping on the ground without blankets or mats. According to the League of Red Cross Societies, a donor had provided a supply of soap and blankets for the refugees last Spring, but supplies have long since been exhausted and the size of the refugee population has increased considerably. Many refugees in Guinea suffered from malaria. Refugees appealed for mosquito netting and malaria pills.

The lack of clean water is another major problem in both Guinea and the Côte d'Ivoire. In Guinea, the delegation found considerable problems with dysentery which was the result of refugees and local people alike over-using creeks, open wells, and streams for all their sanitation needs. In the Ivorian town of Prolo, refugees and local people obtained their drinking water from the Cavalla River. One of the refugees, John T., said that they see dead bodies floating in the river every day, which obviously contaminate the water supply.²⁸

The most urgent medical need at the moment, however, is the need for more food. The refugees (and sometimes their Ivorian and Guinean hosts) are much more vulnerable to disease due to inadequate food. Food assistance must be increased significantly if the outbreak of disease is to be avoided.

HUMANITARIAN NEEDS WITHIN LIBERIA

As difficult as the situation of the refugees is, their situation is not nearly as desperate as that of Liberians who remain in the country, particularly in Monrovia. According to the U.S. Department of State, "50 to 60 deaths are reported daily in Monrovia due to severe malnutrition and diseases; most of the victims are children."

More than 80 percent of the population of Monrovia are malnourished.³⁹ To date, the U.S. and other donors have not delivered large amounts of food to Monrovia because, according to State Department officials, the security situation has not permitted ships to land. Andrew Natsios, director of the State Department's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, has stated that the first ship, holding 500 tons reportedly reached Monrovia on October 25, and a second ship holding 1,100 tons of food was to have arrived on October 26.⁴⁰ Natsios reported at a Congressional hearing on October 25 that Catholic Relief Service carried out a nutritional survey last week of 500 Liberians in Monrovia. Of those interviewed, 208 were said to be suffering from the final stages of malnutrition. Natsios stated that relief officials were shocked by such a statistic, which they said rivalled anything they had seen, including the Ethiopian famine of 1984-1985.⁴¹

The United States and other donors have granted assistance to various non-governmental organizations within Liberia, including Médecins Sans Frontières and Catholic Relief Services. However, a much larger international effort is clearly needed and will continue to be needed in coming years, given the destruction of Monrovia particularly and the rest of the country.

Africa Watch calls upon all parties to the conflict within Liberia to facilitate the provision of food and medical aid to all civilians in need. In particular, all parties must agree to permit the free transport of food into Monrovia, and protect all relief personnel there, and in the rest of the country.

U.S. POLICY

There is no country in Africa with whom the United States has had closer relations than Liberia. Settled in the 19th century by freed American slaves, Liberian has looked to the United States for support ever since. Today, Liberians are anguished by what they feel is the United States' virtual abandonment of their country at a time of its greatest crisis.

While rebel and army leaders and their forces are responsible for the destruction of Liberia, the United States has a particular obligation to assist the victims. During the first five years of Samuel K. Doe's reign, the U.S. Government provided half a billion dollars to the regime, making it the largest aid recipient in sub-Saharan Africa. In 1985, the Reagan Administration put its stamp of approval on elections which were recognized by a wide range of international observers, as well as Liberians, as fraudulent. U.S. support for Doe at that critical moment consolidated his hold on power, and demoralized and weakened Liberia's political opposition. In 1986, the U.S. Congress ended most U.S. assistance to Liberia.⁴² However the United States maintained military "advisors" in Monrovia who actually went into Nimba County ostensibly to advise Doe's troops during the bloody attempt to depopulate the area in early 1990.⁴³

Because past U.S. support for Doe played a major role in the destruction of the country today, the Bush Administration has an important responsibility to do more to assist the victims of the conflict.

A. Relief Assistance

The United States is the largest donor for the Liberian refugees, but much more assistance is needed, and the U.S. and other donors should provide it expeditiously. As of October 11, the Bush Administration had provided \$48,724,703 in assistance to the Liberian refugees, out of a total of approximately \$62 million provided by the international community. European governments have tended to view Liberia as a "U.S. problem," and have not given as much assistance to the refugees as they have in other circumstances. Africa Watch believes that because of the historic special relationship between Liberia and the U.S., the United States' government has a particular responsibility in the current situation. Nonetheless, the humanitarian needs of over half a million Liberian refugees

are great, and their situation is worsening. Other donors should join the United States in mounting an enormous effort on behalf of the refugees and Liberians still living in the country.

In addition to dramatically increasing humanitarian assistance to the refugees themselves, the United States and other donors should provide sufficient food commodities to the World Food Program and the League of Red Cross Societies (which are distributing food in Sierra Leone, Guinea, and the Côte d'Ivoire) to enable those organizations to provide supplemental food to local villagers, as well as to the refugees.⁴⁴ In mid-October, a special appeal for \$5.4 million was launched by United Nations Disaster Relief Organization (UNDRO) to provide aid to Guinean villagers in need because of the assistance they had provided to the refugees. At the time of this writing, no donor had responded.

B. Liberian Refugees in the U.S.

There are thought to be approximately 14,000 Liberians visiting the United States who are stranded here as a result of the conflict in Liberia. On July 27, 1990 the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) issued instructions which granted Liberians living in the United States voluntary departure status on a case-by-case basis. In order to apply for the new status, Liberians with valid visas must turn in their documents and place themselves in deportation proceedings prior to receiving the safe haven designation. The new status, however, only allows them to stay in the United States for six months.⁴⁵ Moreover, the safe haven program is only available for those Liberians who arrived in the United States before July 27. Finally, the INS has apparently not publicized even this limited program to its regional offices; lawyers working with Liberian refugees have reported that virtually none of their clients have been granted the change of status, apparently due to the fact that local INS officials were for the most part ignorant of the program.

While we welcome the fact that there has been acknowledgement of the need for safe haven for Liberians in the U.S., the INS's program does not begin to meet the needs of those in the United States. First, Liberians entering the United States after July 27 should be included in any safe haven program. Second, Liberians should be permitted to stay in the United States until conditions within Liberia allow them to return home safely.

Liberian refugees are clearly deserving of "extended voluntary departure," (EVD) a program which the executive branch can simply designate for victims of conflicts or natural disasters. In the past, EVD has been granted to Poles, Ethiopians, Ugandans, and others on the basis of turbulence in their countries. On October 2, the House of Representatives passed legislation granting EVD to Liberians, Kuwaitis, Salvadorans, and Lebanese. The Senate is expected to address the issue in the coming weeks. In the meantime, we urge the Administration to treat Liberians as they have dealt with Chinese students in the United States following the Tiananmen Square massacre, at which time a stay of deportation was announced for all Chinese, and work authorizations were processed expeditiously.

C. Travel Documents For Liberian Refugees in West Africa

Liberia's West African neighbors have accepted half a million Liberians. Some of the refugees have close ties with the United States, including family members who are residents here. U.S. Embassies in West Africa should be instructed to view generously requests for non-immigrant visas for persons who wish to visit the United States, but not stay here permanently. Many Liberian refugees are eager to return home, as they have left family members there, and do not want asylum in the United States. Yet it is difficult for them to stay in the Côte d'Ivoire or Guinea, where they do not speak the language and have no family, friends, or money. The executive branch should designate Liberia as a country of special humanitarian concern, and allow Liberians to apply for visas at any Embassy. Liberians should not have to depend upon the INS representative, who is based in Nairobi.

D. Increased Refugee Slots for Liberians

The regional ceiling for refugee admissions from Africa in fiscal year 1991 is 4,900.⁴⁶ In view of the enormous number of Liberian refugees accepted by the country's West African neighbors, the United States should increase the number of refugee admissions and designate them for Liberians. Two years ago, the number of Soviet Jews admitted to the United States was raised to 25,000. A similar agreement should be reached for Liberians.

E. Screening of Human Rights Abusers

Liberians in the U.S. and U.S. missionaries who have recently returned from Liberia have reported that a number of Liberian soldiers whom they know to have been abusive have entered the United States. Several of Doe's top military leaders, who commanded troops which engaged in egregious abuses are now in the U.S., including General Alfred Smith, who commanded the troops which carried out the counterinsurgency campaign in Nimba County, Charles Julu, commander of the Executive Mansion Guard, and army chief of staff Henry Dubar. Also, several prominent civilian officials from Doe's government who are responsible for human rights abuses have recently entered the U.S. Among them are Doe's Presidential Affairs Minister, G. Alvin Jones,⁴⁷ and Justice Minister Jenkins Scott.⁴⁸ Africa Watch is urging the administration, that ways should be found to exclude known human rights abusers. We believe that neither the United States nor any other country should accept for permanent residence, or permit short-term visits, by notorious human rights abusers.

F. U.S. Pressure on Human Rights

The conflict in Liberia has reached such proportions that it is difficult to know what the United States could do to aid civilians within Liberia. The vast majority of the population is at risk of disease and famine due to the conflict.⁴⁹ Krahn and Mandingos, particularly, are at grave risk at the hands of victorious rebels, and Doe's forces continue to kill other ethnic groups and political suspects indiscriminately.

The Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, appeared to adopt a largely "wait-and-watch" attitude throughout most of the conflict. At no time did the Administration publicly call upon Doe to step down, despite the deep unpopularity of his regime within Liberia, its international isolation, and in light of the increasing bloodshed within the country. In September, Secretary Cohen visited the region and encouraged negotiations between the parties to end the conflict. Unfortunately the fighting and destruction have continued. It is clearly time for the United States to become more actively engaged in an international effort to save what is left of Liberia.

To date, U.S. policy appears to have been to defer to the Economic Community of West Africa in dealing with the Liberian crisis. It is unrealistic to expect ECOWAS to struggle alone with a disaster of this size. The ECOWAS "peacekeeping" force (ECOMOG) has now assumed a combat role, in alliance with the INPFL and the remnants of the Liberian army. Moreover, ECOMOG has not been able to protect and feed Liberian civilians, or stem the hemorrhage of refugees. A different approach is clearly needed. The United States and its allies should call upon the United Nations Secretary General to appoint a high-level special representative on Liberia. In the past, the United Nations has appointed special representatives to mediate conflicts in Afghanistan, Namibia, Central America and the Iran-Iraq war. As a recognition of the severity of the situation in Liberia, the U.N. should now adopt the same policy there.

In addition to promoting a peaceful resolution to the conflict, the UN special representative should coordinate a massive feeding effort within Liberia. Only the arrival of huge amounts of food can prevent mass starvation. But

despite the gravity of the situation, the U.S. and other governments have been dithering over this problem for months. The excuse for not bringing ships into the port of Monrovia is that insurance is prohibitively expensive. Monrovia is facing a human crisis of enormous proportions; surely the international community can come up with a way to cut through the red tape, and deliver large quantities of food to the starving city.

Finally, Africa Watch recommends that the U.S. and other governments denounce abuses of human rights by all parties to the conflict. Following meetings between the Assistant Secretary and rebel leaders Charles Taylor and Prince Johnson, Ambassador Cohen, stated that both men "would like to see Liberia with a truly democratic system, and they would cooperate in organizing that."⁵⁰ There is no evidence to support this premature conclusion. On the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence that the forces commanded by both men have, and continue, to commit gross abuses of internationally recognized human rights and humanitarian law.

Presumably the Assistant Secretary made such an ill-considered remark in the context of encouraging negotiations to end the conflict. However there is no justification for prematurely praising Taylor and Johnson, given the overwhelming evidence of rebel leaders' personal responsibility for gross violations of internationally recognized human rights. The United States should take particular pains to avoid the mistake it committed ten years ago, when it rushed to embrace Samuel K. Doe who came to power after murdering top officials, including the president of the civilian government he overthrew.

The United States should make it clear that there will be no U.S. assistance for a regime which attempts to seize power by slaughtering civilians, and should call upon all parties to cease such abuses immediately.

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

The disintegration of Liberia in such a short period of time, and the widespread abuses of Liberians by all sides to the conflict, is a tragedy of unparalleled magnitude for Liberia. Africa Watch is calling on all parties to the conflict to end abuses against innocent civilians, create conditions that would allow refugees and displaced people to return home, and to allow all Liberian citizens to live without the fear of violence, and to negotiate a peaceful end to the conflict.

Liberia is considered by many European governments to be an "American problem," and the U.K. and the rest of the E.C. have deferred to the United States and largely "watched and waited" while Liberia has been destroyed. It is long past time for the international community as a whole to become engaged in efforts to help resolve the conflict in Liberia, and to provide greater assistance to victims both within and without Liberia. Africa Watch calls upon the United Kingdom and the European Community to press the United Nations to appoint a special representative on Liberia. Africa Watch also appeals to the U.K. and the European community to increase assistance to Liberians in West Africa, and to aid efforts to provide food and medical assistance within Liberia.

Previous Africa Watch publications on Liberia

Liberia: Flight From Terror. Testimony of Abuses in Nimba County, An Africa Watch Report, May 1990.

"News From Africa Watch: Nine Years of Doe's Rule: Africa Watch Assesses the Record," April 11, 1989.

Africa Watch is a non-governmental organization created in May 1988 to monitor human rights practices in Africa and to promote respect for internationally recognized standards. Its Executive Director is Rakiya Omaar; Richard Carver is Research Director; Alex de Waal is Research Consultant; Janet Fleischman and Karen Sorensen are Research Associates and Ben Penglase and Jo Graham are Associates.

Africa Watch is part of Human Rights Watch, an organization that also comprises Americas Watch, Asia Watch, Helsinki Watch and Middle East Watch. The Chairman of Human rights Watch is Robert L Bernstein and the Vice-Chairman is Adrian DeWind. Aryeh Neier is Executive Director of Human rights Watch; the Deputy Director is Kenneth Roth; Holly Burkhalter is Washington Director and Susan Osnos is the Press Director.

¹ During part of the visit, Ms. Burkhalter accompanied a delegation from Refugees International and Project Mercy, which visited the Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea to assess the humanitarian needs of the refugees. Refugees International is a refugee policy organization based in Washington D.C.; Project Mercy is a humanitarian organization based in Fort Wayne, Indiana.

² For a more complete description of the background to the conflict and abuses by Doe's troops in Nimba County, see Africa Watch's May 1990 report, Liberia: Flight From Terror, Testimony of Abuses in Nimba County.

³ A report issued by the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights in 1986 noted, "Liberia is rife with talk of revenge. The possibility of massive reprisals against the Krahn if President Doe is violently removed from power is conceded by all sides. The Krahn themselves are living in fear." Liberia: A Promise Betrayed, page 5.

⁴ In some non-international armed conflict situations, Protocol II of the Geneva Accords also applies, which imposes an even stricter standard on parties to the conflict. Protocol II does not bind Liberia, because the government of Liberia did not ratify it.

⁵ Interview in Washington D.C., October 17, 1990.

⁶ When Africa Watch visited Côte d'Ivoire in late February, there were approximately 63,000 refugees there. By now, the numbers have reached 162,000. The increase is largely from civilians fleeing starvation, or Krahn people fleeing rebel soldiers.

⁷ Interview in Pahoubli, September 16, 1990.

⁸ Interview in Pekan Houebli, September 16, 1990.

⁹ Interview in Pekan Houebli, September 16, 1990.

¹⁰ Interview in Abidjan, September 13, 1990.

¹¹ Interview in Abidjan, September 13, 1990.

¹² "Marines Evacuate 21 More in Liberia," New York Times, August 8, 1990

¹³ "Ghana is Said to Strike Liberian Rebels." New York Times, September 17, 1990.

¹⁴ "Bloody end of a butcher," The Observer [London], September 23, 1990.

¹⁵ Interview in Tabou City, September 14, 1990.

¹⁶ Interview in Tabou City, September 14, 1990.

¹⁷ Interview, September 17, 1990.

¹⁸ Interview in Abidjan, September 11, 1990.

¹⁹ While Liberia has not signed Protocol II, it is clear that customary international law prohibits the introduction of children into hostilities. Moreover, Article 38 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by the United Nations last year, states that: 1. States Parties undertake to respect and to ensure respect for rules of international humanitarian law applicable to them in armed conflicts which are relevant to the child. 2. States Parties shall take all feasible measures to ensure that persons who have not attained the age of 15 years do not take a direct part in hostilities. 3. States Parties shall refrain from recruiting any person who has not attained the age of 15 years into their armed forces. States Parties shall endeavour to give priority to those who are oldest.

²⁰ The exact number of hostages taken by Charles Taylor's forces known. The U.S. State Department did not have an estimate of the number.

²¹ "Nigerians Discuss Situation at Monrovia Embassy." AFP, August 23, 1990.

²² Liberia: Flight From Terror, May 1990, p. 10.

²³ Interview in Washington, August 28, 1990.

²⁴ "Reporters Visit Monrovia's Airport Killing Field," BBC, October 10, 1990.

²⁵ "Reporters Visit Monrovia's Airport Killing Field," BBC World Service, October 10, 1990.

²⁶ AFP, "Government Soldiers Looting, Shooting in Monrovia." September 20, 1990.

²⁷ Voros says that Col. Doe had been going about Monrovia attempting to disarm "1990 soldiers" -- that is, thieves and criminals who had been hastily recruited into the army to make up for the large numbers of casualties and desertions in the course of the counterinsurgency campaign. The army depicts Col. Doe as a deserter.

²⁸ Nimley also insisted that a U.S. missionary who had been killed on approximately August 10 had died when he ran a roadblock and shot at a soldier. But the Lebanese neighbors of the victim, who were on the U.S. ship offshore where Voros was taken, actually witnessed the killing of the missionary. They stated that he died when army soldiers fired on his home and he was hit by a ricochet bullet.

²⁹ Interview in Tabou City, September 14, 1990.

³⁰ "West Africa -- Displaced Persons," Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA), Situation Report No. 10, October 26, 1990.

³¹ According to relief personnel, there is currently a shortfall of \$10.2 million in response to the pledging request of the League of Red Cross Societies, the UNHCR, and World Food Program.

³² We heard reports from relief personnel that some of the refugees arrived so hungry from Liberia that they ate their rice raw.

³³ Interview, September 14, 1990, Tabou City.

³⁴ Interview, September 14, town of Prolo.

³⁵ The Refugees International delegation which visited Guinea reports that one trip of 60 miles took them five hours.

³⁶ Officials at the U.S. Embassy in Abidjan estimated that the refugees in Guinea needed approximately 4,500 to 5,000 tons per month. They had received no more than 2,000 tons per month from Conakry. The first shipment of 500 tons from the Ivory Coast was to have been delivered in early September, and relief personnel are hoping to move as much as 1,000 tons per week into the area. Interview, September 12.

³⁷ There are 4,000 refugees officially registered, though the Government of Guinea states that the actual number may be as high as 11,000.

³⁸ Interview, September 15, 1990.

³⁹ Agency for International Development, Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance, Situation Report No. 10, October 26, 1990.

⁴⁰ Interview in Washington, D.C., October 25, 1990.

⁴¹ Joint hearing by the House Select Committee on Hunger and the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, October 25, 1990.

⁴² Military aid to Liberia "in the pipeline" continued into 1987.

⁴³ The Bush Administration has justified the presence of the military advisors on the grounds that they were attempting to curb human rights abuses. This was an unrealistic objective, given the breadth of the slaughter. It is inconceivable that two U.S. advisers could have restrained marauding troops who had actually been ordered by Doe to commit abuses against civilians. Some have suggested that the United States advisors went into Nimba in an attempt to investigate reports of Libyan support for Charles Taylor's forces.

⁴⁴ According to officials from the international humanitarian agencies, they cannot distribute commodities to citizens of the Ivory Coast, Guinea, and Sierra Leone unless a major donor such as the United States specifically instructs them to do so.

⁴⁵ Arthur Helton of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights reported that the INS office in New York where Liberian refugees are to go to change their status has the words "Detentions and Deportations" above the door. Naturally, few Liberians care to enter.

⁴⁶ For 1991, the ceiling for refugee admissions from Latin America is 3,100; for Eastern Europe it is 5,000; for the USSR it is 50,000; for East Asia (Indochina) it is 52,000; for the Near East/South Asia it is 6,000.

⁴⁷ G. Alvin Jones is considered to have been Doe's closest advisor. He is personally responsible for having three men publicly flogged outside the Finance Ministry. The men were accused of theft, though there was no trial or conviction. One of the victims later died.

⁴⁸ As Doe's Minister of Justice, Jenkins Scott is responsible for the unjust arrests of numerous prisoners over the years.

⁴⁹ The Administration has sent a team to Liberia to attempt to assess humanitarian needs. Unfortunately, until there is some stability in the country, most observers feel that it will be almost impossible to deliver the assistance.

⁵⁰ New York Times, September 21, 1990.

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT OO

EXHIBIT OO

Report Notes 'Army Death Squad' Activity

*AB1007201290 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 10 Jul 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In Liberia it appears that government soldiers are getting further out of control as the battle for the capital intensifies. Yesterday, we told you the report about how a young man suspected of being a rebel was executed by government soldiers on a beach in Monrovia. Well, an Army death squad has been in action again, and claimed another victim. We have just received this pooled report from Elizabeth Blunt in Monrovia:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Soldiers bundled 19-year old Julius Vea, a high school student, into a car, took him to a beach outside the U.S. Embassy residence and slit his throat early this morning. The soldiers accused him of being a rebel when they found him in the courtyard of a house opposite the U.S. Embassy at 0645 GMT. He is the third victim of an Army death squad in two days.

The bare, naked body of a man was dumped this morning just a few yards further down the same beach. A man was gunned down at the same place in broad daylight by the same three soldiers in front of foreign journalists yesterday. After the first killing, people who live near the beach were warned that if they stared too long at the body, the same thing would happen to them.

All three killings [occurred] opposite the official residence of the U.S. charge d'affaires, (Denis Jerk), who lives in Monrovia Mamba Point Diplomatic Quarter. Staff from another Western embassy buried a headless corpse washed up on the beach near their mission this morning. Soldiers on the same stretch of beach also beat up a man who lived near there around 12 o'clock today.

The American charge d'affaires drove past where the beating was in progress. When the soldiers saw him, they banded their victim into a car and drove away. Witnesses said the rebels had killed a heavily pregnant woman who sheltered a soldier near the town of Caldwell, west of the capital from which rebels have withdrawn in the past week.

Yesterday, the rebels drove out some 20,000 civilians sheltering at the U.S. Government Omega Ship-tracking near Paynesville, eight miles from the city center. The [words indistinct] were further behind rebel lines. It was not clear where the refugees had been moved, but heavy

EXHIBIT OO

firing began in the Payneville area this afternoon. Residents give conflicting reports as to the source of the firing, but said they could hear artillery and mortars.

Conditions for the capital's half a million people remain grim, with food growing scarcer and more expensive. Most homes have been without electricity and running water for nearly two weeks, although a few areas had power last night. Shops which had been closed for more than a week have opened since yesterday to clear stock from shelves rather than have it looted by soldiers under cover of the 12-hour curfew.

Soldiers ransacked supermarkets last week and have begun systematically looting warehouses in Monrovia's free port. The witnesses say that among goods stolen were 200 tons of rice left behind when the United Nations disaster relief organizations closed down their relief program in Liberia at the end of last month. The rice and other relief supplies such as tinned meat are now openly being sold in the streets of the city. [end recording]

EXHIBIT OO

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Defendant.

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EXHIBIT PP

EXHIBIT PP

Mark Huband *in Monrovia*

The Guardian, 11 July 1990

A LIBERIAN army death squad carried out a second tribal revenge killing yesterday as talks aimed at ending the country's six-month civil war were delayed when rebel representatives failed to arrive.

The rebels delayed their arrival at the talks in neighbouring Sierra Leone by another day until today and their leader, Charles Taylor, said on the radio that they were only coming to listen, not to negotiate.

The six-month civil war has degenerated into a tribal conflict between members President Samuel Doe's Krahn tribe, and Gio and Mano who make up the bulk of the rebel National Patriotic Front of Liberia.

Heavy firing broke out yesterday afternoon in Monrovia. Soldiers bundled a 19 year-old high school student into a car, took him to beach outside a United States embassy residence and slit his throat early yesterday accusing him of being a rebel, witnesses said.

He was the third victim of an army death squad in two days. The bayoneted body of a man was dumped yesterday morning just a few yards further down the same beach. On Monday, a man was gunned down at the same place in broad daylight by the same three soldiers.

All three killings happened opposite the official residence of the American charge d'affaires, Denis Jett, in the capital's diplomatic quarter, Mamba Point.

Staff from another Western embassy buried a headless corpse washed up on the beach near their mission yesterday.

Witnesses said rebel's killed a heavily pregnant woman who sheltered a soldier near the town of Caldwell, west of the capital, from where rebels have withdrawn in the past week.

President Doe' declared a ceasefire last Friday, to which the rebel leader, Charles Taylor, agreed on Sunday. However, on BBC radio yesterday Mr Taylor said he did not agree to the ceasefire and that his forces wanted to move into Monrovia as quickly as possible to avoid further suffering.

Conditions for the capital's 500,000 people remain grim, with food growing scarce and more expensive, particularly since looting by soldiers. Most homes have been without electricity and running water for nearly two weeks, although a few areas had power on Monday night.

A pooled report

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EXHIBIT QQ

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WARNING: INFORMATION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE.

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DIST: 07 AUGUST 1990

COUNTRY: LIBERIA

Approved for Release: 2020/09/03 C00068500

EXHIBIT QQ

SUBJ: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)

DOI: 7 AUGUST 1990

[REDACTED]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)

TEXT: 1. LATE IN THE AFTERNOON AND EARLY EVENING OF 6 AUGUST 1990, MODERATE AUTOMATIC WEAPONS FIRE WAS REPORTED ON MAMBA POINT BETWEEN UNITED NATIONS DRIVE AND SEKOU TOURE AVENUE NEAR NEWPORT STREET. APPROXIMATELY 60 TO 70 ARMED FORCES OF LIBERIA (ALF) TROOPS CLASHED WITH 20 TO 25 INDEPENDENT NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA (INPFL) REBELS; NO CAUSALITIES OR DEATHS HAVE BEEN REPORTED. IN THE EARLY EVENING, SEVERAL MORTAR ROUNDS WERE FIRED FROM THE VICINITY OF THE BARCLAY TRAINING CENTER (06-18N, 10-48W) TOWARDS BUSHROD ISLAND (06-21N, 10-47W). IT APPEARS INPFL FORCES PROBABLY CONTROL THE WEST END OF MONROVIA WITH THE DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN THE TWO FORCES FLOATING BETWEEN NEWPORT AND CENTER STREETS. AT 1815 HOURS TWO EXPLOSIONS OF UNKNOWN ORIGIN OCCURRED AT THE BONJAL (06-14N, 10-40W) AFL CHECKPOINT. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)

2. AFTER ONE 7.62 CALIBER ROUND PENETRATED THE U.S. EMBASSY LOBBY, PERSONNEL ON THE EAST SIDE OF THE BUILDING WERE EVACUATED UNTIL THE FIRING STOPPED. THERE WERE NO INJURIES, BUT THE EMBASSY WILL NEED TO REPLACE A PLATE GLASS WINDOW AND REPAIR A CHAIR. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)
(b)(3)

3. AT APPROXIMATELY 1700 HOURS A LIBERIAN NATIONAL U.S. EMBASSY CONTRACT GUARD WAS KILLED BY AFL TROOPS WHILE WALKING ON NEWPORT STREET. HE WAS SHOT TWICE IN THE BACK AND THE HEAD. THE GUARD, WHO HAD FINISHED HIS MORNING SHIFT AT THE SAM AND E APARTMENTS, WAS RETURNING TO HIS RESIDENCE. AFTER THE SHOOTING THE AFL TROOPS PICKED THE VICTIM'S POCKETS. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)

4. AFL TROOPS BROKE INTO THE AMERICAN COOPERATIVE SCHOOL BETWEEN 1930 AND 0200 HOURS. THEY OPENED A SAFE (CONTENTS UNKNOWN) AND REMOVED SUPPLIES AND FURNITURE FROM THE SCHOOL OFFICE. THE CONTRACT GUARDS IMMEDIATELY DEPARTED AND WERE NOT INJURED. AFTER THE TROOPS LEFT, THE GUARDS RETURNED AND SECURED THE FACILITY. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)

5. BETWEEN 2135 AND 2400 HOURS AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF AFL TROOPS STARTED LOOTING THE HOME OF A U.S. EMBASSY OFFICIAL IN THE SINKOR AREA (06-18N, 10-46W). THEY INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD RETURN THE FOLLOWING NIGHT TO FINISH THEIR ACTIVITIES. THE SAME GROUP ALSO KILLED A DOG BELONGING TO A FORMER U.S. EMBASSY OFFICIAL. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)

6. AN ADDITIONAL EIGHT HOSTAGES, INCLUDING ONE U.S. CITIZEN WERE CAPTURED BY INPFL LEADER PRINCE ((JOHNSON)), AND PROBABLY ARE BEING HELD IN THE CALDWELL AREA (06-23N, 10-46W) AS OF 6 AUGUST 1990. TWO ADDITIONAL FOREIGNERS (ONE U.S. CITIZEN AND ONE POSSIBLE BRITISH CITIZEN) DEPARTED HOTEL AFRICA ON 6 AUGUST FOR A WALK AND FAILED TO RETURN. IT IS UNCLER IF THEY WERE CAPTURED BY INPFL REBELS OR ARE ATTEMPTING TO REACH A SAFEHAVEN. AN INTERNATIONAL POOL OF

JOURNALISTS CROSSED INTO BUSHROD ISLAND AND PLAN TO INTERVIEW THE
INPFL LEADER THIS AFTERNOON. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)

7. LIVING CONDITIONS IN MONROVIA REMAIN THE SAME. THERE IS NO
WATER OR ELECTRICITY. FOOD SUPPLIES ARE RUNNING LOW FOR ALL SECTORS
OF THE SOCIETY WITH FOREIGN DIPLOMATS AND EXPATRIATES IN THE SINKOR
AND CONGOTOWN (06-16N, 10-44W) AREAS ALSO REPORTING FOOD SHORTAGES.
THE EXTREMELY YOUNG AND OLD ARE SUFFERING FROM LOW NUTRITION. AS A
RESULT THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE OF PEDIATRIC MORTALITY. THE 186
BODIES AT THE LUTHERN CHURCH COMPOUND WERE REPORTEDLY MOVED TO THE
BEACH BY MEMBERS OF LEBANESE COMMUNITY AND BURIED USING HEAVY
EQUIPMENT. APPROXIMATELY 500 REFUGEES REMAIN AT THE U.S. EMBASSY
GREYSTONE COMPOUND. MEDICAL PROBLEMS INCLUDE GUNSHOT WOUNDS,
MALARIA, AND PNEUMONIA; DIARRHEA IS COMMON AMONG THE CHILDREN. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)
(b)(3)

8. RESIDENTS OF BUSHROD ISLAND APPEAR TO HAVE SUFFICIENT
FOODSTUFFS TO MEET THEIR IMMEDIATE NEEDS. RICE AND OTHER ITEMS WERE
LIBERATED FROM THE FREEPORT AND ARE CURRENTLY BEING SOLD/DISTRIBUTED
IN THE LOCAL MARKETS. NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA (NPFL)
FORCES HAVE SHIPPED AN UNKNOWN QUANTITY OF RICE FROM BUCHANAN TO
ROBERTSPORT FOR ONWARD DISTRIBUTION TO THE WESTERN LIBERIA. IT IS
UNCLEAR THE TYPE OF OVERLAND TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM THE NPFL HAS
ORGANIZED IN THIS PART OF THE COUNTRY. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)

ADMIN [REDACTED]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)
(b)(1)
(b)(3) (b)(3)

DISSEM: [REDACTED] EMBASSY AT MONROVIA. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

WARNING: REPORT CLASS ~~S E C R E T~~--WARNING NOTICE [REDACTED]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)
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(b)(3)
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(b)(3)

DECL: [REDACTED] BY RECORDED REPORTING OFFICER. ALL PORTIONS
CARRY CLASSIFICATION AND CONTROLS OF OVERALL DOCUMENT.>

ORIG/REL [REDACTED]

END OF MESSAGE

~~SECRET~~

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT RR

EXHIBIT RR

**CRISIS IN LIBERIA: THE REGIONAL IMPACT; AND A REVIEW OF
U.S. POLICY AND MARKUP OF H.R. 994**

HEARING AND MARKUP
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED SECOND CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

—————
JULY 16 AND 24, 1991
—————

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs



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CRISIS IN LIBERIA: THE REGIONAL IMPACT; AND A REVIEW OF U.S. POLICY

TUESDAY, JULY 16, 1991

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 1:30 p.m., in room 2200, Rayburn Office Building, Hon. Mervyn M. Dymally (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. DYMALLY. The Subcommittee on Africa is called to order.

Welcome to the subcommittee hearing on Liberia. Today we will discuss the civil war and political turmoil in the small West African nation whose relationship with the United States dates back to over 200 years.

In December of 1989, fighting broke out between the forces of President Samuel Doe and rebels in the Nimba County area of Liberia. Since that initial battle the political, social, economic, and agricultural fabric of Liberia has been totally decimated.

Several peace plans have been proposed; an interim government has been named, and currently a cease-fire is in effect between the two forces. We are encouraged by the recent reconciliation between Mr. Taylor and Mr. Sawyer, and I hope the administration can lend some clarity in this event.

In addition to the devastating impact on the people in Liberia, the resulting refugee crisis and displaced people number over 1 million. This put incredible strain on the economy and the political situation in neighboring countries, especially Sierra Leone.

Today, representing the administration, we have Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. Hank Cohen, who will discuss our policy toward Liberia, and our efforts to bring about a negotiated resolution to the problem. We have Mr. Andrew Natsios, Director of the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, to outline the extent of our emergency aid to the victims of the crisis; and Ambassador Princeton Lyman, who will discuss the U.S. role in easing the refugee crisis as a result of the Liberian Civil War.

Our second panel of witnesses is from the Private Volunteer Organization (PVO) community and consists of eyewitness accounts of the situation in Liberia at different stages. Also, we hope that the panel will comment on our policy, past and present, toward the Government of Liberia.

(1)

EXHIBIT RR

Our last panel consists of private individuals with information, observations and issues directly affected by the crisis in Liberia. They will also speak to the impact of our emergency assistance.

Before we begin with our panel of witnesses, Congressman Flake, I hope, will be here to make a statement before the subcommittee.

The subcommittee hopes to draw from this session a clear understanding of both the role of the United States and our policy decisions prior to the crisis. We also expect to come away from this meeting with a kind of information which would guide us toward a clear and coherent policy in reference to Liberia.

Finally, I hope this subcommittee, the full committee, and the administration can work together to come up with a package of development aid to assist the people of Liberia. In calling for this aid, I am fully aware of the fact that Liberia is in violation of the Brooke Amendment. But we ought to keep in mind the fact that this violation was the result of another regime which is no longer part of the landscape of Liberia.

Therefore, I hope my friend, Secretary Cohen, could respond to this concern, and we can use some of the \$200 million now in the AID budget to relieve the suffering of the people of Liberia.

Before we begin, I would like to welcome my colleague, Mr. Burton, and call upon him for some opening remarks.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'll just take a brief moment or two here. The tragic situation in Liberia continues to trouble all of us a great deal. I am pleased that there is, at least, an operative cease-fire, and a timetable for elections. I commend the administration for its efforts, and would urge continued support for the process of reconciliation, and democratization.

As in every human tragedy, our first priority must be humanitarian. Food, clothing, supplies and shelter must be provided to those in need. The United States must play its traditional role in this regard. But I must stress, as I have before, that we must place our greatest emphasis on a long term strategy for avoiding disaster in the future. Now is the time to lay the foundations for democracy, free-market, and constitutional institutions. This goes for Liberia, and indeed, for all of Africa.

Before concluding, I would like to say once again, that in the case of Liberia, we really do have a special responsibility. Of all the countries in Africa, it is Liberia that looks to us the most as a role model and as a special partner. I hope that we would do our utmost to justify that faith.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DYMALLY. Thank you very much. Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Special appreciation to you for holding this hearing today. The plight of the Liberian people remains as serious as the Kurdish refugee problem, yet since April 10 the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* combined have published only about three major stories on severe conditions in Liberia. Even our reliable Congressional Research Service, where whenever you need to find any information about anything, has not seen fit to publish an Issue Brief on this referred to conflict which is now in its 20th month.

I am pleased to see such an array of informed witnesses here today. Surely, from this group we can identify some important

meanings and hope that we will be able to resolve some of the problems of Liberians, but also, other refugee there as well.

I am hoping Mr. Cohen will update us on a meeting between Charles Taylor and Amos Sawyer before the Ivory Coast Peace Conference, as well as the Conference itself. It would be of further interest for Mr. Cohen to point out the reasons for our low profile and in resolving the Liberian crisis early on, in contrast to the high profile taken by the U.S. administration in Ethiopia. We wonder if this is a principle as a result of the acceptance of the principle of humanitarian intervention by the United Nations in the case of the Kurdish Refugees?

And in this regard, what is the thinking of the administration to involve the United Nations in the Liberian Peace process since they are strong opposition from the National Patriotic Front which controls most of Liberia and objects to the role of Nigeria and ECOWAS? It seems there has been little administration recognition of the services performed by the National Patriotic Front in helping to evacuate American citizens and the reality of present day cooperation in other areas under their control. We know that we can't really be dealing with the "old boys network" of which Mr. Sawyer is a part of, and I am hoping that we will be able to recognize what is really going on there in Liberia.

In this regard I will be very interested in the testimony of Mr. Ralph Moss, a distinguished American businessman, on his observations on the Taylor Controlled Area during his recent visit to the area.

I have a specific concern about how we can be of help and comfort to the Liberian Americans in my district. I am referring to both citizens and green card holders who want to be re-united with their immediate family members who are lost or stranded in the adjoining countries of the Ivory Coast, Guinea and Sierra Leone. This is something tangible and doable by our own government.

I know that there are many technical aspects to our Immigration Law. Many were created by this very Congress. What concerns me most is how we have misled our constituents by quoting from a State Department cable worked out in consultation with INS that says "Posts should give sympathetic consideration to Non Immigrant Visa applications from Liberians who can establish that they have valid reasons to travel temporarily to the United States and who, under the present circumstances, have no alternatives but to apply out of District."

We were informed this would speed up the departure process rather than wait for refugee processing or immigration. The results were long lines formed at embassies and 6 months forward scheduled appointments. Later we were informed that no responsible consular officer could offer such advice under the law. Was this a good idea to issue such a cable? Why, in your judgment, was the Attorney General reluctant to use his discretionary authority under the Immigration and Nationality Act to grant humanitarian parole as an alternative to meet this need?

What measures do you recommend we take on this matter, other than now suggest refugee processing, which is slow and takes a very long time.

We are talking about real people who love their family just as you or I do, and who suffer severe emotional distress as you or I would if our spouse or sibling has been forcibly separated from us. If we can just formulate some ideas to correct this inhumanity, our hearing will be very productive. Thank you very much.

Mr. DYMALLY. Thank you very much, Mr. Payne. Our witness is on his way, but we will begin with Mr. Cohen, Mr. Lyman, Mr. Natsios.

Proceed, Mr. Cohen.

**STATEMENT OF HERMAN J. COHEN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY,
BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Chairman and Members of the subcommittee, your assessment of the regional impact of the crisis in Liberia offers an opportunity for my colleagues and me to review U.S. policies toward that tragic situation once again with this committee. We welcome the opportunity to do that.

Liberia's long civil war has had a major social, economic, and political impact on neighboring states. Some 750,000 refugees have poured across the borders into Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone and Guinea overburdening social facilities and undermining local development efforts. Through the vigor of its private economy and its resources in iron ore, gold, timber and rubber, Liberia had been an engine of economic growth for the subregion; that engine is now broken. The customary market in agricultural goods through the contiguous forest region has dried up. Liberians who ought to be tending their own fields in this rainy season are still refugees in neighboring areas, dependent on international food relief and afraid to return to their own country. Within Liberia, the damage to infrastructure has been extensive. While electric, water and telephone services are sporadically functioning in downtown Monrovia, and ship and air traffic can reach Freeport or Spriggs Payne field, basic services are cut off in most of the country. Robertsfield, once a major international airport and regional transport hub, remains shuttered. Most tragically, horrific human rights abuses have been perpetrated by the combatants on the civilian population of all ages and ethnic groups.

The civil war has threatened regional security. On March 23, marauding rebel forces from the National Patriotic Front of Liberia moved across the border into Sierra Leone, pillaging, occupying towns, and terrorizing local populations in the East and Northeast. With help from Guinean and Nigerian forces and military assistance from the United States and other friends, Sierra Leone is gradually winning back its border region. But, this incursion graphically illustrates the capacity of armed rebels to destabilize the security of the region.

Unlike most conflicts in Africa which have necessitated the intervention of non-African powers to mediate peace, the Liberian crisis, in an historically significant development, has been encompassed by peacemaking efforts of the 16-nation Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS). ECOMOG, the monitoring group of ECOWAS, succeeded in establishing a zone of peace around Monrovia, so that humanitarian assistance could be chan-

neled to victims of the war; the ECOWAS Summit in Bamako last November successfully established a cease-fire across Liberia.

Nonetheless, implementation of cease-fire modalities and establishment of an interim government acceptable to all parties have remained tendentious issues. The All-Parties conference in Monrovia last March, instead of uniting the country under a single government, produced a virtual stalemate in the peace process. However, a significant breakthrough happened 2 weeks ago when, at the invitation of Cote d'Ivoire President Houphouet-Boigny, new OAU Chairman President Babangida of Nigeria, President Jawara of Gambia, President Eyadema of Togo and President Compaore of Burkina Faso met with Dr. Amos Sawyer, President of the Interim Government and Mr. Charles Taylor, head of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia. The results of that meeting—an historic agreement that the Liberian parties would work together for free democratic elections across Liberia in 6 to 9 months, and appointment of an ECOWAS electoral commission of Senegal, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Cote d'Ivoire and Togo to assist in the implementation of those elections—were confirmed a week later by all ECOWAS chief of state in Abuja. The Chiefs of State also requested technical assistance from the Carter Center in setting up and monitoring the electoral process within Liberia.

Mr. Chairman, we sincerely welcome this push by West African leaders toward democratic elections in which all Liberians can participate. Since the inception of this tragic conflict, the United States has actively sought a negotiated settlement, national reconciliation, and democratic choice of a new government, as well as succor to the victims of war. I will leave it to Ambassador Lyman and Mr. Natsios to detail our response to the humanitarian needs of this crisis. Let me just note that we have sought through active diplomacy and continuous dialogue with all Liberian parties to assist the leaders of ECOWAS as they bring an African solution to an African problem. Deputy Assistant Secretary Leonard Robinson, who is here with me today, has in recent months undertaken three different missions to the area in support of the peace process.

Our diplomatic initiatives and the collective wisdom and activity of West Africa's leaders brought us to a door which leads from war to peace, from ethnic conflict to electoral politics, from the agonies of a divided Liberia to the possibilities of bringing Liberians back into the same household. We now ask Liberian leaders to step together through that door. We call on contending factions to encamp and disarm their fighters so that all Liberians can participate in the electoral campaign without fear or intimidation. We especially call on Charles Taylor to take that act of statesmanship which is the mark of true leaders and seek accommodation with his Liberian brothers and cooperation in securing the goal of democracy for all. We ask him to open highways and borders of the area his forces occupy so that Liberians may freely move back to their own homes. We call on all Liberians to accept the help now proffered by their West African neighbors in establishing peace and security across the land and assuring to each Liberian the chance freely to participate in choosing Liberia's future.

Mr. Chairman, the people of the United States have generously responded to the humanitarian needs created by this crisis. We

have granted temporary safe haven to Liberians caught here in our country since the war began. We believe, at this crucial crossroads, that we should respond to the call for help from the ECOWAS Chiefs of State and from the Liberian parties. They want financial assistance to the electoral process and to the task of reconstruction. Unfortunately, the Tolbert and Doe governments took Liberia deeply into debt, and the country remains under Brooke sanctions. In general, that provision of the law does not permit us to provide anything other than food and emergency humanitarian assistance to war-torn Liberia. So we have a real dilemma as we try to support democracy and lift up those in need in Liberia. I am concerned about this because the Liberians—and ECOWAS—want to move quickly, and I felt you should be made aware of this problem. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Cohen follows:]

STATEMENT OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY
HERMAN COHEN
BEFORE THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA
ON THE SITUATION IN LIBERIA
JULY 16, 1991

Mr. Chairman:

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Mr. Chairman, we sincerely welcome this push by West African leaders toward democratic elections in which all Liberians can participate. Since the inception of this tragic conflict, the United States has actively sought a negotiated settlement, national reconciliation, and democratic choice of a new government, as well as succor to the victims of war. I will leave it to Ambassador Lyman and Mr. Natsios to detail our response to the humanitarian needs of this crisis. Let me just note that we have sought through active diplomacy and continuous dialogue with all Liberian parties to assist the leaders of ECOWAS as they sought to bring an African solution to an African problem. Deputy Assistant Secretary Leonard Robinson, who is here with me today, has in recent months undertaken three different missions to the area in support of the peace process.

Our diplomatic initiatives and the collective wisdom and activity of West Africa's leaders brought us to a door which leads from war to peace, from ethnic conflict to electoral politics, from the agonies of a divided Liberia to the possibilities of bringing Liberians back into the same household. We now ask Liberian leaders to step together through that door. We call on contending factions to encamp and disarm their fighters so that all Liberians can participate in the electoral campaign without fear or intimidation. We especially call on Charles Taylor to take that act of statesmanship which is the mark of true leaders and seek accommodation with his Liberian brothers and cooperation in securing the goal of democracy for all. We ask him to open

highways and borders of the area his forces occupy so that Liberians may freely move back to their own homes. We call on all Liberians to accept the help now proffered by their West African neighbors in establishing peace and security across the land and assuring to each Liberian the chance freely to participate in choosing Liberia's future.

Mr. Chairman, the people of the United States have generously responded to the humanitarian needs created by this crisis. We have granted temporary safehaven to Liberians caught here in our country since the war began. We believe, at this crucial crossroads, that we should respond to the call for help from the ECOWAS Chiefs of State and from the Liberian parties. They want financial assistance to the electoral process and to the task of reconstruction. Unfortunately, the Tolbert and Doe governments took Liberia deeply into debt and the country remains under Brooke sanctions. In general, that provision of the law does not permit us to provide anything other than food and emergency humanitarian assistance to war-torn Liberia. So we have a real dilemma as we try to support democracy and lift up those in need in Liberia. I am concerned about this because the Liberians--and ECOWAS--want to move quickly, and I felt you should be made aware of the problem.

Mr. DYMALLY. Thank you very much.
Ambassador Lyman.

**STATEMENT OF PRINCETON N. LYMAN, DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF
REFUGEE PROGRAMS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

Mr. LYMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate this opportunity to discuss the refugee issues related to Liberia. As you and your colleagues have pointed out, we have today close to 600,000 Liberians as refugees outside their country, and perhaps an equal number uprooted within Liberia. In addition, almost 100,000 Sierra Leoneans have been forced to flee Liberian rebel incursions into their country. I would like to talk about both of these refugee populations, the United States and the international humanitarian response, and our thinking about the future needs in the region.

Throughout 1990 and 1991, armed conflict, fear of ethnic reprisal, and hunger originally forced over 700,000 Liberians out of their country. The bulk fled to three countries in the neighboring countries. There are today an estimated 227,000 Liberian refugees in Cote d'Ivoire, 342,000 in Guinea. There were initially an estimated 125,000 in Sierra Leone until, as I mentioned, National Patriotic Front of Liberia forces invaded March of this year. Today we believe there are only 10,000 Liberian refugees receiving assistance inside Sierra Leone. While these three countries have borne the brunt of the Liberian refugee crisis, other countries have also felt the impact. Ghana hosts at least 6000 Liberian refugees, and Nigeria, the Gambia, Mali and others also have hosted smaller numbers.

It is worth pointing out that this crisis has also generated movements of people not termed refugees. West African countries have had to cope with transiting third country nationals fleeing Liberia as well as the return of thousands of their own nationals who had lived and worked in Liberia.

Not surprisingly, these large-scale movements of people across many countries made the coordination of relief initially very difficult, and it was aggravated by especially difficult problems in reaching those who had fled to the forest region of Guinea. In the early stages of the crisis, members of our Bureau and of the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, traveled throughout the region to identify the most efficient logistic routes and the immediate needs, as well as our galvanizing international and NGO activities, some of which had already started at the beginning of the crisis.

Despite the initial difficulties, I can now report that the relief system for Liberian refugees has largely moved beyond the emergency phase and is comparatively, I emphasize that word, well in hand. UNHCR and the World Food Program, in conjunction with UNICEF, the Red Cross societies, and many NGO's, have in large part helped refugees address such emergency needs as clean water supply, food, access to vaccination, medical care, and shelter. Problems remain, especially with new movements of people such as recently out of Sierra Leone. Not all the refugees still have uncrowded adequate shelter. We also have the situation the children's education has been interrupted. Life is far from normal for any of the

refugees or displaced, but the reports from the field indicate that basic life support needs are being met.

I should say at this point, and it is a very important one in this context, that the Liberian refugees' ability to survive, especially in those early phases of the emergency, is due in large part to the generosity of their neighbors. Liberians in Cote d'Ivoire and Guinea, as many of you know, are living in local communities, not in camps. Host populations have shared their homes, food, water supply, medical facilities, and other resources with them. While the international community can never fully repay these people for their generosity, they are now, at least, accruing some benefit from ongoing relief activity. In the Forest region of Guinea, for example, a concerted borehole drilling campaign is being initiated for the first time. Roads to remote villages are being improved, schools are receiving additional supplies in compensation for refugees' access to classrooms, and health monitoring activities have increased. Refugees also share their food rations with their local hosts, and some refugees are helping their hosts work the fields.

Now turning to donor contributions, improvements over the last year have been in large part, as well, to our ability to mobilize not only our own but other donor resources in support of the U.N. activity.

The U.S. Government has committed to date over \$130 million to the Liberian relief effort which is over 60 percent of total international contribution. The bulk of this, \$112 million, comes in food, with much of the remainder coming as cash contributions from the Refugee Bureau and from the AID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance. This funding has gone to UNHCR, to Unicef, to the League of Red Cross, to the ICRC and to NGO's. These contributions are in addition to our regular support to the Africa Program of UNHCR and the ICRC which also have devoted resources to Liberia. We also called in the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta to carry out a nutritional assessment in Guinea and to assess refugee health situations throughout the region.

We are continuing to work to sensitize other donors to the needs in West Africa. Other countries initially had a tendency to perceive that the Liberia crisis was a U.S. problem. We have vigilantly pursued, however, a multilateral response. And I am happy to say the EC, the Nordic countries and Canada have responded particularly well to this appeal.

We have also worked to keep the U.N. system energized to address the Liberia problem. A multiagency assessment of conditions throughout Liberia recently took place under the direction of the Under Secretary General, and that will result in a new appeal for the next 12 months in a coordinated fashion.

I mentioned earlier that we had a recent crisis in Sierra Leone, and that has complicated the situation. This arose from the March incursion by Liberian rebels into Sierra Leone. That invasion disrupted the relief program for an estimated 125,000 Liberian refugees and uprooted hundreds of thousands, perhaps, of Sierra Leoneans. An estimated 107,000 people fled into Guinea—about 97,000 of Sierra Leoneans and 10,000 Liberians. Fortunately, the relief system that had been established in Guinea for the existing Liberian refugee population was able to respond rather quickly to the

needs of the new arrivals. Additional vaccines and medical supplies were also brought into the impacted area, and food that was stocked nearby was distributed on an emergency basis. New wells are being dug and emergency shelters went up quickly. UNHCR is now opening a new sub-office in this impacted area.

Inside Sierra Leone, the invasion forced the termination of Liberian relief programs throughout the eastern portion of the country. We estimate that as many as 60,000 Liberian refugees have returned to Liberia. Some 20,000 to Monrovia, and others into Taylor-controlled area. Others may have gone into the bush in Sierra Leone. In addition, we believe some 12,000 Sierra Leoneans have crossed into Taylor-held areas of Liberia seeking refuge. Inside Sierra Leone, as I mentioned, there have been perhaps 60,000, perhaps more, people who have been displaced from their homes by the invasion. Fortunately, food that had been stocked in Sierra Leone for refugees is available now to be distributed to these people, and AID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance as Andrew Natsios will indicate, is picking up on additional assistance to those people.

Looking ahead, Congressman, for the remainder of the year, we want to work on two things: one, we want to work on more self-sufficiency for refugees. We are financing two new NGO activities; one by the International Rescue Committee, and one with Africare, to undertake education and agriculture programs for refugees in the surrounding country.

The second area we are beginning to look at is repatriation. Some refugees have gone back. There are reports that Nimba County's population is growing. Some people are crossing back and forth to tend their farm. It is too early to expect a major return of refugees to Liberia, but UNHCR is beginning to do some preliminary planning, and we are planning and we are prepared to support a repatriation program.

Let me, if I may, conclude with just some remarks on Congressman's Payne's statement so I can clarify the situation with regard to entry to the United States.

We have done three things for people in the region for people who wish to be reunited with family in the United States. First of all, we did send out the telegram asking council officers to take what we called a long view of these applications. Officers have done that. They are not by law allowed to totally ignore section 214b of the INA because it is not waiveable, but many people have come in on this basis, and Congressman, I would welcome if you had cases where this has not happened that you know of and let me know.

Second, the Attorney General has offered humanitarian parole to those with noncurrent immigration petitions. This is a common practice in this kind of situation. We do that because humanitarian parole requires a financial sponsor in the United States, and someone who has filed an immigration petition can usually act in that role.

Third, we have begun processing people under our refugee program. We have begun interviews. Some of the people who originally signed up seem to have gone back to Liberia, but we will contin-

ue that program and process people for refugee status. Thank you,
Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Lyman follows:]

Statement of Princeton N. Lyman
Director, Bureau for Refugee Programs
Department of State

before the
Subcommittee on Africa
of the House Foreign Affairs Committee

July 16, 1991

I greatly appreciate the opportunity to discuss today refugee issues relating to the conflict in Liberia. As you know, the Liberia crisis has resulted in mass movements of people across West Africa. Today, close to 700,000 Liberians are counted as refugees outside their country. At least an equal number have been uprooted within Liberia. In addition, almost 100,000 Sierra Leoneans have been forced to flee Liberian rebel incursions into their country. I would like to talk briefly about both refugee populations, the U.S. and international humanitarian response for these groups, and our thinking about future needs in the region.

Liberian refugee assistance

Liberia today has the dubious distinction, along with Ethiopia, of being the second largest generator of refugees on the African continent after Mozambique. Throughout 1990 and into 1991, armed conflict, fear of ethnic reprisals, and hunger forced over 750,000 Liberians out of their country. The bulk of them fled to the three neighboring states. Today, there are an estimated 227,500 Liberian refugees in Cote d'Ivoire and 342,000 in Guinea; there were an estimated 125,000 in Sierra Leone until, as I will discuss later, National Patriotic Front of Liberia forces invaded in March of this year. Today, only about 10,000 Liberians are receiving assistance as refugees inside Sierra Leone. While these three countries have borne the brunt of the Liberian refugee crisis, other countries have also felt the impact. Ghana hosts at least 6,000 Liberian refugees, while Nigeria, the Gambia, Mali, and others have also hosted some, though smaller, numbers. Liberians continue to move out of their country - albeit at a very much diminished rate.

It is worth pointing out that this crisis has also generated movements of people not termed refugees. West African countries have also had to cope with transiting third country nationals fleeing Liberia as well as, in some cases, the return of thousands of their own nationals who had lived and worked in Liberia.

Not surprisingly, these large-scale movements of people across many countries made the coordination of relief initially very difficult. For example, since West Africa as a region had not recently been a heavy generator of refugees, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was not strongly staffed there prior to the crisis - nor was the World Food Program, another major refugee relief player. The needs of other, non-refugee, affected groups - the affected refugee hosts, the internally displaced, the uprooted third-country nationals - do not fall squarely under the purview of any one U.N. agency. Relief activities were initially hampered by poor overall U.N. coordination, a lack of private voluntary organizations to implement assistance programs, sluggish other donor response, and poor transport and communications networks, (particularly in Guinea and Sierra Leone).

Despite the initial difficulties, I can now report that the relief system for Liberian refugees has largely moved beyond the emergency phase and is comparatively well in hand. UNHCR and the World Food Program, in conjunction with UNICEF, the League of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, national Red Cross Societies and PVOs, including Medecins Sans Frontieres, have in large part helped refugees address such emergency needs as clean water supply, food, access to vaccinations and medical care, and shelter. Problems certainly remain. More clean water is needed; food deliveries need to be more reliable; nutritional monitoring should be more regularized; not all refugees have uncrowded, adequate shelter; children's education has been interrupted; life is far from normal. But reports from the field indicate that basic life support needs are being met.

I should say at this point that the Liberian refugees' ability to survive, especially in the early phases of the emergency, is due in large part to the generosity of their neighbors. Liberians in Cote d'Ivoire and Guinea, as many of you know, are living in local communities and not in camps. Host populations have shared their homes, food, water supply, medical facilities, and other resources with them. While the international community can never fully repay these people for their generosity, they are accruing some benefits from ongoing relief activities. In the Forest region of Guinea, for example, a concerted borehole drilling campaign is being initiated for the first time; roads to remote villages are being improved; schools are receiving additional supplies in compensation for refugee access to classrooms; and health monitoring activities have increased. Refugees share their food rations with their local hosts; and some refugees are helping their hosts work the fields.

Donor Contributions and U.N. Coordination

Improvements over the last year have also been due in large part to our ability to mobilize U.S. and other donor resources for assistance. In addition, we believe our persistence in pushing the U.N. system to mobilize and coordinate has had a significant impact as well.

The U.S. government has committed to date over \$130 million to the Liberian relief effort. The bulk of this - \$112 million - comes in food, with much of the remainder coming as cash contributions from my Bureau and from A.I.D.'s Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance. The Bureau for Refugee Programs has contributed over \$12 million for emergency assistance. This includes \$5.5 million in earmarked contributions to UNHCR, \$3 million to UNICEF, \$2 million to the League, \$1.2 million to ICRC and smaller amounts to PVOS such as the International Rescue Committee and the Adventist Development and Relief Agency. These contributions come over and above our regular, annual contributions to international organizations which to date in FY91 amount to \$50 million for UNHCR and \$18.5 million to ICRC for their Africa programs. The Bureau has also called upon the services of the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta to carry out a nutritional assessment in Guinea and to assess refugee health care programs throughout the region.

We have also worked - and will continue to work - to sensitize other donors to needs in West Africa. While other countries have had a tendency to perceive the Liberia crisis as a U.S. problem, we have vigilantly pursued a multilateral response. The EC, Nordic countries and Canada have responded particularly well.

In addition, I think it is worth pointing out that our financial and hortatory efforts to keep the U.N. system energized to address the Liberia problem have shown results. A multi-agency assessment of conditions throughout Liberia recently took place. We are not completely satisfied with U.N. performance - we have not been successful in getting a U.N. regional coordinator assigned to this problem, for example - but communication among agencies in the field now appears to be working well. We continue to see a role for the U.S. government in keeping the U.N. system's shoulder to the wheel.

New Crisis in Sierra Leone

Before discussing what we see as the next requirements for the refugee assistance program - that is, the need for increased refugee self-sufficiency programs and planning for

repatriation - let me first address the "new" emergency generated by the March NPFL incursion into Sierra Leone.

The invasion of Sierra Leone by Taylor troops disrupted a relief program for an estimated 125,000 Liberian refugees and uprooted hundreds of thousands of Sierra Leoneans. An estimated 107,000 people fled into Guinea - about 97,000 Sierra Leoneans and 10,000 Liberians. The relief systems established in Guinea for the existing Liberian refugee population were able to respond rather quickly to the needs of new arrivals. Additional vaccines and medical supplies were brought into the impacted area, food - already stocked nearby - was distributed on an emergency basis, equipment was on hand to initiate the digging of new wells, and emergency shelters went up quickly. Severe diarrhea, due to a lack of clean water, was the most serious initial problem. The U.N. system is addressing that need now. UNHCR is now opening a new sub-office in the impacted area and has revised its budget to assure that the needs of this new population are addressed. My Bureau has recently provided funds to the International Rescue Committee to shore up health and sanitation programs for the new arrivals.

Inside Sierra Leone, the NPFL invasion forced the termination of Liberian relief programs throughout the eastern portion of the country. A period of chaos ensued where thousands of Liberians surged toward Freetown, while others moved north to Guinea or back into Taylor-held areas of Liberia. Relief agencies set up a series of make-shift, temporary relief sites before finally establishing a single refugee camp just outside of Freetown. Many Liberians, however, have chosen not to remain in Sierra Leone. They have left out of a fear of retribution, a desire to avoid a refugee camp setting, and because the Liberian interim government has encouraged them to come home. Our Embassy in Liberia has reported that at least 20,000 have returned from Freetown to Monrovia by boat since March.

While the picture in Sierra Leone is still not entirely clear, initial reports indicate that there are at least 90,000 people displaced inside the country with hundreds of thousands affected by the insecurity. In addition to those who fled to Guinea, we have initial reports that some 12,000 Sierra Leoneans have crossed into Taylor-held areas of Liberia seeking refuge. The U.N. system is incorporating these refugees into its plans for a Liberia-wide U.N.-led relief program.

The invasion of Sierra Leone by NPFL forces has heightened anxieties throughout the region about the perceived national security risk that the presence of thousands of Liberian refugees may pose. There are some signs that generosity towards refugees is waning not only in Sierra Leone but in

Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire, as well. We continue to stress to both UNHCR and host countries our interest in seeing first asylum maintained for refugees. While we are hopeful that repatriation will be the ultimate solution for these refugees, we would not want to see repatriation begin simply because conditions in asylum countries have grown inhospitable.

Self Sufficiency Activities and Repatriation

For the remainder of 1991, we would hope to see the relief agencies, with host country concurrence, begin to work on more self-sufficiency activities for refugees. We have in mind income-generating activities for refugee women and enlarged agricultural programs, as well as improved primary education programs. To this end, we are financing PVO activities that complement UNHCR programming in education and agriculture. These are relatively modest interventions, designed not to root refugees in their host countries, but rather to enlarge their resource base and give them something to bring home - be it new skills, cash, seeds/tools or crops. In the long run, we hope these activities will not only improve refugees' quality of life but also make refugees less of a burden on their hosts and the international community.

While relief agencies are beginning to focus on self-sufficiency activities in asylum countries, there is also much discussion about repatriation to Liberia. The interim government of Liberia has been active in repatriating Liberians to Monrovia on a small scale. In addition, there are numerous reports of refugees moving freely between their asylum country and Taylor-held Liberia. Medecins Sans Frontieres/Belgium, based on its cross-border relief activities from Cote d'Ivoire into Liberia, reports that the population of Nimba County is growing. Local missionaries in the Forest Region report that refugees, largely from the Gio tribe, are moving back from Guinea.

UNHCR is establishing a small anticipatory presence in Liberia. Once there are guarantees of peace and security throughout Liberia, we would envision a large-scale UNHCR-organized repatriation program. We do not believe that conditions are yet ripe for massive returns, but are coordinating closely with our colleagues working on conflict resolution. When conditions are ripe, my Bureau will be prepared to consider a significant financial contribution to UNHCR for its repatriation activities.

Thank you, Mr Chairman. I will be pleased to respond to your questions.

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Secretary, Mr. Burton had a previous appointment which is long overdue and he would like to ask a question before he leaves.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I apologize for my hasty departure. First of all, I would just like to say that things can be stabilized in Liberia, the chairman and I were just talking about the Brooke Amendment, and I think that we could probably get a consensus on the committee to temporarily waive that to help the country if that can be worked out.

The thing I wanted to bring up is that we had a very contentious debate on the floor regarding the ANC on June the 20th. And there was an amendment passed 279 to 134 which would prohibit aid to any organization that has any affiliation whatsoever with any Communist organization in Southern Africa and South Africa. I realize the realities of political life, and I know the \$10 million that we have allocated for South Africa and for the democratization of that country is going to be distributed ultimately, and what I would like to see is a fair distribution of this. The formula that we heard of this morning appears to continue to give a disproportionate share to the ANC. So I would just like to say, Mr. Secretary, that I think it would be advisable for you and Members of this committee to sit down and discuss an equitable solution to that problem which may cut this Gordian knot that we have all been faced with.

Mr. LYMAN. Well, our process of consultation with the Congress is not yet completed on that issue, and I welcome your point of view. I think Congressman Wolpe might not agree with you.

Mr. BURTON. Well, my concern was this morning that the new formula that we heard about that was disproportionate in favor of the ANC, and I think we need to have a heart to heart about that.

Mr. DYMALLY. I just want the Members and the witnesses to know that Liberia did not steal ANC time.

Mr. WOLPE. Just for the record, I do have a different view than Mr. Burton on this issue.

Mr. DYMALLY. Thank you. Mr. Burton, I want to respond. I would like to hold some discussion with you on this subject. I have not been involved, so I come with a very objective view and would like to have it resolved before the month is over.

Mr. Natsios.

**STATEMENT OF ANDREW S. NATSIOS, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF
FOREIGN DISASTER ASSISTANCE, DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

Mr. NATSIOS. Good afternoon, Mr. Chairman and Members of the committee. I appreciate this opportunity to review the U.S. Government's relief efforts in Liberia. It has been almost 19 months since rebel attacks sparked the humanitarian crisis in West Africa. Much has been undertaken since that time to alleviate the suffering of the affected population, but much remains to be done.

I think my colleagues would agree that the situation in Liberia of a year ago marked the low point in efforts to contain the carnage which had taken the lives of thousands of innocent civilians. Disaster assessment teams and the U.S. Embassy colleagues witnessed daily firefights between warring factions. Two rebel armies

threatened Liberia while a third force of undisciplined thugs pilaged it from within. The United Nations had withdrawn its personnel from Liberia and only a handful of brave nongovernmental organizations (NGO) staffers remained to see the needs of the million displaced persons. Bodies lay rotting on the streets of the capital. Sewerage drains provided the only source of water for most of the city's inhabitants. Food was nowhere to be found.

No one then could have predicted the course of events which led to the current, much improved situation in Liberia. But the elements of a basic strategy from the humanitarian point of view did emerge. An initial program aimed at reestablishing basic life-saving services in the country was planned and implemented by disaster relief teams, the U.S. Embassy and NGO's on the scene. Once these services were functioning, measures to induce stability in the countryside could be implemented in cooperation with humanitarian relief organizations active in the territory controlled by the NPLF. Finally, a third phase of reconstruction and overall recovery was conceptualized to create a viable environment for returning refugees and displaced persons.

Over the past year U.S. efforts and those of the relief community as a whole have been rewarded with considerable success. An AID-funded airlift assured the safe reentry and support of humanitarian organizations willing to work in Monrovia. The number has grown from only 3 a year ago to over 30 today, and their presence has produced heartening results. The rate of malnutrition in Monrovia has fallen from a previously high of 55 percent to a current rate of less than 4 percent. Measles and diarrhea which had claimed the lives of thousands of famished infants have been brought under control. City water service has been restored thanks in part to initial AID grant to MSF France and Belgium and to the fine work of the International Committee of the Red Cross. The World Food Program, with strong backing from AID's Food for Peace Office has ensured a steady supply of rice, pulses and cooking oil for the estimated 6,000 inhabitants currently in Liberia's capital. More than 10,000 tons of food are now stored in city warehouses. Deep draft merchant vessels now dock safely at Monrovia thanks to an American diplomatic effort which halted rebel shelling of Monrovia's harbor.

In the countryside we have funded the efforts of the Catholic Relief Services [CRS] and MSF to deliver food, medicines and seed and tool packages to areas controlled by the NPLF. A recent U.N./NGO assessment of emergency needs outside of Monrovia pegged malnutrition in the rural areas at a level under 3 percent, a tribute to the successful efforts of nongovernmental organizations working under the harshest of conditions. Over the course of the last planning season in Liberia, 56 percent of the country's farmers had rice seed to plant. We hope to raise that level higher this year through grants which we currently have in place to provide seeds and tools. I might add that over half the population of the country is displaced, so that percentage of farmers getting rice seed is quite extraordinary.

If trends continue, I believe we may soon find ourselves at the point where genuine reconstruction and recovery can begin throughout Liberia. Progress on peace negotiations, maintenance of

the cease-fire, and eventual free and fair elections will determine how far and fast donors can proceed in helping the Liberians to rebuild their country. In the meantime, the United Nations is reviewing its nationwide needs assessment survey and will soon be approaching donors for contributions for expanding emergency assistance programs which give greater emphasis to recovery in rural areas. The new U.N. initiatives to help restore productive agricultural environments in the rural areas and encourage the return of refugees and displaced people to their home villages are worthy of our support. But here I must, again, stress that genuine recovery can only occur in a country at peace. Reconstruction and development going on in the middle of the civil war are nearly impossible to undertake.

Having encouraged and facilitated the United Nation's return to Liberia, we have been among the first to contribute to the United Nation's appeal for expanded emergency programs. AID has led off with \$1 million grant to UNICEF for potable water in Monrovia, a very serious problem earlier. Other appeals range from \$16 million for health projects to half a million dollars for repairs at the Port of Monrovia. The United States has contributed more than \$130 million worth of assistance since the Liberian crisis began, and we will continue to do our part. I might add that proportionately, by far, there is no other emergency in Africa receiving this much money in comparison to the population that is being serviced.

Over the past year I have twice stopped in Europe to encourage greater donor support for West African relief programs. In the same period, the non-U.S. share of overall contributions to Liberian relief has grown from 17 percent of the total, an extraordinarily low percentage, to 37 percent. So a number of countries are now entering into the effort who were absent from it earlier. The trend is encouraging, but foreign donors must do more. Typically, in Africa we generally try to provide a third of the relief requirements, and the bottom line is that we are providing double that in Liberia at this point. Looking at our own resources, AID is studying the possibility of food-for-work programs in support of health and other recovery programs. Monetization of the Public Law 480 food commodities now distributed free in Liberia could provide much needed cash to humanitarian relief organizations for expanded relief and recovery programs. We have been told that 200 sea containers of Department of Defense excess commodities from the Gulf will be donated to Liberia. There heretofore untapped relief resources are being identified to support Liberia's expanding requirements.

Let me close with an expression of concern for the plight of the displaced people of Sierra Leone. The NPLF of Liberia's invasion of two of Sierra Leone's most productive regions has trapped 600,000 people, Sierra Leoneans, behind Liberian rebel lines. An AID assessment officer now in Sierra Leone reports that at least 76,000 Sierra Leoneans has been displaced by the invasion and that their situation is increasingly perilous. People who had fled in terror as their villages were enveloped in the fighting are now emerging from the bush. There are very few provisions for their care now in place. The situation must be remedied soon to avert the loss of life. OFDA has reserved funds to support relief organizations gearing

up to help these victims of war in what the United Nations has called the world's least developed country, Sierra Leone.

The difficulties we face in West Africa are among the most challenging now confronting the international relief community. I am grateful to this committee's consistent interest and support. I look forward to working with you in the months to come.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Natsios follows:]

STATEMENT BY MR. ANDREW S. NATSIOS
DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF U.S. FOREIGN DISASTER ASSISTANCE
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ON
JULY 16, 1991

Good afternoon, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. I appreciate this opportunity to review the U.S. Government's relief efforts in Liberia. It has been almost nineteen months since rebel attacks sparked the humanitarian crisis in West Africa. Much has been undertaken since that time to alleviate the suffering of affected populations. Much remains to be done.

I think my colleagues would agree that the situation in Liberia of a year ago marked the lowpoint in efforts to contain the carnage which had taken the lives of thousands of innocent civilians. Disaster assessment teams and U.S. Embassy colleagues witnessed daily firefights between warring factions. Two rebel armies threatened Monrovia while a third force of undisciplined thugs pillaged it from within. The United Nations had withdrawn its personnel from Liberia and only a handful of brave non-governmental organization (NGO) staffers remained to see to the needs of a million displaced persons. Bodies lay rotting on the streets of the capital. Sewerage drains provided the only source of water for most of the city's inhabitants. Food was nowhere to be found.

No one then could have predicted the course of events which has led to the current, much improved situation in Liberia. But the elements of a basic strategy did emerge. An initial program aimed at reestablishing basic life-saving services in the country was planned and implemented by disaster relief teams, the U.S. Embassy and NGOs on the scene. Once these services were functioning, measures to induce stability in the country-side could be implemented in cooperation with humanitarian relief organizations active in territory controlled by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). Finally, a third phase of reconstruction and overall recovery was conceptualized to create a viable environment for returning refugees and displaced persons.

Over the past year U.S. efforts and those of the relief community as a whole have been rewarded with considerable success. An A.I.D.-funded airlift assured the safe reentry and support of humanitarian organizations willing to work in Monrovia. Their number has grown from only three a year ago to more than thirty today, and their presence has produced heartening results. The rate of malnutrition in Monrovia has fallen from a previously assessed high of fifty-five percent to a current rate of less than four percent. Measles and diarrhea which had claimed the lives of thousands of famished infants have been brought under control. City water service has been restored thanks in part to an initial A.I.D. grant to Medecins Sans Frontieres and to the fine work of the International Committee of the Red Cross. The World Food Program, with strong backing from A.I.D.'s Food for Peace Office has ensured a steady supply of rice, pulses and cooking oil for the estimated 600,000 inhabitants of Liberia's capital. More than ten thousand tons of food are now stored in city warehouses. Deep draft merchant vessels now dock safely at Monrovia thanks to an American

diplomatic effort which halted rebel shelling of Monrovia's harbor.

In the countryside we have funded the efforts of the Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) to deliver food, medicines and seed and tool packages to areas controlled by the NPFL. A recent UN/NGO assessment of emergency needs outside of Monrovia pegged malnutrition in the rural areas at a level under three percent, a tribute to the successful efforts of non-governmental organizations working under the harshest of conditions. Over the course of the last planting season in Liberia 56 percent of the country's farmers had rice seed to plant. We hope to raise that level higher this year through grants which we currently have in place to provide necessary seeds and tools.

If trends continue, I believe we may soon find ourselves at the point where genuine reconstruction and recovery can begin throughout Liberia. Progress on peace negotiations, maintenance of the cease-fire, and eventual free and fair elections will determine how far and how fast donors can proceed in helping the Liberians to rebuild their country. In the meantime, the UN is reviewing its nation-wide needs assessment survey and will soon be approaching donors for contributions for expanding emergency assistance programs which give greater emphasis to recovery in rural areas. The new UN initiatives to help restore productive rural environments and encourage the return of refugees and displaced to their home villages are worthy of support. But here I must again stress that genuine recovery can only occur in a country at peace.

Having encouraged and facilitated the UN's return to Liberia we have been among the first to contribute to the UN appeal for expanded emergency aid programs. A.I.D. has led off with a one million dollar grant to the United Nations Childrens Fund (UNICEF) for potable water in Monrovia. Other appeals range from \$16 million for health projects to half a million dollars for repairs at the Port of Monrovia. The United States has contributed more than 130 million dollars worth of humanitarian assistance since the Liberian crisis began and we will continue to do our part.

Over the past year I have twice stopped in Europe to encourage greater donor support for West African relief programs. In the same period, the non-U.S. share of overall contributions to Liberian relief has grown from 17 percent of the total to 37 percent. The trend is encouraging but foreign donors must do more. Looking to our own resources, A.I.D. is studying possibilities of food for work programs in support of health and other recovery programs. Monetization of PL-480 commodities now distributed free in Liberia could provide much needed cash to humanitarian relief organizations for expanded relief and recovery programs. We have been told that 200 sea containers of DOD excess commodities from the Gulf will be donated to Liberia. These heretofore untapped relief resources are being identified to support Liberia's expanding requirements.

Allow me to close with an expression of concern for the plight

of displaced persons in Sierra Leone. The National Patriotic Front of Liberia's invasion of two of Sierra Leone's most productive regions has trapped over 600,000 persons behind Liberian rebel lines. An A.I.D. disaster assessment officer now in Sierra Leone reports that at least 76,000 Sierra Leoneans have been displaced by the invasion and that their situation is increasingly perilous. A.I.D.'s Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance has reserved funds to support relief organizations gearing up to help these victims of war in what the UN has called the world's least developed country.

The difficulties we face in West Africa are among the most challenging now confronting the international relief community. I am grateful for this committee's consistent interest and support. I look forward to working with you in months to come.

Mr. DYMALLY. Thank you very much.

We have been joined by Congressman Flake who has had a long interest in Liberia and whose church is very much involved in the Liberian work, and so we call on the congressman now for his statement and then we will come back with some questions.

**STATEMENT OF HON. FLOYD H. FLAKE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK**

Mr. FLAKE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

This is a very important hearing as it relates to the ongoing crisis in Liberia and I would like to thank you as Chairman of the committee and from your own personal perspective for your involvement with the people there on Sunday. I had the opportunity to be with a group of about 400 Liberians from Brooklyn and Queens who presented an award which I have for you which is still in New York. I will try to remember to bring it tomorrow for the work that you have allowed yourself to be involved in as it relates to the recovery of Liberia.

To Mr. Wolpe and Mr. Payne, I am happy for the opportunity to share with you a piece of legislation that in some ways follows the legislation which you yourself got presented, Mr. Chairman. This is an effort on my part to try to respond to the devastation which has been wrought by that civil war which is continuing, the inner ethnic conflict in Liberia. The bill H.R. 1328, the Liberian Relief Rehabilitation and Recovery Act legislation, presents for us an opportunity to be able to respond to the concerns of a nation that is in crisis. As a result of this war, nearly 13,000 people have been killed. In addition, half of the population of the country of 1.2 million have either become refugees or been displaced within Liberia.

Mr. Chairman, I know from first-hand information from persons with whom I have relationships in Liberia that many of these persons were killed at the mercy of those who came into the city with no concern, no regard, no compassion for their life, some of them even died in the pews of churches in which I have preached in Liberia, the National Baptist Church and the Elijah Turner AME Church. And so it is important to me in trying to foster this piece of legislation, not only from my political perspective, but it is also important for me from a personal perspective having met many of the people in Liberia and been to the places where people have died.

The hydroelectric power, communications potable, water systems, and agricultural production, have been either completely destroyed or totally disrupted. The rate of malnutrition among children in Liberia now exceeds 80 percent. Without food and aid, thousands face starvation and even death. The democratic process in Liberia must be quickly restored in order to provide the international community with an opportunity to adequately dispense the emergency assistance so desperately needed to revitalize this disseminated economy in Liberia.

African leaders who recently met with Dr. Sawyer, the President of the Liberian Interim Government and Mr. Charles Taylor of the National Patriotic Front in Liberia hopefully will come together with some understanding that this cannot continue if Liberia is to

be restored to her complete fullness. Hopefully the result of this meeting, the foundation for a transition for a freely elected democratic government, has been established. Full voter participation must be guaranteed without fear of intimidation or reprisal.

Several months before the coup in Liberia, I was there. I met with President Doe at that time and suggested to him that the problem of Liberia had more to do not with a lack of concern on the part of Americans as he seemed to express, but really more to do with his particular government. Now that that government has been changed regardless of what political positions we have taken in relationship to him, I think it is important and imperative for us to participate in the process of reconciliation, the process of renewal, and the process of redevelopment.

Since its founding by three black African-American slaves in 1822, Liberia has been the United States' closest partner in sub-Saharan Africa. To this day, most Liberians think of the United States as the mother country. However, this relationship has been a two-way street. The U.S. Government has based many operations in Liberia, including a CIA communications complex and, of course, we know that the Voice of America occupied a great deal of the land there. To date, the United States has given over \$130 million to the Liberian effort. While this amount is considerable, it does not represent the degree of obligation that our country has to ensure the rehabilitation and the survival of Liberia.

The Liberian Relief Rehabilitation and Recovery Act provides for a comprehensive response to Liberia's immediate and long-term relief and recovery needs. The bill authorizes \$45 million for disaster assistance ranging from water supply systems to the furnishing of seeds and tools to small farmers. Health care and education systems rehabilitation would receive the highest funding priority.

To care for over 780,000 Liberian refugees who fled the country and to assist with the reparation of these refugees when peace is restored, this bill will provide \$20 million. In order to ensure the survival of displaced Liberians, \$27 million is provided to purchase and transport metric tons of emergency food assistance. Additionally, \$12 million in local currencies is due to be provided the Food-for-Peace Program.

The long-term goal for Liberia is not to foster a dependence on the United States and its aide, but rather to use our support, as we have done in other countries, to provide stability so that the Liberians are able to provide for themselves in the long term.

Toward that end, Mr. Chairman, an important part of the legislation is a provision which calls for the preparation of a comprehensive assessment of the long-term reconstruction, rehabilitation and development needs of Liberia to be made to this Congress. The assessment will project the total amount of U.S. assistance required for the total reconstruction and rehabilitation of Liberia. This report will be presented to the Congress within 180 days after enactment of this legislation. This legislation will encourage our government to target its funding more efficiently and to ensure accountability for our limited foreign assistance dollars.

Again, Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the opportunity, for the many families that I have had to participate in trying to assist as they have come as exiles in America, for those that I have known,

some of whom are dead, for those that I know, some of whom are suffering, for those that I know, some of who now find themselves in this land hoping for the day when they can return to their own country.

I urge this committee to be responsive and try to get the Congress to be responsive as well so that we can rehabilitate and bring to a new sense of life, Liberia, which has been our closest ally in Western Africa.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to come.

Mr. DYMALLY. Congressman, thank you for your very eloquent and substantive remarks. I hope that in the not too distant future with the administration's support we can mark up a bill that would reflect your points of view, those of the committee, and the administration and get on the road to helping Liberia.

Having said that, Secretary Cohen, you mentioned in your opening remarks, the Brooke Amendment, I mentioned it, Mr. Burton said privately to me and he did publicly to you that he is disposed to join a bipartisan effort to suspend Brooke for at least a year to provide some development assistance, what do you think would be the administration's response to such an effort?

Mr. COHEN. Mr. Chairman, we would welcome a suspension of Brooke. We agree with what you said. Whatever new administration emerges, the process now in Liberia should not be held responsible for the mismanagement of the Doe Government. And we would have no way of helping unless there were a waiver. I would say that not only do they need a waiver for development in reconstruction, we would also like to see the waiver so that we could help the Carter Center establish a free and fair election, and our legal advisors tell us that.

Mr. DYMALLY. Very well. I trust that the staff has listened to it, and now they will be in touch with you and your staff to begin work tomorrow morning in drafting the appropriate legislation for introduction before we leave here and hopefully we can get some action.

Let me just make another couple observations. The Carter Center is playing an important role. As you know, in the phone assistance bill which passed the House, there is a provision in there to create an African center on conflict resolution. What is the administration's response to that proposal?

Mr. COHEN. We would like to see the Africans themselves be more a nonconflict nation. I think as it is quite clear over the last few years, the United States has done a lot more than Africans, resolve conflicts in Africa. And the OAU is just beginning to establish itself in that field. President Babangida has expressed a desire to be more active, and I think it would be a good idea to help them to do that.

Mr. DYMALLY. But this proposal contemplates an African center to be created and run by Africans and hopefully financed by them after our initial funding.

Mr. COHEN. I think that is an excellent idea. I would hope it would be affiliated to the health organization of Africa entity.

Mr. DYMALLY. Now, the President has proposed taking \$40 million of the \$200 million that the Congress put into the AID budget

for aid to South Africa. That leaves us a little extra change. Do you contemplate using some of that for Liberia?

Mr. COHEN. We would certainly favor using some of that for reconstruction and development in Liberia.

Mr. DYMALLY. So all you need, really, is the legislation on Brooke not necessarily on any program development. I take it you will do that through executive fiat?

Mr. COHEN. That is right. We would not need authorization to give aid to Liberia. I would also emphasize but what I have seen in the various draft legislation is that the new government must be democratic.

Mr. DYMALLY. Fine. Very good.

Mr. NATSIOS. You might also add that it is dangerous for us now to sit with the parties where expenditure will be in a reconstruction effort without a new government in place. We do not usually go into a country and say you are going to spend all this money in the way we tell you whether you like it or not, particularly to a democratically elected government. So it is a little bit we look at the idea of what the country interests are from their perspective as well as from what are interests are.

Mr. DYMALLY. I am not the best reader in Congress, but I think it would be more palatable for the Members if we could tie democracy in with this suspension.

Finally, Ambassador Lyman, when I was in Sierra Leone, the U.N. representative for refugees stated that there was a moving population of refugees around those borders, and I see now you explained in your testimony. She said they would just disappear in some parts and end up in other parts, and it was a new phenomenon that they had been experiencing in that area.

Mr. LYMAN. Yes, there clearly has been movement both across borders at different times, and now with the disruption in Sierra Leone we think a large number of Liberians have simply left the country and gone back to Liberia both in the countryside and in Monrovia. Many people came down, some 20,000 came down to Freetown and took boats over to Monrovia. There is one refugee camp near Freetown away from the border called Waterloo which has about 10,000 residents. But many others we do not know exactly where they have gone. Either they have gone across the border or perhaps into the countryside into Sierra Leone.

Mr. DYMALLY. And finally, I do not want to put my friend on the spot, so I will not ask a question, I will just make a comment. On May 5, our Ambassador to Liberia in a CNN report in Paris, stated that the United States had no special relationships to Liberia, and I wondered in a letter to him whether he was expressing U.S. views or just his personal views, and I reminded him that he was ignoring over 200 years of history. Now you do not have to comment publicly, but you can tell me how you feel about it later on. But I trust that is not our policy, and certainly from the evidence given here by Mr. Natsios and Mr. Lyman, the aid that you have been rendering does not reflect this isolationism that our Ambassador reflected in his interview with CNN.

Mr. LYMAN. I think we have a special relationship only with the U.K., Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NATSIOS. It is not entirely clear, Congressman, that is it healthy for Liberia to be so dependent on the United States. In fact, many Liberians have expressed real concern because the United States is providing such a large percentage from their perspective.

Mr. DYMALLY. Well, I do not think that the concern by the Liberians was so much a material interest rather than the fight that we had a benign approach to the whole peace process, whereas we are very visible in Ethiopia where we do not usually deal with socialists, but somehow we broke ground there thanks to my friend, Mr. Cohen. I was polite. I really meant Marxist. But in Liberia, we have had a long history relationship. We did not seem to be as aggressive in trying to bring the parties together, and I think that is what Liberians are reflected on. I do not think they want to be a dependent state, although we have precedence for that in other areas, and so I do not think the Liberians have to make any excuses about that, but they are not getting that much aid in relationship to other countries, so they do not need to be on the fence. But nevertheless, what they really had concern about was that we were not aggressively pursuing a peace process there, that we had basically left it up to ECOWAS and sort of moved away from it. I think that was their concern.

Having said that, let me call upon Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. If you are not on one of the Liberians somewhat concerned and puzzled, at an AAI meeting in January of this year in Egypt, African-American Institute which was attended by many African countries, the question that was continually raised for me was why have the United States turned its back on its long friend, Liberia? There was concern. There was just bewilderment about the fact that appeared as though at the crisis, and there is nothing wrong with having a period of time to perhaps sever long time ties and move to another policy, but it is very rare and kind of almost wrong to determine to change a policy when a long-time ally is in very serious trouble.

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Wolpe, I am sorry.

Mr. WOLPE. Thank you very much. Pursuing just for a moment the comment of Mr. Payne, I hope as we look toward our future policy toward Liberia that we will at some point come to a recognition that it was America's previous policy toward Liberia and specifically, toward the Doe Government, where we were so tolerant of the human rights abuses and applied such a hypocritical response to the claims of democracy that were made by Mr. Doe that compounded that tragedy. I hope we have learned our lesson. It seems that often times we do not.

I want to underscore one observation that Mr. Lyman made with respect to the extraordinary contribution of the neighboring countries in alleviating this dramatic refugee crisis. I think it is important to underscore that because whenever we talk about the international response in these situations, somehow it is only the Western countries; the United States and other countries that are listed as donor countries. But we do not score because it is much more difficult to count and evaluate the contribution that is made by the neighboring countries in these situations that have probably produced far more in the way of direct assistance than the total

amount contributed by the national community. But because they are so diffused and scattered and part of just their sort of response, it is more difficult to calculate. And I think it is incredibly important that we emphasize time and time again.

Mr. Payne and I had the privilege, really, of visiting many of these refugee areas in Cote d'Ivoire and Guinea last January. And it was just remarkable. You had many instances of local villages now having a refugee population many times the size of the original community, and they are doing so in a very generous and effective way.

I would like to ask the Secretary a few questions as it relates to this apparent breakthrough that occurred under the auspices of the meeting hosted by the President of Cote d'Ivoire. What is the key, as you see it, to the political agreement that was reached? Why now? Why not before? What are the concerns and how solid an agreement is this? What are the trouble spots that we ought to at least spend some time addressing?

Mr. COHEN. We feel that the June 30 agreement was very significant. First of all, one of the important new developments was the participation of President Houphouet-Boigny. President Houphouet-Boigny is an elder statesman. He is trusted by all sides, and he is bringing a certain balance to the situation in Liberia right now. He had been unwilling previously to play a role because the tribal problems straddled the border of Cote d'Ivoire and Liberia, and he did not want to see these problems spill over. But they have spilled over in the form of refugees. So he is now playing an important role, and we think this will help give greater confidence in Charles Taylor who has consistently felt that Nigeria was an adversary rather than a party. Secondly, thanks a great deal to our input, and I give a great deal of credit to Deputy Secretary Leonard Robinson in this, the idea of getting beyond the fight of who is to be the interim ruler in Liberia and going right to the heart of the matter which is an election. Let the people of Liberia choose. And the key element of the Yamoussouko Agreement was between Sawyer and Taylor, each will remain in his area as the interim president of their territory and go for a neutral electoral commission under the auspices of ECOWAS countries with the help, technical assistance of the neutral bodies such as the Carter Center, and go for an election and let the people of Liberia choose. And I think this is an important development. It's a new threshold, and if everyone cooperates, should work.

One element of cooperation would be the disarmament of 14-year-old boys running around Liberia with automatic weapons. And there I welcomed the arrival on the scene of the President of Senegal, as the new president of ECOWAS. He has said he would send troops to the ECOMOG operation and that he would be personally involved. Now this, again, should give Charles Taylor the confidence that he needs. He could disarm a body that he considers more neutral than an organization totally dominated by Nigeria. Then he should be able to do that. Now it will be up to him. He has to make a decision to go for a democratic solution rather than try to impose himself either by force or the pressure of time. He wants to wait many years hoping that everyone will get tired and go home. He can do that, too. I think the decision is up to Charles

Taylor from now on to take advantage of this new deal that has been arranged to allow his troops to be encamped and disarmed by neutral bodies such as the Senegalese working in ECOMOG. I think it should work.

Mr. WOLPE. There have been no agreements yet, then, if I understand the thrust of your remarks as it relates to the issue of how to handle the disposition of military forces and armaments prior to an election?

Mr. COHEN. There has been no agreement on that. That's correct. There is a five nation commission established to workout all these details, and they have not yet started their work.

Mr. WOLPE. How are we addressing the issue of who do we view as the Liberian Government at the moment?

Mr. COHEN. We are acting in a very pragmatic way. We are dealing with the Interim Government, Sawyer, and whatever we need to do in his area, and we're dealing with Charles Taylor and whatever we need to do in his area.

Mr. WOLPE. I take it from both your written testimony and your comments just now that we still have concerns as to whether or not Mr. Taylor will accept what is required if there is to be a truly free and fair election in Liberia?

Mr. COHEN. Previous experience makes us a little concerned because there have been agreements at two summit conferences, and Charles Taylor has not followed up on any of them, especially the cease-fire agreement in Bamako.

Mr. WOLPE. I was there and present at that.

Mr. COHEN. That is correct. But we understand his concerns. As I said before, he feels that the Nigerian Army is an adversary rather than a participant, although we disagree with his conclusion. We feel the Nigerian Army is neutral participant, and the most recent commander of ECOMOG, General Kumulati, has done an excellent job of trying to demonstrate to Taylor that they only want peace and a free and fair election. But we believe that when ECOMOG can have additional forces from Senegal and elsewhere, then Charles Taylor should have no qualm so as to enable a free and fair election to take place. While the young boys with automatic weapons are running around, there cannot be a free and fair election.

Mr. WOLPE. What about the other parties such as Ms. Johnson and some of the other individuals that emerged? Is everyone essentially unbored, as you understand it, this process that is now in motion?

Mr. COHEN. As far as I can tell, there are no objections to the concept of an election which would be the first order of business, rather than a competition as to who is the interim president.

Mr. DYMALLY. Do they have a date for the election?

Mr. COHEN. I believe they have agreed that it would be between 9 and 12 months now.

Mr. WOLPE. And how about the question of reconstitution? Is that a question that is supposed to be addressed subsequent to an election?

Mr. COHEN. Reconstitution meaning?

Mr. WOLPE. Well, how the government restructure organized the constitution.

Mr. COHEN. Oh, I'm sorry. I do not know that they agreed on any of that so far. I think that is to be determined after the election.

Mr. WOLFE. Thank you very much.

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you. The recent meeting, I had a call from Mr. Taylor about a week and a half ago, and the concern that he raised was the question in regard to the Nigerian troops in ECOWAS. It was kind of an understatement to say that they were perhaps viewed as not being neutral. Mr. Taylor felt it would be dangerous for him to disarm to ECOWAS when months ago they were shooting at each other. And his concern was that if there could be, at that time he expressed perhaps the United Nations peace-keeping forces to replace the Nigerians in the ECOWAS troops, but with the additional, more friendly, countries taking an interest, perhaps this will be enough to assure Charles Taylor that when he disarms he will not be attacked. I surmise that is your feeling, Ambassador?

Mr. LYMAN. Yes, sir. It is.

Mr. PAYNE. Let me ask you, Ambassador Lyman. You mentioned that the Attorney General has taken action on paroles. I recall the Cuban situation when the Attorney General at that time also gave a waiver. Is the waiver that was given by the Attorney General, the action on paroles, is it similar to the Cuban situation, and if not, what is the difference?

Mr. LYMAN. Are you referring back to the Mariel boatlift?

Mr. PAYNE. Right.

Mr. LYMAN. I am afraid I do know the circumstances.

Mr. PAYNE. What is that?

Mr. LYMAN. Today, the Cuban situation is governed by the Cuban Adjustment Act which is distinct. That is, any Cuban who arrives in the United States can adjust to permanent status after 1 year regardless of how he got here or the condition. That is a unique situation. Nobody else has that legal authority.

I'm sorry. I can answer for the record on what was done during the Mariel boatlift. What we are doing here is what we do, for example, with boat people or our Orderly Departure Program out of Vietnam; that is, paroling noncurrent immigration.

Mr. PAYNE. As we indicated before, the concern I—as you recall, Mr. Cohen, we met in the White House with Mr. Scowcroft and other important people asking the United States to take some more direct action long before the situation deteriorated, and was a bit disturbed that we did not persuade President Doe to leave Liberia as we did in many other countries like the Philippines and Haiti and Iran and on and on—Ethiopia. But in Liberia, we refused to do that which confused me and still to this day confuses me. And then when we talk about the United States still has some extradition bilateral agreements with Liberia, and so when we take Liberia and make it like all the other countries, there just happens to be—as a matter of fact, there are extradition agreements between the United States and Liberia, and that was the question that Mr. Ramsey Clark was arguing when Charles Taylor was in prison on some U.S. extradition 1823 law that is still on the books. And so, as I indicated before, the fact that the United States decided to sub-

stantially change its view or relationship with Liberia right in the middle of this kind of situation is very disturbing.

I just wonder, Mr. Lyman, how many refugees have been admitted, do you know, and how many would our government intend to allow in?

Mr. LYMAN. We identified initially, we have not admitted any yet. We initially identified approximately 2,000 people of interest with ties to the United States and began interviewing. We do not know how many of those will finish the process, and we prepared to do that and more. But we have just begun the process, and so we have not yet processed any of them through to admission yet.

Mr. PAYNE. Do we expect the process to be speeded up?

Mr. LYMAN. Yes, we had to establish an office in Freetown to collect the data and do the processing, and now they are underway. We expect now to move along.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you.

Mr. LYMAN. Part of the problem, I must say, of course the disruption in Sierra Leone does not help. But this team will travel around to the different countries.

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Flake.

Mr. FLAKE. Yes, Mr. Cohen, just one question. You answered Mr. Wolpe's question in terms of how you deal with the government depends upon what area you are involved in in terms of whether you deal with Sawyer or whether you deal with Taylor. Now what do you mean in terms of area? Are you talking geography or are you talking issues of politics? What are you referring to?

Mr. COHEN. We are essentially talking about geography. When we have American citizens in distress in Taylor's controlled government, we deal with his government, and vice versa. We deal with the other government in the Monrovia area.

Mr. FLAKE. So there is no unified means by which we can deal with problems where you have, for instance, the way the families are torn, they can be in one or the other places and you have no way of dealing with those issues unless you go directly to one or the other of them?

Mr. COHEN. It is strictly a pragmatic policy. You can look at in terms of how do we help people achieve objectives. For example, there are American companies with interests in one or the other areas, they need help in solving certain problems. We go to the government that is in power in the area. I must say it is a lot more difficult in PFL area because Mr. Taylor's control does not really extend to everything. We find local commanders frequently making their own policies so it is not as easy. You deal with the power structure that exists in each area.

Mr. FLAKE. Have you even—

Mr. LYMAN. May I just add, Congressman, on the particular question of family reunification, the ICRC, the International Committee of the Red Cross, takes on the responsibility in situations like this of trying to trace family members. They take information and then they go and try and find the family member and wherever that person may be. They are undertaking this work in Liberia. Because of the movements, the disruption in the four countries, it is slow work. But they are doing that, and people in the United States who want to trace relatives through that system can do it

through the American Red Cross who then passes the information to the International Committee of the Red Cross on the spot.

Mr. FLAKE. OK. That was my next question because I am dealing with families who cannot seem to find out even now where their relatives are. And so the process there is to go through the—

Mr. LYMAN. Through the American Red Cross and they pass it to the ICRC, and if there are any problems in that process, let me know.

Mr. FLAKE. All right. Do we play any role in the future absorption of those persons who are currently in America who wish to return? I mean the people I saw on Sunday, the majority of them are talking about going back to Liberia at some point, and even with all the disruption of their lives, that they still look forward to that. How are we planning now for some treatment for those persons in terms of trying to get them resettled when they return home?

Mr. COHEN. The U.N.I. Commission for Refugees normally will assist people, refugees returning home. Often they are in neighboring countries. Here we have a situation where some people are here, but the U.N.I. Commission for Refugees does assist people repatriating to their home. We contribute to that process and to that cause.

Mr. FLAKE. All right. Thank you very much Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DYMALLY. Thank you. Finally, just one comment. Mr. Cohen, it might be helpful if you could persuade the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to put some language in there about Brooke so we could do that in the conference committee rather than a new piece of legislation. It might help to expedite the process. However, Mr. Flake and I would begin to work on a policy bill similar to that of the bill introduced by Mr. Duggan, Mr. Wheat and Mr. Bridger that would deal with policy matter, not money, and because you have the money, and leave the discretion of the financing to you, but develop the policy bill and put into that policy bill the Brooke Amendment and some guarantees of democratic reform in return for aid.

Mr. COHEN. That probably would be a good idea, Mr. Chairman. I understand the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill has not been enacted this year for a number of reasons. We may lose out on the Brooke Amendment.

Mr. DYMALLY. I just said to Mr. Spangler at lunch that we were going to have a bill from the Senate. No wonder he looked so amazed when I told him that there would be a bill. But I had seen some evidence earlier that we may have a bill. I hope so.

Mr. COHEN. I hope so.

Mr. DYMALLY. It is really discouraging on that score, you know, for Members of this House to spend so much time on the Foreign Assistance Bill and then just lose it all in the Senate. Thank you very much.

Mr. COHEN. Thank you.

Mr. DYMALLY. Our next panel includes Mr. Hiram Ruiz of the U.S. Committee for Refugees; Reverend Thomas Hayden of the Society of the African Missions; Reverend Willis Logan, the National Council of Churches.

There is a vote on the floor, let's take a break for about 15 minutes. We will be right back.

Shall we flip a coin or shall we go by the oldest or the most handsome or the least hair?

[Laughter.]

Mr. DYMALLY. Rev. Hayden, do you want to kick off?

STATEMENT OF REVEREND THOMAS HAYDEN, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, SOCIETY OF AFRICAN MISSIONS, MONROVIA, LIBERIA

Rev. HAYDEN. Thanks. Mr. Dymally and other Members of the Subcommittee on Africa, I am pleased to testify here in favor of H.R. 994. This is a brief overview of the testimony I have submitted to your subcommittee.

I speak to you today not as a political scientist, an anthropologist, or an economist who offers expert advice on Liberia. Rather, I speak to you as a concerned American citizen, a Catholic priest who has been privileged to work with the people of Liberia for the past 31 years. Much of that time has been spent in Liberia.

The immensity of the tragedy which has struck Liberia is almost impossible to comprehend. According to OFDA, there are over 760,000 Liberians who have fled as refugees into neighboring countries. Another 1.2 million are internally displaced. This means that 80 percent of the Liberian people have been driven from their homes.

But the tragedy is not a story of just statistics. It is a story of traumatic experience for individual Liberians. There is hardly a Liberian family that cannot speak of its own tragedy. For brevity's sake, I will speak of two cases.

From Cape Palmas, where I had worked for 7 years, I was told of a story by a former student of mine. He was bright. He came from a poor family and he worked hard, received training in Port Management and had a responsible position at the Port of Cape Palmas. When the NPFL soldiers came to Port Palmas they burst into his house where he was living with his wife and three small children. His wife ran to protect him and to receive his protection in return. A burst of gunfire hit her in the head and she died instantly in his arms. Another burst of gunfire blew off his right arm below the elbow. A man who had a bright future is now disabled and has the care of three small children. His future is bleak.

In Monrovia I had visited the JJY orphanage. In November and December of last year, a group of Liberian men and women walked the streets of Monrovia and picked up more than 75 dying children who had nobody to care for them. In February I visited that orphanage. The children were well fed, they were well washed, neat and clean. I met one orphan who was about 18 months old. They called him Lucky Boy. I asked the director of the orphanage the origin of the name. He says that when they found the boy, he was sucking at his mother's breast and she was dead. He was a "lucky boy" because they found him in time.

But in the midst of the colossal tragedy which has hit Liberia, there are signs of hope. Some of the signs which I see are the following:

First, the Liberian people are resilient and they care for one another. In Monrovia there are more than 50 neighborhood distribution centers. They are operated and managed by Liberians. Liberian individuals and other groups of Liberians such as those mentioned in the JJY orphanage, are working to care for their own people. Liberians are not asking the United States to care for them. They are determined to care for their own people and to rebuild their country. What they ask for from the United States is a helping hand.

Second, the work of the International Relief Agencies, all of these agencies should be mentioned and given credit. Because of the time constraint, I will mention just a few. *Medicins Sans Frontieres* has provided basic emergency medical care. They work continually in situations in which their own lives were in danger. Thousands of Liberians are alive today because of MSF. Catholic Relief Services has managed to distribute food to the needy throughout Liberia. In addition, they have provided other services such as the distribution of rice seed in rural Liberia where it has been planted and is beginning to bear fruit. This is no easy task considering the volatile atmosphere in rural Liberia.

Action Internationale Contre la Faim has several supplemental feeding programs to help severely malnourished children regain their strength.

Third, there is the Response of the International Community. The United States has taken the lead in providing over \$130 million of disaster assistance to the people of Liberia. Had this not happened, we might have seen mass starvation such as witnessed in other parts of Africa. The United Nations, other international agencies, including those listed above, have all collaborated in providing essential services to Liberia. For this, Liberians and their friends in the United States are very grateful.

However, Mr. Chairman and Members of the subcommittee, much remains to be done. The United States should continue to take the lead and assist Liberians as they work to rebuild their lives and their country. Refugees and the internally displaced will require assistance to return to their homes. The agricultural sector must be revived. Essential services such as water and electricity require revitalization.

The bill before you will help Liberia move forward. Historians, political scientists and others can debate the issue of the relationship of the United States and Liberia. But in my experience, I have found that despite the difficulties of the past decade, Liberians still consider the United States as their friend which will respond to the tragedy which has engulfed them. As an American citizen and as a friend of Liberia, I ask you to extend to Liberians all the assistance which is contained in bill H.R. 994.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Rev. Hayden follows:]

The United States House of Representatives
Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on Africa

Hearing on H.R. 994
Liberian Relief, Rehabilitation, and Reconstruction Act of 1991
July 16, 1991

Testimony of
Rev. Thomas Hayden, S.M.A., Ph.D.
Associate Director
S.M.A. Office of Justice, Peace, and Environmental Care
256 North Manor Circle
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912

Mr. Chairman and other members of the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Africa: Thank you for inviting me to testify before this Subcommittee. My name is Father Thomas Hayden. I am a member of the SMA Fathers (Society of African Missions) a Catholic religious congregation which has been working in Liberia since 1906. I have had continual contact with Liberia and Liberians since I first went to Liberia in 1959. I worked in Liberia for more than ten years and have frequently visited Liberia. My most recent visit was in February and March of this year when Dr. Stephen Price, the Director of the SMA Office of Justice, Peace and Environmental Care and I met with Liberian refugees in Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire as well as with Liberians in Monrovia. My testimony here today concerns this recent visit to West Africa.

Liberia, a long and loyal friend of the United States, is in the midst of the greatest crisis in its 144-year history. A seventeen-month civil war has killed more than 15,000, driven 750,000 Liberians into neighboring countries and caused 1,200,000 within Liberia to flee their homes. The combination of refugees and internally displaced represents 80% of Liberia's population. That is a tragedy of colossal proportions.

The fighting has stopped. The slow and tedious negotiations to establish a government of national unity are in progress. However, tensions are high and Liberians are not yet able to move freely about the country.

The response to this tragedy by the United States and the international community has been generous. The United States is the largest single donor and has contributed more than \$127 million. Most of the money has been allocated to feed Liberians within Liberia as well as those who are refugees in neighboring countries.

Agencies such as Medicins Sans Frontiere, Catholic Relief Services, the World Food Program, and Action Internationale Contre la Faim have saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of Liberians through their relief efforts. At the present time these agencies, the United Nations and more than twenty international private voluntary agencies are assisting the people of Liberia as they seek to rebuild their lives and their nation.

High praise must be given to the governments and people of Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Cote d'Ivoire for the spontaneous and generous reception they extended to the three quarters of a million Liberians who fled to their countries. When I visited Liberians in Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire, a few were living in unused schools

and other buildings but the vast majority were living in homes with host families, in rented houses or in homes which the refugees had built for themselves. In one home I visited in Kenema, Sierra Leone, there were six Sierra Leoneans and twelve Liberians. The owner of the home said that the Liberians were free to live with him until they could return to Liberia. In several towns in Cote d'Ivoire, Liberians outnumber Ivoirians by three to one. In both Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire one could walk through towns and villages and not be able to distinguish Liberians from local inhabitants. They have been part of the life of local communities. They were housed and fed. The recent tragic expansion of the war into border areas of Sierra Leone has disrupted the lives of refugees and Sierra Leoneans alike. Many have had to flee further, to Freetown, back to Liberia, or to Guinea. Yet the fact remains that if it were not for the extraordinary generosity of Liberia's neighbors over the past year, we would be confronted on the nightly newscasts with pictures of hundreds of thousands of starving Liberians.

I also had the opportunity of visiting Monrovia. There is widespread damage to the infrastructure as well as to individual homes and businesses. Essential services such as clean water and electricity are lacking. It will take a decade to rebuild the city of Monrovia. More important, thousands of citizens lost their lives through violence or starvation. More than a half a million people in the city of Monrovia depend on relief agencies for their daily food.

The entire 600,000 population of Monrovia depends on emergency food supplies donated by the international community. However, food would never reach the people if it were not for the enthusiastic support of thousands of unpaid Liberian volunteers who distribute the food. I will cite some examples.

SELF (Special Emergency Life Food), a Liberian Private Voluntary Organization distributes food to over 500,000 people through 140 distribution centers within 35 neighborhood communities in Monrovia. SELF has just completed its seventh distribution of food. I visited one of these centers and interviewed both the community leaders who were distributing the food and the recipients. Each household was listed on a computer printout. The recipients received the food and were checked off the list. The recipients said the system was fair and the distribution was orderly.

AICF, MSF, and CRS collaborate in a supplemental feeding program for 1,100 children at St. Michael's school in Gardnersville, one of the neighborhoods in Monrovia. MSF cares for the severely malnourished children who are too weak to stand or walk. UNICEF provides the food and MSF the medical care for this group. They are carried there daily by family members. AICF feeds children who are suffering from malnutrition and CRS feeds young children to prevent them from falling back into the category of the malnourished. All of the food for the 1,100 children is prepared by a group of 60 Liberian volunteers. About ten adults supervise but

the food is cooked and distributed by about 50 young men and women ranging from 14 to 22 years of age. These volunteers begin work at six in the morning and finish at three in the afternoon.

In the same neighborhood of Gardnersville a group of Liberian men and women care for 75 orphans at the JJY Orphanage. When this orphanage began late last year, a group of Liberians went out along the roads and picked up children wandering alone. Most had been separated from their parents during the fighting in Monrovia. It is almost certain that these children would have died of starvation if they were not gathered together at the JJY orphanage. One 18 month old orphan is called "Lucky Boy". When I asked how he got that name the director of the orphanage told me they found the boy on the side of the road sucking at his mother's breast--and she was dead. This orphanage is a 100% Liberian operation. The children are clothed and fed but the facilities are too small. Additional assistance is needed to help the children recover from severe malnutrition.

While the United States and the international community are to be commended for the humanitarian aid they have given Liberia, the Liberian people themselves deserve high praise for the manner in which they have rallied and worked together to ensure that food, medical care and other humanitarian services are distributed in an equitable manner. The relief programs have succeeded because Liberians have made them work.

Yet, there are signs of hope. Food is arriving. Medical care is improving. The combination of better food and medical care has reduced the malnutrition rate among children in Monrovia from 27% to 5%

However, the task of assisting Liberia on its road to recovery is far from complete. Others who are testifying before this Subcommittee can comment on the progress toward a political solution. The full report on our trip to Africa is attached to this testimony. My comments here will be confined to the need for continued humanitarian assistance. I offer the following recommendations:

1. Because of the civil war few Liberians have been able to return to their farms for this growing season Food assistance will be needed for another year. The U.S. can assist by continuing to provide emergency food relief to Liberia.
2. Liberians in neighboring African countries will return to Liberia when they are convinced they can live in peace and safety. The U.S. should provide funds to assist refugees to return to Liberia. While Liberians are still refugees, the U.S. can assist by continuing to send emergency food relief to the refugees.
3. The U.S. should also assist the countries which host Liberian refugees to lessen the economic impact refugees have had on Sierra

Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Ghana and Nigeria.

4. Clean water is essential to good health. The Monrovia water supply system must be rebuilt. The U.S. can assist in rebuilding the water system by providing the funds to do so.

5. The U.S should encourage the international community to increase its humanitarian assistance to Liberia. There is a real need for high protein foods such as fish and meat. The U.S. has provided grains. Other countries should be urged to provide fish and meat.

Mr. Chairman and members of the sub-Committee, I urge you to pass H.R. 994. It will ensure that the Liberian people will have sufficient food and medical care to enable them to rebuild their lives and their nation.

I realize that this is a time of severe budget constraints. However, the cost per person is not great. This bill provides \$20 million for the approximately 750,000 Liberian refugees in neighboring countries. This amounts to a yearly allocation of about \$33 for each refugee. The amount spent yearly on relief within Liberia would amount to about \$44 for each Liberian. I am convinced that this amount is needed and will be used wisely. Liberia is on the road to recovery. If the U.S. continues its role as the lead donor, other nations will follow. As an American citizen who has a deep concern for the Liberian people, I ask you to work for the passage of H.R. 994.

Thank you.

**A NATION DISRUPTED:
SURVIVORS OF LIBERIA'S CIVIL CONFLICT**

**A Report on a Visit to
Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Cote d'Ivoire
February 14 - March 8, 1991**

**April 10, 1991
S.M.A. Office of
Justice, Peace, and Environmental Care
256 N. Manor Circle
Takoma Park, MD 20912**

INTRODUCTION

The Society of African Missions (also known as the S.M.A. Fathers) is an international Roman Catholic missionary congregation founded in France in 1856. It has a membership of over 1000 priests, brothers, and laypersons. The Society works in 14 African countries, primarily in education, health care, and pastoral work. S.M.A. has been in Liberia since 1906, and the American Province of the Society has had particular responsibilities there due to the historical connection between Liberia and the United States.

The recent civil war in Liberia has caused deep concern in S.M.A. for the Liberian people who have suffered so much. In June of 1990, S.M.A. representatives, including Fr. Ted Hayden, traveled to West Africa to make an assessment of the situation. Among the results was the sending of a team of American S.M.A. personnel to work with refugees in Cote d'Ivoire, and the return of other S.M.A. to Liberia to join those who had been able to remain throughout the war.

The authors of the present report, Fr. Ted Hayden, S.M.A., and Dr. Stephen Price, are codirectors of the S.M.A. Office of Justice, Peace, and Environmental Care located in Takoma Park, Maryland. On behalf of the Society, we recently made a followup visit to Africa. The purpose was to learn about the situation of Liberians in the wartorn capital, Monrovia, and in refugee areas in Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire. It is hoped that this assessment will help S.M.A., relief agencies, and the American people determine how to assist Liberians as they struggle to restore their country.

Fr. Hayden and Mr. Price talked with Liberians of many backgrounds and viewpoints, as well as with other Africans, with Church workers, relief agency personnel, and governmental officials. An effort was made to listen to ordinary people in all kinds of situations, and to ask them about their personal experiences of the crisis, their current difficulties, and their hopes for the future. Photographs and taped interviews as well as notetaking were employed to record the responses.

The following pages briefly summarize the results of this project.

SIERRA LEONE

Sierra Leone is not a wealthy nation. Food, health care, education, and transportation are major problems in ordinary times. Yet the country has welcomed more than 125,000 Liberian refugees over the past year. In some cases, there are longstanding kinship and business ties across the border, reflected by Liberians and Sierra Leoneans having resided in each other's countries for long periods, married, or having made shorter business trips. But with many individuals there are no direct ties. In any case, most by far of the Liberian refugees are integrated into the population in shared, rented, or newly-built housing rather than being in distinct refugee camps. Some Liberian children have been adopted by Sierra Leoneans. At all levels of the Sierra Leone school system, even up to the University, Liberian students have been admitted.

The influx of refugees into Freetown was overwhelming 6 to 8 months ago when shiploads of 5000 were arriving from Monrovia at a time, without food or water, and even bearing the bodies of those who had died en route from their debilitated condition. Some were too weak to survive even though they had reached safety and access to food in Freetown. The refugees on disembarking were registered through the Red Cross in Freetown and given food and other assistance, often distributed through the churches. At that time getting enough food was the main problem. Primary and secondary schools were used for temporary accommodations; gradually, accommodations were found for most in the Sierra Leone community.

At the time of our visit, the situation was less extreme but fluid. Refugees were no longer arriving in any numbers; but neither as a rule were they returning to Liberia. Some individuals have gone back to Monrovia by ship to investigate conditions and try to contact family. The Sierra Leone government had as a matter of policy placed more recent refugees in towns in the interior, near the border with Liberia, as the resources of Freetown itself were strained to the limit. Those towns, of course, already had refugees who had come across by road from the adjacent territory of Liberia.

Freetown

Refugees received assistance through several mechanisms in Freetown. In the period of 7 August 1990 to 13 November 1990, Church records show that 21,000 refugees were fed at three parishes, by church personnel, using food supplied by Catholic Relief Services. Also in Freetown, the U.S. Embassy reports that 500 metric tons of rice provided by the World Food Program were given to the Red Cross, who utilized distribution systems of the Catholic Church and others. At the present time the Catholic church is no longer involved in direct feeding programs in Freetown; other relief organizations continue with some supplying of food. Church funds are exhausted, but there is also apparently less immediate need now that the refugees have stopped arriving, and have been more absorbed into the population. While the Catholic Church had been active in Freetown, the Lutheran Church was reported active in relief efforts in the Eastern Province. Relief supplies came from a variety of sources. The U.S. Embassy reports that the British supplied blankets, Medecins sans Frontieres/Belgium supplied some medicines, and the Germans provided stockfish for refugees in Freetown.

In the city, we observed the difficult economic situation of citizens and visitors alike. Employment is extremely scarce and wages are very low. A Sierra Leonean teacher, we were told, earns about \$25-\$40 per month, but rice costs about \$20 to \$25 per 50 kilo bag (roughly one bag per family of six per month). Business in the public markets, for example sales of clothing, of kitchen wares, or of construction materials, appeared very slow. There is a large quantity and variety of goods offered for sale in Freetown, and the population is large, but customers to buy them are few. Liberian taxis and other vehicles are much in evidence (to the dismay of some Sierra Leonean drivers), as they were brought into the country early on, both as a means of transportation and to avoid having them confiscated by soldiers.

A few refugees are still in "camp" situations. One such place, donated by the Sierra Leone government in the suburb of Freetown called Wellington, is known as the Approved School. At this unfinished school several miles from downtown, about 300 Liberians live under the sponsorship of the Red Cross. There is a mixture of ages, but many young people in their teens and few elderly. Water is obtained from a tap close by; electricity is not available (but is scarce in Freetown generally). A common kitchen has been organized, and the duties are shared. The people here appeared well fed, and we observed the adequate rations of rice, oil, stockfish, etc. A small garden plot has been planted by them, but this is the dry season and there are no results yet. The residents sleep on the concrete floor in the empty classrooms, with only a mat or thin blanket beneath them. In conversation, they complain of some crowding, boredom, uncertainty about their fate, lack of money for clothing and shoes (many lost any extra possessions en route) and for transportation from their isolated location, inability to find work, and difficulty in communications with the outside world. Some have recently begun attending school. Those we interviewed left the Monrovia area in September or October, when fighting and confusion were great, and had now been in Sierra Leone for 5 months or more. Commonly, they did not know the fate of other family members they left behind or were separated from. Now they were surviving well enough with food and shelter, but essentially without any funds of their own and without any certainty about their future. Generally, they were coping well in difficult conditions.

Bo and Kenema

This border region represents an area where refugees are directed to live by the government and where they have settled in some thousands. About 15,000 Liberians are reported to live in Bo. The exact numbers are impossible to determine, as we learned from relief organizations which have tried to take an accurate census. In the Kenema area, where the normal population is about 50,000, one UNHCR census in December reported about 10,000 refugees have been added, while one a few weeks later counted more than 23,000. A third census was to occur in March. (The UNHCR in January also reported about 65,000 in Zimmi, 28,000 in Koindu, and several

thousand in Freetown, for a total of about 125,000 in Sierra Leone.) The situation is complicated by the fact that some Sierra Leoneans have lived and worked in Liberia for years, and have fled the war there also; while some Liberians came to Sierra Leone to live, work in the diamond mines or do business, or for other reasons before the crisis started, and are now trapped. In addition, blood kinship unites some people across the border. Registration procedures have not been faultless; in fact, accusations have been made that Sierra Leonean police, volunteers, and others have taken rations for themselves. Finally, many Sierra Leoneans have been extremely generous in hosting Liberians and have thereby further impoverished themselves. Almost all of the refugees have been absorbed into local homes. With all these factors, it is difficult to determine who is a refugee from the war, and deserving of the limited assistance available. Some Sierra Leoneans feel that the Liberian exiles receive more food than they themselves obtain through working. The overall situation has, unfortunately, resulted in some tensions between Sierra Leoneans and Liberians. One relief worker told us, "There is nothing so difficult as to come to accurate and reliable numbers of refugees." But he also said that it is "sort of a waste of money" to make extensive attempts, when the general population is both so needy and has proven so hospitable to refugees.

Some of the refugees in Kenema arrived early in the crisis, and were able to bring automobiles, possessions, and other resources. They were in some cases well-educated and employed in government, health care, and other professional positions. Those that came later were less well off and reported that they were relieved of their possessions by rebel soldiers in Liberia or at the border. Even those who came with possessions say they have had to sell them gradually in order to pay for rent and other expenses. Persons who came too late to be registered for the latest food distribution are in some difficulty.

We visited a distribution site at St. Paul's Catholic Cathedral in Kenema, where several hundred persons waited for many hours outside the church hall for a food distribution run by Cause Canada on the basis of Red Cross registration cards. The food rations for this monthly distribution appeared adequate, if short on protein: WFP rice (28 Sierra Leone "butter-cups"), 1 can of chicken from Holland, canned tomatoes from Italy, oil from France, sugar, and salt. The food basket varies from one distribution to the next as supplies vary. On this occasion, confusion and sharp disputes over who was properly registered had caused the police to be called and the distribution to be shut down before its completion. This reflected a continuing disagreement over the accuracy of the registration procedure.

A second distribution, at the Kenema Forestry Building, was also marred by ill feeling, but without violence. Formerly food had been given out twice a month, but now it is just once a month, and persons reported hunger toward the end of the month, when their food supplies were depleted.

In response to disagreements about the adequacy of food distribution, some of the refugees have formed an organization called the Liberian Refugee Association. This group of about 25 or 30 individuals has been involved in trying to act as representatives of the refugees to the relief organizations and the local government officials. Their stated goals are to assist with problems of refugees, to organize the refugees who are able to assist in food distributions, to liaise with UNHCR, and to deal with Sierra Leone authorities. The Association also helps with individual difficulties of refugees and organizes funerals and celebrations. Its leaders have some ambitions to be involved in the future political process in Liberia. They represent a variety of parties and ethnic groups. The Association is part of an umbrella group of relief organizations, churches, mosques, government officials, chiefs, and prominent citizens in Kenema called the Kenema Commission on Refugees. A committee of this Commission, including members from the Refugee Association, ran registration and distribution efforts in late Fall 1990, but accusations of irregularities resulted in Cause Canada being invited to take over these tasks, beginning in mid-February.

The Liberian Refugee Association leaders list the following as main problems facing the refugees: Shelter, as they are crowded into the homes of Sierra Leonean hosts, and sometimes have to pay relatively large rents far in advance, or else are housed in camps; clothing; medicine (scarce and expensive even by European standards); tools and materials for skilled workers (soapmaking, tie-dyeing, tailoring, secretarial, etc.) and school expenses. Primary students have been admitted to Sierra Leone schools throughout the country, with UN help. Secondary students have received some help from the Sierra Leone Council of Churches, but only enough for a fraction of the tuition for the first of three terms. The Red Cross is attempting to find international donors. It has also arranged for Liberian carpenters to trade renovation work for tuition remission.

There seems to be little friction among the Liberian refugees in the area, even though they come from different ethnic groups and histories in Liberia. The spirit is that "we are all refugees, all came for refuge, and all must work together, and open a new page" in Liberian history. Persons arriving from Liberia are generally not judged on their past before acceptance into the community and the food distributions, except in extreme cases. Even in one house persons of varying background live together peacefully.

There are some tensions across the border. Rebel soldiers enter Sierra Leone at times, and when we were there an accusation was made that a Liberian girl was kidnapped in Kenema on February 14 by Liberian rebels. An investigation was underway. There was also a story of Lutheran missionaries, arrested for political remarks, being brought by rebel soldiers through Kenema for petrol en route to prison in Liberia, and being freed by Sierra Leone forces.

The welcome in Sierra Leone has in general been extraordinarily warm, and Liberians express appreciation for it. This hospitality in a time of need has made a great impact on Liberians. We interviewed one Sierra Leonean, a man with a household of 6 who had welcomed 12 Liberians, and promised them they could stay as long as necessary. Already most of them

had stayed for more than six months. Some of his guests belonged to ethnic groups historically unfriendly to his own, but his hospitality has won out over such stereotyped feelings. The presence of Liberians with some money and with needs has in some cases stimulated the economy, e.g. in building renovations.

There are of course some problems. One man described his landlord constantly demanding money for various needs, stealing the rice rations, and even asking for the company of his young female relatives. In other cases Liberians have worn out their welcome. Some people claim Sierra Leoneans are put out of their homes because Liberians can pay higher rent.

We visited two refugee camps less than 10 miles from Kenema: The former Rural Training Institute (R.T.I.), and the Railways Building at Hangha Town. At the R.T.I. about 120 refugees live in large warehouse-style buildings. They are partitioning the buildings into individual rooms with bamboo and reed walls. They have planted sizeable gardens of vegetables and greens. Cooking is done by families. These refugees represented various ages, including small children and young adults. Those interviewed had been there 4 to 6 months, departing Liberia in August or September. As with others, most had seen relatives die in the crisis and had been separated from other family members. They reported harassment en route by rebel soldiers, and theft of their possessions. Their current problems include lack of employment and money to pay for clothes, transportation, and other items. As with all of the refugees whom we met, without exception, they want to go back to Liberia. However, few feel that it would be safe to do so yet. Quite a few would like to emigrate to the United States if possible.

A clinic on the grounds of R.T.I., staffed by a German physician and experienced Liberian health care workers, provides daily medical care and medicines, and also services 6 outlying clinics with plans for 2 more. The medical problems seen are typical of tropical Africa: malaria, parasites, worms, some malnutrition in children. The doctor reports that generally the rations are adequate in quantity but need supplementation for nutrition; fruits and vegetables are available but the cost is too high for most refugees.

At the smaller Railways Building camp at Hangha, about 75 refugees live in large empty rooms, with minimal facilities. They lacked cooking pots, blankets, agricultural tools, clothing, and other items; they report receiving basic food but complained of its small quantity. The eight or nine children among them attend Sierra Leone government schools.

Reportedly, conditions within Liberia across the border from Sierra Leone are not good. Food is very scarce in Bassa County. Refugees in Kenema are better off than people remaining in lower Lofa County and other places in western Liberia. Road shipment of food into Liberia from Sierra Leone has proven difficult, even though Sierra Leone officially encourages this in order to stop the flow of refugees.

MONROVIA

Monrovia is accessible from Freetown by air and by ship. The terminal at the airfield, Spriggs Payne, is damaged heavily, and there are some downed aircraft, but the runway is open. The city is cut off from the surrounding countryside because the ECOMOG forces of the Economic Community of West African States control only the metropolitan area. Charles Taylor, the rebel leader and presidential aspirant, claims control of the rest of Liberian territory. The other combatants are under ECOMOG supervision in Monrovia: Prince Johnson's troops are confined to Caldwell, and the remnants of the late President Doe's Armed Forces of Liberia under Hezekiah Bowen are restricted to Barclay Training Center.

ECOMOG troops are well equipped, numerous, and efficiently in control of the capital. Numerous checkpoints of barricades, speedbumps, and machine guns block the streets at important places. At these, passengers of public transport vehicles must get out and walk through the checkpoint (any baggage being searched at the same time) and reboard on the other side. No harassment or intimidation appears to be taking place. Ironically, the city is probably safer from crimes against persons now than under normal conditions. Ordinary citizens appear to be able to go about their business with no restrictions or fears for safety, despite the lack of a police force as such.

The damage to the city is severe in many areas, and light in others. Overall, it appears that it will be many years before repairs make conditions similar to what they were before the war. Water, electricity, radio and television, telephone and postal services, and transportation are all absent. Many public buildings are badly damaged--for example, the University of Liberia is heavily damaged by shells and rockets. Residences, businesses, and churches in the area from Mamba Point to Spriggs Payne have large holes in roof and walls, broken windows, and almost all have been looted of everything inside, sometimes including doors, banisters, plumbing and electrical fixtures, etc. Some buildings are burned out, some reduced to rubble by rocket attacks. Electrical wires are down or missing and transformers destroyed. Smashed and burned vehicles lie on many streets. Palm trees have all been cut down to provide food to starving people. People reside in their own homes or take up residence in an empty building abandoned by its occupants.

But in some areas, such as West Point and Logantown, there is little damage to buildings. Fortunately, the streets and bridges throughout the city are in quite good condition and could permit normal travel.

The population of Monrovia is increasing as people return to try to find relatives and salvage possessions, or find a renewed life after a time of being a refugee. There are many people walking the streets (taxi being inoperative due to a lack of petrol). In many areas people sell looted items beside the street--furniture, televisions, cassette tapes, appliances, toiletries, clothing, liquor, cigarettes, building materials such as doors, windows, roofing materials, plumbing and lighting fixtures. There seem to be few buyers among the many "lookers," as money is scarce. Liberian currency is circulating (at a rate of 12 to one U.S. Dollar). No one is employed for money, except a handful working for relief agencies and others working as security guards at a low wage. Some

shops are open again in the Waterside area (which was not badly damaged) and a few scattered locations. One bank is reportedly open. Some Lebanese businesspeople may never return, but others are cautiously opening some shops or engaging persons to sell goods for them on the street. Some market women are beginning to travel to Freetown to buy goods for resale in Monrovia. There are a handful of new local newspapers being offered for sale.

Food has been a major problem in the capital. The U.N. reported that 95,000 people in Monrovia are at risk from hunger. There had been extreme hunger in Monrovia especially in September and October, and there are still people dying from the effects of starvation. The young, the ill, and the old, unable to scramble to survive, suffered worst. Tragically, many young children show the effects of severe malnutrition in their thin bodies and listless spirits.

At this time, food is generally available. Sources of protein are very scarce, as fishing is almost nonexistent and all animals have been slaughtered already. Fruits and vegetables are extremely few and expensive since the city is cut off from the rest of the country. Rice, and some blended protein grain mixes, are reaching the city from relief agencies. Entry of rice through the Free Port has been hampered both because of high insurance rates (military actions affected some ships; one ship struck a submerged container by the dock and was damaged), and because of lack of sufficient dock equipment such as cranes and forklifts. The result is inefficiency because the largest ships cannot come into Monrovia but must be offloaded in Cote d'Ivoire and the cargo transhipped in smaller coastal vessels, which are in short supply. Nevertheless, shipments of about 29,000 tons of rice arrived in February and March, and Catholic Relief Services, which has been a major link in the provision of food, reports that it has a six-month grant from the United States to bring in 25,000 tons of rice, 5000 tons of beans, oil, and corn-soy protein mix, along with 600 tons of milk powder from the European Economic Community. Conditions for offloading at the Port have improved so that 400 to 500 tons a day can be handled. About 1200 tons of rice per week are needed to feed Monrovia. Experienced and qualified staff for the Port and the harbor waters are returning now after a costly absence, and warehouse facilities are secure again.

Distribution within the city remains difficult, despite the fact that rice is available. The U.N. has worked through SELF, or Special Emergency Life Food, the Liberian organization that was formed to help with distribution. There have been reports of problems with accountability, but efforts have been made to correct these. Nevertheless, SELF is generally withdrawing from neighborhoods, although it continues to maintain computer services, oversee warehouses, and deliver the food to distribution sites. One rough estimate by a relief worker was that 25% of food aid is "lost" in Monrovia by all organizations. Now there are new neighborhood committees operating to distribute food, with leaders chosen by the people. The churches and foreign private voluntary organizations are cautiously optimistic about these committees and are trying to be

helpful to them, and the committees generally welcome such assistance. For example, in the Old Road section of Monrovia, distribution of bags of rice and other commodities was done by the neighborhood committee at the Gayetown Distribution Center opposite Christ the King Church. Persons who were registered were checked off on the computerized list and received the allotment for the number of persons in their household, as determined by an earlier survey. Persons interviewed there reported no problems with irregularities (although there are some at other sites), but some problems with computer registration lists which do not include persons in need who come after the registration period. At another site in West Point, Fr. Terry Doherty, S.M.A., works with volunteer cooks and helpers based at Our Lady Star of the Sea Church to feed about 350 young children one meal daily of rice and high protein supplement. At another parish school, St. Michael's in Gardnersville, a large program utilizes three components to help about 1100 undernourished children who come to the center (normally a school) daily: First, for those who are recovering from starvation conditions and are still most vulnerable, Medecins sans Frontieres / Belgium operates a clinic and UNICEF runs an intensive feeding program. About 80 of these children are brought by their guardians each day, and checked by the Liberian physician's assistant in charge, Mr. Joe D.S. Mbayo. Under more normal conditions these children would be hospitalized. They receive a special high-protein menu prepared for them, along with any necessary medicines. Secondly, another group of about 500 children who are judged malnourished but not in danger of death are cared for under the auspices of Agence Internationale Contre la Faim (AICF). They too are gathered daily to receive a supplemental diet and to be evaluated. Finally, the third group of over 500 children is unrestricted: they are of more average health, but are fed with U.N. supplied enriched food once daily by a committee of the parish itself in order to keep them healthy. Over 60 volunteers prepare the meals and run these programs, receiving food for their work only. In addition, about 150 elderly receive bread and other food delivered to them by this center. Other such scattered sites are needed in Monrovia, and proposals to establish them are being made by several organizations.

The various relief agencies and churches are meeting regularly to try to deal with Monrovia's problems. Their concerns are several: Expand efforts to meet needs better for vulnerable groups; coordinate efforts so as to be efficient; use food distribution as a magnet to provide education opportunities and teach skills (breadmaking, tailoring, etc.); strengthen local efforts of neighborhood committees for distribution; plan the transition to a normal money economy for the time when Monrovia will no longer receive outside rice shipments. This last item, called monetization, is difficult to design but necessary for a smooth curtailment of assistance when the time comes.

Many thousands of children are alone in Monrovia--either orphaned or separated from their parents and guardians. Some have been adopted by other adults, and some are being cared for by new orphanages. One such effort is the J.J.Y. Orphanage Home in Gardnersville, where about 75 young children are housed and cared for by three workers who are paid in food only. These volunteers, young men who all have lost immediate family members themselves, care for the children, give them basic medical care, and help them forget the trauma of war by simple lessons and singing of songs.

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Health care remains minimal in Monrovia. Malnutrition, severest in September and October, remains a problem as many people are only recovering from the effects of near-starvation. Diarrhea, skin diseases, and malaria are other common problems. The lack of clean water is a cause for concern regarding public health. The J.F.K. Hospital remains closed; Catholic Hospital has an outpatient clinic open and hopes to reopen inpatient services in a few weeks when equipment and staff can be restored. The Swedish government in February 1991 opened a new \$2 million referral hospital in a warehouse in the area of the Free Port. The clinic in West Point is operating and MSF/B staffs several clinics throughout the city. Health care workers of all kinds are needed badly, as are medicines and medical equipment.

No formal government or religious schools are operating, as people simply struggle to meet daily needs. Structurally, many schools appear to remain basically sound, but repairs and resupplying will still be necessary. There are hopes to reopen the Catholic school system in a few months, but formal government schools await a political solution with a functioning Ministry of Education and payroll for teachers. Some churches and relief organizations are discussing how to set up informal classes, perhaps in connection with the food distribution community sites. The University of Liberia was extremely heavily damaged as it was in an area of heavy fighting. It appears that it may be several years before it is operating in a normal way.

The Interim Government of National Unity under President Amos Sawyer and supported by ECOWAS is headquartered in the Ducor Hotel. It faces major problems in all areas: dealing with the current lack of city services, negotiations for a settlement with all parties, and plans for the reconstruction of the future. Economically, the Doe years and the traumatic war have left the country with large debts. Cut off from the rest of the nation, Monrovia has no source of income other than foreign assistance, and it appears that this help will be necessary for some time to come. In interviews with us, Dr. Sawyer remains committed to seeking a political accommodation including democratic elections in which he (and the leaders of armed factions) would not participate. Since our trip, the scheduled All-Liberia Conference has begun but has not resulted in any agreement as yet. The lack of a political settlement has delayed the start of any resolutions to Monrovia's (and Liberia's) problems. Sadly, resumption of hostilities remains a possibility, although these would likely not involve Monrovia to a great extent.

In spirit, the people of Monrovia are still in shock from the war. They are subdued and quiet, often mourning their lost loved ones and the disruption of their lives. They are serious and awaiting a settlement in the unresolved situation, one which will open the borders to the rest of the country and reestablish some services. The bitterness of seeing loved ones die violently and the terrible experience of the power of wielding a weapon are emotional scars that will remain in many people. Some who have the resources are returning to church services, dressed in their best clothes, to thank God for life, to pray for the dead, and to appeal for an end to the fighting. They realize the value of life and the miracle of having survived such a trauma. As always, a few are profiting from the unbalanced economic situation by charging inflated prices, or are

jockeying for positions of gain in the future. But most are preoccupied with getting enough food and other essentials to continue surviving, and they are apprehensive about the uncertain and difficult future. Even in the midst of their own suffering, some feel called to take responsibility for making things better now by offering their services to distribute food, cook and care for children, or sweep the streets of rubble.

COTE D'IVOIRE

Abidjan

For complex reasons, Cote d'Ivoire has welcomed more refugees than any of the other countries. However, they are discouraged from staying in Abidjan which already suffers from unemployment, crime, and occasional political unrest. They are directed to certain zones closer to the Liberian border of the country. A few Liberian refugees we met in Abidjan reported difficulties finding work and communicating across the language barrier, as well as dealing with the different regulations and customs of a new country. Since the policy is to place refugees elsewhere, services (such as food or medicines) are extremely limited for refugees in Abidjan, and they are also questioned closely by the authorities.

San Pedro

San Pedro, a port city on the coast but 65 miles from the Liberian border, also discourages Liberian refugees. They are directed closer to the border, to Tabou. However, reportedly over 400 have settled in San Pedro, with others in villages in the area. We met families with numbers of children, living in rented houses. They receive some rice distributed by the U.N., but are pressured by Ivoirian authorities to go and live in refugee villages in Tabou. Getting food is a problem, but since there is abundant food available commercially in Cote d'Ivoire, those with money can survive well. We did not see signs of hunger among the persons we met. They also report the burden of paying high rents for housing--even accusing the landlords of inflating the rents--unless they had friends to host them. One tiny unfurnished room with electricity was rented by a young man for about \$20 per month. Employment is very hard to find (San Pedro has had economic troubles of its own) and the French language is a difficulty. Medicines in Cote d'Ivoire are extremely expensive. Some who fled Liberia had savings, which they gradually used up. Some manage to be partially self-employed in marketing, repairing appliances, etc., and some receive help from relatives overseas. Education for the children is nonexistent due to the language barrier. Again, there are no provisions for refugees here and they sometimes feel unwanted in addition to lacking necessary funds.

Tabou

Tabou and the surrounding area is close to Cape Palmas, Liberia, and hosts perhaps as many as 25,000 refugees. They are living in rented housing, which is expensive, and it is in such short supply that some are said to sleep outdoors. For example, rent for a pleasant 4-room house with electricity (occupied by 26 persons) was reported to be about \$100 per month. A number of persons interviewed have been in Tabou since August.

We observed food distribution at a center in Tabou where about 300 Liberians were receiving rations. Generally, food was reported by the people to be sufficient and included oil, sugar, some tinned fish, and other items, and one 50-kilo bag of rice per 5 persons per month. However, people complained that the fish was insufficient and therefore some people tried to get extra rice to sell in order to buy more fish. They also reported that blankets or sleeping mats, and soap, are not included in the distribution. Food distribution was said to be slow and inefficient, with people waiting in the sun for up to three days. At this site, the crowd was restive and quarrelsome. We did not see signs of malnutrition. The market in Tabou offers abundant rice, plantain, fish, fruits, and other goods for those with money to spend.

Here too employment was said to be both scarce and not officially permitted. Medicines, while available, are expensive, few, and some distance away from the living areas. There are no schools for the children, and parents worry that they are "losing time" as the months go on. While there are Liberian teachers among the refugees, they would have to spend their time working without pay.

Danane and surrounding villages

Danane is a large crossroads market and government town about 16 miles from the Liberian border. It is connected to Abidjan by good paved roads and to the major road into Liberia that goes to Gbarnga. There are numerous villages in the bush between the border and the town itself. The road to Liberia is open and travel is reported to be fairly easy and secure across the border. There are tens of thousands of Liberians in the area, but the influx of refugees, which was enormous in September-October 1990, has declined to a small trickle. Security on the Ivoirian side of the border has been quite good, despite some problems of thefts (by Liberians and Ivoirians), and rare reports of attempted kidnappings by NPFL soldiers, in civilian dress, who pass through the area readily. The lack of French language among the refugees complicates negotiations with the Ivoirian gendarmes and other authorities, as well as with ordinary situations in markets and shops. Various sources report that quantities of arms are still seen trucked into NPFL-controlled Liberia through this region, and even that relief rice has been illicitly diverted to Liberia from the area.

There are ethnic ties of long standing here, as elsewhere, across the border: The Liberian Gio (called Yacouba in Cote d'Ivoire) are historically found on both sides of the river which divides the countries. In the villages, refugees stay in homes they have built themselves, usually in a quarter of the village which they have been given by the local chief. They also have planted gardens in many cases. Those who live in villages find transportation into town expensive. In Danane itself, people stay in rented or shared housing; they find rents high, perhaps inflated. There is one new tented refugee camp in Danane opened by the U.N. which houses those who have recently arrived and have not yet found other quarters. This facility is well equipped with electricity, water, and even a telephone for incoming calls to the refugees. But the vast majority of the Liberians are integrated into the existing shelter patterns of the region.

As in Sierra Leone, food is distributed once a month to persons who are registered on a list of refugees. This is under the auspices of the U.N., in cooperation with the Catholic mission. An ample "basket" of food from many relief sources is distributed: Rice, tomatoes, sardines, mackerel, oil, salt, sugar. As elsewhere, there are some problems with registration, with persons coming too late for a given distribution, and with a family's food running short before the month ends. Generally, however, it appears to run smoothly and is well organized. All types of foods in abundance are available for sale in the markets.

Cote d'Ivoire is known to be an expensive place to live, and employment is very scarce. Refugees have no money to pay for clothing, medicines, extra food, utensils, firewood, or other items. Liberians complain that prices rise when marketers hear English spoken. Some refugees are trying to earn money by small marketing projects. Liberian women are trying to earn funds by forming a small cooperative for cooking and selling hot food. Others hope to arrange to transport wholesale firewood from rural roadsides to retail markets. Unfortunately, these projects are regarded as unwelcome competition by established Ivoirian marketers.

Danane has hospitals and clinics, and medicines are supplied by pharmacies for purchase, but the prices are very high and the large number of refugees has overloaded the health care system. In rural villages, clinics are fewer and farther, and the problems worse. Many refugees are not receiving health care.

Cote d'Ivoire, being Francophone, does not offer schooling to Liberian children. The Liberians are worried that their children are suffering the loss of many months without school. In the villages, people have volunteered to cut the bush to build classroom blocks of poles and thatch or tarpaulin supplied by Canada. The S.M.A. mission team has been working with them to organize informal centers where children are taught some basic subjects by Liberian volunteers who were teachers in Liberia before the crisis. The curriculum is similar to the Liberian one, but with French added. Books and paper are extremely scarce, but chalkboards have been obtained by the S.M.A. team. There are currently about 20 of these centers being established in as many villages. Young people of higher education age are eager to find funding and entrance into universities elsewhere, but this is extremely problematic. They are dismayed to find their studies interrupted with little possibility for resuming them in Liberia in the next few years.

Here as in Sierra Leone, communication with relatives in Liberia, especially in Monrovia, or elsewhere in the world, is difficult if not impossible. There is mail service to and from areas other than Liberia through the Catholic Mission; telephone service is available, but crowded and not completely reliable. A large number of refugees would like to obtain visas to the United States.

Physically, refugee conditions in Cote d'Ivoire are perhaps more comfortable than in Sierra Leone because of the higher level of services available. Electricity, good roads, busses and taxis are widely available. However, the cost of living is many times greater than in Sierra Leone, and the language barrier is a problem, particularly for education.

As in Sierra Leone, in mood the Liberians are still in shock at their losses and bad experiences, and worrying over missing loved ones. They are anxious over the probable renewal of hostilities and gloomy over a return to a country that is badly damaged. There is also deep bitterness toward those who harmed them and their loved ones. However, they are relieved to be relatively safe and free to move about. Some understand this period to be a break with the past and a potentially positive opportunity for a new beginning in Liberian history, correcting previous mistakes. Some are taking personal responsibility for making things better locally by volunteering their services in various ways.

Toulepleu and surrounding villages

Toulepleu is a border town that is somewhat smaller than Danane and located about 40 miles south. It is connected by good, but unpaved, roads to the rest of the country and to minor roads in Liberia 12 miles away. Tens of thousands of Krahn and other Liberians have settled in Toulepleu and its numerous surrounding villages. In a manner parallel to that of the Gio and Yacouba, the Krahn in Liberia and the Gere around Toulepleu in Cote d'Ivoire are one people artificially divided by the national boundary. The Krahn fleeing the war sought refuge among their Gere relatives in Cote d'Ivoire. They came by road or on foot from as far as Monrovia, as well as from the Krahn stronghold of Grand Gedeh County. Naturally, the refugees in Danane and Toulepleu have little contact, as they have been on opposite sides of some of the fighting in Liberia. There is very little traffic passing through the lightly-populated countryside between Danane and Toulepleu, but there also seem to be no Ivorian troops or checkpoints on the road between the two areas. Not all Liberians in Toulepleu are Krahn, nor are all in Danane Gio or Mano, but there seem to be no major ethnic problems within the refugee communities within each area. All are facing the struggle for survival in a strange land. Most of the Krahn had no personal relationship to the late President Doe or benefit from their ethnic kinship to him.

Conditions for the Toulepleu refugees are quite similar to those of refugees in Danane. They too have rented or built substantial houses and planted gardens, despite wanting to return to Liberia as soon as possible. They also are building educational centers. Food distribution occurs through relief agencies. They face essentially the same problems and have the same resources as the Liberians in Danane described above. The only significant difference is that there seem to be fewer Church and relief agencies working among these people than in Danane.

THE LIBERIAN INTERIOR

We did not travel into NPFL territory, mainly because of logistical factors. The border is not open between Monrovia and the rest of Liberia. In addition, attempting to visit these areas, or refugees in other countries such as Guinea, would have added more time to our five-week journey. We did gain a few impressions of conditions in the interior of Libeira from the reports of persons whom we interviewed.

From both eastern and western borders of Liberia, there are many stories of armed men and boys calling themselves NPFL soldiers who are apparently neither controlled nor provided for by Charles Taylor. They harass and rob the local people with impunity, and even on occasion kill citizens. We heard many stories of harassment by NPFL soldiers of Liberians leaving the country. At times, these soldiers have crossed into Sierra Leone to obtain items not available in Liberia.

Near the Ivorian border there are also stories of harassment by NPFL soldiers. Persons in Maryland County report lawless behavior by armed soldiers who threaten, beat, and even execute civilians without formal proceedings. Commanders of troops are said to be acting as individual "warlords" over their areas, with little accountability. Areas nearer Taylor's headquarters at Gbarnga are under more disciplined control.

Overall, it appears that food has not been as great a problem in the countryside as it has been in Monrovia. Certain remoter parts of the country have apparently experienced hunger. Humanitarian agencies, such as Catholic Relief Services and Medicins sans Frontieres, are doing an excellent job of providing staple foods such as rice in the countryside along the railway line. The goods enter the country at Buchanan and are distributed by trucks under the auspices of Taylor's authority. While there are some local grains, fruits, and vegetables available in the rural parts of Liberia, the current growing season will have been missed by many growers--and certainly by most of the 750,000 refugees outside the country. Taylor has appealed for those remaining to make farms, but tools and seeds are lacking, as well as a sense of security.

There is said to be considerable hunger in the parts of Liberia bordering Sierra Leone. In some regions, the people in Liberia (e.g. in areas of Lofa County) probably have less food than those receiving rations in Sierra Leone.

Other services, such as education and health care, are absent or minimally available within rural Liberia. A few mission groups are assessing the feasibility of returning to the rural areas to resume services.

CONCLUSIONS

This war is unprecedented in Liberia's history. It appears that it will take many years to return the country to the economic and physical level of prewar times. It will probably take generations to heal the emotional wounds.

Despite the ceasefire of December, 1990, our observation is that Liberians in Monrovia and outside the country are continuing to suffer the physical and psychological effects of the war. The entire country is effectively at a standstill, with the capital and only metropolis partitioned from the rest of the nation. Many of the basic structures of the country are badly damaged, such as the water, electricity, and communication systems. Yet these are essential for an operating economy. Assistance will be needed to put them in operation.

No movement toward recovery can occur until there is a political settlement that results in a stable interim government and participation by the majority of Liberians in the choice of a future for the country. No outside help beyond minimal food assistance can be expected until there is a government that can be recognized by the world community. The United States, for example, has stated that it will not assist in Liberian reconstruction through any government which is imposed on the people without their participation. At the present time, tragically, there is still a strong possibility of a renewal of hostilities. Knowledgeable persons in Sierra Leone, Monrovia, and Cote d'Ivoire all feel this is a real possibility or even a likelihood. Conflict would probably take place in parts of the country outside of Monrovia, which appears to be under firm ECOMOG control. The interior of the country, nominally under NPFL control, is actually only partly so, to judge by reports of lawlessness in such areas as Maryland, Grand Kru, Cape Mount, and Lofa Counties.

Liberians have to make the political determination for themselves. There are Liberians holding various allegiances in all of the areas we visited. By and large, however, it would appear from those we talked with in Sierra Leone, Monrovia, and Cote d'Ivoire that there is widespread and sharp impatience with the slowness of Charles Taylor to negotiate seriously with ECOWAS on the issue of the presidency, and to control his more lawless rebel troops in some areas of the country. The resulting stalemate continues the suffering of the vast majority of the population. The pressure is still on for Liberians everywhere to resolve this ongoing crisis. Most seem to be more anxious for peace to come than for any one claimant to the presidency to be victorious.

Until the elusive political solution is found, the refugees will continue to require regular food provision through the United Nations, Red Cross, Catholic Relief Services, and other relief agencies. Such agencies do not have unlimited means to supply a country indefinitely, in the face of new crises elsewhere, nor do they consider it healthy economic practice to do so. Medical care and education are other crucial needs which are beyond the abilities of the refugee-hosting countries to provide for large numbers of guests. Finally, assistance in resettling Liberians when the time comes will be necessary, since the refugees are in most cases without resources.

Overall, the host countries for Liberian refugees have themselves incurred considerable losses through welcoming tens of thousands of refugees. They have thereby also eased the burden of humanitarian efforts by relief organizations. Their hospitable citizens require some assistance in many of the same services as the refugees.

Humanitarian agencies serving the Liberians within the country in Monrovia and elsewhere need continued major support to maintain their excellent level of assistance. But help for local Liberian efforts is also essential, as this also builds a base for progress in the inevitable time after the outside agencies depart.

The United States, Liberia's oldest and closest international associate, must take the lead in the provision of assistance. European nations look for such leadership in making their own responses. The level of U.S. assistance thus far in the crisis, more than \$125 million, is commendable and appreciated. Our observation is that it has served to

maintain survival for the citizens; that will continue to be the basic need for some time. However, along with that there will be the much larger added costs of repatriation and reconstruction of the country.

The U.S. has an important role to play in pressuring the various parties to the crisis to come to a political settlement so that the country can begin rebuilding the lives of its citizens. In particular, continuing arms supplies from neighboring countries must be actively and strongly discouraged by putting pressure on these parties.

In the years ahead, a rethinking of American policy toward Liberia is in order. To a large extent, the late President Samuel Doe was strongly supported by American administrations with arms, money, and approval even after his abuses of power became well known. When the disaster struck, American troops were stationed off the coast, poised to protect American installations, and evacuate U.S. and other foreign nationals. But the Liberian civilians themselves were left to face their fate with no assistance. Today a degree of bitterness over this disappointment is expressed by Liberians everywhere. U.S. interventions in Kuwait and efforts to help refugees from that war have been made strongly and quickly, and the difference in response is not lost on Liberians. It appears to them that, even if actual U.S. military intervention in Liberia was not desirable, nothing was done to provide any rescue or safety to the panicking and hungry population outside the U.S. installations in Monrovia. It is likely that other African nations observed this lack of response also.

The crisis for Liberia's population remains an urgent one. The situation of most of the people is very fragile as they wait for some solution to be found. We hope and pray that Liberians and their friends can work together to repair the disaster that has overtaken this nation so closely tied by history to the United States.

EFFORTS OF THE SOCIETY OF AFRICAN MISSIONS (S.M.A. FATHERS)

The Society of African Missions has 15 to 20 priests and lay people working within Liberia on both sides of the political partition. As is usual for the Society, they work in collaboration with the local Church structures of the three Catholic dioceses in Liberia. They are engaged in feeding programs, health care, varied assistance to individuals, rehabilitation of damaged facilities, and efforts at reconciliation and pastoral care. Some of these S.M.A. persons remained throughout the fighting, while others were forced to leave for a time but have returned. More are waiting to return as soon as it is practical for them to do so. Time and thought is being given to plans for the shape of future involvement as Liberia enters a new phase of its history--an opportunity for missionaries also to move in new directions.

The Society also has missionaries in Sierra Leone and in Cote d'Ivoire who have been stationed there for many years in parishes, schools, and clinics. They work primarily with the citizens of those countries, but also attempt to respond to the influx of refugees from Liberia.

The American Province of S.M.A. has sent a team of seven persons specifically to work with Liberians in Danane, Cote d'Ivoire. They are a mixed team of priests, seminarians, and lay missionaries, men and women, American and African. Their work is varied in response to the multiplicity of needs within the large population of refugees, as the Liberians themselves determine these. The work includes helping organize school-construction and teaching programs for the children (staffed by Liberians); self-employment efforts by Liberians; language training; assistance with health care referrals; counseling/pastoral care and efforts at reconciliation; parish ministry; food distribution; construction of physical facilities; mail distribution; and helping individuals in various ways. The team works with persons in the city of Danane and in many villages in the region of Danane and Toulepleu.

Within the United States, the Society also attempts to be of service to Liberian refugees and Liberians living in this country and to publicize Liberian issues to American policymakers and the American public. The S.M.A. Office of Justice, Peace, and Environmental Care may be reached at the address on the first page of this report.

TRAVEL SCHEDULE IN WEST AFRICA

SIERRA LEONE:

February 14, 1991	Arrival
February 14 - 15	Freetown
February 16 - 18	Bo and Kenema
February 19	Freetown

LIBERIA:

February 20 - 24	Monrovia
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SIERRA LEONE:

February 25	Freetown
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COTE D'IVOIRE:

February 26 - 27	Abidjan
February 28	San Pedro
March 1	Tabou
March 2	San Pedro
March 3 - 6	Danane, Toulepleu, and surrounding villages
March 7	Abidjan
March 8	Departure

PERSONS CONSULTED

The following persons serving in more or less official capacities were specifically consulted on issues relevant to the Liberian situation. Most of the people we consulted or interviewed were other "unofficial" persons of insight and knowledge, in particular ordinary Liberian citizens, but their names are not given in order to protect their safety and privacy.

SIERRA LEONE:

In Freetown:

Archbishop Joseph Ganda, Catholic Archdiocese of Freetown
 Mr. Jacques Montourouy, Catholic Relief Services
 Mr. Winston C. Webber, Program Specialist, USAID, U.S. Embassy
 Mr. Alan Latimer, Consul, U.S. Embassy
 Fr. Seamus Ward, S.J., Concern Universal
 Mr. Enda J. Byrne, Caritas Internationalis
 Fr. Ned Grimes, Secretary of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Gambia, Liberia, and Sierra Leone

In Bo:

Fr. John Courtney, S.M.A.

In Kenema:

Fr. Eugenio Montesi, S.X., Director, Pastoral Center
 Sr. Geraldine, O.P., Pastoral Center
 CAUSE Canada staff
 Dr. Carl Reister, M.D., Rural Training Institute Refugee Center
 Mr. Mohammed Camara, President, Liberian Refugee Association
 Mr. Ansu B. Kromah, Vice President, Liberian Refugee Association
 Br. Joseph, F.S.C., St. Paul's Cathedral

LIBERIA:

In Monrovia:

Fr. Edward Jackson, Pastor, Christ the King Parish, Old Road
 Fr. James Lee, S.M.A., Vicar General, Archdiocese of Monrovia
 Sr. Lorraine, Chancery, Archdiocese of Monrovia
 Fr. Michael Moran, S.M.A., Pastor, St. Anthony's Parish, Gardnersville
 Fr. James Gessler, S.M.A., S.M.A. Guesthouse
 Fr. Terence Doherty, S.M.A., Pastor, Star of the Sea Parish, West Point
 Fr. Gerard Sweeney, S.M.A., Associate Pastor, Cathedral Parish, Monrovia
 Ms. Theresa Hicks, S.M.A., Director, West Point Clinic
 Dr. Amos Sawyer, President, Interim Government of National Unity, Liberia
 Mr. Thomas Gongloe, Interim Government of National Unity, Liberia
 Mr. Paul McDermott, Program Coordinator, Catholic Relief Services
 Mr. A. J. Fisher, Consul, U.S. Embassy
 Mr. Douglas Dearborn, Economic Affairs Advisor, U.S. Embassy
 Representatives of Save the Children Fund, U.N. World Food Program,
 Lutheran World Service, Catholic Relief Services, Caritas - Liberia,
 and Concern

COTE D'IVOIRE:

In Abidjan:

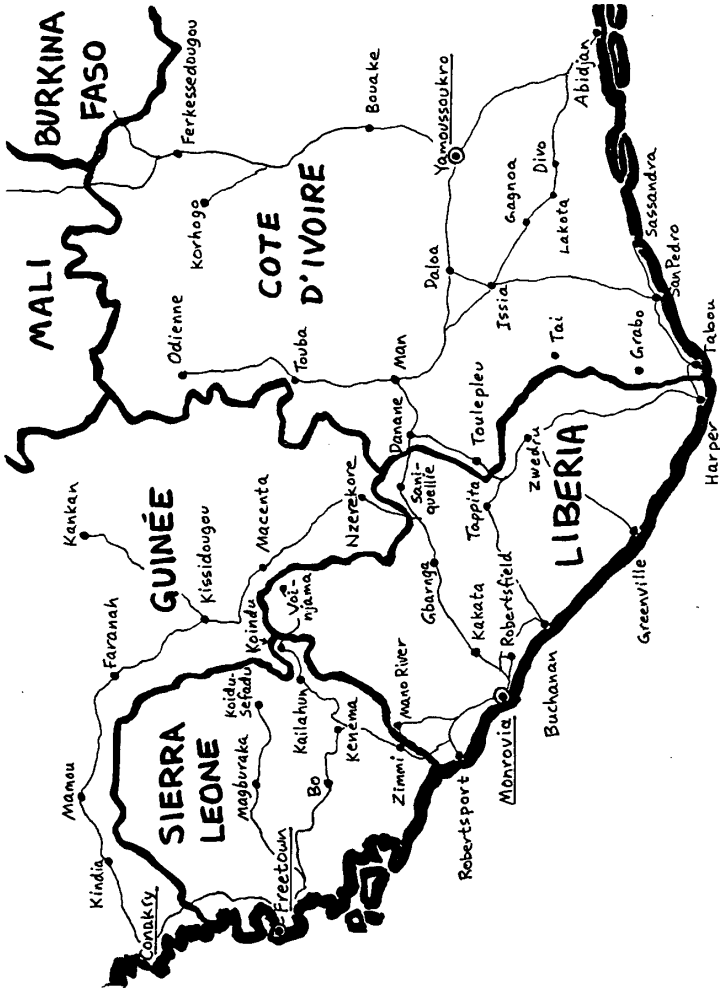
Mr. Vincent Rizzo, Political Affairs Advisor, U.S. Embassy
 Mr. Steven Voien, Consular Officer, U.S. Embassy
 Fr. Pierre Roustan, S.M.A., Regional (Lyon Province)
 Fr. Alain Beal, S.M.A., Vice Regional (Lyon Province)
 Mr. Anthony Reggio (Cape Palmas Diocese, Liberia)
 Br. David Cooney, S.M. (Cape Palmas Diocese, Liberia)

In San Pedro:

Fr. Lorenzo Rapetti, S.M.A., Pastor, Mission Catholique
 Sr. Miriam George, Cape Palmas Diocese, Liberia
 Fr. Frank Nyali, Cape Palmas Diocese
 Fr. Nathaniel Kwea-Weah, Cape Palmas Diocese
 Sr. Caroline, Cape Palmas Diocese

In Danane:

Fr. Eugene Riordan, S.M.A., Superior, S.M.A. Refugee Team
 Fr. M. Clark Yates, S.M.A. Priest on Refugee Team
 Mr. Austin Ochu, S.M.A. Seminarian on Refugee Team
 Mr. Frank Wright, S.M.A. Seminarian on Refugee Team
 Mr. Thomas Wright, S.M.A. Seminarian on Refugee Team
 Ms. Susan Arraje, S.M.A. Lay Missionary on Refugee Team
 Mr. Paul Wheeler, S.M.A. Lay Missionary on Refugee Team
 Fr. Olivier, S.J., Caritas and Jesuit Refugee Services International, Rome
 Fr. Henri, Associate Pastor, Mission Catholique, Danane



Mr. DYMALLY. Thank you. Mr. Ruiz.

**STATEMENT OF HIRAM A. RUIZ, POLICY ANALYST, U.S.
COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES**

Mr. RUIZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for considering the views of the U.S. Committee for Refugees, on the continuing humanitarian needs of Liberians. I have prepared a written statement which I would appreciate submitting for the record.

Mr. DYMALLY. Without objection.

Mr. RUIZ. Mr. Chairman, the situation in Liberia remains mixed. As we have heard today, the violence and the fighting has mostly ended, but a political solution has yet to be worked out despite the fact that there have been positive recent developments. Also, the fact that there has been breaking of promises and commitments before, does cause continuing concern.

Relief efforts have been underway since late last year, and although some pockets of malnutrition remain and there still is a deficiency of adequate proteins, food in adequate quantities is reaching most of those in need. In both Monrovia and the rest of the country, some commercial activity has resumed and limited public services are available. But on the whole, the country and its people remain in a state of crisis.

There are many areas of humanitarian need on which one could focus, including the effects of the prolonged exile on Liberian refugees and on their hosts, the repatriation of former refugees, the continuing displacement of people within Liberia, notably the non-stop influx of people into Monrovia, a city where at the end of last year only 150,000 or so people remained, but where there are now anywhere from 600,000 to 1 million people.

I would like to focus my comments on two issues this afternoon, one general and one specific. First, the continuing humanitarian needs of Liberians, all of whom have been directly or indirectly affected by the civil war, and secondly, the needs of a specific group of victims, Liberia's traumatized children and young people. These are youngsters who have been victims of, witnesses to, or all too often, participants in violence.

Mr. Chairman, a number of recent reports and assessments focus on the current conditions in Liberia and on the humanitarian needs of the country's citizens over the next year. The most comprehensive assessment is one recently carried out by the United Nations and three nongovernmental organizations. The U.N. Secretary General will shortly issue an appeal for humanitarian assistance to Liberia based on their findings. There have been assessments and reports from the Office of Foreign Disasters Assistance, S.M.A. Fathers, Christian Childrens Fund, Action Internationale Contre la Faim, and others. The picture that emerges from these various reports is one of generally improving conditions, but also of considerable continuing needs that must be addressed just to help Liberians stay afloat.

In seeking funds for emergency assistance to Liberia, the forthcoming U.N. Secretary General's appeal states, "needs in Liberia should be seen in the context of a country whose social, administrative, economic and commercial infrastructure has been totally dis-

rupted. This, together with the as yet unresolved political situation means that the capacity of the society to respond to current adversities is severely limited. Yet, an urgent international response is required if the situation is not to deteriorate further. The Liberian people have made a great effort under extremely difficult circumstances, but the assistance of the international community is essential if these efforts are to succeed."

The U.N. appeal seeks more than \$134 million for the period July, 1991 to July, 1992, to provide help in a variety of sectors, including food, health and medical care, water and sanitation, education, children's needs, and agriculture. These are some of the very sectors in which you, Mr. Chairman, have proposed additional U.S. funding in the legislation you have introduced, H.R. 994, the Liberia Relief and Reconstruction Act. Indeed, many of the levels of additional funding sought by the U.N. are reflected in those mandated by this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, the United States has been the largest donor to the international relief effort to Liberia. Our total contribution has not been insubstantial. However, our response remains inadequate when taken in context. Not only in the context of the total need, but also in the context of our historical and once special relationship with Liberia. I say "once", because I have a clear impression that, for many Liberians, U.S. inaction during the crisis and the administration's continued policy of taking a very removed back seat, have essentially voided the "special" in our once special relationship.

A generous response to Liberians' continuing humanitarian needs will not mend our relationship. It should not seek to do so. We should respond generously because it is morally right. The United States has played a key role in the history of Liberia including, through our support for the regime of the late Col. Samuel Doe, in the making of the recent conflict. It is incumbent upon us to do more than our fair share to help to ease the suffering of Liberian civil war victims.

If we truly are concerned about the fate of the Liberian people, and I feel sure that many Americans are, we must strive to help them meet their ongoing emergency needs, assist in the rehabilitation of basic services such as water and health care, and when the situation permits, in the reconstruction process that awaits them.

I had planned to say that the very best thing that we could do to move in that direction now would be to support the Liberia Relief and Reconstruction Act. However, while recent developments today with the possibility of the repeal of the Brooke Amendment as it regards Liberia, and the fact that this would free up existing monies with N.A.I.D. for some of these purposes, what I would say is that if this sort of legislation does not move forward, that what is very important is that we closely monitor what efforts the State Department makes in that regard.

Mr. DYMALLY. What we are proposing is to take Mr. Flake's bill and my bill and make a policy bill out of it leaving the money in AID so we do not have an appropriations problem, and then pull it out as a policy bill. And if we go into conference committee, as is likely to happen this year, then we could take that and put it in the conference committee because I think there is sufficient lan-

guage in the bill we passed on Liberia for us to amend in the conference committee.

Mr. RUIZ. I fully understand. The specific group of needs I wanted to address today is that of traumatized children. According to some reports, there are upwards of 10,000 orphaned or otherwise separated from their families children in Monrovia and perhaps an equal number in the rest of the country. The U.N. appeal seeks \$800,000 for provision of shelter, food, and basic education for these unaccompanied children. However, a large number require help far beyond the material. The traumatized children and those who have been victim or witnesses to violence and brutality, often the killings of parents and loved ones, but often those who have also been participating in these violent acts.

I would like just to show you this one photograph that highlights the many children who have been affected by and conscripted into different rebel movements or have also been forced to participate in violence.

Mr. DYMALLY. How old is he?

Mr. RUIZ. I would say he is no more than 12 or 13 years old. This was taken in Monrovia. I took this in Monrovia in November.

I recently met with Mr. James Holder, a minister in the interim government of Liberia who said that an ever-increasing number of boys and young adults, particularly those who have been involved in these activities, are laying down their guns and heading to Monrovia. Mr. Holder said that the interim government does not have the physical resources or expertise to help these children. They need a comprehensive program that includes not only housing, food, and clothes, but also counseling. He also added that the community must be encouraged to help, not reject these children. At present, they are regarded with hostility because of the actions which they have committed.

Mr. Chairman, the concept of traumatized children is not new, but at least now there is some international experience and expertise in helping to rehabilitate these children. In Mozambique this certainly has been the case, and projects have been undertaken to help them. I have recently spoken with Dr. Neil Boothby who was the person who coordinated that project in Mozambique and was very interested to visit Liberia and propose similar projects for Liberia. I would urge you to support the concept of an assessment visit by Dr. Boothby and the possible projects specifically aimed at this group of children.

Mr. RUIZ. Mr. Chairman, on the one hand I am asking you to lead this subcommittee in providing the framework for and giving priority to major efforts at helping Liberians to recover from the nightmare they have experienced, and on the other hand, to support a specific initiative to help restore some of Liberia's most traumatized children to wholeness. I ask your support and leadership on both.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Ruiz follows:]

Statement of
Hiram A. Ruiz
Policy Analyst, U.S. Committee for Refugees
on
Continuing Humanitarian Needs of Liberians

Before a hearing of the
U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on Africa

July 16, 1991

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for considering the views of the U.S. Committee for Refugees, a program of the American Council for Nationalities Service, on the continuing humanitarian needs of Liberians in the aftermath of civil war in their country. I have closely followed developments concerning the needs of, and assistance to, war-affected Liberians since I visited Monrovia in November 1990, shortly after a degree of calm first returned to that city following months of warring and generalized violence.

The situation in Liberia remains mixed. The fighting and violence have mostly ended, but a political solution to the conflict has yet to be worked out. Relief efforts have been underway since late last year and, although some pockets of malnutrition remain and there is still a deficiency of adequate proteins, food in adequate quantities is reaching most of those in need. In both Monrovia and the rest of the country, some commercial activity has resumed and limited public services are available. *Yet, on the whole, the country, and its people, remain in a state of crisis.*

The very best thing this subcommittee can do right now to assist Liberians to recover from this crisis is to approve H.R. 994, the Liberia Relief, Rehabilitation, and Reconstruction Act, and start it on its way to enactment.

If the Liberian tragedy is to receive the priority it deserves, the Act is mandatory. And without your forceful action, there will be no Act. Time is growing short for Congress to set directions.

Recently, an assessment team composed of representatives of six United Nations agencies and three non governmental organisations completed an

assessment of humanitarian needs in Liberia. The UN Secretary General will shortly issue an appeal for humanitarian assistance to Liberia based on their findings. Many of the areas of need for which the UN will seek funds are the same as those for which you, Mr. Chairman, have also proposed additional funding in the legislation you introduced, H.R.994. Indeed, even the levels of funding needs identified by the UN are similar to those proposed in H.R.994. While food remains an important component, the UN emphasizes a range of services and sectors that require urgent funding "if the situation is not to deteriorate further."

Although the United States has been a major contributor of food and has supported some services in the health and water sectors, U.S. aid to projects viewed as "development" is barred by the so-called "Brooke-Alexander amendment." H.R.994 proposes that emergency assistance to Liberia be provided "without regard" to the Brooke-Alexander amendment.

In seeking funds for emergency assistance to Liberia, the forthcoming UN Secretary General's appeal urges that the needs in Liberia "be seen in the context of a country whose social, administrative, economic, and commercial infrastructure has been totally disrupted. This, together with the as yet unresolved political situation, means that the capacity of the society to respond to current adversities is severely limited... [The] assistance of the international community is essential."

Mr. Chairman, USCR is well aware of the initiatives that you and your colleagues on this committee have taken on behalf of Liberians. You have personally urged all parties to come to the table to work out a political solution and, by introducing the Liberia Relief and Reconstruction Act, have sought to promote an adequate U.S. response to the humanitarian needs of the

Liberian people. Unfortunately, the U.S. government's response to the Liberian people remains woefully inadequate. True, the United States has been the largest donor to the international relief effort; the total U.S. contribution has not been insubstantial. Yet we must view the U.S. response in context--not only of the total need, but also of our historical, once special relationship with Liberia. I say "once", because I have the clear impression that, for many Liberians, U.S. inaction during the crisis and the Administration's continued policy of taking a very removed back seat, have essentially voided the "special" in our two countries' relationship.

A generous response to Liberians' continuing humanitarian needs will not mend our relationship. It should not seek to do so. We should respond generously because it is morally right. The United States has played a key role in the history of Liberia (and--through our support for the regime of the late Col. Samuel Doe--in the making of the recent conflict), and it is incumbent upon us to do more than our "fair share" to help ease the suffering of Liberia's war victims. As called for in H.R.994, the United States should--when the situation permits--also take the lead in helping Liberia move beyond relief to reconstruction.

While it may well be sensible to await a political solution in Liberia before supporting large-scale reconstruction projects, there are in fact many needs beyond food aid that can and should be supported at this time. Some of these, which I will shortly address, are outlined in the UN Secretary General's appeal, while others have been brought to USCR's attention via other sources. The bottom line is, however, that we cannot simply point to the food aid we have given, and to improved nutritional levels, and congratulate ourselves for having done our fair share. If we truly are concerned about the

fate of the Liberian people--and I feel sure that many Americans are--we must strive to help them in the rehabilitation and reconstruction process that awaits them.

- * -

The Current Political and Security Situation It has now been more than a year and a half since the Liberian civil war began and the first of what was to be more than half of Liberia's population were uprooted. Fighting associated with the civil war per se ended with the signing of a cease-fire in November 1990, and there has been relative calm and security in the city of Monrovia since early 1991, thanks in large part to the presence of peace-keeping forces from member countries of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which first arrived in Monrovia in August 1990 and over time helped establish order in the capital. However, some level of violence has continued, particularly in remote rural areas at the hands of armed men (and boys) loosely associated with the rebel forces of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). Also, an armed incursion into neighboring Sierra Leone--reportedly by forces also associated with the NPFL--has extended the violence that began in Liberia into that country, once again displacing tens of thousands of Liberians who had sought refuge there and uprooting from their homes an even larger number of Sierra Leoneans.

Despite the absence of fighting between the various factions that had been parties to the conflict, the war cannot be said to be over. Although numerous steps have been taken to work out a political solution satisfactory to all, that has yet to be achieved. While some of the players involved have made genuine attempts to compromise, others, while paying lip-service to a desire

to seek a peaceful and permanent solution, have repeatedly failed to follow through on promises and commitments. As a result, after more than six months of cease-fire, Liberia remains a divided country, rent by an artificial boundary that separates Monrovia, seat of the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), from the rest of Liberia, which is governed by the NPFL's National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly (NPRA).

In both Monrovia and NPFL-governed areas, governmental systems are operative that help provide basic services. In April, ECOWAS sponsored an All Liberian Conference at which delegates, representing the IGNU and a number of other political parties and groups, elected officials to lead the interim government until elections are held (elections are supposed to take place by October 15, 1991). NPFL leader and president of the NPRA-government Charles Taylor, whose presence was considered essential to the conference's success, refused to attend. He did send an NPFL delegation, but they walked out part-way through the conference. Although the IGNU has yet to be recognized by any other governments, an IGNU delegation led by Amos Sawyer, whom the conference re-elected as president of the IGNU, was seated at an Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit meeting in Nigeria in June.

The relative stability that exists in Monrovia and in many of the NPFL areas has made relief work possible, bringing about improvement in the day-to-day situation of most Liberians. Malnutrition has declined sharply in Monrovia. *Agence Internationale Contre la Faim* (AICF), a French relief group that with U.S. funding is carrying out supplementary feeding programs at 30 feeding centers in Monrovia, has recorded a drop in malnutrition from more than 30 percent among children under age five in December 1990, to 5 percent in June 1991. However, some Monrovia residents continue to suffer the effects

of the malnutrition they have experienced, and pockets of malnutrition still exist in some rural areas, particularly in Grand Gedeh county, where there has been continuing conflict.

There is an increase in health care in Monrovia, though not enough to meet the needs of Monrovia's ever-expanding population. Three hospitals and several clinics are in operation, but lack of an adequate water supply continues to cause concern. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has carried out sanitation and clean-up activities in both Monrovia and NPFL areas. But as the UN-sponsored inter-agency team that recently carried out an assessment of humanitarian needs throughout Liberia found, many problems remain, and there will be a considerable need for international assistance during the coming year.

Repatriation of Liberian Refugees and Continuing Influx of Displaced People into Monrovia The population of Monrovia continues to grow at alarming rates. At the height of the conflict last autumn, most of the city's residents fled. As order was restored, they began to come back, first in a trickle, then in a flood. By November there were already 200,000 people in Monrovia; by early 1991, the population reached 500,000; today, there are somewhere between 800,000 and 1 million people in Monrovia.

Their number increases by the day, not only as people cross into Monrovia from NPFL areas (hundreds are said to arrive each day), but also as former refugees repatriate, particularly from Sierra Leone. An estimated 56,000-60,000 Liberians have repatriated from Sierra Leone in the months following the incursion into that country by rebels reportedly associated with the NPFL. That incursion displaced many of the Liberian refugees (as well as

many Sierra Leoneans) and also caused a wave of resentment in Sierra Leone towards Liberians that has been a major motivating factor in the decision of many refugees to repatriate. Surprisingly, UNHCR has reportedly not supported the Liberian repatriation process, which has been carried out by the IGNU largely without outside assistance. Given the priority that UNHCR normally assigns to repatriation, its lack of involvement in this operation is difficult to comprehend.

While I am not focusing on the ongoing needs of Liberian refugees in neighboring countries today, I would like to point out that their prolonged stay is now proving very taxing to the local people who welcomed them into their homes beginning more than a year and a half ago. The welcome in neighboring countries has been very generous, but the very fact that refugees are mostly not living in refugee camps but in local people's homes and public places means that their prolonged presence poses a more direct burden on the local communities.

In Sierra Leone, hostility towards the refugees was sparked to a large extent by the rebel incursion. In Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire, the refugees' long stay will also doubtless cause problems, not only for locals, but also for refugees. A recent report by the Christian Children's Fund (CCF) noted that "adolescent Liberian refugee girls were turning to prostitution in that country [Cote d'Ivoire] in order to support themselves."

Assessment of Humanitarian Needs and Forthcoming UN Appeal for Liberia The following overview of current need areas is based largely on the findings of the UN/NGO assessment team (incorporated into the forthcoming UN Secretary General's appeal for Liberia), with additional information from reports by the

ICRC, AICF, S.M.A. Fathers, and from discussions with James Holder, a minister in the IGNU who recently visited Washington and who is responsible for repatriation and rehabilitation activities in Monrovia.

Food: According to the United Nations, an estimated 1.4 million people within Liberia will require food aid totaling more than 180,000 tons during the coming year. Some 54,000 tons have already been pledged, leaving a balance of more than 134,000 tons. The estimated cost of providing this food aid, including transportation and logistics, plus the cost of needed restoration work at Monrovia port and enhancement of storage capability, is nearly \$80 million.

[Section 5. of H.R.994 proposes \$27 million additional funds for emergency food assistance to Liberia.]

Health: The forthcoming UN appeal states, "The incidence of disease is very high, especially in women and children.... In four counties in the southeastern region, health relief has not yet begun." The UN seeks funds to improve health care coverage through reopening of health facilities, revitalizing programs for disease control, and deploying eight health relief teams throughout the country. Anticipated cost for the next year for health needs is more than \$15 million.

[Section 3. of H.R.994 proposes \$45 million in additional funds for disaster assistance in various sectors, including for "emergency health projects...[and] efforts to rehabilitate the primary health care system of Liberia."]

Water and sanitation: There is a need throughout the country to provide new water sources, especially to health facilities and centers for displaced people, to refurbish hand pump wells that have suffered from lack of maintenance, and to disinfect open wells that have become polluted. The ICRC is currently partially rehabilitating the White Plains water plant, which supplies Monrovia, and hopes to restore output to 30 percent of capacity. UNICEF plans to rehabilitate and construct shallow wells in the capital to boost the water supply. The UN is appealing for \$6.5 million for water and sanitation services (OFDA has already pledged \$1 million for urban water supply restoration and sanitation).

[Section 3. of H.R.994 proposes \$45 million in additional funds for disaster assistance in various sectors, including "to respond to Liberian relief and development needs."]

Education: No formal educational activity is currently taking place in Liberia. The IGNU plans to reopen schools in Monrovia in September. However, according to the United Nations, "the problems of restoring the educational system are extremely daunting as a result of physical destruction and the displacement of people." The appeal seeks \$4.6 million for education throughout Liberia.

[Section 3. of H.R.994 proposes \$45 million in additional funds for disaster assistance in various sectors, including "the restoration of schools and the general education system."]

Agriculture: "The civil conflict has had a devastating impact on the agricultural sector," says the UN appeal. "The commercial [agricultural]

sector has, for the most part, ground to a halt.... The provision of an adequate supply of seeds and fertilizer is of high priority. *Given time constraints for the current planting season, an effort is being made to identify a bilateral donor(s) who would be in a position to respond even before this appeal is launched.*" Besides seeds, agricultural tools are needed, poultry should be restocked (especially in light of the great need for protein sources), and fisheries need assistance. The UN also suggests that agricultural activity could play a key role in reintegration of demobilized soldiers and proposes that "an immediate effort be launched to explore strategies for [their] rehabilitation and resettlement." The UN seeks \$10.8 million for the agricultural sector.

[Section 3. of H.R.994 proposes \$45 million in additional funds for disaster assistance in various sectors, including "to respond to Liberian relief and development needs."]

Assistance to displaced persons, refugees, and returnees: The UN finds that "nearly all displaced persons, refugees, and returnees live in destitution, lacking the basic necessities of life." There are more than 500,000 internally displaced Liberians according to the UN (OFDA puts the number at 1.2 million); more than 700,000 others are living as refugees in neighboring countries; some 56,000 Liberian refugees have returned from Sierra Leone; and, there are now an estimated 12,000 Sierra Leonean refugees in Liberia (plus tens of thousands of others in Guinea). The UN seeks \$13.7 million primarily to support repatriation programs for a limited number of refugees who may repatriate during the coming year (this does not include ongoing care and maintenance programs for refugees).

[Section 4. of H.R.994 proposes an additional \$20 million "for emergency relief, repatriation, and rehabilitation efforts for Liberian refugees."]

The total UN appeal for Liberia is \$134.7 to cover the above sectors (food: \$80.4 million; health: \$15m; water and sanitation: \$6.5 million; education: \$4.6 million; agriculture: \$13.7 million; displaced/refugees/returnees: \$22.4 million); and program support (\$2.6 million). [Appeal figures have been rounded.] The appeal also seeks \$800,000 for support of "children in difficult circumstances," a group on which I would now like to focus.

Liberia's Orphaned, Separated, and Traumatized Children According to the ICRC, "Non-accompanied children [both those orphaned and those separated from their families] are a major preoccupation in Liberia, with around 10,000 in Monrovia and a similar number throughout the rest of the country." According to a recent report by CCF, several programs to assist some of these children are being implemented by the Liberian Coalition for Relief, Resettlement, and Reconstruction, the Belgian group *Medecins Sans Frontieres*, and Save the Children Fund (UK). "At the time of the [CCF] visit, approximately 1,000 children were living in residential care in Monrovia.... Approximately 170 'street children' were being served by three night shelters."

The UN appeal seeks \$800,000 for the provision of shelter, food, and basic education for unaccompanied children. These needs must be met. But among these children and young people, a large number require help far beyond the material. They are Liberia's traumatized children, not only those who have been the victims of or witnesses to violence and brutality, often the killings of parents or loved ones, but also those who have [often forcibly]

participated in violent acts.

I recently met with Mr. James Holder, a minister in the interim government of Liberia, who said that an ever-increasing number of boys and young adults, particularly those who have been associated with the NPFL, are laying down their guns and heading to Monrovia. "We do not have the physical resources or expertise to help these children," Mr. Holder said. "They need a comprehensive program that includes not only housing, food, and clothes, but also counseling." He added that the community at large must be encouraged to help, not reject, these children. At present, they are regarded with hostility because of the actions which they have committed. "The community must be helped to accept these boys and to help them become children again."

Mr. Chairman, sadly, the phenomenon of traumatized children, including that of children made to carry out acts of violence, is not new. But at least there is now some experience and expertise in helping to rehabilitate these children. In Mozambique, where hundreds of thousands of children have been victims, witnesses to, or forced perpetrators of violence, a program was begun by Dr. Neil Boothby and the Save the Children Fund (SCF) [with funding from OFDA] to assist traumatized youngsters. I would like to submit with this statement a copy of an article by Dr. Boothby from USCR's 1989 World Refugee Survey on the program he established in Mozambique.

Such a program is needed to help Liberia's traumatized children, Mr. Chairman. I have recently contacted Dr. Boothby and he is prepared to undertake a mission to Liberia to assess the problem and the needs and, based on his findings, draw up plans for such a program in Liberia. Dr. Boothby is prepared to go to Liberia as early as August. But his trip--and subsequent proposal for a treatment program--will need funding. OFDA provided funding

for Dr. Boothby's assessment trip and project in Mozambique. He will be approaching them for funding for similar work in Liberia. I urge you and your colleagues on the committee to write to the State Department supporting an assessment visit by Dr. Boothby and a comprehensive treatment program for traumatized children.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The subcommittee should approve H.R.994, the Liberia Relief, Rehabilitation, and Reconstruction Act and strongly support its enactment.

The recent UN assessment of emergency humanitarian needs in Liberia and the funds required to address them support the initiatives proposed in H.R.994. There can be no doubt that the needs are there. Yet the Administration has said that it does not believe enactment of H.R.994 is required, noting--among other things--that the United States is "already making significant contributions toward providing relief for Liberia." However, Mr. Chairman, I would argue that "significant contributions" are not enough while an entire country is at risk.

2. I urge your support for an initiative to assist Liberia's traumatized children.

These young victims of the violence that gripped Liberia require special--and urgent--help. Expertise exists on how to help, what is needed now is action to make that expertise available to Liberia. Dr. Neil Boothby, who initiated the traumatized children's project in Mozambique is prepared to travel to Liberia to help design such a program and identify an agency capable

of implementing it. I urge you to support this initiative.

* * *

On the one hand, Mr. Chairman, I am asking you to lead this Subcommittee in acting on H.R.994 to provide a framework for and give priority to a major effort at enabling Liberians to begin recovering from the nightmare they have experienced. On the other hand, I am asking you to support a specific initiative to help restore some of Liberia's most traumatized children to wholeness.

The two are not unrelated--helping Liberia to recover must inevitably mean helping victimized Liberians to recover.

I ask your support and leadership on both.

Mr. DYMALLY. Thank you very much.
Reverend Logan.

**STATEMENT OF WILLIS H. LOGAN, DIRECTOR, AFRICA OFFICE,
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES**

Rev. LOGAN. Yes. Good afternoon. I am Willis Logan, Director of the Africa Office of Church World Service, the relief and development arm of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA. The NCC is a community of Christian communions which brings together 32 Protestant and Orthodox churches with a combined membership of over 40 million people. While I do not speak for any of the individual churches, the concerns I express today about Liberia are based upon common policy concerns of the churches for the peace and well being of the people of Liberia. These concerns were addressed in a resolution of the General Board of the NCC which it adopted on November 26, 1990. The churches primary concerns were the restoration of peace in Liberia and the provision of humanitarian assistance to the victims of the Liberia conflict. Therefore, I appear before you today to speak in favor of the proposed legislation that would provide assistance for Liberian relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction.

The churches in the United States have been deeply involved with Liberia from the time of its conception. Indeed, many of the churches of the United States are organically tied to their churches in Liberia. Among the churches which have such a special relationship are the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, the United Methodist Church, the National Baptist Convention, USA, the Progressive National Baptist Convention. Other churches with strong ties and work in Liberia include the Episcopal Church and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.

Therefore, it has been especially painful for the religious community in the United States to see so many of its members killed and the destruction of so many of the service facilities established by the churches over the last 140 years: schools, hospitals, clinics, community centers and other development projects. The most tragic loss being the loss of so many lives.

By now, the outline of the conflict in Liberia is probably fairly well known. The invasion by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia in late 1989 and the subsequent fall of the Doe Government would appear to be the key elements of the conflict. However, a closer look at the situation reveals that the conflict in Liberia is deeply rooted in its historical and inextricable relationship to the United States.

The founding of Liberia under the auspices by the American Colonization Society in 1847 created a country that was filled with conflict from the beginning. The relationship between indigenous people of Liberia and the returned slaves and freedmen from the United States was problematic from the outset. Essentially, the creation of Liberia was seen as a possible solution to what people in the United States saw as its so-called race problems; namely, the presence of Africans in America, especially free Africans. But, alas, it was to be a solution that would not gain the support of the U.S.

Government and the general populace. Hence, Liberia never had or got the kind of support that would have enabled it to march with confidence into the community of nations.

Another key point in America's connection to Liberia is the relationship of the Doe Government to the United States. After the coup d'etat in 1980 that brought to an end the long reign and dominance of the so-called America-Liberians, the United States found itself firmly supporting a brutal regime which openly subverted the democratic process by stealing the elections held in 1985. This fact is well documented by a number of human rights organizations. It should be noted that the United States provided more aid to Liberia during the Doe years than it did during the nation's first century of existence.

Against the background of close institutional and governmental ties, the present situation in Liberia is all the more tragic and disturbing. My firsthand knowledge of the present situation comes as a result of two visits, now three visits, to Monrovia since November of 1990.

During the first visit, November 1-5, I saw the results of war. Monrovia had been under siege for several months. Much of the city was deserted. Many of the buildings had been fire-bombed and looted. There were corpses. People reported that they had been without adequate food for at least 6 months. We saw many people who were obviously malnourished. There were large numbers of nationals from neighboring countries who were living at the port waiting for passage home. Disabled vehicles littered the streets. There were piles of refuse and rubble strewn about the streets. At the end of the runway at the Spriggs Payne Airport in Monrovia, there were the skeletal remains of large numbers of people who had apparently been executed at that spot.

The stench of death hung heavily over the city. It was especially heavy at the St. Peters Lutheran Church where some 700 people had been killed several months earlier by government soldiers. The bodies were still in place in November.

We visited hospitals which had been looted and saw the bodies of patients who had been killed or left to die. At one of the hospitals, the corpse of an expectant mother was found on the delivery table. We heard stories of people who had been separated from their families as the population was moved by one side or the other to the conflict. Many people told us of being ordered out of Monrovia by the NPLF and the lawlessness that attended the evacuation of the NPLF areas in Monrovia. We saw small children carrying automatic that were about as large as they were in size.

Mr. Chairman, I was with Mr. Ruiz during November. We also heard the periodic burst of gun fire because Monrovia was still beset by three factions at that time: the AFL, the NPFL, and the INPFL, better known as the Doe forces, the Taylor forces, and the Johnson forces. In addition, the ECOWAS forces were also in place in Monrovia as peacekeepers.

The situation was very fluid and there was very little relief assistance available to the population of Monrovia in early November. There were one or two international relief agencies operating at the time and a very important and heroic local relief initiative called Special Emergency Relief Food (SELF) which was trying to

distribute the little relief food that was available. The situation looked very bleak. There was no running water, sporadic electrical service, no communication facilities, no accessible transportation in and out of Monrovia. While the needs were obvious and overwhelming, it was also clear that it would not be easy to do relief work in Monrovia because of the constraints cited above.

Nevertheless, by the beginning of December, a number of international relief agencies, including Church World Service, had begun work in Monrovia which had been secured by the ECOWAS forces.

By the time of my next visit to Monrovia in early April, more than 20 international relief agencies were at work. Many of the agencies were involved in medical work and food distribution. Monrovia, while still bearing all the signs of war, was clearly showing signs of recovery. The signs were most evident on the faces of the people. There was food, medical care, and a reasonable amount of security in Monrovia. There were dramatic stories to be told about the tremendous relief effort which had been undertaken. Clearly, many many lives had been saved as a result of the relief effort.

The problem is that Monrovia is just a small part of Liberia. At this point, 90 percent of the country continues to be held by the NPFL, and relief activities in that part of the country are not as likely to be as well organized and as effective as those in Monrovia. I was informed by our medical staff that the worst medical cases they are seeing are found among the people who are coming into Monrovia from behind NPFL lines. These reports raise the possibility that there are still large numbers of people who are not getting aid because of the impasse in the efforts to reach a political settlement that would allow the entire country to be opened up and made accessible.

Even in Monrovia, the relief efforts are severely constrained by the lack of communications facilities and the difficult transportation arrangements that prevent easy access. There is some limited international telephone service at this point, but the international airport at Roberts Field remains closed. Therefore, the relief effort is still greatly handicapped.

Nevertheless, the relief effort in Monrovia demonstrates the willingness and capability of the international community to respond to the situation.

I believe the urgency in Liberia at this time is to expand the relief effort to all areas of the country. For this to happen, all the parties to the conflict in Liberia must find a formula or agreement that will enable all the parties and their principals to come together. Ideally, such a gathering would produce a binding arrangement for an interim period of governance that would serve as a prelude to free and fair elections.

I say this being fully aware of the previous efforts to bring about such a gathering. However, each of those efforts have fallen short of the goal because all of the principals have not found it possible to participate. I would suggest that security of the participants might well be one of the major issues preventing such a meeting from taking place. And I say that, Mr. Chairman, being aware of the meeting which recently took place.

There is every urgency about this matter for Liberia and all of West Africa. Liberia is already in turmoil and there are already indications that the turmoil in Liberia could engulf the neighboring countries as evidenced by the recent events in Sierra Leone. In addition, the presence of large numbers of Liberian refugees in the neighboring countries prevents a potentially volatile situation. The refugees are being hosted by countries which are already financially strapped and represent an additional burden. They are also good scapegoats for those who would want to sow dissension in those countries.

Mr. Chairman, there has been a great deal of violence in Liberia which has caused an estimated 50,000 lives. As much as half the population has been dislocated. Much of the infrastructure has been severely damaged or destroyed. The country is in disarray.

The question is what must be done. I believe that the following represents some of the elements of a process for restoring peace and wholeness to Liberia:

First, organization of a meeting for all parties with the provision for guaranteed security for all participants. And I would stress the word security. No one party to the conflict can do this task. This needs to be done on a multilateral basis. And to some extent that has happened with this recent meeting;

Second, provision of substantial humanitarian and development assistance. There is a need to ensure that all areas of the country receive assistance as part of the process of reconciliation; and

Third, formulation of a binding timetable for free and fair elections. It would be important for any new, permanent government to come to power as a result of free elections as opposed to armed force.

The role of the United States. As was stated earlier, the United States is significantly bound to Liberia because of its history. Liberia is our oldest ally on the African continent. There are ties of blood between Liberia and the United States. Nevertheless, it was possible for all the suffering and devastation to be visited upon the people of Liberia as our government proclaimed a policy of neutrality.

I strongly believe that it would be instructive for us all to have an audit of our governmental policy toward Liberia. It might well be that there is still a contribution for the United States to make to the process of peacemaking in Liberia by using its considerable influence to undertake a more vigorous diplomatic initiative.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DYMALLY. Thank you very much. Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. I really have no questions. I agree with what each of the panelists have said. I, too, on my visit to Liberia saw very distressful scenes and feel very strongly that there must be a program to work with the children in particular who have seen so much death and destruction and violence. And so I am just here to say that hopefully we will be able to move the administration and with the legislation being put forth by Chairman Dymally and Mr. Flake we could hopefully get a policy statement straight and move on to the reconciliation and reconstruction and elections, fair and free, in Liberia. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DYMALLY. Thank you very much. I simply want to add to that by saying that I hope that the support groups seated here will give the kindest support to the legislation which we are going to rewrite that the folks gave to that piece of legislation.

Our next and final panel consists of Miss Joyce Mends-Cole, Mr. Ralph Moss, and Dr. Septimus Kaikai.

Of course, ladies first. I am still an old-fashioned chauvinist.

[Laughter.]

Mr. DYMALLY. Miss Cole.

STATEMENT OF JOYCE MENDS-COLE, PRIVATE WITNESS

Ms. MENDS-COLE. Thank you. I have prepared a written statement, and I would like to have that entered into the record.

Mr. DYMALLY. Without objection. It is so ordered.

Ms. MENDS-COLE. Thank you. Chairman Dymally, thank you for holding this important hearing and for inviting me to testify. My name is Joyce Mends-Cole, and I am a consultant on human rights and development issues. I am very grateful for the subcommittee's consistent attention to the important issues facing Africa and in particular, for your interest in addressing the urgent situation in Liberia.

I have followed the Liberian situation closely and have conducted several missions on behalf of different organizations. Most recently in April of this year, I went to Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire for UNIFEM, that is, the United Nations Development Fund for Women, to investigate the situation of women refugees.

Mr. Chairman, all those missions were difficult for my colleagues and myself. Difficult because the testimony of the refugees corroborated later by independent observers, spoke of a level of brutality and destruction which we found difficult to comprehend. A few examples deserve retelling. In May of 1990, the discovery of 16 bodies, all badly mutilated with their heads severed from their bodies, corroborated earlier reports of the sequestration of soldiers from the Mano and Gio ethnic groups and the subsequent secret executions by the government's own forces. At the end of the same month, government troops attacked the United Nations compound where over 1000 Mano and Gio people had sought protection. Forty persons were dragged away, their bodies found later in the streets, identified by grieving relatives. On July 30, perhaps the worst single incident occurred. Army soldiers attacked a group of displaced civilians who had sought refuge at St. Peter's Lutheran Church, killing 185 men, women and children on the spot and forcing another 350 onto a nearby beach where they were shot and bayoneted to death.

Abuses by members of the National Patriotic Front and the breakaway faction, the Independent National Patriotic Front, have also been documented. Those abuses include summary executions, cruel treatment, rape, the taking of hostages and humiliating and degrading treatment.

Mr. Chairman, these atrocities against civilians resulted in the flight of hundreds of thousands of Liberians. At one point, over half of Liberia's population either had fled the country or were internally displaced. They fled to neighboring countries where they

were initially generously welcomed. However, all of the host countries, as I said before, are struggling with fragile economies and are finding the refugees a burden they increasingly cannot bear. The incursion into Sierra Leone has also increased tensions between the host government and the refugee population, forcing many refugees to return to an overwhelmed Monrovia.

The international community, led by the United States, has responded to the Liberian crisis, and the number of deaths from malnutrition and starvation has dramatically dropped. However, increasing numbers of refugees in the world combined with the Persian Gulf Crisis has meant a corresponding diminishing of attention to the Liberian situation. Therefore, Liberians are particularly grateful to you and the Members of this subcommittee for introducing H.R. 994, and I urge you to continue to work for its passage.

I have spoken briefly about the general situation of Liberians. I would like to offer some specific testimony about the plight of women refugees and to urge you and the Members of this subcommittee to ensure that any funds committed to Liberia have a certain portion targeted to address the specific needs of women and children.

Mr. Chairman, every region of the world has a sizable refugee population. The political instability of the world has created over 18 million refugees in almost 100 countries and at least 20 million internally displaced. Women and children make up at least 75 percent of all refugee populations, and in many cases their figures reach 90 percent, often with large numbers of female-headed households.

The situation of Liberian women and children refugees is no different. Even when the actual numbers of refugees had been disputed, it has been clear that women, their dependent children, as well as unaccompanied minors, were the majority and were the most vulnerable. They are the most vulnerable for many reasons:

Women and children do not normally make up significant numbers of fighting factions. They are, therefore, usually the victims of violence carried out by all sides. In the case of Liberia, many children have been conscripted to fight for both the NPFL and the INPFL, in violation of international law. In the event of a resolution of the present conflict, these children will require special counseling and rehabilitation before they can re-enter society. I would, therefore, like to support Mr. Ruiz's call for assistance to these victims.

Women are victimized in special ways. Rape, as a form of torture, has been widespread during this conflict. In addition to rape, harassment for sexual favors is common. In the village of Thuo in Guinea, women reported that their children were sometimes arrested and held for ransoms by low-level military personnel. If the mothers had no money, which was usually the case, they were forced to engage in sexual intercourse to win the release of their children.

A member of a recent mission conducted by the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children reported that women refugees spoke about seeing babies ripped from the stomachs of pregnant women prior to being killed by NPFL forces. The medical and psychological consequences of either being a victim or of witnessing

such horrors is not being addressed by any agency that I know of so far.

As you have heard from previous testimony, the bulk of relief assistance has been food and mostly cereal food. There is a serious lack of protein products. There are also inadequate supplies of medicine and other supplies. Therefore, many young women have been forced to resort to prostitution to provide for their children. In countries with a high incidence of AIDS, such as Cote d'Ivoire where UNICEF recently reported that AIDS is the leading cause of death, the implications are clear and grave. For women in Monrovia, interaction with ECOMOG soldiers from Nigeria, another high-risk area, also poses a deadly threat.

Women and children are also at particular risk from disease and malnutrition. During the worst months of the crisis in Monrovia, women and children were the first to die from those causes. They continue to have the greatest need for an adequate food basket and for medical treatment. This places an additional burden on women refugees and displaced women, as women are traditionally responsible for the welfare of their families, including food production and health care.

Mr. Chairman, there are many initiatives proposed for Liberian refugees, but a lack of funding might prevent many from being carried out. I would like to speak about the only initiative I am familiar with which targets women and children.

U.N.I.F.E.M. is preparing to implement a project which has four components and is based on a number of premises. The first premise of the project is that women refugees and displaced women have special needs. The second premise is that assistance to women is the best way to provide assistance to the whole family or household. The third premise is that relief assistance is a priority, but it must be supported by relief substitution projects which engage the refugees and displaced in productive activity. This is an important prerequisite to repatriation and the rebuilding of a devastated society. The fourth premise is that the local populations have borne a heavy burden in assisting the refugees and have seen their development process severely affected by the huge numbers of refugees. These populations deserve some assistance to rebuild their lives and infrastructure.

The project will address four needs of refugees in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana: shelter, income-generating activities, food production, and counseling to overcome trauma and provide motivation. I would hope that we will see other initiatives to assist women and children when this bill is passed.

Mr. Chairman, daily reports of terror, human suffering and abuse can sometimes numb our senses because it seems so overwhelming. This hearing underscores the commitment of this subcommittee to Liberian victims of war and violence. You have understood that there is a human face to this conflict, that these are real people who have been subjected to the worst abuse and degradation. Each one is an individual and has a particular story to tell. I cannot say that I speak on all of their behalf. But as a woman, I would like to say to the men engaged in the present political wranglings, Liberian women have suffered enough. Peace is a prerequisite to reconstruction. If they cannot resolve this situation immedi-

ately, perhaps it is time for them to retire from the scene and allow women, who did not create the situation, to come forward and heal the wounds.

Ms. MENDS-COLE. Thank you.

Mr. DYMALLY. Right on.

[Laughter.]

Mr. DYMALLY. Civil War number 2.

[Laughter.]

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Moss.

STATEMENT OF RALPH MOSS, PRIVATE WITNESS

Mr. Moss. Mr. Chairman and Congressman Payne, I thank you for the opportunity to come before you to offer my reflections as a private witness, and also as, I believe, the only businessman to come before you with recent experience in Liberia. I traveled in late March and early April to the Liberian city of Buchanan by road, having crossed the border from the Ivory Coast and, thus, I was able to observe first-hand what transpired in that part of Liberia that was controlled by the forces and government of Charles Taylor.

My purpose for making this journey was to resolve a difficult and pressing situation for my client Seaboard Corporation. Seaboard, as both of you gentlemen know, has been active in Africa for the past 30 years operating both flour mills, feed mills, and fishing plants, and a shipping line up and down the west coast of Africa.

To wit, I was to attempt to secure the release of Seaboard owned American wheat, flour, corn, and soybean meal then held at the National Milling Company, a flour mill formerly also owned and operated by Seaboard in the Liberian port city of Buchanan. Having been unable to convince CRS, the USAID authorized PVO operating in that region to take these commodities for inclusion into their relief feeding program, it was incumbent upon my client to seek the removal of these stocks so that they would not go to spoilage and waste. The only way to secure this removal was for me to go to Buchanan and first ascertain both their availability and fitness, though we had had a sampling done in a private government lab in Abidjan, and the results came out remarkably good a few months earlier, and to obtain the agreement of both the mill operator and the government of Charles Taylor to remove our stocks. This was no small assignment, but it was the only thing we could do, and thus, I went into Taylor-controlled Liberia.

I would like to say that I had several meetings with our U.S. Government officials, people at USAID, people at the State Department, and also meeting with our ambassador, Mr. deVos, during a visit that he had made to the United States, and did receive some cooperation.

I also met with Mr. David Wippman of Reichler and Soble, the Washington law firm representing the interim government of Amos Sawyer. I sought to explain the nature of my visit to Liberia and to assure them that I was going to seek out the Taylor government in this regard simply because Mr. Taylor and not Mr. Sawyer, or ECOMOG, controlled the port city of Buchanan. It was Mr. Taylor whose agreement was required. I assured Mr. Wippman

that neither Seaboard nor I had any intention to pay any kind of tribute to the Taylor government for the permission that we sought. The reason that I point that out, gentlemen, is that because we had been warned, including warnings by the State Department, that we should expect to pay some kind of tribute to Mr. Taylor. And, you know, knowing the law as we do, we were not ready at all to honor such a request.

I also spoke with Mr. Dorsey Hansford, the national chairman of the National Patriotic Association of Liberia-U.S.A./Canada, Mr. Taylor's representative in the United States. He assured me that he understood Seaboard's immediate concerns and requirements, and he said that we would have no problem going into that part of Liberia. Again, the horror stories that you have heard this afternoon can only speak to the stories that we had heard from other people who had supposedly made attempts to go into Liberia, of being held up and robbed, and held at gun point. I was told that I should speak to Mr. Supuwood who is Mr. Taylor's minister of justice so as to arrange safe passage. This we attempted to do.

We also made arrangements to go fly to Abidjan and then to go in by boat, on the Ennar Latex (L.A.C.) boat, [L.A.C. being an American corporation that operates a rubber plantation in Taylor-held territory.] They operate the only regular service between Abidjan and the port city of Buchanan taking in supplies and taking out rubber for L.A.C.

When I arrived in Abidjan, of course, the arrangements had not been as well made as I thought that they were going to have been, and thus, I sat for 2½ weeks in a hotel in Abidjan waiting to get the letter that was required for passage into Liberia. I was warned by our political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Abidjan, Mr. Tom Price, that I should not attempt to go in by road without a letter of permission. This proved out to be a very good warning, by the way. The U.S. Embassy in Abidjan was very helpful in passing messages back and forth between myself and our embassy in Monrovia. You will remember that that was the time that there was a meeting going on, a peace conference which Mr. Taylor did not attend, but he had his ministers in attendance in Monrovia.

Finally, arrangements were made and I decided to go in by road. I went in a convoy, a two-truck convoy, loaded down, as it turned out, very luckily, with materials for Mr. Taylor's government. And when I say 'government', it was very apparent when we reached the border town that Mr. Taylor had, in fact, set up a Government in Liberia.

The journey to Buchanan took 2 days on the road. These 2 days were quite heralding. I went in with Mr. Milt McGregor who is president of EXCHEM, and also the honorary Canadian counsel in Liberia. We went in by truck, and we were, in fact, met by Taylor's Army, the young boys, young men who you've heard described and seen the picture of this afternoon, with Kalishnakov machine guns.

It took us 4 hours to secure passage from the border to Saniquellie because we did not, in fact, have the letter of introduction. Again, it became very evident to me that the Taylor forces had, in fact, established a governing mechanism and those charged with responsibilities, even though they were very young men, took their assignments very seriously. And this was especially true of the im-

migration authorities. We were escorted to Saniquellie in the dark, in the rain, but we had to go to the next higher immigration person to get permission to go on to Gbarnga to meet the head of immigration, and I will tell you, that was quite an experience.

There was a lot of bitter hostility in the several official Taylor voices I was to be met with over the 4 days that I spent in Taylor-held territory. This hostility dealt, of course, with American policy toward Liberia. I took the source of this articulate hostility as being routed in an earnest but pained frustration with policy or attitude toward Charles Taylor. It did not seem to these people to be possible that the United States could take the position that we did in light of our long and founding relationship with that country. Though I identified much of this as partisan politics, it was, however, difficult for me to shake the sense of betrayal that I came to sense in the faces and voices of the ordinary nonpolitical citizens with whom I was there met and spoke.

But my purpose today is not to examine or discuss American policy toward Liberia. Rather, it is to reflect on some of that which I saw during my visit to that country. Having traveled by truck, I was able to see firsthand the devastation that has spoiled that once bountiful nation. Indeed, from the border of the Ivory Coast to Gbarnga, one finds whole or large parts of cities, towns, and villages destroyed and deserted. Electricity is either gone or in short and rationed supply. And then, I believe, only in the larger cities and towns is electricity even possible. Much of the water supply has also been disrupted both in the major cities and the small villages.

Remarkably the roads are in very very good shape, but we found that most of the commerce is done by foot. There are very few vehicles up and running, and the roads are strewn with the corpses of cars and lorries.

Traveling along the roads which connect the towns and villages, one observes a semblance of a return to normalcy. The roadside stalls are in operation selling fruits and green leafy vegetables along with a few luxuries such as imported dental and personal hygiene items. There is also smoked fish to be had, but I saw no meat or poultry in the stalls nor in the city market in Buchanan. For that matter, throughout my traverse of that portion of Liberia, I saw no chickens or farm animals along the way. I am told that all such had long been slaughtered for consumption.

Most of the farmlands were not, of course, in production, but the people were seen to be readying the fields in preparation for planting and cultivation. There is desperate need for seeds in the country, and I was asked if Seaboard could not provide for this need. The people are living on food provided by USAID and private charitable organizations and the greens and fruits still in growth. Though there did not appear to be any starvation and while basic dietary requirements are somehow fulfilled, the diet of most Liberians is not complete and the people are hungry.

There is obviously a need for all types of farm equipment and supplies as most of these items were either stolen or destroyed during the hostilities. The people have been reduced to using crude hand tools and picks to prepare the land for farming, but I did not hear a complaint. Here I must say that I believe the USAID,

through CRS, the UN's PVO and MSF-Belgium are doing an admirable job with what they have, but these supplies are simply not enough, and their ability to penetrate the whole of the country is indeed questionable. The Taylor government was, to my best witness, cooperative and supportive of these organizations and their lifesaving work. Also, the Taylor people were very much concerned about, and involved in, relief activities of their own. They had organized food and shelter programs, and I discussed with Mrs. Taylor the opening up of clinics in that part of the country which is under her husband's control. In fact, during my stay there, the first such clinic was opened in Kakata. I am told that progress continues in the opening of these vitality needed clinics and medical facilities.

I also understand, Mr. Chairman, that Bridgestone-Firestone, the operator of the largest rubber plantation in the world which is located in Liberia, has negotiated and is continuing to negotiate with Charles Taylor the reopening of their hospital on the plantation and that they are preparing to send in doctors.

Life in the cities and towns appear to be on the comeback though I had no way of knowing just how far it had, in fact, declined having not been there immediately prior to the destructive hostilities. In Gbarnga, Kakata, and Buchanan people were trying to return to normalcy. Small shops were being reopened as well as supermarkets, largely owned and operated by the Lebanese, along with warehouses. As I have said, the markets were opened daily and bustling with people. There was about the people a remarkably and truly impressive resilience and expansiveness. Indeed, there was much laughter and gossip as if the hostilities had not, in fact, just recently happened. I was received with interest, no hostility but much welcome. There were many inquiries about why America had not done more to end the conflict and to aid the nation, but none were asked in anger, rather disappointment. All appeared willing to forget about the past and look to the future in hope, and this I found most encouraging.

Thus, I would pray for your support for H.R. 994, but I also believe that stout encouragement must be given to the church and private sectors here in the USA as they, too, have a large role to play in the rebuilding of this nation, Liberia.

As to my assigned mission, I can report that I was successful in my undertaking for my client Seaboard. My discussions with the Taylor executive went extremely well as they understood the situation that had brought me to Liberia, and they did everything they could to accommodate us. Here I must say that the Taylor people recognize that they must provide for their people and that they must thusly work with those companies that can provide employment and revenue to their nation. Although I had been warned that my client would probably be shaken down by Taylor, this did not happen. I was not asked for any kind of tribute, nor would I have paid same. My discussions with the Taylor executive were straightforward and direct and very professional.

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Moss.

Mr. Moss. Yes.

Mr. DYMALLY. I have about 5 minutes to go vote. I will be right back, but I think Mr. Payne will probably arrive before I do, so then he will proceed with the hearing.

[Recess.]

Mr. PAYNE [presiding]. I would like to call this meeting back to order and we will continue with the witness who was testifying at this time. We want to alert you that normally we have a five-minute rule, but we have been allowing witnesses to take in excess of that. Because we are running down and time is getting short, I would hope that we would summarize our testimony so we can complete it in the next few minutes. Thank you very much.

Mr. Moss. I will finish very quickly, Congressman. I was just saying that I won permission to remove our commodities, and I had their pledge that the removal would go unhindered. I also obtained permission from the company that operates the port of Buchanan to bring in a ship to carry those commodities out. Hereto, the Taylor command pledged to be of assistance.

I must say that our removal of our commodities did not go unhindered. But it was not Taylor who caused us problems however. It was the ECOMOG forces. As our ship left the port of Buchanan and went into international waters—well into international waters, our ship was accosted and assaulted by an ECOMOG ship, a Nigerian ship. The ship was turned around and sent up to Monrovia where it was held under arrest with the crew, a foreign crew, a European crew, it was held under arrest for 2 days. They suffered abuse on the ship. The American Embassy got involved to very little avail, and finally, the ship captain was relieved of several thousand dollars and the private stores by the Nigerians at the port, finally our ship was allowed to proceed. The excuse they used for commandeering our ship was that it was supposedly carrying arms for the Taylor, taking arms, which we could never understand, out of Liberia for Taylor and taking food to some supporters in some far off place. Again, charges that we've never understood.

I came away with an assurance from the Taylor people that they were truly interested in a return of the American business community because they realize that they must provide jobs. They realize that they would have to provide jobs and get that country running again.

My one caveat, and I will say finally, sir, is the matter of these boy soldiers with the guns. I was accosted, stopped 43 times going into Liberia from the border to Buchanan. I had Kalishnikov machine guns placed in my face and in my chest 43 times. They wanted cigarettes, they wanted money, they wanted food. We were able to obviously provide for their needs. But they not only accosted Canadians and Americans going in, they accosted their own people.

The problem of what they are going to do to take those guns away from these people is a very serious problem. As you have heard said in other testimony, there can be no election without the matter of guns being resolved. But at the same time, it is not only a removal of the guns from the boy soldiers, the Taylor people. Serious consideration must be given to what we are going to do or what they are going to do with the Nigerians because the people in that part of the country do not trust Nigeria no matter what we are told by the State Department. They are not trusting of the Nigerian motive. Believe me, the Nigerians are not trusted by the people in Taylor territory.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Moss follows:]

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE AFRICAN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE
OF THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

SUBJECT: LIBERIA

By: Ralph L. Moss

Mr. Chairman and honorable members I thank you for this opportunity to come before you to offer my reflections as a private witness. I traveled in late March and early April to the Liberian city of Buchanan by road (having crossed the border from the Ivory Coast) and, thus, I was able to observe first hand what had transpired in that part of Liberia that was controlled by the 'forces' and 'government' of Charles Taylor. My purpose for making this journey was to resolve a difficult and pressing situation for my client Seaboard Corporation. To wit: I was to attempt to secure the release of Seaboard owned (American) wheat/flour, corn, and soybean meal then held at the National Milling Co., a flour mill formerly also owned and operated by Seaboard in the Liberian port city of Buchanan. Having been unable to convince CRS, the USAID authorized PVO operating in that region, to take these commodities for inclusion into their relief feeding program it was incumbent upon my client to seek the removal of these stocks so that they would not go to spoilage and waste. The only way to secure this removal was for me to go to Buchanan and first ascertain both their availability and fitness; (though we had arranged sample testings in private laboratories in Abidjan a few weeks earlier; the results showing the commodities to be in remarkably good/wholesome shape despite their having sat in the silos for so many months) and to obtain the agreement of both the mill operator and the 'government' of Mr. Taylor to remove our stocks. This was no small assignment and it was not a task that could be planned from here as few accurately knew what, in fact, was transpiring in Taylor controlled Liberia.

Here I must note that I had several helpful conversations with U.S. government officials in preparing for this assignment, including a meeting with our ambassador, Mr. Peter deVos during a visit he made to Washington D.C.

I also met with Mr. David Wippman, of Reichler and Soble, the Washington D.C., law firm representing the interim government of Amos Sawyer. I sought to explain the nature of my visit to Liberia and to assure them that I was going to seek out the Taylor government in this regard simply because Mr. Taylor, and not Mr. Sawyer or ECOMOG controlled the port city of Buchanan thus, it was Mr. Taylor whose agreement was required. I assured Mr. Wippman that neither Seaboard nor I had any intention to pay any kind of tribute to the Taylor 'government' for the permission that we sought.

And, finally, I went to Newark, N.J. to meet with Mr. Dorsey Hansford, the national chairman of National Patriotic Association of Liberia-U.S.A., Canada, Mr. Taylor's representative in the USA. Again I explained Seaboard's immediate concerns and requirements and sought his assistance in securing passage into his country Liberia. Mr. Hansford assured me that I could enter that part of Liberia as other American businessmen were apparently doing so with some regularity but he suggested that I be in touch with Mr. Levali Supuwood, Mr. Taylor's minister of justice so as to arrange safe passage. (I was told that I should have a letter of introduction and/or permission to travel into that part of Liberia and that it must come from Mr. Taylor's office.) All of this accomplished I departed Washington, D.C. on 11 March, for Abidjan, Ivory Coast where I planned to board the Ennar Latex chartered ship bound for Buchanan, having received assurances that I would be able to receive the necessary travel 'documents' from Taylor people in Abidjan. After two and one-half weeks of waiting for said 'documents' to materialize I, together with Mr. Milt McGregor, president of EXCHEM, Liberia, (and Honorary Canadian counsel in Liberia) decided to travel into Liberia by road (from Abidjan) something that we had both been advised not to do! Our transport was arranged by L.A.C. personnel and field representatives of the Taylor 'government'. Though we neither of us had any documentation other than our respective passports we were assured that word had, in fact, been sent 'guaranteeing' our safe passage.

(The political officer(s) at the U.S.embassy in Abidjan was (were) very helpful in trying to put me in contact with the Taylor people in Monrovia (attending the peace conference.) They strongly advised against entering Liberia without written permission, and reminded me that there would be very little that they, the U.S. government, could do if something were to happen to me whilst in Liberia as our government had no official contact or representation in that part of Liberia.)

The journey from Abidjan to Buchanan was made in two (2) days' time with an overnight stay at the 'official presidential' guest house of Mr. Charles Taylor in Gbarnga. The highway system in (the) Ivory Coast is, I dare say, the envy of Africa, and though this country too has suffered some degree of both political and economic dissettlement of late it is still prosperous and there is a vibrancy in the towns and villages passed along the way to the border of Liberia. All of this abruptly changes when one crosses the Crestos river and enters Liberia; all pleasantries and smiles ceased to exist and the rag-tag face and reality of war was met.

As has been mentioned neither Mr. McGregor or I had formal letters of entry and this immediately presented a problem. (The fact that the several Liberians who had hitched rides on the two (2) Mitsubishi 2WD trucks in our caravan had no legitimate travel documents did not seem to matter for they were able to negotiate unhassled entry.) Here I was first met face to face with the boy soldiers armed with their Kalichnikov machine guns who were said to make up so much of Charles Taylor's army. These young men, some looking indeed as young as ten (10) and eleven (11), had the faces of boys but the deadly earnestness of the fierce fighters that they had proved to be in the field.

It took us nearly four (4) dank hours to secure passage to Saniquellie where we would indeed have to face yet more questioning before being permitted to proceed to our destination(s). It became very evident to me that the Taylor forces had, in fact, established a governing mechanism and those charged with responsibilities took their assignments very seriously. This was especially true of the immigration 'authorities'. It was also very clear from my first encounter with the Taylor administration that I, as an American, albeit a private citizen in no way connected to the US government nor, thus, responsible for US government policy was going to have a difficult time because of our government's policy on Liberia.

There was a bitter hostility in the several 'official' (Taylor) voices I was to be met with over the next four (4) days whenever the question of American policy arose (which it did with alarming regularity.) I took the source of this articulate hostility as being routed in an earnest but pained frustration with our policy/attitude toward Charles Taylor; it did not seem to these people to be possible that we could take the position that we did in light of our long (and founding) relationship with that country. Though I identified much of this as partisan politics it was, however, difficult for me to shake the sense of betrayal that I came to sense in the faces and voices of the ordinary, non-political citizens with whom I was there met and spoke.

But my purpose here today is not to examine or discuss American policy toward Liberia; rather to reflect on some of that which I saw during my visit to that country. Having traveled by car I was able to see firsthand the devastation that has bespoiled much of that once bountiful nation. Indeed from the border of (the) Ivory Coast to Gbarnga one finds whole or large parts of cities, towns, and villages destroyed and deserted. Electricity is either gone or in short and rationed supply, (and then, I believe, only in the larger cities and towns) and much of the water supply has also been disrupted both in the major cities and small villages.(I am told that this is resulted from the destruction of dams, water works, and wells throughout the country.)

Remarkably, most of the highway system appears to be in good repair though the stripped and burned-out shells of lorries and passenger vehicles are littered about in great supply. Motorized vehicles of all types are in short supply and those few that do yet operate are heavy laden with both human and material cargo. Most Liberians

traverse the long roadways burdened down with what little they can commerce on foot and it is not unusual for some to walk scores of miles in the course of the day.

Traveling along the roads which connect the towns and villages one observes that the semblance of normalcy is slowly returning to Liberia. Roadside stalls are in operation selling fruits and green leafy vegetables along with a few 'luxuries' such as imported dental and personal hygiene items. There is also smoked fish to be had but I saw no meat or poultry in these stalls nor in the city market in Buchanan. For that matter throughout my traverse of that portion of Liberia I saw no chickens or farm animals along the way; I am told that all such had long afore been slaughtered for consumption. (It was eerily ironic that the manager of the national Milling Co., whom I was to visit had in his yard in Buchanan African deer and goats which had somehow survived the conflict.)

Most of the farm lands were not, of course, in production but the people were to be seen readying the fields in preparation for planting and cultivation. There is a desperate need for seeds in the country and I was asked if Seaboard could not provide for this need. The people are living off food provided by USAID and private charitable organizations and the greens and fruits still in growth. Though there did not appear to be any starvation and while basic dietary requirements are somehow fulfilled the diet of most Liberians is not complete and people are hungry.

There is obviously a need for all types of farm equipment and supplies as most of these items were either stolen or destroyed during the hostilities. The people have been reduced to using crude hand tills and picks to prepare the land for farming but I did not hear a complaint. I did see one or two tractors but, again, most of these were now gone and as fuel is too in very scarce (and expensive) supply what few repairable implements as might be available are thus largely rendered useless.

Here I must say that I believe that USAID through CRS, the UN's PVO and Medecins Sans Frontieres-Belgium, etc., are doing an admirable job with what they have. But their supplies are simply not enough and their ability to penetrate the whole of the country is indeed questionable. The Taylor 'government' was, to my best witness, cooperative and supportive of these organizations in their lifesaving work. Also, the Taylor people were very much concerned about, and involved in, relief activities of their own. They had organized food and shelter programs and I discussed with Mrs. Taylor the opening of clinics in that part of the country which is under her husband's control. In fact, during my stay there the first such clinic was opened in Kakata. I am told that progress continues in the opening of these vitally needed clinics and medical facilities.

(I understand that Bridgestone-Firestone has been asked by the Taylor people to come in and reopen their hospital (located on their plantation. I believe that the company has agreed to send in doctors and that they are considering the hospital reopening request

along with the efforts at returning to operation. This would be a very important move as I did not see a complete hospital facility in operation during my visit and there is a need for same. I must say that I did visit the city hospital in Buchanan and I was very surprised to see that it was untouched by the fighting that had ensued in its immediate environs. I walked through the hospital and found that a partial staff comes every day to keep it clean and ready for the time when it will be returned to full use. The wards are not in operation as there is no permanent doctor but the x-ray department is still in operation. Again, medicines are in very short supply but the people have made the best of what is available. I did pledge to assist in organizing the supply of the most basic of medical needs. Here such relief can, and I believe should, come from American church groups. The fact that the fighters had respect for the hospital facilities (as well as most churches) was indeed heartening.)

Life in the cities and towns appeared to be on the comeback (though I had no way of knowing just how far it had, in fact, declined having not been there immediately prior to the destructive hostilities.) In Gbarnga, Kakata, and Buchanan people were trying to return to normalcy. Small shops were being reopened as well as supermarkets, largely owned and operated by the Lebanese, and warehouses. As I have said, the markets were open daily and bustling with people. There was about the people a remarkable and truly impressive resilience and expansiveness. Indeed, there was much laughter and gossip, as if the hostilities had not, in fact, just recently happened! I was received with much interest; no hostility but much welcome. There were many inquiries about why America had not done more to end the conflict and to aid the nation, but none were asked in anger, rather disappointment. All appeared willing to forget about the past and look, in hope to the future. More importantly all seemed genuinely only interested in peace and getting on with their lives. I took great hope for Liberia in their hope and spirit and came away also wanting only a peaceful resolution of all discord. Their courage and strength is indeed the stuff that will remake their nation Liberia but they will require massive financial and material assistance.

Thus, I would pray your support for H.R.994. But I also believe that stout encouragement must be given to the church and private sectors here in the USA as they too shall have a large role to play in the rebuilding of this nation Liberia.

As to my assigned mission I can report that I was successful in my undertaking for my client Seaboard. My discussions with the Taylor executive went extremely well as they understood the situation that had brought me to Liberia and they did everything that they could to accommodate our wishes. Here I must say that the Taylor people recognize that they must provide for their people and that they must thusly work with those companies that can provide employment and revenue to their nation. Although I had been warned that my client would most probably be 'shaken down' by Taylor this did not happen: I was not asked for any kind of tribute nor would I have paid same. My discussions with the Taylor executive were straightforward and direct and very

professional. I won permission to remove our commodities and had their pledge that this removal would go unhindered. I also obtained permission from the company that operates the port of Buchanan to bring in a ship to carry these commodities out. Hereto the Taylor command pledged to be of assistance.

The Taylor camp kept their promise(s) but, alas, I cannot report that this removal of Seaboard's commodities passed without trouble. In fact it was the ECOMOG forces with whom we were met with difficulty (and extortion!) We, Seaboard, chartered a ship which duly sailed into Buchanan where she picked up our cargo and proceeded into open/international waters. However, in international waters this ship was assaulted and boarded by a Nigerian vessel under the ECOMOG flag command and commandeered to Monrovia. Our ship was headed in the opposite direction and her contents were, in fact, known to the representatives of the ECOWAS 'government' in Monrovia (or rightly should have been!) After two (2) days in Monrovia port under arrest the ship was allowed to carry on but a sizeable amount of cash was seized from the captain by the ECOMOG military authority which was illegal. This cost Seaboard a great deal of money and distress and frightened the crew (so much so that they will not return to Liberia. This is regrettable as very few ships will call at Liberian ports as it is and if that country is to be rebuilt she will need all such commerce as full shipping service can provide.

This is one thing that the Taylor executive did ask of Seaboard-the return of our ships which formerly called at the port of Buchanan. I discussed Seaboard's concerns over safety and port costs, etc., as well as our desire not to transport any goods or cargo that were not rightfully obtained and was able, again, to negotiate, with the port authority (which is private) charges which are reasonable and in line with international rates. I also won assurance that our ships would be protected and provided with every courtesy. Here, again, the Taylor people demonstrated their willingness to work with international business people and their understanding and desire to get their nation back on track economically.

Finally, the one caveat that I would have concerning what I saw and heard during my visit to Liberia is the matter of the guns in the hands of the 'boy soldiers'. This is an important matter and one that must be dealt with before any serious reconciliation and reconstruction can come to Liberia. We were stopped some forty-three (43) times at checkpoints enroute to Buchanan by machine gun toting 'soldiers'. These ominous looking weapons were pointed in my face and chest at each stop and I was questioned as to my reason for traveling in Liberia. I was also asked for money, food, and cigarettes. Most times these questions and askings were good natured but at a few checkpoints they became demands and I was not very comfortable, to say the least!

These 'soldiers' did not only stop foreigners and it was also apparent that they took tribute from their fellow Liberians. Their weapons gave them real authority and I fear

that they shall not readily give these weapons up. I discussed this issue with several high level Taylor people and was assured that Mr. Taylor is aware of this problem and has a plan. I pray that his is the case but I fear that it will not be easy to disarm his 'soldiers'. This, I am afraid, will preclude any meaningful peace thus it must be dealt with immediately.

I am much encouraged by the Sawyer/Taylor agreement announced recently following their meeting in Yamoussoukro, Ivory Coast, as are most American business people with interests in Liberia. Our companies are ready to return to that country and to begin our work again but we must see a lasting peace established and a democratic rule of law firmly in place. Many of us have made our positions known to both of the contenders for Liberian leadership and we will continue to wait our return. We all pray that this is truly a beginning to the recovery that surely must come.

Thank you.

Ralph L. Moss
Chairman
The Africa Group

16 July, 1991

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. We will now hear from our final witness, Mr. KaiKai.

STATEMENT OF SEPTIMUS M. KAIKAI, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS AND CHAIRMAN, BUSINESS, SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMAN SERVICES DIVISION, CATONSVILLE COMMUNITY COLLEGE, CATONSVILLE, MARYLAND

Mr. KaiKai. Thank you very much, Congressman. I, too, have a prepared testimony I wish to request be entered into the record.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you.

Mr. KaiKai. My name is Septimus KaiKai. I am Professor of Economics and Chairman of the Business, Social Sciences and Human Services Division at Catonsville Community College in Catonsville, Maryland.

On behalf of the Sierra Leone Community in the United States, I appreciate the opportunity to share with this committee information and analysis of the spillover effects of the civil war in Liberia on the economic, social, and political situation in the Republic of Sierra Leone.

Mr. Chairman, Congressmen, the participation of Sierra Leone in the recent Persian Gulf War was a recognition by that peace-loving nation of the need to reserve political stability and human rights in a new world guided by democratic principles. The interest engendered by the U.S. Government to such a hearing as this emanates from a desire to bring order out of chaos in some of the developing countries. A conglomeration of nations with hostile attitudes has always been found to generate a sense of political and cultural insecurity in other nations with a propensity for the preservation of democratic ideals. Indeed, world order can and will only thrive in an atmosphere in which all nations not only respect one another's sovereignty to territorial integrity, but also make minimal efforts to guarantee it.

The civil war in Liberia, as has been testified today, threatens regional stability in West Africa. It also has the potential for long-time adverse impact on the rest of the world if nothing is done now to bring it to resolution. Indeed, one of the factions is led by Charles Taylor, a common criminal wanted back in Massachusetts to serve his prison term for robbery. The likes of ex-convict Charles Taylor and rulers like Saddam Hussein and Colonel Qaddafi, who have no value either for human life or internationally accepted norms of human behavior, should not be allowed to operate from platforms of authority from where they can heap injustice and carnage on innocent citizens.

The political, social and economic conditions in Liberia mirror the conditions existing in most of Africa. The major difference, however, is that the negative effects of the political instability in Liberia have spilled over into Sierra Leone on a massive scale. In the words of the great American, Thomas Paine, "these are the times that try men's souls. Tyranny, like hell, is much more difficult to conquer than can be imagined."

Congressman, Members of the Subcommittee on Africa, the unprovoked invasion of the Republic of Sierra Leone, a microstate on the west coast of Africa, with a land area of 27,925,000 square

miles, and a population of approximately 4 million people, by ex-convict Charles Taylor and his gang of terrorists has destabilized the economic, social and political conditions of that country and the entire subregion.

The Republic of Sierra Leone is by all factor criteria a primary producer as indicated by the fact that over 70 percent of the economically active population is engaged in agriculture. Sadly enough, the area invaded by ex-convict Charles Taylor and his gang of terrorists is, indeed, the bread basket of the Republic of Sierra Leone. The international market at Koindu, which symbolized and epitomized the very essence of a free market operation and the implementation of a viable multilateral regional economic cooperation agreement, has been stultified by ex-convict Charles Taylor's usurpation of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Sierra Leone.

With the disruption of farming and mining activities, Sierra Leone sadly stands to lose 62 percent of its foreign currency earning capacity from the export of agricultural commodities, and a significant 19.8 percent of its Gross Domestic Product. The current and potential loss in revenues from both personal income and business tax collection has and will further exacerbate the nation's almost nonexistent economic growth rate and hyperinflationary conditions existing in the country.

The carnage and malicious destruction of property inflicted by these hoodlums, while monumental, is minimal relative to the virtual abandonment of the provision of educational opportunities for almost 25 percent of the youth of the Republic of Sierra Leone.

The invasion of Sierra Leone by these repulsive criminals has thrown into virtual chaos and disequilibrium the population dynamics in the country. Conservative estimates place the number of Sierra Leoneans who have fled their homes to neighboring Guinea at over 50,000, while the number who have taken refuge in the now-untouched urban centers of Freetown, Bo, Kenema, etcetera, are estimated to be in the hundreds of thousands.

The gravity of the depraved human condition in Sierra Leone only begins to sink in, Mr. Chairman, when one considers the sad fact that several hundred thousand nationals are unaccounted for. Our speculation is that these unaccounted for citizens are taking refuge in the jungles of the country without shelter, adequate food, and clothing. One can further speculate that the thousands of deaths that have occurred are due to the unavailability of even minimal medical assistance and attention. Mr. Chairman, the deplorable human conditions that our people have been forced to live under are the result of the unconscionable and despicable acts of the warmongers and unprincipled destabilizers from Liberia.

Notwithstanding the incontrovertible evidence, Charles Taylor continues to deny all involvement in the violation of the territorial integrity of our beloved and peaceful Sierra Leone. The behavior of Charles Taylor is reminiscent of the actions of most modern-day bullies whose aims for personal aggrandizement supersedes all concerns for orderliness in the world.

The unanticipated upsurge in the population of these urban centers has created developmental problems of a multidimensional

nature. The first and foremost fundamental problem is the increase in the pool of unemployed and its attendant social ills.

A second problem is that of overcrowding because of the unavailability of housing units to accommodate increased demand. Additionally, the overcrowded conditions have caused some grave sanitary and health problems. Incidentally, the sanitary and health problems in the invaded areas are much serious because these common criminals have refused to allow the Sierra Leone citizenry to bury their murdered relatives. Dead bodies are either thrown into the streams and rivers or left on the roads to decompose. Sierra Leone has neither the resources to allocate toward eradication of artificially created health problems nor the time to devote toward the amelioration of the vanity of an ex-convict whose sole aim is to secure an arena to cause further mayhem in a region that was once relatively safe, relatively stable, and relatively secure.

Mr. Chairman, Freetown is not on the verge of reaching a crisis yet with regards to the abuse of its environment, but the disgorging of solid wastes into the Sierra Leone river, the spewing of pounds of smoke and fumes by cars into the atmosphere, the noise in the city which approaches a level of persistent intensity that threatens both the mental and physical well-being of the city's inhabitants, are byproducts of the overpopulation of this relatively small metropolis.

It is significant to note here that ex-convict Charles Taylor's invasion of Sierra Leone has added cushion and comfort to the participants in the nation's underground economy. And I might add here, Mr. Chairman, that activities in Sierra Leone's underground economy as a percent of the gross domestic product are estimated to be in excess of 60 percent now. It is an economy the nation cannot afford to have, and hence, the urgency to dislodge these mobsters from Liberia from Sierra Leone. The greatest fear of all Sierra Leoneans, and indeed, of other Africans in the region is that Charles Taylor has a grand design for the creation of an oasis of commercialism from the most fertile and mineral-rich areas of Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea. such an accomplishment, Mr. Chairman, would wreak serious havoc on the region's stability and economic viability for years to come. Mr. Chairman, the United States has long served as the beacon of hope for the oppressed and downtrodden.

The United States' record of accomplishment in the preservation of human rights and the territorial integrity of nations, the adherence to widely accepted international norms of behavior and willingness to share its ideas and bounty with others less fortunate is commendable.

We now need your assistance in this, our hour of need. And I would hope that the bill that is now in front of the House, when it is finally passed, will make provisions for the situation that exists in Sierra Leone so that the damage that has been done will be corrected.

Mr. DYMALLY [presiding]. In anticipation of your statement, I had a note to the staff to include Sierra Leone in the bill.

[Applause.]

Mr. KAIKAI. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Indeed, your help so far in providing us with food and transportation equipment

will remain indelible with us. As with the actions of Adolph Hitler, Saddam Hussein, and Colonel Qaddafi, this current intransigence and blatant disregard of the sovereignty of nations should not only receive international condemnation, but should be uprooted with the tools and language that these despots understand.

And I might indicate here that we believe the situation in the west coast of Africa is an international problem and, therefore, should receive an international solution. The conditions are grievous enough I would believe that a proactive international solution is the only way we can resolve that. We really appreciate your continued support of our efforts to dislodge Charles Taylor and his gang of bandits.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for giving us the opportunity to provide you with an insight into the chaos that ex-convict Charles Taylor has caused our country.

Mr. DYMALLY. Thank you very much, Mr. KaiKai. I am very pleased that Sierra Leone has had an opportunity to share in this hearing. You mentioned in passing something that is of great importance to the economy in Sierra Leone, and you talked about the underground economy. I am wondering if you were including in that the trafficking, the legal export of mineral resources from Sierra Leone for which no tax is paid?

Mr. KAIKAI. There was already an underground economy, Mr. Chairman. What I am simply saying is that the invasion of the country and the massive influx of these mobsters from Liberia have created conditions for the underground economy to become much more prominent than what it was before, and if this situation should continue, Mr. Chairman, what we are afraid of is that there is going to be significant loss as far as hard currency is concerned, and we will run into some serious problems as far as providing revenue for developmental proposals and other actions that would be very important at this stage.

Mr. DYMALLY. Sierra Leone experiences the problem of smuggling right now?

Mr. KAIKAI. That is part of the underground economy I was talking about, but the invasion has added a cushion to it. In other words, the situation has been further exacerbated as a result of the invasion.

Mr. DYMALLY. Is the government making any provisions to police this smuggling which began before the invasion and which continues?

Mr. KAIKAI. The government is making every effort to do that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. I do not have anything to add. I certainly appreciate the testimony from our last witness and from all of the witnesses.

I would like to now turn the attention to Ms. Cole's testimony, which I think was certainly balanced. It is unfortunate about the intrusion into Sierra Leone by Mr. Taylor's forces. I think, though, as we start to characterize the leadership in Liberia and its surrounding countries, that it is only fair that if we are going to talk about who the bandits and terrorists are, I certainly would concur with you about your characterization of Mr. Taylor from what I

have read. But I certainly could not give an award to Mr. Doe, who, when he took over the government illegally, assassinated all of the former leaders. I hope that our memory is not so short that a decade erases injustice. Of course, a secondary injustice does not necessarily qualify you for a previous injustice. In other words, two wrongs do not make a right. But I think that as we talk about the situation, perhaps there would not have been a Charles Taylor had it not been for the behavior of Mr. Doe.

And I think the AFL, as has been pointed out by Ms. Cole, I think that the behavior of the INPFL, if you want to look at the video of what happened to President Doe by Mr. Johnson, there is enough blame to go around. That is my whole point. And as we try to resolve the situation and the cast of persons involved, I have no favorites. As a matter of fact, I am very disturbed at what has happened there, but by the same token, I think that if we are going to be fair about reconciliation that we are going to have to be a little bit balanced in our approach, and that is all. It is not a question. It is basically a statement.

Mr. Chairman, I have to leave.

Mr. DYMALLY. Thank you very much, indeed.

I thank the witnesses for coming. I note with some interest, Mr. Payne, you said Ms. Cole's testimony was balanced. I got the impression she was advocating a revolution.

[Laughter.]

Mr. PAYNE. That's balanced.

Mr. DYMALLY. Thank you very much. The meeting is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:35 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

MARKUP OF H.R. 994—SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1991 FOR RELIEF, REHABILITATION AND RECONSTRUCTION IN LIBERIA

WEDNESDAY, JULY 24, 1991

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:58 a.m., room 2200, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Mervyn Dymally (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. DYMALLY. First, let me apologize for being late. I think you will forgive me when I tell you that I was meeting with the prime minister of Mali, who happens to be a graduate of Georgetown and Pittsburgh Universities and is also an African-American Institute (AAI) scholar. So it was with some interest that I learned about the role that the African-American Institute is playing in helping to build new African leadership. Prime minister, set a course very early toward democracy with a national conference followed by elections in October considering the fact that other countries have tended to rely on autocratic rule after a coup for many months and years. So I was really taken up by his presence and his knowledge of our system here and his willingness to proceed with democracy. I might add that he would like to get some democracy funds. Mr. Solarz.

Good morning and welcome to the Subcommittee on Africa's markup of H.R. 994, the Relief, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Act. This bill was originally designed as an emergency supplement to provide emergency assistance to Liberia during its civil war.

During the foreign aid authorization process, the measure evolved into the language we now see in the Liberia Section of Title X in H.R. 2508 as passed by the House on June 20th of this year.

Today, I am offering an amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 994.

[The amendment of Mr. Dymally follows:]

July 23, 1991
AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE FOR H.R. 994
OFFERED BY MR. DYMALLY OF CALIFORNIA

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

1 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

2 This Act may be cited as the "Liberian Relief,
3 Rehabilitation, and Reconstruction Act of 1991".

4 SEC. 2. ASSISTANCE TO LIBERIA.

5 (a) FINDINGS.--The Congress finds that--

6 (1) as a result of a protracted civil war, a general
7 breakdown of law and order, the displacement of up to one-
8 half of the country's population, the destruction of
9 significant sections of the infrastructure, and the
10 resulting economic collapse, the people of Liberia are
11 suffering from--

12 (A) severe malnutrition and life-threatening
13 disease conditions;

14 (B) a total collapse of Liberia's agricultural
15 market due to abandoned farmlands and displaced
16 farmers; and

17 (C) a nationwide dismantling of the health,
18 educational, and sanitation systems; and

1 (2) because of a long, historical, and special
2 relationship with the Republic of Liberia, it is in the
3 interest of the United States and the international
4 community to respond to the urgent needs of the people of
5 Liberia and to assist in every way possible that
6 country's effort to restore democracy and promote
7 democratic institutions.

8 (b) STATEMENT OF THE CONGRESS.--The Congress--

9 (1) urges the Government of Liberia to make a
10 commitment to respect the sanctity of the sovereignty and
11 territorial integrity of neighboring states;

12 (2) encourages the Government of Liberia to devote
13 all available resources to ending cross-border operations
14 from Liberia into Sierra Leone; and

15 (3) calls upon the international community in
16 providing assistance to Liberian refugees and displaced
17 persons to give priority attention to women and children.

18 (c) UNITED STATES POLICY.--It shall be the policy of the
19 United States to commit heightened diplomatic resources and
20 energies to resolving the fundamental political conflicts
21 which underlie the protracted humanitarian emergencies in
22 Liberia.

23 (d) CIVIL STRIFE ASSISTANCE.--Funds made available for
24 international disaster assistance may be used to provide
25 assistance for civil strife relief, rehabilitation, and

1 general recovery in Liberia. Such assistance shall be
2 provided for humanitarian purposes and shall be provided on a
3 grant basis. In providing such assistance, priority shall be
4 given to funding--

5 (1) activities which maximize the use of private
6 voluntary organizations for relief, rehabilitation, and
7 recovery projects;

8 (2) activities which emphasize health projects,
9 including efforts to rehabilitate the primary health care
10 system of Liberia;

11 (3) activities which contribute to the restoration of
12 schools and the general education system, including
13 efforts to support the teaching of displaced children;

14 (4) activities which contribute to efforts by the
15 international community to respond to Liberian relief and
16 development needs; and

17 (5) activities which will restore water and power
18 services.

19 (e) USE OF ESF PIPELINE FUNDS.--

20 (1) AUTHORIZATION.--The President is authorized to
21 deobligate funds that have been obligated for economic
22 support assistance for Liberia for any prior fiscal year
23 but that are unexpended on the date of enactment of this
24 Act and to--

25 (A) transfer those funds to the "PEACEKEEPING

1 OPERATIONS'' account under chapter 6 of part II of
2 the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 for use in
3 supporting peacekeeping efforts in Liberia by the
4 Economic Community of West Africa Monitoring Group
5 (ECOMOG); or

6 (B) use those funds to provide economic
7 assistance to Sierra Leone to address the economic
8 hardship caused by the invasion of that country by
9 rebel forces from Liberia.

10 (2) REQUIREMENT FOR APPROPRIATIONS ACTION.--The
11 authority provided in paragraph (1) may be exercised only
12 to the extent provided in advance in an appropriations
13 Act.

14 (f) RESTRICTIONS ON ASSISTANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT.--

15 (1) REQUIREMENT THAT THERE BE RECONCILIATION AMONG
16 ALL PARTIES.--For fiscal years 1992 and 1993, assistance
17 under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (including
18 assistance pursuant to subsection (g) of this section)
19 may be provided to the Government of Liberia only if the
20 President reports to the appropriate congressional
21 committees that the Government of Liberia has achieved
22 substantial progress toward reconciliation among all
23 parties to the conflict in Liberia.

24 (2) CONSIDERATIONS IF THERE IS AN ELECTED
25 GOVERNMENT.--If the President has made the determination

1 required by paragraph (1), in determining whether to
2 provide assistance to the Government of Liberia, the
3 President shall consider whether that government is
4 committed to respecting internationally recognized human
5 rights, freedom of the press, the independence of the
6 judiciary, freedom for the members of the legal community
7 to practice their skill and defend their clients without
8 fear, harassment, or persecution, and full participation
9 in the political and reconciliation process by all
10 parties.

11 (g) ASSISTANCE FOR DEMOCRATIZATION.--

12 (1) FUNDING.--For fiscal years 1992 and 1993, the
13 President may use funds made available for development
14 assistance, economic support assistance, and assistance
15 from the Development Fund for Africa to furnish
16 assistance to support the programs and activities
17 described in paragraph (2) to improve the performance of
18 institutions of democracy in Liberia.

19 (2) DEMOCRATIZATION PROGRAMS AND
20 ACTIVITIES.--Assistance for democratization in Liberia
21 pursuant to paragraph (1) shall be used to support the
22 following:

23 (A) Programs and activities to strengthen the
24 civilian institutions necessary for the growth and
25 development of democracy such as free and independent

1 print and broadcast media, an independent judiciary,
2 electoral monitoring organizations, independent
3 electoral commissions, human rights monitoring
4 organizations, and other nongovernmental
5 organizations that critically assess government
6 policies and promote citizen participation in
7 government.

8 (B) Programs and activities of infrastructure
9 support for democratic parties and organizations and
10 infrastructure support to assist in electoral
11 administration.

12 (C) Projects to improve the capabilities of the
13 legislature to improve the constitutional and
14 electoral process.

15 (D) Educational programs and exchanges designed
16 to foster understanding and respect for democratic
17 values.

18 (3) UTILIZATION OF ORGANIZATIONS WITH
19 EXPERTISE.--Assistance under this subsection may be
20 furnished directly to the Government of Liberia (subject
21 to subsection (f)) or indirectly through nongovernmental
22 organizations, including national, regional, and
23 international organizations. A substantial portion of the
24 funds made available to carry out this subsection shall
25 be used for assistance provided to nongovernmental

1 organizations with expertise in implementing programs
2 designed to promote democratic development and political
3 pluralism.

4 (4) LIMITATION ON USE OF FUNDS.--Funds made available
5 directly to the Government of Liberia pursuant to this
6 subsection may not be used for the costs of travel or
7 transportation costs, housing, consulting fees, attorneys
8 fees, the salary of any officer or employee of the
9 Government of Liberia, or any other cost or expense which
10 would normally be the responsibility of the Government of
11 Liberia.

12 (5) WAIVER OF BROOKE-ALEXANDER RESTRICTION.--Funds
13 made available pursuant to this subsection may be used
14 without regard to section 620(q) of the Foreign
15 Assistance Act of 1961 or any similar provision of law
16 relating to foreign assistance repayments.

17 (h) DEFINITIONS.--For purposes of this Act--

18 (1) the term "appropriate congressional committees"
19 means the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee
20 on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and
21 the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on
22 Foreign Relations of the Senate;

23 (2) the term "assistance from the Development Fund
24 for Africa" means assistance under chapter 10 of part I
25 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

1 (3) the term ``assistance under the Foreign
2 Assistance Act of 1961`` includes assistance from the
3 ``Foreign Military Financing Program`` account under
4 section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act;

5 (4) the term ``development assistance`` means
6 assistance under chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign
7 Assistance Act of 1961;

8 (5) the term ``economic support assistance`` means
9 assistance under chapter 4 of part II of that Act; and

10 (6) the term ``international disaster assistance``
11 means assistance under chapter 9 of part I of that Act.

Mr. DYMALLY. This amendment is the identical language passed in H.R. 2508, with the exception of two provisions. One, this amendment acknowledges the very unique and specific economic impact of Sierra Leone as a direct result of the Liberian crisis. The massive flow of refugees and the cross-border incursions by rebel forces has strained an already-fragile economic, political and medical environment in a way which is unmatched in any of the other border countries.

This amendment has a provision giving the President the authority to provide relief and assistance under this measure.

The second addition is a temporary waiver of Brooke Alexander in order to allow the U.S. Government to provide assistance to the Government of Liberia during its upcoming phase of democracy and rehabilitation.

This waiver is proposed for fiscal year 1992 and 1993. To protect the integrity of the legislative intent, safeguards have been written into the amendment making it contingent upon the forces in Liberia making substantial progress toward national reconciliation and committing to the democratic process.

Before I begin, I want to turn to Mr. Solarz for any observations he might want to make.

Mr. SOLARZ. I appreciate that, Mr. Chairman.

Perhaps you could just let me know, how much are we authorizing?

Mr. DYMALLY. We are not authorizing any money, because in the DFA, the AID and the President have the authority to use some of those funds for this particular matter. So this is somewhat like the Horn of Africa legislation—it is a policy statement rather than an appropriation.

Mr. SOLARZ. I see. Thank you.

Mr. DYMALLY. It is, I think, the same method, Mr. Solarz, that the President used to give an additional \$40 million to South Africa out of the extra \$200 million that we gave AID. So they have \$160 million to play around with.

I think it is safe to say that the Brooke amendment portion of this legislation has the support of the administration.

Mr. SOLARZ. Does the administration support this?

Mr. DYMALLY. It supports the Brooke section.

Mr. SOLARZ. And what about the legislation?

Mr. DYMALLY. They testified the other day and had no problems with it because it is just a policy statement. They especially are supportive of the effort to un-Brooke Liberia for a little while.

Mr. SOLARZ. Thank you.

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Flake has a statement. Let me just read Mr. Flake's statement.

"Mr. Chairman, members of the Subcommittee on Africa, few bills to be considered during this Congress will hold as much personal importance to me as the passage of the legislation that we are considering today.

"As a minister and as a legislator, my ties to Liberia have been—have taken me to that nation, where I witnessed firsthand the elements of discontent which later erupted into violent civil war. Constituents from the Sixth Congressional District and members of my church in the United States and in Liberia have suffered greatly

from family separation, the murder of loved ones, and the total disruption of their lives.

"As the peace process and the road to restoration and democracy moves forward, it is my hope that we can quickly enact this legislation so desperately needed to begin to rehabilitate this decimated nation.

"Enactment of this bill will go a long way toward beginning to address the malnutrition rate for the children of Liberia, which now exceeds 80 percent of the population. In addition to this legislation, we hope to begin to restore hydroelectric power, potable drinking water, health care and an educational system. We can do no less for the nation that we helped to create.

"The just-completed substitute for H.R. 994 offers both a reasonable funding mechanism and a means to address the rehabilitation needs of the Liberian people as well as over 750,000 Liberian refugees scattered across Africa.

"I greatly appreciate being offered the opportunity to work with Chairman Dymally, Congressman Wolpe, Congressman Payne, and Congressman Burton in the drafting of the substitute H.R. 994 which will shortly be considered.

"The spirit of cooperation of these members and their staffs is greatly appreciated. These and other members of the committee have demonstrated heartfelt compassion and have given me the hope that we can quickly end the suffering and restore the economy of this strife-ridden nation."

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, I move the substitute amendment.

Mr. DYMALLY. The chairman has an amendment at the desk, and the Clerk will read the amendment.

The CLERK. Amendment in the nature of substitute for H.R. 994.

Mr. DYMALLY. For the reading of the amendment, the amendment is considered read and entered into the record in its entirety.

The floor is now open for discussion of the amendment in the nature of the substitute to H.R. 994.

[No response.]

Mr. DYMALLY. There being no further discussion, the question before the subcommittee is the amendment.

All in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

Mr. DYMALLY. Those opposed, say no.

[No response.]

Mr. DYMALLY. The ayes have it. The amendment is adopted.

The subcommittee will now consider H.R. 994 as amended.

[H.R. 994 follows:]

102D CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 994

To authorize supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1991 for relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction in Liberia.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 20, 1991

Mr. DYMALLY introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

A BILL

To authorize supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1991 for relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction in Liberia.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the "Liberian Relief, Rehabili-
5 tation, and Reconstruction Act of 1991".

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 The Congress finds that—

8 (1) as a result of a year-long civil war, a general
9 breakdown of law and order, the displacement of up to
10 one-half of the country's population, the destruction of

1 significant sections of the infrastructure and resulting
2 economic collapse, the people of Liberia are enduring
3 widespread acute pain and suffering;

4 (2) severe malnutrition and disease are threaten-
5 ing the general population of Liberia; as many as 80
6 percent of the children residing in the capital city of
7 Monrovia have been seriously malnourished;

8 (3) agricultural lands have been abandoned, seeds
9 and other means for farmers to plant and harvest crops
10 have been lost, and agricultural markets have been de-
11 stroyed as a result of violent civil war;

12 (4) sanitary water supplies for the capital city of
13 Monrovia have been destroyed, the capital's two larg-
14 est hospitals must be totally refurbished, most of the
15 country's health clinics and many of the country's
16 schools have been destroyed or abandoned;

17 (5) the fragile economy has been thoroughly de-
18 bilitated by war; and

19 (6) because of its long and special relationship
20 with Liberia, it is in the interest of the United States
21 and the international community to respond to the
22 urgent needs of the people of Liberia and to assist in
23 every way possible to promote democratic institutions
24 and the social and economic development of the nation.

1 **SEC. 3. INTERNATIONAL DISASTER ASSISTANCE.**

2 Chapter 9 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of
3 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2292-2292p) is amended by adding at the
4 end thereof the following new section:

5 **"SEC. 495L. LIBERIAN CIVIL STRIFE ASSISTANCE.**

6 "(a) **AUTHORIZATION OF ASSISTANCE.**—The Presi-
7 dent is authorized to provide assistance for civil strife relief,
8 rehabilitation, and general recovery in Liberia. Assistance
9 under this section shall be provided for humanitarian pur-
10 poses and shall be provided on a grant basis.

11 "(b) **USE OF FUNDS.**—In providing the assistance au-
12 thorized in subsection (a), priority shall be given to funding
13 activities which—

14 "(1) maximize the use of private voluntary agen-
15 cies for relief, rehabilitation, and recovery projects;

16 "(2) emphasize emergency health projects, includ-
17 ing efforts to rehabilitate the primary health care
18 system of Liberia;

19 "(3) contribute to the restoration of schools and
20 the general education system, including efforts to sup-
21 port the teaching of displaced children; and

22 "(4) contribute to efforts by the international com-
23 munity to respond to Liberian relief and development
24 needs.

25 "(c) **TRANSFERS AND GENERAL AUTHORITIES.**—(1)
26 In addition to the amounts otherwise available for such pur-

1 pose, there are authorized to be appropriated to the President
 2 \$45,000,000 for fiscal year 1991 for use in providing assist-
 3 ance under this section.

4 “(2) The President is authorized to transfer up to
 5 \$750,000 of the amount appropriated pursuant to this section
 6 to the ‘Operating Expenses of the Agency for International
 7 Development’ account, which amount shall be used for man-
 8 agement support activities associated with the planning,
 9 monitoring, and supervision of emergency humanitarian as-
 10 sistance for Liberia.

11 “(3) The President is granted the authority to transfer
 12 funds appropriated pursuant to this section to the Develop-
 13 ment Fund for Africa for use in supporting longer-term reha-
 14 bilitation activities in Liberia.

15 “(4) Assistance under this section shall be furnished in
 16 accordance with the policies and general authorities con-
 17 tained in section 491.

18 “(5) Amounts appropriated under this section are au-
 19 thorized to remain available until September 30, 1992.”

20 **SEC. 4. MIGRATION AND REFUGEE ASSISTANCE.**

21 (a) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**—In addi-
 22 tion to amounts otherwise available for such purpose, there
 23 are authorized to be appropriated to the Department of State
 24 for “Migration and Refugee Assistance” \$20,000,000 for
 25 fiscal year 1991 for emergency relief, repatriation, and reha-

1 bilitation efforts for Liberian refugees who have fled civil
2 strife and, where appropriate, for support of relief programs
3 assisting local populations in the bordering countries of Sierra
4 Leone, Guinea, and Cote d'Ivoire, which have been affected
5 by the influx of Liberian refugees.

6 (b) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—Amounts appropriated
7 under this section are authorized to remain available until
8 September 30, 1992.

9 SEC. 5. EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE FOR LIBERIA.

10 (a) AUTHORIZATION OF ASSISTANCE.—The President
11 is authorized to provide supplemental emergency food assist-
12 ance for civilian victims of civil strife in Liberia, including
13 additional emergency food assistance (primarily rice, proc-
14 essed foods, and oils) for the needs of the affected and dis-
15 placed civilian population of Liberia through title II ("Food
16 for Peace") programs and to provide ocean and inland trans-
17 port of such food supplies.

18 (b) USE OF GRANTS.—In providing assistance author-
19 ized by this section, the President is authorized to make
20 grants to United States, international, and indigenous private
21 and voluntary organizations as may be necessary to carry out
22 the provisions of this section.

23 (c) TRANSFERS AND GENERAL AUTHORITIES.—

24 (1) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—In
25 addition to the amounts otherwise available for such

1 purpose, there are authorized to be appropriated to the
2 President \$27,000,000 for fiscal year 1991 for use in
3 providing assistance under this section.

4 (2) **MANAGEMENT SUPPORT ACTIVITIES.**—The
5 President is authorized to transfer up to \$500,000 of
6 the amount appropriated pursuant to this section, to
7 the “Operating Expenses of the Agency for Interna-
8 tional Development” account, which amount shall be
9 used for management support activities associated with
10 the planning, monitoring, and supervision of emergency
11 food assistance for Liberia.

12 (3) **AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.**—Amounts appro-
13 priated under this section are authorized to remain
14 available until September 30, 1992.

15 (d) **ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR HUMANITARIAN ASSIST-**
16 **ANCE FOR LIBERIA.**—It is the sense of Congress that, in
17 order to provide additional resources for relief, rehabilitation,
18 and reconstruction programs for victims of civil strife in Libe-
19 ria, not less than \$12,000,000 of the local currencies gener-
20 ated and available under provisions of title II of the Agricul-
21 tural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (the
22 “Food for Peace” program) during fiscal year 1991 should be
23 made available for disaster assistance purposes authorized by
24 section 495L(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as
25 added by this Act. Such funds should be available for general

1 relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction purposes and may in-
2 clude the provision or transport of emergency food assistance.
3 Such assistance should be administered by the Agency for
4 International Development.

5 **SEC. 6. GENERAL PROVISIONS.**

6 (a) **NONAPPLICABILITY OF PROVISION.**—The assist-
7 ance authorized for Liberia by this Act may be provided
8 without regard to section 518 of the Foreign Operations,
9 Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations
10 Act, 1990 (Public Law 101-167), section 620(q) of the For-
11 eign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2370(q)) (the so-
12 called Brooke-Alexander amendment), or any similar provi-
13 sion of the law relating to foreign assistance repayments.

14 (b) **REGULAR ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS TO BE MAIN-**
15 **TAINED.**—Relief and rehabilitation assistance provided for
16 Liberia under this Act, or any amendment made by this Act,
17 is in addition to the regularly programmed assistance for that
18 country for fiscal year 1991 under chapter 1 of the Foreign
19 Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance)
20 and titles I, II, and III of the Agricultural Trade Develop-
21 ment Assistance Act of 1954 (relating to food assistance).

Mr. DYMALLY. H.R. 994 before us, all those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

Mr. DYMALLY. Those opposed?

[No response.]

Mr. DYMALLY. The ayes have it. H.R. 994 is adopted as amended and reported to the full Committee on Foreign Affairs for further consideration.

I want to for the record state that the following people should be added as coauthors: Mr. Burton, Mr. Flake, Mr. Payne, Mr. Solarz.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DYMALLY. With—I ask unanimous consent to bring up H.R.—H. Con. Res. 171 and—

Mr. SOLARZ. As amended.

Mr. DYMALLY [continuing]. As amended and recognize Mr. Solarz for a statement.

Mr. SOLARZ. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I will be brief.

This is a noncontroversial resolution expressing the sense of the Congress in appreciation of the extraordinary efforts both by our own government as well as by the state of Israel to rescue the remnants of the Jewish community in Ethiopia.

This was, as you know, a rather remarkable rescue operation known as Operation Solomon in the waning moments of the Mengistu regime, a time of some peril; this operation was pulled off and a massive airlift was conducted, several thousand Ethiopian Jews were brought to Israel.

Our own government played a very important role in persuading the Ethiopian regime at the time to permit this, and we are always adopting resolutions criticizing people when they act badly. It occurred to me it might not be a bad idea to occasionally commend them when they act well.

So I would hope that this could be adopted, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DYMALLY. Mr. Solarz, it was my good fortune to be in Israel in 1984 when I think the second wave of Ethiopian Jews came into—actually, I think they were in Tel Aviv, yes, and, yesterday, I received a report from the chairman of the Black United Front International, which, by the way, has a branch in Israel. He has just come back and visited one of the settlements, I think, close to somewhere in Dimona, and met a young man who had a very interesting story.

At 16 years old, he was told by his father that he should go to Jerusalem, and he went to Jerusalem and while in Jerusalem, his father died, and he committed himself to getting his other Jewish brothers and sisters, and so far, he has become the leader for about 37 of the 40,000 Ethiopian Jews now and has made several trips back and forth to Ethiopia and he met Mr. Rolark, who is the husband of Councilwoman Rolark, in Atlanta at a conference through the Israeli Consular General in Atlanta, and they developed this friendship, and he went to—this is just last week, went to Israel trying to reach him and he could not find him and he finally went to an Ethiopian settlement and just asked for him, and immediately they got him on the phone and they had a reunion and commiserated about their experiences.

But he is now this young man, who went to Jerusalem at 17 years old, has now become the leader for—

Mr. SOLARZ. He came from Ethiopia?

Mr. DYMALLY. Yes. At 17 years and dedicated his life to helping get his fellow Ethiopians out of Ethiopia.

Mr. SOLARZ. I would not be surprised one of these days to find him in the Knesset.

Mr. DYMALLY. Yes, indeed. Well, I was thinking that it may be a good client to have, Mr. Solarz. I have to talk to one of my friends in the Bowan-Waxman operation.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Chairman, if I may just make one other observation, I think the extent to which Israel has not only accepted these people but has made every effort to bring them from Ethiopia to Israel constitutes the most dramatic refutation of the malicious canard that Zionism has become racism. Whatever else it may be, that it surely is not.

The arrival and acceptance of thousands and thousands of black Ethiopian Jews is an indication that this resolution as adopted by the U.N. based on total falsehood.

Mr. DYMALLY. We have before us H. Con. Res. 171 as amended.
[The resolution follows:]

As Amended

102D CONGRESS
1ST SESSION**H. CON. RES. 171**

Expressing the sense of the Congress relating to the rescue of approximately 14,000 Ethiopian Jews from Ethiopia to Israel, and to the current famine in Ethiopia.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 19, 1991

Mr. SOLARZ (for himself, Mr. GILMAN, and Mr. ACKERMAN) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the Congress relating to the rescue of approximately 14,000 Ethiopian Jews from Ethiopia to Israel, and to the current famine in Ethiopia.

Whereas, despite 2,700 years of anti-Semitism, physical destruction, land confiscation, enslavement and forced conversion, Ethiopian Jews, or "Beta Yisrael", have maintained their Jewish heritage and prayed for their return to their biblical homeland;

Whereas approximately 14,000 Ethiopian Jews have been separated—brother from sister, husband from wife, and parent from child—since the emergency airlifts of Operation Moses and Operation Joshua in 1984 and 1985;

Whereas the Administration carried out its diplomatic negotiations with the Ethiopian Government based on a policy of family reunification and human rights in Ethiopia;

Whereas the lives of Ethiopian Jews waiting to join their families in Israel are imperiled by the civil war in Ethiopia; and

Whereas several thousand Ethiopian Jews in war zones have not been rescued, and millions of Ethiopians remain at risk because of famine and a civil war that has ravaged that nation for decades: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that—*

3 (1) President Bush, Administration officials,
4 and the President's emissary should be commended
5 for their involvement in key diplomatic initiatives to
6 secure the timely release of approximately 14,000
7 Ethiopian Jews;

8 (2) the Government of Israel should be com-
9 mended for—

10 (A) carrying out "Operation Solomon",
11 one of the largest rescues of its kind in history;

12 (B) its ceaseless diplomatic and humani-
13 tarian efforts in reuniting Jews with their fami-
14 lies over the course of several years; and

15 (C) welcoming this beleaguered community
16 with open arms;

1 (3) dedicated individuals and private voluntary
2 organizations should be applauded for their unflag-
3 ging support of the Jewish community in Ethiopia;
4 and

5 (4) the United States should make every
6 effort—

7 (A) to promote democracy in Ethiopia;

8

9 (B) to increase its support for famine relief
10 so that millions of Ethiopians do not perish;
11 and

12 (C) to ensure the swift and safe release to
13 Israel of the thousands of Ethiopian Jews still
14 remaining in Ethiopia.

Mr. DYMALLY. All those in favor, say aye.

[Chorus of ayes.]

All those opposed?

[No response.]

H. Con. Res. 171 as amended is adopted and reported to the full Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. SOLARZ. Thank you very much.

Mr. DYMALLY. Thank you very much.

The meeting is adjourned.

[Pause.]

Mr. DYMALLY. The subcommittee is reconvened and the Chair recognizes Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me commend you for this prime piece of legislation, and we will hope that it will move speedily through the Congress.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DYMALLY. Thank you very much.

The Chair notes that Mr. Payne is a lead co-sponsor of the bill.

The meeting is adjourned.

[Copy of H.R. 1328 follows:]

102D CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 1328

To authorize supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1991 for relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction in Liberia.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 7, 1991

Mr. FLAKE (for himself and Mr. MFUME) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

A BILL

To authorize supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1991 for relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction in Liberia.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the "Liberian Relief, Reha-
5 bilitation, and Reconstruction Act of 1991".

6 **SEC. 3. INTERNATIONAL DISASTER ASSISTANCE.**

7 Chapter 9 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act
8 of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2292-2292p) is amended by adding
9 at the end thereof the following new section:

1 **"SEC. 495L. LIBERIAN CIVIL STRIFE ASSISTANCE.**

2 **"(a) AUTHORIZATION OF ASSISTANCE.—**The Presi-
3 dent is authorized to provide assistance for civil strife re-
4 lief, rehabilitation, and general recovery in Liberia. Assist-
5 ance under this section shall be for humanitarian purposes
6 and shall be provided on a grant basis.

7 **"(b) USE OF FUNDS.—**In providing the assistance
8 authorized in subsection (a), priority shall be given to
9 funding activities which—

10 **"(1) maximize the use of private voluntary**
11 **agencies for relief, rehabilitation, and recovery**
12 **projects;**

13 **"(2) emphasize emergency health projects, in-**
14 **cluding efforts to rehabilitate the primary health**
15 **care system of Liberia;**

16 **"(3) contribute to the restoration of schools and**
17 **the general education system, including efforts to**
18 **support the teaching of displaced children; and**

19 **"(4) contribute to efforts by the international**
20 **community to respond to Liberian relief and devel-**
21 **opment needs.**

22 **"(c) TRANSFERS AND GENERAL AUTHORITIES.—(1)**
23 **In addition to the amounts otherwise available for such**
24 **purpose, there are authorized to be appropriated to the**
25 **President \$45,000,000 for fiscal year 1991 for use in pro-**
26 **viding assistance under this section.**

1 “(2) The President is authorized to transfer up to
2 \$750,000 of the amount appropriated pursuant to this
3 section to the ‘Operating Expenses of the Agency for
4 International Development’ account, which amount shall
5 be used for management support activities associated with
6 the planning, monitoring, and supervision of emergency
7 humanitarian assistance for Liberia.

8 “(3) The President is granted the authority to trans-
9 fer funds appropriated pursuant to this section to the De-
10 velopment Fund for Africa for use in supporting longer-
11 term rehabilitation activities in Liberia.

12 “(4) Assistance under this section shall be furnished
13 in accordance with the policies and general authorities
14 contained in section 491.

15 “(5) Amounts appropriated under this section are au-
16 thorized to remain available until September 30, 1992.”.

17 **SEC. 3. MIGRATION AND REFUGEE ASSISTANCE.**

18 (a) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**—In addi-
19 tion to amounts otherwise available for such purpose,
20 there are authorized to be appropriated to the Department
21 of State for “Migration and Refugee Assistance”
22 \$20,000,000 for fiscal year 1991 for emergency relief, re-
23 patriation, and rehabilitation efforts for Liberian refugees
24 who have fled civil strife and, where appropriate, for sup-
25 port of relief programs assisting local populations in the

1 bordering countries of Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Cote
2 d'Ivoire, and other countries in the region, which have
3 been affected by the influx of Liberian refugees.

4 (b) PROVISION OF ASSISTANCE.—To the extent fea-
5 sible, assistance authorized under this section shall be pro-
6 vided through the United Nations High Commissioner for
7 Refugees and other international relief organizations.

8 (c) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—Amounts appro-
9 priated under this section are authorized to remain avail-
10 able until September 30, 1992.

11 **SEC. 4. EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE FOR LIBERIA.**

12 (a) AUTHORIZATION OF ASSISTANCE.—The Presi-
13 dent is authorized to provide supplemental emergency food
14 assistance for civilian victims of civil strife in Liberia, in-
15 cluding additional emergency food assistance (primarily
16 rice, processed foods, and oils) for the needs of the af-
17 fected and displaced civilian population of Liberia through
18 title II ("Food for Peace") programs and to provide ocean
19 and inland transport of such food supplies.

20 (b) USE OF GRANTS.—In providing assistance au-
21 thorized by this section, the President is authorized to
22 make grants to United States, international, and indige-
23 nous private and voluntary organizations as may be nec-
24 essary to carry out the provisions of this section.

25 (c) TRANSFERS AND GENERAL AUTHORITIES.—

1 (1) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—In
2 addition to the amounts otherwise available for such
3 purpose, there are authorized to be appropriated to
4 the President \$27,000,000 for fiscal year 1991 for
5 use in providing assistance under this section.

6 (2) MANAGEMENT SUPPORT ACTIVITIES.—The
7 President is authorized to transfer up to \$500,000
8 of the amount appropriated pursuant to this section,
9 to the “Operating Expenses of the Agency for Inter-
10 national Development” account, which amount shall
11 be used for management support activities associ-
12 ated with the planning, monitoring, and supervision
13 of emergency food assistance for Liberia.

14 (3) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—Amounts appro-
15 priated under this section are authorized to remain
16 available until September 30, 1992.

17 (d) ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR HUMANITARIAN AS-
18 SISTANCE FOR LIBERIA.—

19 (1) In order to provide additional resources for
20 relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction programs
21 for victims of civil strife in Liberia, not less than
22 \$12,000,000 of the local currencies generated under
23 provisions of title II of the Agricultural Trade Devel-
24 opment and Assistance Act of 1954 (the “Food for
25 Peace” program) during fiscal year 1991 shall be

1 made available for disaster assistance purposes au-
2 thorized by section 495L(b) of the Foreign Assist-
3 ance Act of 1961, as added by this Act.

4 (2) Paragraph (1) shall apply only to the extent
5 that such funds are available.

6 (3) Funds available pursuant to this subsection
7 may be used for general relief, rehabilitation, and re-
8 construction purposes and may include the provision
9 or transport of emergency food assistance. Such as-
10 sistance shall be administered by the Agency for
11 International Development.

12 **SEC. 5. GENERAL PROVISIONS.**

13 (a) **NONAPPLICABILITY OF PROVISION.**—The assist-
14 ance authorized for Liberia by this Act may be provided
15 without regard to section 518 of the Foreign Operations,
16 Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations
17 Act, 1990 (Public Law 101-167), section 620(q) of the
18 Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2370(q)) (the
19 so-called Brooke-Alexander amendment), or any similar
20 provision of the law relating to foreign assistance repay-
21 ments.

22 (b) **REGULAR ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS TO BE MAIN-**
23 **TAINED.**—Relief and rehabilitation assistance provided for
24 Liberia under this Act, or any amendment made by this
25 Act, is in addition to the regularly programmed assistance

1 for that country for fiscal year 1991 under chapter 1 of
2 the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to develop-
3 ment assistance) and titles I, II, and III of the Agricul-
4 tural Trade Development Assistance Act of 1954 (relating
5 to food assistance).

6 **SEC. 6. REPORTS TO CONGRESS.**

7 (a) **RECONSTRUCTION ASSISTANCE ASSESSMENT.**—

8 (1) The Administrator of the Agency for Inter-
9 national Development shall compile a comprehensive
10 assessment of the long-term reconstruction, rehabili-
11 tation, and development needs of Liberia. Such as-
12 sessment shall include an evaluation of the infra-
13 structure of the country, particularly power genera-
14 tion, water and sewage systems, transportation,
15 health facilities, and educational facilities. The as-
16 sessment shall indicate projected resources required
17 for development and the levels of United States for-
18 eign assistance required for reconstruction in Libe-
19 ria.

20 (2) Not later than 180 days after the date of
21 the enactment of this Act, the Administrator shall
22 submit a detailed report of such assessment to the
23 appropriate committees of the Congress.

24 (b) **FOREIGN ASSISTANCE FOR LIBERIA.**—Not later
25 than January 31, 1993, the President shall submit to the

1 Congress a report which analyzes the impact and effective-
2 ness of the United States assistance (including assistance
3 provided under this Act) for Liberia during the two pre-
4 ceding fiscal years.

[Whereupon, at 10:17 a.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

○

58-671 (152)

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

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EXHIBIT SS

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WARNING: INFORMATION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE.

REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~-WNINTEL- [redacted]

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DIST: 26 MAY 1990

COUNTRY: LIBERIA

SUBJ: MORALE AMONG SENIOR OFFICERS IN THE ARMED FORCES
OF LIBERIA

[redacted]

(b)(1)

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TEXT: 1. ACCORDING TO A SENIOR ARMED FORCES OF LIBERIA (AFL) MILITARY OFFICIAL, AS OF 23 MAY 1990 MORALE AMONG SENIOR AFL OFFICERS HAS CONTINUED TO DETERIORATE. THE NON-KRAHN SENIOR OFFICERS HAVE BEEN MOST AFFECTED WITH MORALE PLUMMETTING EVEN FURTHER FOLLOWING THE RECENT KILLINGS OF SOLDIERS FROM THE GIO AND MANO ETHNIC GROUPS. DURING 22 TO 23 MAY AT LEAST TEN AFL SOLDIERS, THE MAJORITY FROM THE 72ND MILITARY CAMP IN MONROVIA, WERE KILLED AND THEIR BODIES BADLY MUTILATED. SOLDIERS FROM THE OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS HAVE BEGUN TO RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT THEIR OWN SECURITY AND EXPRESSED A FEAR THAT THE KRAHNS WILL MOVE TO ELIMINATE THEM NEXT. ([redacted] COMMENT: THERE HAVE BEEN UNSUBSTANTIATED REPORTS THAT DURING THE EVENING OF 22 MAY EXECUTIVE MANSION GUARD (EMG) SOLDIERS EXECUTED A LARGE NUMBER OF AFL SOLDIERS OF GIO AND MANO ETHNIC BACKGROUND. THESE SOLDIERS WERE REPORTEDLY UNDER DETENTION AT THE BARCLAY TRAINING CENTER STOCKADE.) (FIELD COMMENT: THERE HAS BEEN NO CONFIRMATION OF A LARGE NUMBER OF GIO AND MANO SOLDIERS HAVING BEEN KILLED; HOWEVER, THE TENSION WITHIN THE MILITARY HAS BEEN EXACERBATED BY THE BELIEF THAT SUCH AN EVENT DID INDEED OCCUR. SEVERAL SENIOR LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HAVE REMARKED THAT IF THE REPORT IS TRUE, THEY PLAN TO RESIGN FROM THE GOVERNMENT FOR MORAL REASONS.)

(b)(3)

2. SENIOR AFL OFFICERS ALSO HAVE BECOME DISILLUSIONED WITH PRESIDENT SAMUEL K. ((DOE'S)) RESPONSE TO THE REBEL INSURGENCY. MOST KRAHN ADVISORS CLOSE TO DOE DISTRUST THE NON-KRAHN OFFICERS AND PURPOSELY LEAVE THEM OUT OF THE PLANNING AGAINST THE INSURGENTS. THE CURRENT GROUP CLOSE TO DOE IS COMPRISED OF THE COMMANDER OF THE EMG BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES ((JULUE)), THE COMMANDER OF THE ARMED FORCES IN BUCHANAN LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAMUEL ((APPLETON)), AND FORMER COMMANDER OF THE FIFTH BATTALION COLONEL DAVID Q. ((NIMELY)). THIS GROUP MEETS REGULARLY WITH DOE TO DISCUSS THE PLANNING AND

~~SECRET~~/WNINTEL [redacted]

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IMPLEMENTATION OF MILITARY STRATEGY. ALTHOUGH CHIEF OF STAFF LIEUTENANT GENERAL HENRY ((DUBAR)) HAS RESPONSIBILITY FOR DIRECTING THE EFFORT AGAINST THE INSURGENCY GROUP, THE KRAHN GROUP DOES NOT LISTEN TO DUBAR AND DISMISSES MOST RECOMMENDATIONS COMING FROM THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE (MOD).

3. AS A RESULT OF ETHNIC ALLEGIANCES, THERE ARE TWO CHAINS OF COMMAND WITHIN THE MILITARY. THE MOST RECENT EXAMPLE OCCURRED DURING THE PLANNING TO RETAKE BUCHANAN. THE MOD SUBMITTED A PROPOSAL TO DOE WHEREBY A PLATOON OF AFL SOLDIERS WOULD TRAVEL A DIRT ROAD NORTHWEST OF THE ST. JOHN BRIDGE FOR FIVE TO SIX MILES TO AN INTERSECTION WITH THE LIBERIAN AGRICULTURE COMPANY (LAC) ROAD. AFTER REACHING THIS POINT SEVERAL SOLDIERS WOULD SET UP AN AMBUSH AGAINST THE REBELS AND THE OTHERS WOULD PROCEED TOWARDS BUCHANAN. AT THE SAME TIME, THE AFL WOULD LAUNCH AN ATTACK ON BUCHANAN FROM THE ST. JOHN'S BRIDGE UTILIZING ARTILLERY. JULUE DID NOT LIKE THE PROPOSAL, BUT PROMISED TO TAKE IT UNDER CONSIDERATION. [REDACTED] COMMENT: THE PLAN WAS SUBMITTED SEVERAL DAYS AGO AND ALREADY IS BEHIND SCHEDULE TO BE EFFECTIVE. THUS, THE MOD DOES NOT BELIEVE THE PLAN WILL BE PUT INTO EFFECT.)

(b)(3)

4. TO DATE, THERE HAS BEEN NO EVIDENCE OF SENIOR OFFICERS PLANNING A COUP OR ATTEMPTING TO REMOVE DOE THROUGH ANY OTHER MEANS. FOR HIS PROTECTION DOE HAS MANY WEAPONS LOCATED IN ZWEDRU WITH THE 4TH BATTALION AND AT THE EXECUTIVE MANSION. MOST SENIOR AFL OFFICERS BELIEVE DOE SHOULD STEP DOWN AND TURN THE GOVERNMENT OVER TO A TRANSITIONAL TEAM. HOWEVER, DOE SEEMS DETERMINED TO FIGHT AGAINST THE INSURGENCY UNTIL THE END. MANY SENIOR OFFICERS DO NOT BELIEVE THE AFL CAN WIN MILITARILY AND EXPECT DOE TO DEPART LIBERIA AT THE LAST MINUTE

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**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT TT

EXHIBIT TT

Daily

OBSERVER

Vol.10 No.63

Thursday, May 24, 1990

Monrovia, Liberia 50 Cents

BWI not closing down

The public relations director of the Booker Washington Institute, Mr. Arthur S. Massaquoi, has described as misleading and a mere fabrication, rumors circulating in the country that BWI is to shortly close down due to rebel activities in the country.

Mr. Massaquoi said while students of the institute are preparing for mid-term examinations and going about

Cont'd on page 6

In the wake of killings

GOVT. TO MONITOR NIGHT EVENTS

...soldiers' wives complain

In the wake of discovery of several headless bodies in Monrovia over the last two days, the government has directed the Ministries of National Defense and Justice and the Joint Security Commission to set up a team to monitor events at night.

Acting Information Minister Moses Washington



Minister Washington

told journalists at a press briefing yesterday that the team will ensure that anyone caught molesting innocent citizens will be arrested. He said such persons will be tried and will face the consequences of their actions, irrespective of who they are.

Minister Washington described the recent wave of killings in the country as cruel and uncivilized.

Since Monday of this week residents of Monrovia have discovered ten mutilated bodies. Several of the bodies

had their heads severed. Minister Washington said the killings were carried out by people who were determined to stir up trouble to embarrass government. The acting Information

Students asked to take personal belongings to school

Students of some high schools in Monrovia have been asked to carry kits containing some personal belongings to school for emergency purposes due to the present situation in the country.

The items requested to be taken to school by the students are tooth brush, tooth paste, comb, small towel, two toilet tissues, soap, plastic cup, lappa suit or bed sheet, dry food such as powder milk, farina, biscuit or whatever the family

boss then warned that President Doe's last Friday's statement to local government officials that citizens should take cutlasses and single barrel guns to fight the rebels should not be used by individuals as a means of "getting even with rivals."

Liberia, he said, was at war with rebels and not with the Gios and Manos or any other ethnic group. He said government has no intention of

decide to put in the kits.

The request to the students was made through a memorandum issued by certain school authorities. Others were said to be verbal announcement. At the College of West Africa, there was a memorandum on the school bulletin to that effect. But the memorandum did not go further to explain reason about such announcement.

However, sources at most of the high schools which have issued such announce-

Cont'd on page 4

Tubman delegation returns

MONROVIA (LINA) - The special presidential delegation which left Liberia two weeks ago for the United States has returned home.

The delegation, headed by Counsellor Winston A. Tubman, was met on arrival at the Roberts International Airport yesterday by officials of

the Liberian government as well as by relatives and friends.

The 10-man delegation comprised Counsellor Winston Tubman, the chairman of the United People's Party, Mr. Baccus Matthews, suspended Unity Party Chairman Carlos Smith, Information Minister J. Emmanuel



Cllr. Winston Tubman

Morris Dukuly.

Others were Grand Gedeh County Representative William Glay, the advisor to the President on national and international affairs, Mr. Trohoo Kpaghai, the President of the Liberia Council of Churches, J.K. Levee Moulton, and publisher Mohammed Winpea.

During the delegation's two-week stay in the U.S., it held a series of talks with officials of the Bush administration, the U.S. Congress, international organizations, as

Cont'd on page 6

eliminating any ethnic group. Minister Washington then called on citizens to report any unusual activities in their areas to the nearest police

station.

Commenting on investigation into the killing of Robert Phillips and David Hukpati, Minister Washington said the Justice Ministry was still investigating those murders, adding that no clues have

Cont'd on page 4

Hundreds scramble for rice

The difficulty in finding rice in the country is becoming serious to the extent that distributors

are being accused of creating artificial shortage of the community.

Our reporters, who

visited the Freeport of Monrovia yesterday, observed that there were several persons on the port grounds struggling to

Cont'd on page 6



A scene at the Freeport of Monrovia where hundreds of people gathered yesterday to buy rice

Daily OBSERVER

Published by the Liberian Observer Corporation
P. O. Box 1868, Monrovia, Liberia

THE CHALLENGE OF COURAGE

WEBSTER DEFINES COURAGE as that "attitude or response of facing and dealing with anything recognized as dangerous, difficult, or painful, instead of withdrawing from it." Ernest Hemmingway, the great American writer, defined courage as "grace under pressure."

JOHN F. KENNEDY, in his book, Profiles in Courage, describes "courage as the most admirable of human virtues." Kennedy went on to assess courage as that element in men which creates a "desire to win or maintain a reputation for integrity and courage stronger than the desire to maintain his office — because his conscience, his personal standard of ethics, his integrity or morality... is stronger than the pressure of public disapproval." Courage, he said, "can be demonstrated through unyielding devotion to absolute principle," while in other cases it can be demonstrated "through the acceptance of compromise, through advocacy of conciliation, through willingness to replace conflict with cooperation."

TODAY, WE ARE faced with the challenge of courage. There is the courage of "unyielding devotion" as against the courage demonstrated through the acceptance of compromise or the willingness to replace conflict with cooperation. There is the courage of maintaining silence while killings are taking place; or there is the courage of publicly condemning the slaughter.

BUT WE ARE reminded today of the words of pastor Niemoeller, a Nazi victim in Poland: "First they came for the Jews and I did not speak out because I was not a Jew. Then they came for the communists and I did not speak out — because I was not a communist. Then they came for the trade unionists and I did not speak out because I was not a trade unionist. Then they came for me — and there was no one left to speak out for me."

TO QUOTE DALE Carnegie: "Lord, give us the serenity to accept those things we cannot change; the courage to change those things we can; and the wisdom to know the difference"

Heart-warming Fatu Gayflor works on latest album

Fatu Gayflor, the "Golden Voice of Liberia", leaves the country to complete her latest album.

Materials for the album were recently collected by international arranger, James Scott Bennie, who worked with Fatu some two months ago.

The manager of "Princess" Fatu Gayflor, Mr. Davis G.J. Daniels, said the upcoming recording is tailored to suit the international market. But he explained that this does not mean that Fatu will ignore the rich Liberian folk songs, which have made her popular in the music world.

Mr. Davies said arrangements are being made in London and Amsterdam for the distribution and promotion of the album in those areas.

Mr. Daniels said the management team has "received correspondence that all is now set for Fatu to go and lay her voice on the music". It is hoped to be the best so far from Fatu, he noted.

The album is to be recorded on compact disks (CD), making Fatu, perhaps the first Liberian recording artist to use such a facility which has a better sound effect.

Following the successful completion of the album, the "Greatest Hits" album will be her next project. It will be a collection of Fatu's best songs ever recorded.

Fatu Gayflor, now a sophomore at the University



ART & CULTURE Entertainment

With T-Man Touch

of Liberia, was born at the Du Side Hospital in Firestone, Margibi County (and not Lofa County as previously said), unto the union of Mrs. Thomas McGill and Madam Jeneh McGill. She started her elementary education at Dennis Farm, Margibi County.

In 1977, Fatu was spotted by a female culture expert, Ma Gbassay, during the latter's visit to Margibi and immediately recruited Fatu for the National Cultural Troupe. Even at 11, Fatu sang for all age groups during moonlight and occasional dances. A few years after joining the troupe, Fatu

became the lead singer at Kendeja, the cultural village in Paynesville. But while there, she did not forget about education. She received her high school education there.

Fatu has made a name for herself internationally. In fact, she was honored "Princess of Liberian Folk Songs" by a special black committee based in Brooklyn, New York, USA, for her outstanding performance and heart-warming voice.

Fatu entered the recording business in 1984 with her first

Cont'd on page 5

Recent killings

Cont'd from page 1

been found yet.

WIVES

Meanwhile, wives of several soldiers and civilians of the Gio and Mano ethnic groups have complained that their husbands have been taken away by men dressed in military uniforms and have since not returned.

The wife of a soldier identified as Arthur Gbarwon visited the offices of the "Daily Observer" in tears yesterday shouting, "they catch my husband."

She said her husband was picked up yesterday morning by other men dressed in military uniform at his residence opposite the USTC in Paynesville.

Another woman showed up at the John F. Kennedy Hospital on Tuesday and identified one of the beheaded men as her husband. She said her husband was taken away by men dressed in military uniform from the 72nd Military Camp on Sunday. According to her, the men informed her husband that he was needed by his "chief".

Another woman from the SKD Community who showed up at this paper's offices

yesterday with a nine-month-old baby said a man named Austin took three armed men in military uniform to their home in search of Manos and Gios.

She quoted the armed men as saying, "Don't cry on our name, cry on Charles Taylor's name, before the rebels come, we will eliminate all of you."

She pleaded with them not to take her husband and even offered them money. "Look at my children, if you kill us, who will take care of them?" she said, pointing to her eight children.

In spite of that the armed men took away her husband after assaulting her sexually. Her husband, Joseph Dolo, is an employee of the Watamal Trading Company.

At yesterday's press briefing, Minister Washington said the Defense and Justice Ministries and the Joint Security Commission have been directed to take necessary actions to bring an end to the wave of "gruesome murders" and the harassment of citizens.

He said those military personnel found molesting citizens will be dealt with militarily.

Students

Cont'd from page 1

ment said the decision was reached so that the students would be comfortable in the cause of an eventuality.

Another source explained that many school authorities have decided that whenever there is an eventuality, they will not allow their students to leave campus. Therefore, it was decided that the students bring the items to take care of themselves while on campus until the situation is brought under control.

The decision by the school administrators comes in the wake of fear being expressed by many parents as to what will be done by school authorities whenever there is

an eventuality in the city. Parents began to express fear following rumours of rebels being in the city sometime last month, which resulted in people running amok in various parts of the city.

The situation began when unknown persons on Johnson Street allegedly started shouting "the people are coming, the people are coming". It started at about 3 p.m. when many persons were at work while students were in school.

Because of the situation, classes and offices were disrupted. Normal business activities were also disrupted as well as many shopping centers and market places.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Harassment

Mr. Editor:

I just don't know what is going on around here. This town is filled with harassment, intimidation, murder and burglary.

Most victims of such circumstances claim that the perpetrators are armed men. Armed men patrolling the streets and harming peaceful citizens certainly does not augur well for the peace which the Citizens Movement for the Defense of the Liberian Constitution is pursuing.

The presence of military men in the streets also creates fear among the people. Their presence

makes one want to believe that the rebels are approaching Monrovia.

Some of these people even go to the extent of apprehending people. This is something which only tends to divide us as a people and a nation.

With the government doing everything possible to have our brothers and sisters in Guinea and Ivory Coast return home, and is also trying to restore peace to this country, these ugly acts are not good for government's efforts.

Kumeh Marcus
Monrovia

Food for thought

Mr. Editor:

I wish to commend you for your objective editorials. They have provided enough pieces of advice not only for our local situation but also for things that affect the world as a whole.

I hope that those who are

conscious will understand and take the messages these editorials convey seriously. Your editorials are always food for thought for us all. "Those who have ears to hear, let them hear."

Pinapue Early
Capitol Hill
Monrovia

It hurts

Mr. Editor:

Each time I read the newspaper or hear from BBC that our brothers and sisters are leaving this sweet land of liberty to take refuge in neighboring countries, it hurts me.

I always ask myself, if they leave who will bring the situation under control. Where can they call home? The foreigners may go, but

we Liberians will always be here. So I hope we will be able to end this situation so that our citizens will be able to return home. There is nowhere like home; and I am sure wherever they are, they think dearly about home. All that they have ever worked for is here so let us try to end this thing so that they can come home.

Benedict Jipoh
U.L.

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
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Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT UU

EXHIBIT UU

Gio, Mano Soldiers Detained

*AB0606214490 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 6 Jun 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The Liberian Government has taken further action against Gio and Mano soldiers in the Army. They of course come from Nimba County where the rebellion against the government first started. They have already had to face a number of restrictions, but now the government has taken further measures. On the line to Monrovia, I asked Elizabeth Blunt what those were:

[Begin recording] [Blunt] Well, last night, I called at about half past two in the morning. All the Mano and Gio soldiers inside the barracks were [word indistinct] and gathered together. They were told that somebody had something to say to them. When they were gathered, they were told to strip and then they were taken off to the military prison in the barracks which is called the post stockade. This was told to me by one staff sergeant who managed to slip away and get over the wall and escape. The ones who were sleeping in the town were arrested as they came to work. There was a big roadblock this morning, at about seven a.m. this morning, outside the training center and passersby saw a lot of checkpoints, soldiers taking people, soldiers taking other soldiers away.

[Marshall] So, how many are being, well, detained indeed?

[Blunt] I really do not know. I mean the estimate I was given by Mano and Gio people who were involved, and who are obviously partisans, range from 200 up to 500. The most usual figure was 200 to 300.

[Marshall] So it seems then that the government of Samuel Doe feels it can no longer count on the loyalty of Gio and Mano soldiers?

[Blunt] Well, to read the government's lines, I imagine if there was an attack on the city, then I am afraid that they would rise up within the barracks on the rebels' side.
[end recording]

EXHIBIT UU

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EXHIBIT VV

EXHIBIT VV

BBC Reports on Situation

*AB3005193490 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 30 May 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] As Charles Taylor's rebels in Liberia are almost knocking on the gates of the capital, Monrovia, things in the city are turning nasty. Last week decapitated and mutilated bodies of Gio and Mano soldiers from Nimba County, where the rebellion began, began turning up on the streets and there was a spate of abductions. Gios and Manos, fearing for their lives, tried to find shelter, many of them in the compound of United Nations. But last night, soldiers launched a bloody raid on the compound, knifing, shooting, and kidnapping.

On the line, Timothy Ecott asked the UN representative, Michael Heyn, what had happened?

[Begin recording] [Heyn] I am told we had several hundred people who had gathered on the compound last night, starting about 8 or 9 o'clock. I am told the figure

EXHIBIT VV

went up to several hundred, possibly almost 1,000. They were sleeping on the compound and everything was apparently quite peaceful and then at about 3 or 3:30 in the morning, Army soldiers pulled up at the gate behind the compound and they were asking the guards to let them enter the compound. They told them that they knew that there were rebels on this compound and that they wanted to take them away. The guards told them they could not come in.

[Ecott] What did the soldiers or these men do when the guards said they couldn't get into the compound?

[Heyn] The soldiers, at that point, forced their way in. They stabbed one of the guards. I am told they shot and killed another guard and shot a further guard. I have seen the guard who was stabbed. He was still here when I came to the compound at 0700 this morning; he had blood all over him. He had a wound on his back. We got a doctor over here and he is now at the hospital. Following that, they came into the compound and began to terrorize the people, continuing to shoot, and pursuing other people who were trying to get over the wall and out. They followed some of them. We're told that they bayoneted a young boy, opened up his side, they pursued others; they shot others; we do not know exactly how many. All I have confirmation is that one person was killed, several were seriously wounded, some were taken away then, but not only some, as many as somewhere between 30 and 40 men, women, and children were taken into the army trucks and taken away.

[Ecott] On what basis did these soldiers take these people away? I mean, why did they take some people away and what happened to the rest?

[Heyn] I think they were just indiscriminately trying to grab whoever they could grab and catch. They were claiming that they were all basically rebels, because they were from Nimba County. They said that they were after these people for those reasons and they just tried to grab whoever they could. We were told that they grabbed people with children in their arms and threw them on their truck. [end recording]

Michael Heyn, the UN representative in Monrovia.

Well, this afternoon, President Doe himself went down to the United Nations compound to talk to diplomats about last night's incident, but found himself talking with the people who had experienced the raid in an extraordinary confrontation. Here's part of the exchange.

[Begin Doe recording] I want you to know that those people who are doing this kind of thing, they are doing it on their own. And I am going to deal with them drastically. You are my citizens. If you are not happy, I am not happy. I want you to believe me that the people who are going around [background noise of children crying,

shouting by the crowd, a woman screaming—Doe interrupts his address and shouts: "Hey! No, no, hey!"] We are going to provide you with security [A woman shouts—"Take me from Monrovia! I want to know when are you going to (?present me to my husband)"—followed by people shouting, screaming] [end recording]

Samuel Doe facing the crowd at the UN compound in Monrovia. Well, our correspondent Elizabeth Blunt was there too. On the line, Mark Doyle asked her if President Doe had lost control of the crowd?

[Begin recording] [Blunt] No, he didn't. As you can probably hear, things slipped a bit at one point, but I think when he... [changes thought] The people that were shouting and pushing forward, he said to one woman in particular: Come here, come here. And she came right up and talked to him and that calmed her down a bit. And then another man came forward and spoke to him. And he spoke to them personally and individually before he left. But as he left, the crowd was booing him even the young men in the crowd were booing and hissing and also taunting the soldiers who were with him.

[Doyle] Did you get the impression that President Doe was surprised at this reaction?

[Blunt] No, I thought, I must say I thought he was surprisingly brave to have come to this place this afternoon and confront the people because I think he could have guessed that he would have a difficult reception, to say the least. And the crowd was quite hostile and pressing right forward. It was quite scaring. But the president handled it very plainly and simply, but quite well, finally. But it was a very difficult occasion and he is certainly not a personal coward if he can come and confront the people like that.

[Doyle] And what is the scene at the United Nations compound now?

[Blunt] When I left, there was still a huge crowd there. I'm very bad at estimating crowds, but I would have thought 300 or 400 people. They have been there most of the day. The numbers have got larger, in fact, during the day rather than smaller. I asked them where they would sleep tonight and they said they couldn't think where else they could go. They would probably stay there.

[Doyle] Now, if the numbers are rising, does that mean that Gio and Mano people are still being hassled in Monrovia and having to go to take refuge at the UN compound?

[Blunt] Well, yes, certainly. After what happened last night, it did seem for a day or two after some very strong statements by the government that the activities of the [word indistinct] terrorist squads going around at night have slowed down. I mean it really wasn't (?too) bad. But what happened last night seems to have put everything right back to square one again, the people can be attacked just in the very place where they felt safe. And the 30 or so people who were taken away, there has been

no sign of them either alive or dead. So no one knows what has happened, and certainly the people who are there, their friends and relatives fear the worst.

[Doyle] And has there been any word on any soldiers having been detained, or arrested, or dealt with for their alleged involvement in last night's mayhem?

[Blunt] Not yet, and I think if there had been the president would have said so when he spoke to the people. [end recording]

EXHIBIT VV

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT WW

100th Congress }
1st Session }

JOINT COMMITTEE PRINT

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COUNTRY REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES FOR 1992

REPORT

SUBMITTED TO THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
U.S. SENATE

AND THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

BY THE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTIONS 116(d) AND 502B(b) OF THE
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961, AS AMENDED



FEBRUARY 1993

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EXHIBIT WW

LIBERIA

Liberia remained a nation divided geographically and factionally as a result of the 1989-1990 civil war. Despite sustained efforts, peace initiatives of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to break the complicated political stalemate remained without success. In late August, renewed fighting between Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO), a Sierra Leone-based group of anti-NPFL Liberians and former civilian and military officials, broke a cease-fire which had prevailed for over 20 months and led to a resumption of more generalized violence. On October 15, the NPFL attacked the capital city of Monrovia, which was defended by the ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and administered by the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) under President Amos Sawyer. The attack disrupted life in the city and its suburbs as fighters of the warring factions, especially the NPFL, committed many serious human rights violations, including killing innocent Liberians and foreign nationals. ECOMOG eventually was able to reestablish order in and around the city.

Presidential and national legislative elections could not be scheduled because of continuing unsettled conditions. Consequently, as in 1991, Liberia was not ruled by a constitutionally elected, unified government. The IGNU, a coalition of political parties, headed by President Amos Sawyer, administered only Monrovia and its immediate environs. Roughly half of the country's current population was believed to reside in this area within the defensive perimeter of ECOMOG. Following the August fighting in Cape Mount and Bomi Counties, approximately 20,000 additional persons sought refuge in Monrovia. Most of the displaced, including a large number of Sierra Leoneans, remained in the city. The Charles Taylor-led National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government (NPRAG), based on and militarily supported by the NPFL, initially controlled the remaining national territory. However, in August ULIMO captured and occupied the country's two southwestern counties. There were two other warring factions, the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), led by Prince Johnson, and the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), the remnants of former President Samuel Doe's army. Both of these factions were encamped in Monrovia where they retained arms within their respective camps. Many AFL soldiers reportedly joined forces in September with ULIMO to fight the NPFL. Several units of the AFL performed professionally in assisting ECOMOG defend Monrovia when the NPFL attacked. However, renegade AFL elements committed serious abuses. The INPFL was effectively dissolved as a result of the attack on Monrovia. One INPFL faction returned to the NPFL while fighters loyal to Prince Johnson joined him in surrendering to ECOMOG.

ECOMOG assumed a large portion of the police responsibility in Monrovia because the IGNU police force, reconstituted in 1991, remained mostly unarmed and ineffective. However, the IGNU reactivated an armed special security unit in 1992. NPFL military and police forces were responsible for security in territory under NPFL control, and to a large extent, both the INPFL and AFL carried out this function within their camps. Liberia's total military expenditures for 1989, the last year for which the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency conducted a detailed analysis, were \$58 million.

The civil war-ravaged economy, which is based primarily on iron ore, rubber, timber, diamonds, and gold also reflects the political division between IGNU and NPFL areas. There was slight economic recovery in 1991 and incremental progress in 1992 until widespread hostilities resumed. However, the year's gross domestic product was estimated at only 40 percent of the prewar levels. The economic division was further exacerbated in January, when the IGNU introduced new currency, which the NPFL outlawed in its area. The IGNU also imposed an embargo, which lasted for several months, on transport of nonessential goods into NPFL territory. ECOWAS/ECOMOG imposed strict sanctions on NPFL territory during the last quarter of the year, effectively cutting off exports and foreign exchange earnings to the NPFL. Massive emergency operations by the United Nations, as well as by the United States and other Western-based relief agencies and nongovernmental organizations, brought food or other humanitarian assistance to a majority of Liberians. These operations continued throughout 1992 but were periodically suspended in areas outside of Monrovia because of intermittent ULIMO-NPFL fighting as well as by harassment of relief workers, primarily by the NPFL.

Before the August hostilities, human rights, although widely circumscribed, were not abused on the massive scale experienced during the height of the civil war. However, the ULIMO-NPFL fighting in western Liberia and the October 15 attack on Monrovia rekindled memories of the brutal incidents witnessed during the war-

tor period of 1989–1990. While all parties professed to honor the Constitution, which is modeled on that of the United States, the document's human rights provisions were often selectively ignored and unevenly applied. Some IGNU security personnel, including members of the Special Antiterrorist Unit, and, to a much lesser extent, individual ECOMOG soldiers, committed excesses while responding to the wave of violent crimes which affected Monrovia during the year. All of the warring factions—the NPFL being the most frequent and egregious offender—were implicated in serious human rights violations, e.g., use of excessive force, arbitrary detentions, forced conscription, torture, or summary executions.

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Section 1. Respect for the Integrity of the Person, Including Freedom from

a. Political and Other Extrajudicial Killing.—Numerous cases of extrajudicial killing were reported. While professing adherence to the rule of law, the NPFL leadership permitted and even encouraged such acts. Credible reports indicated that scores of IGNU officials and employees were summarily executed because of their affiliation with the Interim Government when the NPFL attacked Monrovia's outlying suburbs in October. During this period, five American citizen nuns were killed by NPFL troops in a Monrovia suburb. The NPFL was also accused of executing civilians who had been forcibly moved from the Monrovia suburbs to military camps in NPFL territory. In August NPFL leader Charles Taylor was widely reported to have ordered approximately 50 NPFL members to be summarily executed following an aborted coup attempt. There were frequent and credible reports throughout the year that the NPFL summarily executed dozens of men alleged to be ULIMO infiltrators. Several NPFL soldiers, including four or five high-ranking officers, were executed without trial in September for desertion or suspicion of collaborating with ULIMO. At Buchanan in March, thousands protested the execution of six men by NPFL troops.

Few NPFL soldiers were arrested in 1992 for committing extrajudicial killings, and reportedly most of those were released without trial or punishment. However, one high-ranking NPFL officer, Sam Larto, was executed in February after being convicted in a secret court martial for killing a captured INPFL soldier. INPFL leader Prince Johnson admitted executing at least two soldiers of his own movement, including INPFL Deputy Chief of Staff Gbomi Toma, for possessing IGNU five-dollar notes which Johnson declared illegal on his Caldwell base. There were unconfirmed reports that Johnson killed several other soldiers for relatively minor infractions of "military law" or insubordination. However, the INPFL leader maintained that soldiers were executed only after having been tried and found guilty under INPFL military procedures. Nonetheless, details of the purported trials were never made public.

The IGNU publicly condemned all forms of extrajudicial and political killings. However, after the NPFL attacked Monrovia in October, renegade elements in the AFL (which is under some degree of IGNU control), sometimes in cooperation with ULIMO, formed vigilante squads which reportedly engaged in ethnic score-settling by summarily executing several members of the Nimban community suspected of NPFL or INPFL affiliations. (Nimbans were believed to predominate in the NPFL and INPFL.) Two AFL soldiers faced courts-martial for killing civilians in November. One of the soldiers was executed after being convicted in a 1-day trial, and the trial of the other was delayed. When ULIMO captured Bomi County from the NPFL in August, ULIMO irregulars summarily executed several civilians for allegedly being NPFL collaborators or housing NPFL soldiers. In many instances, the civilians had been intimidated into assisting or providing quarters to the NPFL fighters when its fighters controlled the area.

b. Disappearance.—Disappearances were not believed to be common during the first 9 months of 1992, but there were several reports (of varying degrees of credibility) of young men disappearing while in the custody of the NPFL or ULIMO, possibly victims of forced conscription or execution. Very little new information surfaced about persons missing as a result of the war. Incidents of disappearance significantly increased after the October 15 NPFL attack on Monrovia. Hundreds of suburban residents could not be located, and there are credible reports that numbers were unwillingly moved to sites in NPFL territory. Others are feared to have been killed.

c. Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.—The Liberian Constitution prohibits torture and degrading treatment. While not attaining the same level as that of the civil war period, serious incidents of inhuman treatment persisted in 1992. NPFL troops, during the attack on Monrovia in October, were reported to have forcibly abducted scores of Monrovia area residents, including several hundred orphaned children, relocating them in NPFL military

camps. Human rights activists reported that escapees from these camps have alleged physical and psychological mistreatment and squalid conditions—inadequate food, shelter, and medical care. Credible reports indicated that several persons may have died of starvation or lack of medical care at these locations.

NPFL soldiers were widely accused of severely beating and torturing persons suspected of being ULIMO operatives. Civilian travelers were frequently the victims of mistreatment and extortion at the hands of NPFL fighters at the numerous NPFL checkpoints along the country's major roadways. Civilians, even several high ranking NPRAG officials, were harassed or physically abused at these checkpoints, often by teenage or younger boys attempting to extort money or confiscate property. Some civilians were beaten or forced to disrobe; many others suffered threats of violence or other forms of intimidation.

There were credible reports that NPFL personnel operated involuntary labor camps in Grand Gedeh County and subjected inmates to severe beatings for refusing to work or for attempting to escape. NPFL leader Charles Taylor publicly condemned harassment of civilians, but there is evidence that many guilty NPFL soldiers were not disciplined for these abuses. The NPFL leadership seemed to have the capacity to deter excesses but chose to discipline offending troops only when expedient. NPFL leaders, after a major conference of their supporters in late April at which attendees complained of NPFL harassment of civilians, arrested two generals and demoted other officers for mistreating inhabitants of Grand Gedeh County. It is unclear whether the two generals were tried.

In January INPFL leader Prince Johnson detained Isaac Bantu, President of the Press Union of Liberia, and another journalist for several days. The journalists were held in a crude, unlit one-room cell without sanitary facilities. They were shackled and subjected to physical and psychological abuse; Johnson reportedly aimed a pistol at Bantu's head, threatening to kill him. The journalists were released only after pressure from prominent Liberians and the international community. In another incident, credible sources claim that Prince Johnson shot a young INPFL soldier for wearing a red bandana, a color which Johnson associated with the rival NPFL.

Reliable sources claimed that, in several instances, IGNU police beat criminal suspects in their custody. Credible sources also allege that ECOMOG soldiers were occasionally seen mistreating criminal suspects as well as harassing individuals at ECOMOG checkpoints in Monrovia. Methodist Bishop Arthur Kulah, a Nimban, was beaten on at least two occasions, publicly humiliated, and harassed by AFL troops who alleged he was collaborating with the NPFL.

Conditions in the nation's jails were hazardous to life and health prior to the civil war and were even more dismal in the mostly makeshift jails of 1992. Prisoners were often denied medical care or contact with family; cells or rooms were small, crowded, and filthy. Detainees were often housed with convicted criminals. Inadequate diet and lack of time outside cells were widespread problems. The IGNU has not given prison reform a high priority, and there has been little, if any, attempt to discipline the guard force. However, prison conditions on the INPFL Caldwell Base and in NPFL territory were more severe, according to credible sources. The INPFL held its prisoners in makeshift, substandard cells; cell guards and senior INPFL officials, including Prince Johnson, allegedly tortured them frequently. Some prisoners were held incommunicado, and access to medical attention was often denied. Similar allegations of inhuman treatment of prisoners have been leveled at the NPFL. Reports indicate that detainees often were held in crude, makeshift facilities rather than in regular prisons or jails. Arbitrary beatings and torture were reported to be common.

d. *Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, or Exile.*—The 1985 Constitution prohibits arbitrary arrests, but in the aftermath of the war, there were few functioning institutional safeguards preventing the practice. The Constitution provides for the rights of the accused, including warrants for arrests and the right of detainees either to be charged or to be released within 48 hours. These provisions were widely ignored. IGNU President Sawyer repeatedly has affirmed that his administration would respect the 1985 Constitution's procedural safeguards, and in practice he has attempted to do so. However, administrative inefficiency, delays in appointing judges, and poorly trained criminal justice personnel resulted in some detainees being held for long periods without trial or charges. In practice, police officers had wide discretion to make arrests, and this authority was often abused. Arrests regularly took place without probable cause. Some human rights monitors reported that police officers often disregarded the rights of detainees. At times they did not inform detainees of the charges against them. Police occasionally coerced confessions from persons illegally detained. Additionally, detentions by the ECOMOG peacekeepers did not always satisfy constitutional standards.

Liberian criminal procedure provides the right to bail, and the bail system functioned relatively well in Monrovia. The law also allows for the writ of habeas corpus, which at times was employed, as in March when a noted human rights attorney secured the release of two clients implicated in, but not formally charged with, the homicide of a former INPFL official.

Arbitrary arrests were commonplace in NPFL territory. NPFL soldiers and police officers had almost unbridled power to make warrantless arrests, and they often exercised that power capriciously. Hundreds of persons reportedly were detained on spurious grounds or without charge for periods ranging from several hours to several weeks. Throughout the year, the NPFL forcibly detained Liberian nationals, several foreign national relief workers, and missionaries, often accusing them of being spies.

Detainees in NPFL territory were most often not informed of their legal rights. The right to habeas corpus remained suspended, and access to bail was basically unavailable. A Monrovia-based attorney was detained for several days simply for raising an objection in an NPFL court.

Credible sources indicated that the INPFL periodically detained persons on vague or spurious charges. The detention of press union President Isaac Bantu gained the most notoriety, but the INPFL also detained at least two IGNU police officers who had entered the INPFL base to investigate a crime committed in Monrovia. The INPFL had no regular police force or court system. Bail and habeas corpus were unavailable. Release depended primarily on the whim of INPFL leader Johnson, who could at times be influenced by the intervention of important persons or organizations.

Continuing a practice begun last year, undisciplined elements of the AFL periodically detained and beat former NPFL fighters who had deserted to Monrovia, as well as civilians deemed to be "NPFL sympathizers." After the NPFL's attack on Monrovia, the AFL and IGNU security forces detained well over 100 NPFL fighters. Some detainees may have been killed or mistreated. Many detentions were without probable cause and were based on ethnic discrimination. Several prisoners were detained because of body scarification identifying them with certain ethnic groups. In December the AFL announced that it had released 100 detainees.

During the year, there were no reported instances of any Liberians being subjected to forced exile.

e. *Denial of Fair Public Trial.*—Liberia's legal system is closely modeled on that of the United States, with the Supreme Court at its apex. Before the civil war, the system afforded little protection in practice for defendants, because of corruption among court officials, lack of training, and executive interference. By mid-1990, the system had completely collapsed along with the rest of civil authority, with justice in the hands of military commanders of the warring factions.

In 1991 the IGNU slowly began to reconstitute the court system in the Monrovia area. It reestablished several magistrate courts in Monrovia, and swore into office new circuit court judges. In September 1992, the only court with jurisdiction to hear theft cases was finally reestablished. The right to due process and a public trial was respected in Monrovia, but corruption in the judiciary was a recurrent problem cited by human rights monitors, the press, and members of the bar. The AFL formed boards of inquiry to investigate civilians suspected of collaborating with the NPFL. Proceedings were not public, and adherence to due process could not be confirmed.

Under the auspices of the ECOWAS peace process, the IGNU and the NPFL agreed on the creation of a five-member ad hoc Supreme Court in September 1991. In March 1992, the NPRAG and IGNU agreed that the Court should have the full jurisdiction provided by the Constitution for the Supreme Court, and it began hearing cases.

Although the NPFL also partially reactivated the court system in areas under its control, in practice legal and judicial protections were almost totally lacking. There were reports that the NPFL authorities unilaterally imposed capital punishment for alleged armed thefts. Those who were tried by the courts were not always guaranteed fundamental fairness. Human rights observers questioned the independence of the judiciary in NPFL territory.

f. *Arbitrary Interference With Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence.*—Serious abuses of privacy by soldiers of all of the warring factions continued in 1992. AFL soldiers committed many robberies in the Monrovia area. ULIMO and AFL soldiers commandeered vehicles and engaged in widespread looting in suburban areas abandoned after the NPFL attacked Monrovia in October. They continued illegally to occupy some private homes. NPFL irregulars also engaged in looting in the Monrovia suburbs which came under their temporary control during the attack.

The situation regarding interference with person or property in NPFL territory was abysmal. Throughout NPFL territory, but particularly in the western counties,

NPFL soldiers regularly demanded food and personal possessions from village residents and often robbed and physically abused citizens, particularly at checkpoints. Confiscation of private homes and vehicles was common. To escape the harassment, many Liberians moved their families to remote areas. INPFL soldiers guarding the entrance to the Caldwell Base, where several thousand civilians live, also extorted money and abused people.

g. Use of Excessive Force and Violations of Humanitarian Law in Internal Conflicts.—Following the November 1990 cease-fire, fighting between the warring factions declined, but the ULIMO offensive and the NPFL response in western Liberia in late August 1992 threatened a return to generalized, and possibly ethnically based, hostilities. While the Krahn/Mandingo-influenced ULIMO and the Gio/Mano-dominated NPFL skirmished in western Liberia, both groups caused more harm to noncombatants than to each other as they indiscriminately ransacked villages, abused populations, and confiscated scant food supplies. Although reports of NPFL abuses were more numerous, credible sources claimed that both ULIMO and the NPFL executed innocent civilians, usually young men, on the mere suspicion that the victims belonged to the rival group. Because ULIMO was based in Sierra Leone, the NPFL particularly mistreated the Sierra Leonean refugees living in western Liberia.

In August over 20,000 persons fled to Monrovia to escape the ULIMO-NPFL fighting and mistreatment from both sides. There were credible reports that the NPFL killed scores of civilians during counterattacks in September against ULIMO positions in Bomi County. Several unconfirmed estimates placed the cumulative death toll from these attacks at close to 400 persons. The deprivations in August were a prelude to the October 15 NPFL attack on Monrovia. There were credible reports that the NPFL troops plundered several villages and engaged in other abuses. IGNU claimed that in some areas NPFL troops went from house to house in a frenzy of violence, executing hundreds of civilians. Five American citizen nuns were killed by NPFL troops during fighting on the outskirts of Monrovia. Human rights activists report that the NPFL also took hundreds of civilian hostages, and scores of persons were missing and feared dead.

The NPFL was not the only faction guilty of abuses. Both ULIMO and AFL troops executed civilians. There were also credible reports of AFL and ULIMO squads targeting former NPFL and INPFL members living in Monrovia. Nighttime bands of AFL and ULIMO fighters also went from house to house in search of persons from Nimba County who became objects of harassment and mistreatment. One human rights group, citing credible sources, alleged that AFL troops summarily executed captured or surrendering NPFL fighters. After fighting broke out on October 15, ECOMOG Alpha jets struck NPFL targets in several cities upcountry, causing collateral damage and an unknown number of civilian casualties.

Some of the worst humanitarian offenses occurred in Grand Gedeh County where Gio and Mano fighters in the NPFL continued to punish their ethnic rivals, the Krahn. In January between 1,000 and 3,000 persons fled to Cote D'Ivoire for safehaven, and thousands more fled into the bush as the NPFL plundered their villages.

Several credible sources accused high ranking NPFL officers of operating involuntary labor camps, resulting in the de facto imprisonment of scores of Grand Gedehans. Acknowledging the abuses, Charles Taylor in May dispatched a trusted NPFL official to enforce discipline among the NPFL soldiers in the area, and reports of abuses diminished. However, credible sources contended that after September the NPFL initiated a program of involuntary conscription, including children, in Nimba County and southeastern Liberia. According to these sources, persons who refused to join the NPFL were beaten and tortured, as were local government officials who refused to implement the conscription program. Many of the young NPFL troops sent to attack Monrovia in mid-October were given amphetamine drugs by NPFL commanders. NPFL soldiers also impeded the work of the relief organizations providing emergency assistance in NPFL territory. In August a Liberian employee of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) was killed, and the ICRC delegate to Liberia was seriously wounded in an ambush, reportedly by NPFL soldiers, in Bomi County.

Throughout the year, dozens of Liberian employees of relief organizations, including the United Nations, were detained; some were beaten or threatened. A few foreign relief workers also were detained, but mostly for short periods. Occasionally, NPFL soldiers tried to confiscate relief supplies from relief workers; more commonly, soldiers confiscated relief food after the humanitarian groups had distributed it. In September the NPFL seized 10,000 pounds of rice from U.N. stocks in Grand Gedeh County. Throughout the year, NPFL leader Charles Taylor publicly stated

his desire to cooperate with the relief community, and in midyear, he took several steps to improve NPFL relations with the organizations.

A skirmish between Senegalese ECOMOG troops and the NPFL in Lofa County in late May ended in the deaths of six ECOMOG and an undetermined number of NPFL soldiers. According to ECOMOG, autopsies of the killed Senegalese soldiers revealed that two or more were perhaps tortured.

Throughout the year, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), an organization of Sierra Leonean dissidents, occupied or controlled areas along the Sierra Leonean border. Credible sources reported that the RUF, backed by the NPFL, committed many human rights infractions against Liberians and Sierra Leonean refugees.

Section 2. Respect for Civil Liberties, Including

a. *Freedom of Speech and Press.*—These freedoms are provided for in the Constitution and, with some limitations, were generally exercised in Monrovia, but there were substantial limitations elsewhere. Monrovia had more than 12 privately owned newspapers, 3 to 5 of which published regularly. The Interim Government introduced its own paper, *The Liberian Times*, in June. There was no official press censorship in Monrovia, nor were any newspapers closed during the year. However, the Monrovia press tended to be pro-IGNU, and some journalists admitted practicing self-censorship. Other journalists asserted that constant public calls by IGNU officials for a "more responsible" press had a chilling effect on journalistic freedom. At times, journalists were requested to meet with IGNU officials who had been offended by articles. Most of *The Eye* newspaper's editorial staff was arrested in August and sued in connection with an article alleging that a high-ranking IGNU official had threatened them. The case was settled out of court through the intervention of the Press Union of Liberia (PUL), a human rights organization, and the Information Ministry. *The Eye* had experienced two arson attempts in June.

In November IGNU ordered that the Ministry of Information edit all news articles regarding the fighting around Monrovia which contained information about ECOMOG troop positions and numbers. While most journalists did not oppose the measure, a reputable journalist said that the Information Ministry had occasionally overstepped its authority by significantly editing articles. Until its disintegration, the INPFL sponsored an occasional newspaper, *The Scorpion*. The record of INPFL regarding freedom of the press was not good. It detained the PUL President and a colleague for several days because Prince Johnson felt the press was treating him unfairly (see Section 1.c.). On several occasions, Johnson threatened reporters for publishing unfavorable articles about him.

The NPFL printed a newspaper, *The Patriot*. During the year, several privately owned newspapers appeared in Gbarnga, capital of NPFL-controlled territory. Some of these papers, however, were dependent on the NPFL Information Ministry printing presses and relied on the Ministry for newsprint. These papers were decidedly pro-NPFL, and self-censorship was apparent. Some journalists voiced complaints that the NPFL Information Ministry stifled press freedom. Criticism of Charles Taylor and NPFL military efforts were not allowed. In July two journalists were tried by a special tribunal for publishing reports of NPFL military setbacks at the hands of ULIMO, but the outcome of the proceedings was never publicized. Journalists from Monrovia experienced difficulty in covering events in NPFL areas and often had to seek approval from the NPFL before traveling there. The NPFL impeded distribution of Monrovia-based newspapers in its territory, and the IGNU reciprocated against some of the newspapers from NPFL territory.

Residents of Liberia had to exercise care in their criticism of the various factions. Although NPFL leader Charles Taylor affirmed publicly on several occasions that his government supported free speech and criticism, both Liberians and foreign nationals were detained by his supporters for comments about the NPFL.

The IGNU, in addition to supporting a shortwave radio station (ELBC), inaugurated FM broadcasts in early 1992. ELBC news reports were generally favorable to the IGNU. A Christian-operated FM radio station also broadcast from the Monrovia area. The NPFL operated three radio and two television stations in its area. NPFL news programs supported Charles Taylor and the NPFL, while discussing economic and social conditions in NPFL territory.

The University of Liberia, after a long hiatus, reopened in the first half of the year but had to close because of the renewed fighting. While it was open, academic freedom was generally respected, although pro-NPFL expression was strongly criticized by university authorities and most of the student body.

b. *Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association.*—The Constitution provides the rights of peaceful assembly and association. In Monrovia, political parties and other groups were able to organize and to hold public meetings. New political organizations such as the Labor Party and National Reformation Party appeared, but the

National Patriotic Party, the political affiliate of the NPFL, was prohibited from locating its headquarters in Monrovia. Several civic groups held peaceful demonstrations, some critical of IGNU. In July a group of taxi drivers blocked an important Monrovia thoroughfare in protest over rising gasoline prices. Neither the IGNU nor ECOMOG attempted forcibly to disband the demonstrators. However, in May ECOMOG restricted a peaceful demonstration of 1,000 to 1,500 NPFL supporters to the outskirts of Monrovia and refused to allow the demonstration into the central city. In late June, ECOMOG also prevented Prince Johnson from exiting his base to lead a demonstration calling for IGNU President Sawyer's removal. ECOMOG said that it quashed the demonstration because of the high probability of violence. In October ECOMOG, with IGNU concurrence, imposed a nighttime curfew in Monrovia because of the insecure conditions caused by the fighting. ECOMOG soldiers were ordered to enforce the measure strictly, and numerous persons were arrested for noncompliance. AFL soldiers have reportedly wounded several citizens for breaking the curfew.

The freedoms of assembly and association were generally more restricted in NPFL areas than in Monrovia. None of the prewar political parties was known to have held public meetings in NPFL areas. However, the NPFL did sponsor four conferences of tribal leaders, political party officials, and leaders of numerous civic organizations. Although the events were fashioned to be pro-NPFL, several influential Monrovians attended some of the meetings, and some criticism of the NPFL was expressed, particularly regarding the mistreatment of civilians by NPFL soldiers. In March several NPFL officials were assaulted in Buchanan by protesters (see Section 1.a.), who dispersed peacefully only after NPRAG/NPFL leader Charles Taylor visited the city and promised to restore discipline to the troops there.

c. *Freedom of Religion.*—The 1985 Constitution recognizes freedom of religion as a fundamental right, and Liberia has no established state religion. Christianity has long been the religion of the political and economic elite, while the majority of the population has continued to follow traditional religions or to practice a mixture of traditional religions and Christianity or Islam. There were no evident efforts by the various warring factions to suppress religious freedom, although Mandingos, who are predominantly Muslim, were targeted by the NPFL as sympathetic to President Doe during the civil war and in 1992 were mistreated by the NPFL as suspected supporters of ULIMO.

d. *Freedom of Movement Within the Country, Foreign Travel, Immigration and Repatriation.*—The Constitution provides for freedom of movement throughout Liberia as well as the right to leave or enter the country at will. Freedom of movement in and out of Monrovia was generally respected by IGNU in 1992. However, IGNU reportedly refused some NPRAG officials the right to depart Liberia through the Monrovia airport. Throughout the year, freedom of movement, ranging from resettlement of displaced persons to ordinary commerce and travel, was inhibited in NPFL territory because of extortion and harassment by unruly soldiers.

ULIMO-NPFL clashes in western Liberia and arbitrary confiscation of private vehicles also were strong deterrents to internal travel. While over 20,000 Liberians fled to Monrovia in August and September to escape the ULIMO-NPFL fighting in western Liberia, human rights groups and other credible sources stated that in September the NPFL prohibited hundreds, perhaps thousands, of others from seeking similar refuge in Monrovia. For several months during the year, the IGNU imposed embargoes on shipment of goods into NPFL territory, and retaliatory actions by the NPFL had the practical effect of inhibiting the right to travel within the county.

In January between 1,000 and 3,000 Krahnns fled to Cote d'Ivoire to escape harassment from the Gio and Mano NPFL fighters. Roughly 600,000 Liberian refugees remained in neighboring West African countries, many out of fear of ethnic discrimination. While accurate figures of refugee repatriation are difficult to confirm, up to 80,000 Liberians may have spontaneously returned since June 1991. Most of these returnees went to Monrovia, where they were well received and were provided assistance by a network consisting of the U.N. agencies, the IGNU, and international and domestic nongovernmental relief groups.

There are approximately 100,000 Sierra Leonean refugees in Liberia. Although many Sierra Leoneans were mistreated by the NPFL, there were no reports of such refugees being forced to leave Liberia.

Section 3. Respect for Political Rights: The Right of Citizens to Change Their Government

Despite constitutional and legal guarantees of free and fair elections, Liberians could not exercise the right to change their government in 1992. Under the auspices of ECOWAS, the NPFL and the IGNU established an ad hoc elections commission in 1991 with a mandate to organize presidential and national legislative elections

in 1992. However, the elections commission made little progress toward holding elections, primarily because of the failure of the warring factions to disarm.

There was some limited activity in the search for new political formulas to restore unity under a popularly elected leadership. The NPRAG and IGNU exchanged proposals aimed at forming joint executive branch commissions, but there was little followup. The legislatures of the NPRAG and the IGNU periodically considered merging, but no progress was achieved. The IGNU remained a coalition Government comprised of the major prewar political parties. Power in the IGNU mainly resides in the executive branch, led by President Amos Sawyer, and not in the legislature or the judiciary. The NPRAG also had three separate branches of government. But unlike the coalition-based IGNU, Charles Taylor is the NPRAG'S unquestioned leader and decisionmaker.

Neither the legislature in Monrovia nor that in Gbarnga was truly representative. However, the Interim Legislature in Monrovia at times asserted its role as a separate branch of government, both confirming and rejecting important IGNU appointees following public confirmation hearings. It also subpoenaed members of the executive branch to explain actions of the Interim Government. While the NPRAG legislature was generally subservient to its party leadership views, it too rejected a few NPRAG appointments. The NPRAG held legislative and county elections in NPFL territory, and although some incumbents were not returned to office, few details were available on the fairness of the exercise.

Section 4. Governmental Attitude Regarding International and Nongovernmental Investigations of Alleged Violations of Human Rights

The few human rights organizations in Liberia are relatively new, underfunded, and inexperienced. These groups conducted some public meetings and other activities but engaged in very little human rights monitoring. Two groups occasionally published newspapers dedicated to human rights. None of the organizations reported any IGNU interference with their activities. The attitude of the NPRAG toward the human rights organizations was less clearly enunciated, and its conduct to date has not been encouraging. Some Monrovia-based activists feared for their personal safety, claiming that the NPFL had accused them of being IGNU agents. They also alleged that the NPFL placed significant restrictions on their travel in NPFL territory. There was one human rights organization based in NPFL territory, but it did not appear to be active or effective.

Section 5. Discrimination Based on Race, Sex, Religion, Language, or Social Status

The roots of the civil conflict can be found in the historical division between, on the one hand, the Americo-Liberians, who for over 150 years dominated the political, economic, and cultural life of the country, and on the other hand, the indigenous ethnic groups. The latter frequently complained of government discrimination in many areas, such as access to education and civil service jobs and to infrastructure development. The coup mounted by Sergeant Doe and other noncommissioned officers in 1980 was seen as a revolution, with indigenous groups taking power from the Americo-Liberian elite. However, Doe's authoritarian military-based regime progressively exacerbated ethnic tensions while subverting the democratic reforms embodied in the 1985 Constitution.

During the Doe regime, resentment grew over domination by, and government favoritism toward, his tribe, the Krahn. At the height of the civil war, an individual's language was used to identify that person's ethnic group. Those from groups considered hostile frequently were summarily executed. The cease-fire in late 1990 stopped most of these abuses. However, NPFL reprisals against the Krahn, particularly in Grand Gedeh, and against Mandingos throughout NPFL territory, continued to occur, and harassment of rival ethnic groups by Krahn AFL troops in Monrovia resumed when fighting broke out in mid-October (see Section 1.g.).

The 1985 Constitution prohibited discrimination based on ethnic background, race, sex, creed, place of origin, or political opinion. However, it also provided that only "persons who are Negroes or of Negro descent" may be citizens or own land, thus denying full rights to many who have lived all their lives in Liberia. Neither Monrovia's Interim Government nor Gbarnga's NPRAG have considered repealing this racial test.

The status of women in Liberian society varies by region, ethnic group, and religion. Some women currently hold skilled jobs, including cabinet-level positions in both the IGNU and NPFL governments. In 1991 and 1992, several women's organizations were established in Monrovia and Gbarnga to advance family welfare issues, to help promote political reconciliation, and to assist in rehabilitating former combatants as well as civilian victims of war. In urban areas and along the coast, women can inherit land and property. In rural areas, where traditional customs are

stronger, a woman is normally considered the property of her husband and his clan and is not usually entitled to inherit from her husband.

Women in most rural areas are responsible for much of the farm labor and have had only limited access to education. According to a recent U.N. study, females in Liberia receive only about 28 percent of the schooling given to males. In the massive violence inflicted on civilians during the conflict, women suffered the gamut of abuses, and especially rape. Even prior to the war, domestic violence against women was extensive but never was seriously addressed as an issue by the Government or women's groups. Female genital mutilation (circumcision) was, and almost certainly still is, widely practiced, particularly in some rural areas. According to an independent expert in the field, the percentage of Liberian women who have undergone this procedure may be as high as 60 percent. Young children are sometimes compelled to perform military service (see Section 6.d.).

Section 6. Worker Rights

a. *The Right of Association.*—The Constitution states that workers have the right to associate in trade unions. Unions are constitutionally prohibited from partisan political activity, and the restriction has been observed in practice. Government interference in union activities, especially elections and leadership conflicts, was customary before the war. Over 20 trade unions, representing about 15 percent of the wage-earning work force, were registered with the Ministry of Labor before 1989. More than ten national unions were members of the Liberian Federation of Labor Unions (LFLU). However, the actual power the unions exercised was always slight.

Like virtually all other organized activity in the country, unions disappeared during the height of the war. As some large-scale operations involving rubber and other extractive industries began operating in NPFL areas in 1991 and 1992, some union activity associated with these industries also resumed. In at least one instance, an incumbent union withstood a challenge from another group seeking to represent the workers at a major extractive operation in NPFL territory. Union activity also resumed in Monrovia, with much of it focusing on resolving prewar internal leadership questions. Labor unions traditionally were affiliated with international labor groups before the war, and many of these ties were resumed in 1992.

Liberia's status as a beneficiary of trade preferences under the United States' Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) program was suspended in 1990 as a result of the Doe Government's failure to take steps to provide internationally recognized worker rights. For example, the Doe regime did not recognize the right of civil servants or employees of public corporations to unionize or strike. During 1992 the IGNU legislature worked toward, but did not enact, an amended labor code removing the prohibition against unionization of government workers.

Neither the IGNU nor the NPRAG officially repealed or affirmed the 1980 Doe Government decree prohibiting strikes, but there were no major strikes in 1992. However, there were several work slowdowns (some by IGNU civil servants) because of late or partial wage payments. Workers in the extractive industries conducted slowdowns and also threatened work stoppages in protest over some companies' slowness or failure to comply with the NPRAG's requirement for wage payments in United States currency instead of Liberian dollars. During the year, neither IGNU nor NPRAG took any discriminatory actions against organized labor.

b. *The Right to Organize and Bargain Collectively.*—With the important exception of civil servants and employees of public corporations, workers enjoy the right to organize and bargain collectively. However, in 1992 these rights were significantly constrained by the institutional breakdown of unions caused by the war and the low level of economic activity. With high unemployment and lay-offs being fundamental concerns, several unions negotiated with employers severance payments for union members who had become redundant. Generally, the wage and severance pay agreements are negotiated freely between labor and their employers, with occasional input from the IGNU or NPRAG Labor Ministry.

Although the Interim Legislature deliberated the merits of a revised labor code, neither the Interim Government nor the NPRAG took steps to correct flaws highlighted by the 1990 report of the International Labor Organization (ILO). That report stated that existing labor laws failed to provide workers adequate protection against discrimination and reprisals for union activity, failed to protect workers' organizations against outside interference, and did not give eligible workers in the public sector the opportunity to bargain collectively.

Labor laws have the same force in Liberia's one export processing zone as in the rest of the country.

c. *Prohibition of Forced or Compulsory Labor.*—The Constitution prohibits forced labor, but even before the civil war this prohibition was widely ignored in rural areas, where farmers were pressured into providing free labor on "community

projects" which often benefited only local leaders. Forced labor was used by some or all of the warring factions during the civil war, especially for moving equipment and supplies. Vestiges of this practice persisted in 1992. NPFL officers established forced labor camps and farms in Grand Gedeh County. According to several sources, the NPFL reportedly used forced labor in western Liberia to move supplies in the wake of clashes with ULIMO. When it captured Bomi County in August, ULIMO reportedly forced inhabitants to carry property that had been confiscated as spoils of war.

d. *Minimum Age for Employment of Children.*—Under the Doe Government, the law prohibited employment of children under age 16 during school hours in the wage sector. Enforcement by the Ministry of Labor, however, was limited. Even before the civil war, small children continued to assist their parents as vendors in local markets and on family subsistence farms. This practice persisted in 1992, particularly in those areas where schools had been closed because of the war. During the conflict, the NPFL and the INPFL recruited young children as soldiers; many of them had been orphaned, and some were less than 12 years of age. Many of these children, especially in the NPFL, remained under arms in 1992. (Indeed, the NPFL had a unit named the "Small Boys Unit.") To help counter the ULIMO offensive in western Liberia, the NPFL was believed to have recruited additional soldiers, including children, in the latter half of 1992. Many of the young NPFL troops sent to attack Monrovia in mid-October were given mood-altering drugs.

e. *Acceptable Conditions of Work.*—The labor law provides for a minimum wage, paid leave, severance benefits, and safety standards. Before the economy collapsed, the legal minimum wage varied according to profession but did not generally provide a decent standard of living for a worker and family. Often workers were forced to supplement their incomes through other activities to maintain a minimal standard of living. Most turned to subsistence farming. The wage limit has not always been enforced adequately by the Labor Ministry. In mid-1992, the NPRAG ordered that all extractive industries pay workers at least partly in U.S. dollars. The measure effectively increased the workers' salaries due to the variance between the official and black market exchange rates. Prior to 1990, there had also been health and safety standards, in theory enforced by the Ministry of Labor. In view of the low level of economic activity during 1992, these various regulations were not obeyed by many employers, and there was very little attempt at enforcement in Monrovia or in NPFL territory.

MADAGASCAR

Throughout 1992 Madagascar was ruled by transitional governmental institutions established in late 1991 following mass protests against the rule of President Didier Ratsiraka by the populist "Forces Vives" (Active Forces) movement. The transitional Government, headed by Prime Minister Guy Razanamasy, ruled by decree with the advice and consent of the 31-member High Authority of State (HAE) headed by Albert Zafy, the 130-seat Council for Economic and Social Recovery (CRES), and the heads of the Council of Churches. President Ratsiraka remained in office but with much reduced powers, and the National Assembly remained suspended. In August Malagasy voters approved a new constitution which provides for an elected parliamentary form of government headed by a prime minister but with provision for a popularly elected president as head of state. Presidential elections, considered by international observers to have been generally free and democratic, were held on November 25. A runoff election between the top two contenders, Albert Zafy and Didier Ratsiraka, will be held in January 1993.

The gendarmerie and the national police were responsible for internal security during this transitional year. They and the Directorate General of Internal and External Investigations and Documentation (DGIDIE) reported to the Prime Minister, although most of their personnel remained appointees of President Ratsiraka. The Presidential Security Guard, a unit of 1,800 men, remained under the direct command of the President. Some elements of this and another elite, pro-Ratsiraka army unit were involved in a partly successful intimidation campaign to keep voters away from the polls during the August constitutional referendum and to disrupt early preparations for the presidential election. Violence during and after the referendum resulted in at least eight deaths. However, according to credible reports, physical mistreatment of detainees, associated particularly with the DGIDIE in the past, did not recur in 1992. Madagascar's total military expenditures for 1989, the last year for which the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency conducted a detailed analysis, were \$35 million. These expenditures have not decreased. In the years

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT XX

EXHIBIT XX

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

Classified By: UNSPECIFIED
Classification Reason: UNSPECIFIED
Declassify On: April 26, 2042

~~(S//NF)~~ **SUBJ: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1100 HOURS LOCAL TIME**

Identifiers:

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[REDACTED] DECL: [REDACTED] BY RECORDED REPORTING OFFICER. ALL PORTIONS CARRY CLASSIFICATION AND CONTROLS OF OVERALL DOCUMENT.> ORIG/REL [REDACTED] END OF MESSAGE ~~SECRET~~

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~~(S//NF)~~ 1. TENSION IN MONROVIA IS EXTREMELY HIGH. NERVOUS ARMED FORCES OF LIBERIA (AFL) SOLDIERS WENT ON A RAMPAGE AND ATTACKED REFUGEES AT THE ST. PETER'S LUTHERAN CHURCH IN SINKOR (06-18N, 10-48W) LAST NIGHT. AN ESTIMATED 1,200 DISPLACED PERSONS WERE AT THE LUTHERAN CENTER WHEN AFL SOLDIERS ENTERED. AFL SOLDIERS REPORTEDLY FIRED INDISCRIMINATELY, SPRAYING REFUGEES WITH BULLETS. EARLY REPORTING INDICATES ANYWHERE FROM 80 TO 200 INDIVIDUALS WERE KILLED, 42 WOUNDED, AND 5 BABIES WERE FOUND UNATTENDED AT THE LUTHERAN CHURCH THIS MORNING. THE REFUGEE CENTER AT THE NEARBY METHODIST CHURCH WAS NOT ATTACKED. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)
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(S//NF) 2. BETWEEN 600 AND 1000 PEOPLE FROM THE TWO CHURCHES REPORTEDLY SWARMED ONTO THE COMPOUND OF THE UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (USAID) IN SINKOR BY THE MORNING OF 30 JULY. AN EXPATRIATE ON THE COMPOUND REPORTED THERE WERE 14 WOUNDED IN NEED OF MEDICAL ASSISTANCE. THIS SAME INDIVIDUAL ALSO REPORTED THAT AFL SOLDIERS IN TWO TAXIS HAD PARKED OUTSIDE THE USAID COMPOUND AT 0955 HOURS THIS MORNING. THERE WERE NO ADDITIONAL DETAILS AVAILABLE ON THE SITUATION AS OF 1100 HOURS. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)

(S//NF) 3. IN ANOTHER RELATED INCIDENT, AFL SOLDIERS SHOT THE LIBERIAN COMPANION OF AN AMERICAN MISSIONARY STAYING AT A USAID HOUSE IN THE SINKOR (06-18N, 1048W)-CONGOTOWN (06-16N, 10-44W) AREA LAST NIGHT. THE MISSIONARY WAS NOT INJURED. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)

(S//NF) 4. THE BATTLE FOR MONROVIA CONTINUED ON THE NIGHT OF 29 JULY. SEVERAL ROUNDS, PROBABLY 122MM ROCKETS, IMPACTED IN THE VICINITY OF THE BARCLAY TRAINING CENTER (BTC) (06-18N, 10-48W). NO INFORMATION ON DAMAGE TO THE AREA IS AVAILABLE. THE ROUNDS PROBABLY WERE FIRED BY CHARLES ((TAYLOR))'S NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA (NPFL) FORCES FROM A POSITION EAST OF SINKOR, POSSIBLY PAYNESVILLE. THEIR TRAJECTORY CARRIED THEM OVER THE EXECUTIVE MANSION. IN OTHER ACTION LAST NIGHT, NPFL FORCES REPORTEDLY FIRED APPROXIMATELY 100 HIGH EXPLOSIVE ROUNDS OF AN UNKNOWN TYPE FROM PAYNESVILLE (06-17N, 10-41W) IN THE DIRECTION OF ELWA JUNCTION (06-15N, 10-42W). AFL FORCES ALSO FIRED ROCKETS FROM THE BONJAL (06-14N, 10-40W) AREA TOWARDS NPFL POSITIONS IN PAYNESVILLE. [REDACTED] COMMENT: IT HAS BEEN CONFIRMED THAT THE NPFL AND AFL BOTH HAVE FUNCTIONAL BM-21 ROCKET LAUNCHERS. IT IS ALSO LIKELY THE PRINCE JOHNSON REBEL FACTION CAPTURED ONE FROM THE AFL ON ABOUT 24 JULY.) [REDACTED]

(b)(3)

(b)(1)
(b)(3)
(b)(3)

(S//NF) 5. MEDICAL OFFICIALS AT CATHOLIC HOSPITAL IN CONGOTOWN REPORTED TREATING MANY AFL CASUALTIES THIS MORNING. MORALE AND DISCIPLINE OF THE AFL SOLDIERS WAS REPORTED NOT TO BE GOOD. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)

(S//NF) 6. AN INTENSE FIREFIRE OCCURRED NEAR THE AMERICAN EMBASSY ON MAMBA POINT AT MID-MORNING. HEAVY MACHINE GUN FIRE AND AUTOMATIC WEAPONS WERE HEARD. PRINCE JOHNSON'S INDEPENDENT NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA (INPFL) FORCES CONTINUE TO ADVANCE ON MONROVIA BUT WERE REPORTED TO BE ENCOUNTERING RESISTANCE FROM POCKETS OF AFL SOLDIERS THROUGHOUT THE DOWNTOWN AREA. AT THE MOMENT THE U.S. EMBASSY APPEARS TO BE SITUATED IN A "FREE ZONE", I.E., IN AN AREA THAT IS NOT CONTROLLED BY THE AFL OR THE INPFL. LARGE NUMBERS OF REFUGEES WERE REPORTED TO HAVE DEPARTED THE U.S. EMBASSY GREYSTONE COMPOUND FOR THE SAFETY OF INPFL HELD BUSHROD ISLAND (06-21N, 10-47W) THIS MORNING. STORES IN DOWNTOWN MONROVIA REMAINED CLOSED. THERE WAS NO TELEPHONE SERVICE, PUBLIC WATER, OR ELECTRICITY. [REDACTED]

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Collection: CC

Creator:

Agency Acronym: CIA
Office Name: NCS

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Description: (U) None

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Language: en

Precedence: O

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Subject: None

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT YY

EXHIBIT YY

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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	CIAE-00
	H-01	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	SSO-01	HA-09	L-03
	TRSE-00	PM-01	MFLO-01	EAP-01	PA-01	CCO-00	OMB-01
	INRE-00	OCS-06	FDRE-00	CA-02	RP-10	SP-01	SR-01
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 HQSAC OFFUTT AFB NE//IN//
 23AF HURLBURT AFB FL
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39SOW RHEIN MAIN AB GE//BOI//
 21AF MCGUIRE AFB NJ//IN//
 COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC
 CDRFORSOM FT MCPHERSON GA

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: HARRY R MELONE
 DATE/CASE ID: 25 JAN 2007 200603489

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EXHIBIT YY

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437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//
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JEWIC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 06 MONROVIA 05543

S/S-0 PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF
COMSIXTHFLT FOR CTF FOUR ONE, CTF SIX ONE, CTF SIX TWO,
CTF SIX SEVEN, CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI
SUBJECT: WGLI02: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1800
- MAY 31, 1990

REF: MONROVIA ALM 04343 (NOTAL)

1. (C) SUMMARY: POST HAS NO REPORTS OF FIGHTING OVER
THE PAST 24 HOURS. SOME AFL TROOPS, INCLUDING COL.
DOEWAY, HAVE RETURNED FROM POSITIONS NEAR SALALA TO
MONROVIA. SEVERAL OF THE VILLAGES BETWEEN CAREYSBURG
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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AND KAKATA ARE DESERTED. MANOS AND GIOS IN MONROVIA
ARE NOW SEEKING REFUGE IN LOCAL CHURCHES. THE
GOVERNMENT HAS VOWED TO CATCH THE PERSONS WHO ABDUCTED
NIMBANS AT THE UN COMPOUND ON THE NIGHT OF MAY 29, AND
MAY BE TRYING TO DEFLECT BLAME FROM SECURITY FORCES.
THE SENATE REJECTED THE PRESIDENT'S CALL FOR EARLY
ELECTIONS, AND ENDORSED THE LIBERIAN COUNCIL OF
CHURCHES OFFER TO HELP MEDIATE IN THE CONFLICT.
SEVERAL AIRLINES HAVE CANCELLED FLIGHTS TO RIA. THE
AIRPORT REMAINS VERY LIGHTLY DEFENDED. END SUMMARY.

SITUATION IN BUCHANAN

UNCLASSIFIED

EXHIBIT YY

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2. (C) REBELS REMAIN IN FULL CONTROL OF BUCHANAN, AND THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT THE AFL IS MOUNTING A NEW ASSAULT ON THE TOWN. COL. NIMELY, THE COMMANDER DESIGNATED TO TAKE OVER FROM THE LATE COL. APPLETON, REMAINS IN MONROVIA. THE AFL IS REPORTEDLY STILL DEPLOYED AT THE ST. JOHNS RIVER BRIDGE, BUT IT IS PROBABLE THAT REBEL FORCES HAVE AGAIN DECIDED TO AVOID A CLASH WITH A LARGE AFL FORCE, AND ARE INFILTRATING TO POSITIONS TO THE REAR OF THE AFL TROOPS.

3. (C) AFL TROOPS FROM THE BUCHANAN TASK FORCE ARE FILTERING BACK INTO TOWN, ALMOST CERTAINLY WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION. MOST OF THE SMALL TOWNS BETWEEN OWENSGROVE AND THE ST. JOHNS RIVER ARE DESERTED, DUE TO AFL HARASSMENT AND FEAR OF A REBEL ATTACK.

4. (C) THE LAC PLANTATION REMAINS QUIET, AND THE THREE AMCITS STILL THERE ARE SAFE, AS ARE THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES. LAC HAS EVEN CONSIDERED RESTARTING

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	INRE-00	OCS-06	FDRE-00	CA-02	RP-10	SP-01	SR-01
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O 311909Z MAY 90 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2082
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9166

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EXHIBIT YY

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USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN PRIORITY
COMSIXTHFLT NAPLES IT
USEUCOM AIDES VAHINGEN GE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
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AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
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CTOSCE18ABC FT BRAGG NC
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USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL
HQAC OFFUTT AFB NE//IN//
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322 ALD RAMSTEIN AB GE//CC//
437MAW CHARLESTON AFB SC//IN//
2NDSOW FALCON AFB CO
JEWIC SAN ANTONIO TX//DPE//

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 06 MONROVIA 05543

S/S-0 PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
USIA ALSO FOR VOA/EO (HULEN)
USCINCEUR FOR POLAD
ABIDJAN ALSO FOR DAO, ADC, AND COMPANY G
GENEVA FOR RMA
ROME ALSO FOR FODAG
KINSHASA FOR DOC/AF

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EXHIBIT YY

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COMSIXTHFLT FOR CTF FOUR ONE, CTF SIX ONE, CTF SIX TWO,
CTF SIX SEVEN, CTG SIX SEVEN PT. FOUR

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI

SUBJECT: WGLI02: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1800

- MAY 31, 1990

PRODUCTION, BUT IS OUT OF RICE, AND HAS ONLY TWO WEEKS
WORTH OF OTHER NEEDED SUPPLIES.

5. (C) SOURCES AT FIRESTONE DESCRIBE THE SITUATION AS
"FLUID", NOTING THAT PRODUCTION IS DROPPING AND NOW
STANDS AT ABOUT 50-60 PERCENT OF NORMAL. MANAGEMENT
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ESTIMATES THAT 700-800 PERSONS FROM THE KAKATA AREA
HAVE SOUGHT REFUGE ON THE PLANTATION. (NOTE: OTHER
SOURCES CLAIM THE INFLUX IS MUCH HIGHER.)

SITUATION IN BONG

6. (C) A MISSIONARY CONTACT WHO HAS BEEN IN TOUCH
WITH LIBERIANS IN UPPER BONG COUNTY REPORTED THAT THEY
EXPECTED CONFLICT SOUTH OF TOTOTA ON MAY 31, BUT WE
HAVE NO REPORTS OF FIGHTING IN THE AREA. SOME AFL
TROOPS, INCLUDING COL. DOEWAY, WHO HAD PUSHED AS FAR
NORTH AS SALALA HAVE APPEARED IN MONROVIA, AND THE
SUBSTANTIAL AFL FORCE SENT TO RETAKE KAKATA MAY BE
DWINDLING.

7. (C) SEVERAL AFL TROOPS HAVE MADE THEIR WAY TO THE
BONG MINING CONCESSION IN RECENT DAYS, BUT MOST HAVE
NOW LEFT. BONG MINE SOURCES SAY THE AREA IS QUIET,
BUT EMPLOYEES ARE NOT TRAVELLING AS THE ROAD TO KAKATA
IS STILL CONSIDERED UNSAFE. OPERATIONS AT THE MINE
ARE CONTINUING, BUT NO ORE IS BEING SHIPPED.
MANAGEMENT HAS SCALED BACK PRODUCTION IN ORDER TO
CONSERVE FUEL, WHICH IS DOWN TO ABOUT TWO WEEKS
SUPPLY.

8. (C) AT LEAST NINE AMCITS WHO WERE RESIDING AT
CHURCH MISSIONS NORTH OF KAKATA HAVE NOT BEEN HEARD
FROM. EIGHT AMCITS RESIDING AT THE BONG MINES

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COMPOUND ARE CURRENTLY STRANDED, BUT SAFE.

SITUATION AT RIA

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O 311909Z MAY 90 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2083
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9167
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN PRIORITY
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23AF HURLBURT AFB FL
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 06 MONROVIA 05543

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STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
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CTF SIX SEVEN, CTG SIX SEVEN PT FOUR

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI
SUBJECT: WGLI02: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1800
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9. (C) MISSION OFFICER WHO VISITED RIA ON THE
AFTERNOON OF MAY 31 REPORTS THAT THE AIRPORT IS EERILY
QUIET, WITH LESS THAN 20 PERCENT OF THE NORMAL
TECHNICAL AND SERVICE COMPLEMENT AT WORK ON MAY 31.
THE TERMINAL AND FIELD ARE VERY LIGHTLY DEFENDED, WITH
ONLY 7-8 VISIBLE TROOPS. ANOTHER 30-40 TROOPS REMAIN
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IN ADJACENT UNIFICATION TOWN. GHANA AIRWAYS,
ETHIOPIAN AIRWAYS, AIR AFRIQUE, AIR ZAMBIA, AND
SWISSAIR HAVE ALL SUSPENDED SERVICE TO RIA.

SITUATION IN MONROVIA

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10. (C) MONROVIA REMAINS EXTREMELY TENSE, AND THE STREETS BECOME VIRTUALLY DESERTED SHORTLY AFTER DARK. THERE IS LITTLE ACTIVITY AT LOCAL MARKETS, AND SEVERAL RESIDENTS ARE ANXIOUS ABOUT FOOD SHORTAGES. THE PRICE OF BASIC COMMODITIES, INCLUDING RICE AND PRODUCE, HAS CLIMBED DRASTICALLY IN RECENT WEEKS. SHELVES IN SOME LOCAL GROCERY STORES ARE EMPTYING, AND OWNERS ARE RELUCTANT TO STOCK LARGE INVENTORIES.

11. (C) POST HAS BEEN UNABLE TO CONFIRM A REPORT THAT THREE BODIES WERE FOUND ON MAY 31 IN THE WATERSIDE MARKET AREA. AT LEAST TWO BODIES WERE FOUND IN SWAMPY PIT NEAR THE EMBASSY LEASED WAREHOUSE ON BUSHROD ISLAND ON MAY 31, BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR WHEN THEY DIED.

12. (C) POST HAS NO FURTHER REPORTS OF ARRESTS IN MONROVIA ON THE NIGHT OF MAY 30. A CARETAKER AT THE JAPANESE EMBASSY, WHOSE JAPANESE STAFF CLOSED THE EMBASSY AND LEFT FOR JAPAN ABOUT A WEEK AGO, REPORTS THAT FOUR ARMED MEN CAME TO THE COMPOUND AT 0730 THIS MORNING AND DEMANDED TO BE LET IN BECAUSE THERE WERE SOME 400 MANO AND GIO PERSONS SEEKING REFUGE THERE. THE CARETAKER REFUSED, AND THE MEN WENT AWAY. POLOFF VISITED THE COMPOUND, WHICH THE JAPANESE EMBASSY SHARES WITH THE UNDP, AT 2200 WEDNESDAY NIGHT, AND SAW NO PERSONS SEEKING REFUGE THERE. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SOME MANOS AND GIOS CAME ONTO THE COMPOUND DURING THE NIGHT, BUT IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT THE LIBERIAN
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-----153152 311929Z /41

O 311909Z MAY 90 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2084
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9168
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY

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EXHIBIT YY

UNCLASSIFIED

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 06 MONROVIA 05543

S/S-0 PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
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EXHIBIT YY

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E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI
SUBJECT: WGLI02: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1800
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CARETAKER WAS CONFUSED ABOUT THE TIME OF THE
INCIDENT.

13. (C) MOST MANO AND GIO PERSONS ARE NOW SEEKING
REFUGE AT LOCAL CHURCHES. ALTHOUGH ILL EQUIPPED TO
HANDLE THE HUGE INFLUX, SOME CHURCHES, INCLUDING THE
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LUTHERAN AND METHODIST, PROVIDED SHELTER AND
DISTRIBUTED FOOD ON THE NIGHT OF MAY 30. THE LIBERIAN
COUNCIL OF CHURCHES STILL PLANS TO HOLD A MASS
DEMONSTRATION IN DOWNTOWN MONROVIA ON JUNE 1 TO
PROTEST THE RECENT WAVE OF KILLINGS.

SENATE REJECTS EARLY ELECTIONS

14. (U) THE SENATE HAS EMPHATICALLY REJECTED
PRESIDENT DOE'S REQUEST TO TAKE STEPS NECESSARY FOR
HOLDING EARLY ELECTIONS. IN A MAY 30 LETTER TO THE
PRESIDENT, SENATORS REFUSED TO "MANIPULATE THE
CONSTITUTION," AND ENDORSED THE MAY 30 OFFER BY THE
LIBERIAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES TO MEDIATE THE CONFLICT
BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE NPFL.

15. (C) TWO SENATORS PRIVATELY CONFIDED TO POLOFF
THAT THE BODY WOULD CONSIDER IMPEACHMENT PROCEEDINGS
AGAINST THE PRESIDENT, BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW MUCH
SUPPORT THERE IS FOR SUCH A MOVE. THE SENATE'S
UNCHARACTERISTIC DEFIANCE IS REPRESENTATIVE OF DOE'S
FAILING SUPPORT IN MANY GOVERNMENT CIRCLES.

MEDIA

16. (U) THE 7 A.M. GOVERNMENT NEWS BROADCAST
ANNOUNCED THAT A "MASSIVE SEARCH" HAS BEEN LAUNCHED
FOR THE KILLERS OF THE GUARD AT THE UN COMPOUND AND

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FOR THOSE WHO ABDUCTED A NUMBER OF NIMBANS WHO HAD
TAKEN REFUGE THERE. IT ALSO ORDERED A MASSIVE SEARCH
FOR THE VEHICLES USED DURING THE INCIDENT AND ASKED
LISTENERS TO INFORM THE AUTHORITIES IF THEY SPOT
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O 311909Z MAY 90 ZFF-4
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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2085
 INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9169
 USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
 AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY CONAKRY PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 06 MONROVIA 05543

S/S-0 PLEASE ALERT AMB. BISHOP
STATE ALSO FOR AF/W, OFDA, AND FFP
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E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS,PREL,PHUM,ASEC,CASC,MCAP,PREF,EAID,EINV,LI
SUBJECT: WGLI02: SITUATION REPORT AS OF 1800
- MAY 31, 1990

VEHICLES WITH LICENSE PLATE NUMBERS GP-62 AND GP-28.
THE ANNOUNCER SAID THE GOVERNMENT CONDEMNED THE USE OF
"MILITARY UNIFORMS BY CIVILIANS" ENGAGED IN THE
HARRASSMENT OF CITIZENS. THE BROADCAST NOTED THAT DOE
VISITED NIMBANS AT THE UN COMPOUND AND OFFERED TO
HOUSE THEM ON THE GROUNDS OF THE EXECUTIVE MANSION, IF
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NECESSARY. DOE REPORTEDLY ALSO LASHED OUT AT ARMY
PERSONNEL WHO ARE HARRASSING CITIZENS. ON THE SAME
BROADCAST THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE APPEALED TO ALL
CITIZENS TO PROVIDE INFORMATION WHICH WOULD ASSIST IN
THE INVESTIGATION OF THE INCIDENT AT THE UN AND SAID
THAT THE KILLERS WERE NOT ACTING IN THE INTEREST OF
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NATION.

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EXHIBIT YY

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17. (U) THE MORNING NEWS ALSO CARRIED A DENIAL OF RUMORS FROM THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT THAT IT IS INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE GOL AND THE REBELS. IT WAS ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT THE HEADS OF STATE AT THE ECOWAS MEETING HAD ISSUED A CALL FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE TO THE CONFLICT IN LIBERIA.

18. (U) IN AN INTERVIEW ON THE BBC MORNING NEWS TODAY, REBEL LEADER CHARLES TAYLOR SPOKE FROM BUCHANAN, CLAIMING TO HAVE SOME 10,000 PERSONS UNDER ARMS AROUND THE COUNTRY. HE SAID THE FRONT'S NEXT TARGET IS MONROVIA, BUT INDICATED HE WANTS TO AVOID DOING ANYTHING THAT WOULD CAUSE DOE "TO GO CRAZY". ASKED ABOUT CLAIMS THAT REBELS HAD KILLED MANDINGOS, TAYLOR RETORTED THAT HIS "CHIEF OF PROTOCOL" IS MANDINGO. HE ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE MANDINGOS HAD REASON TO FEAR, BUT SAID HE HAS BETTER CONTROL OF HIS SOLDIERS THAN DOE DOES. CLAIMING TO BE "IN FOR PEACE", TAYLOR SAID "PEACE MUST BE WON WITHOUT DOE". HE SAID THE FRONT IS NOT GOING TO STOP FOR ANY GOVERNMENT EXCEPT AN NPFL GOVERNMENT. HE DENIED HE WANTS POWER FOR HIMSELF AND SAID "THE POWER IS FOR THE NPFL AND THE PEOPLE OF LIBERIA".

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O 311909Z MAY 90 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2086
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9170
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE
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19. (C) SOVIET AMBASSADOR STOPPED BY ON MAY 30 FOR AN UPDATE ON THE SITUATION. WHEN ASKED WHETHER THE LIBERIANS HAD APPROACHED HIM FOR ARMS, HE SAID ONE OF HIS OFFICERS HAD RECEIVED AN INQUIRY FROM AN INTERIOR MINISTRY OFFICIAL ON MAY 21. THE SOVIET DIPLOMAT HAD AGREED TO PASS THE REQUEST, WHICH WAS GENERAL IN CONFIDENTIAL

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NATURE, TO HIS AMBASSADOR. THUS FAR THE RUSSIANS HAVE DUCKED GIVING ANY RESPONSE AND THE MATTER HAS NOT BEEN PURSUED FURTHER.

20. (U) THE NATIONAL DISASTER RELIEF COMMISSION AND THE UNITED NATIONS ANNOUNCED MAY 30 THAT THE FOOD DISTRIBUTION PROGRAM, FOR DISPLACED PEOPLE, SCHEDULED TO START AT THE SKD STADIUM TOMORROW HAS BEEN POSTPONED UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE. NO FOOD WAS PROVIDED AND WITH THE SCHEDULED DEPARTURE OF ALL UN EXPAT PERSONNEL ON A CHARTER FLIGHT TODAY, NONE IS LIKELY TO BE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'S OFFICE IS ALSO REPORTED TO BE CLOSING ITS DOORS.
JETT

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

NNNN

UNCLASSIFIED

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT ZZ

EXHIBIT ZZ

(The 24-Hour People)
ITTER PHARMACY

The Management of the Itter Pharmacy, located on corner of Broad/Johnson Streets, wishes to inform general public and its customers that in keeping with ethics of our noble profession, the Pharmacy is providing services 24 hours continuously non-stop (including Sunc and holidays).

Customers bringing copy of this advertisement receive a 10% discount of the Retail Price on all drugs purchased. This offer expires December 31, 1990.

MANAGEMENT

CHURCHES SET UP TEMPORARY CLINIC — for 5000 displaced persons

By Joshua Kpennah

In a bid to provide medical treatment for displaced people presently seeking refuge at the St. Peter's Lutheran Church in Sinkor, Monrovia, the Liberian Council of Churches (LCC) has set up a temporary clinic to assist those affected.

To effect this effort, the Liberian Red Cross Society has provided an

Manos. are seeking refuge under the

tions. Among the places housing these people are the Japanese Embassy, Arthur Barclay Institute, the S. Trowen Nagbe United Methodist Church and the Providence Baptist Church.

tian Health Association of Liberia (CHAL) which, he noted, has deployed its personnel on the grounds of the church to carry out some voluntary work designed to cater to the needs of the refugees.

He has, meanwhile, appealed to the general

public to assist the refugees with moral and financial support, noting that "anything you have to help these

people with would be highly appreciated. You can bring any items to the Lutheran Church here on 14 Street in Sinkor."



Some of the 3,000 displaced Nimbaians at the office of the UNDP, where they originally sought refuge

ambulance to be used by the clinic. Already medical personnel of the Liberian Red Cross Society, John F. Kennedy Hospital and some church members have volunteered to manage the clinic, which is located at the Lutheran Church.

According to the pastor of the church, the Rev. Joseph T. Allison, over 5,000 displaced people, including Gio's and

auspices of the Liberia Council of Churches. The displaced persons, who include men, women and children, have been taking refuge at the church after several of them were killed and some kidnapped at the UNDP compound last week where they first took refuge.

Rev. Allison said the displaced people are lodging at some churches and other institu-

Asked how these people are being fed, Rev. Allison said, "These people get their daily meal from God-fearing people who stop by to greet and give to these our unfortunate brothers and sisters." However, he said that a consignment of food items was left behind by the staff of the United Nations, who left the country recently.

Rev. Allison paid homage to the Chris-

Sierra Leonean found dead in Lofa

A Sierra Leonean national identified as Saah Nyumah, alias Borlorkor, was found dead floating in the Maayor River in Foya District, Lofa County.

When the CID commander for Foya District, Lt. Alfred Koiyan, was contacted to throw light on the death of 'Borlorkor', he declined to comment on the circumstances surrounding the man's death, but said an autopsy was being performed by medical personnel at the Foya Community Hospital.

According to family sources, the deceased was last seen being tied and beaten by his uncle, Mr. William Varwen, who works as business manager at PACC, a produce buying agency at Foya Airfield.

When Mr. Varwen was contacted on the alleged beating of the

late 'Borlorkor', he told this paper that the deceased openly insulted his (Varwen's) wife and family members in an open forum. A situation which, Mr. Varwen added, resulted in a physical confrontation with the deceased.

However, Mr. Varwen was recently called by the CID commander of Foya to make a statement on what the CID termed "the mysterious circumstances of Borlorkor's death".

But medical persons at the Foya Community Hospital have out any foul play.

Meanwhile, deaths of 'Borl' and a Guinean national, Sorie Kei Foya District sparked off criticism of the police's handling of cases in the Relatives of the foreign nationals requested an immediate precise probe into the case.

From Edwin M. Foyia

WHAT DID DR. OWL SAY?

In a democracy, no individual is free unless every individual is free.

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EXHIBIT AAA

Daily

OBSERVER

Vol.10 No.65

Monday, May 28, 1990

Monrovia, Liberia 50 Cents

Mano settles air crash claim

The management of the Mano Insurances Corporation has paid a "substantial amount" to the Weasua Air Transport in settlement of a claim for one of the airline's planes that crashed in Sinoe County last year.

Disclosing this to reporters at the weekend, the president of Mano, Dr. Alpha Thiam, said the settlement of the claim is an indication that the cor-



Dr. Alpha Thiam

poration "honors all its legitimate obligations," adding that this also shows that Mano is reliable.

Although Dr. Thiam did not disclose how

Cont'd on page 6

GEN. ELECTIONS BEFORE '91 ?

By Philip N. Wessah

citizens to decide

The Government of Liberia is to shortly seek the views of citizens on the holding of elections before the scheduled time (October 1991) in a bid to solve the crisis in the country. Early elections have apparently been suggested by some in the outside world.



President Doe

President Samuel Kanon Doe said some "world powers" and other people feel that the present rebel activities in the country could be solved by the holding of early elections. "If they think holding elections at this time will solve the pro-

blem in Liberia, I will appeal to our people to hold elections", he said.

The Liberian leader was speaking last Friday at the Executive Mansion when he received statements.— one from the students of the University of Liberia

New air service for Liberia

Air transport development in Liberia could receive a further boost

shortly if negotiations for the establishment of a new commercial air service in the country prove successful.

The negotiations are presently being held between the Ministry of Transport and the management of the newly-established Air Cargo of Liberia, Limited, a privately-owned commercial air venture set up last January with Lofa County Senator Kekura Kpoto as chairman.

Already, a 62-seater jet liner has arrived in the country in anticipation of the service, which is expected to begin operation early June, if the negotiations are successfully concluded.

The general manager of Air Cargo of Liberia Limited, Mr. Howard

Cont'd on page 6

and others from various youth groups in the country. The presentation of statements was preceded by a colourful "Anti-Rebel Demonstration" along the principal streets of

Monrovia.

Dr. Doe said if the holding of an early election meets the approval of the citizens, he will then

Cont'd on page 6

Nimba citizens seek refuge at UN offices

Hundreds of Nimba citizens Saturday converged on the grounds of the United Nations Monrovia office seeking refuge.

The citizens had gone to the United States Embassy on Friday, but were told to go to the United Nations Monrovia office, which is clothed with the authority to take

care of refugee problems.

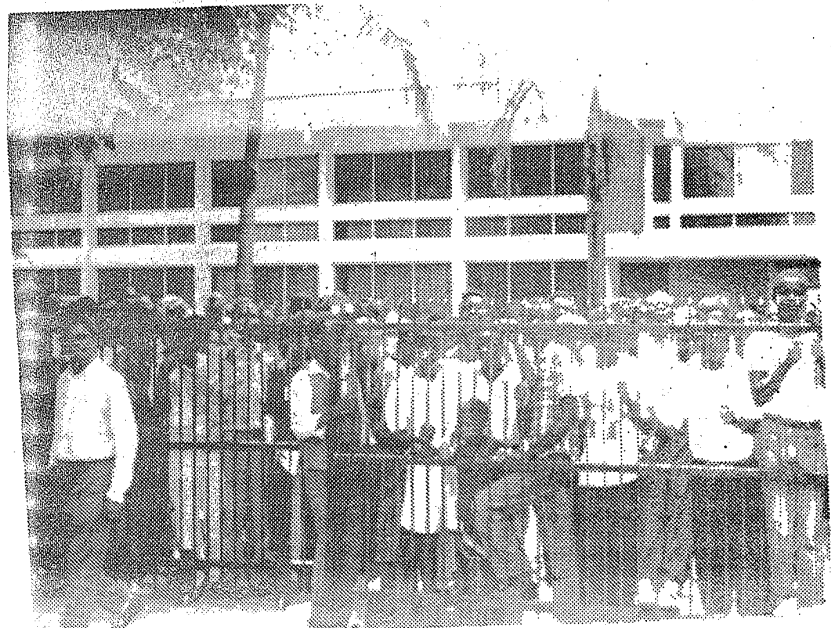
The action of the Nimbaians followed the discovery in and around Monrovia of several bodies, who were identified to be citizens from Nimba County.

Following the discovery of the bodies, the Liberian Government condemned the killings

and directed the Ministries of Defense and Justice to bring the perpetrators to justice.

On the grounds of the UN offices in Monrovia, the Nimba citizens complained of harassment. They told the "Daily Observer" that they had gone to the UN head of-

Cont'd on page 6



Some of the Nimba citizens at the United Nations Monrovia office

Swimming Pools, Water Tanks (Concrete & Metal), Fuel Tanks.

APPLY

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'One Liberian player will play next season'

French first division club A.S. Monaco is considering the inclusion of one of two Liberians, James Debar or Joe Nagbe, on its squad for the next season.

Manager Alaji Sidibay who disclosed this to the 'Observer' last Saturday, said the team is planning to admit Argentine international Ramon Daiz as a



Alaji Sidibay
— Manager —

European Community player before a space can be created for the Liberian. He did not name the Liberian.

He noted that by then all negotiations regarding the player's transfer from his mother club and his

contractual terms, conditions and benefits would be renewed and improved.

Presently, the French league restricts a team to register not more than two foreign players from

Mano

Cont'd from page 1

much was paid to Weasua, he said that the amount paid was substantial and that it represented settlement of the claim for the plane crash.

Meanwhile, the general manager of the Weasua Air Transport, Mr. Manuel Cuenca who also spoke to reporters shortly after meeting with Dr. Thiam and his claims supervisor, Mr. Nathaniel M. Senkpenir, confirmed receiving compensation from Mano.

Mr. Cuenca, who had gone to the corporation's offices on Front Street to sympathize with the management and staff for the death of the general manager and vice president, Ronald S. Smith, said, "I am very satisfied with the services of the Mano Insurances Corporation."

Asked how much he received from the cor-

poration, Mr. Cuenca said that did not matter." He said, with the current level of understanding and cooperation between his airline and Mano, Weasua will continue to be covered by the Mano Insurances Corporation.

One of Weasua's planes from Monrovia crashed in Sinoe County during the latter part of last year. The plane, with 11 persons on board, crashed in the Atlantic Ocean near Greenville, while attempting to land. The British pilot was killed in the crash and some passengers sustained injuries.

The Mano Insurances Corporation, which provides coverage for the airline, said at the time that all legitimate claims would be paid when the necessary modalities were worked out.

— Writes James Setua

New air service

Cont'd from page 1

Meredith, told newsmen upon the plane's arrival at the James Spriggs Payne Airfield at the weekend, that the company plans to operate regular and reliable flights around Liberia.

Mr. Meredith said Air Cargo of Liberia Limited will operate daily flights to Sinoe, Grand Gedeh and Maryland counties except Sundays, adding that flights would be made to Voinjama and Foya in Lofa County on Tuesdays and Thursdays of each week.

Mr. Meredith said if the

operation proves successful within six months, an additional plane of similar capacity would be brought to Liberia to augment the fleet, which would again be augmented in the future for international flights between Monrovia and a number of West African cities.

Lofa County Representative Philip S. Tali, who was on hand at the airfield to receive the plane on behalf of Senator Kpoto, hoped the management of Air Cargo of Liberia

Limited would succeed in their efforts to establish an airline that would cater to the flight needs of citizens and residents of Liberia.

Representative Tali said the establishment of the airline had come at a time when travellers to other parts of Liberia are in dire need of an organized commercial air transport system in the country, and hoped negotiations between the airline management and the Liberian Government would be completed shortly so that the airline would begin its services to the public.



The new 62-seater jet liner

General elections

Cont'd from page 1

appeal to the National Legislature to make the necessary amendments in the constitution to ensure the success of the process for the outside world to know that the "1985 elections were free and fair".

To this end, the President said he was shortly to "discuss" this with the citizens "because people are saying that the only way the trouble will finish in this country is to hold elections..."

PLAY FOOL

However, at one point when the President asked the citizens if this was their wish, they responded, "no," "no," "no." But the President urged them to "think about this seriously". He reminded the citizens that it is sometimes good to play fool to gain wisdom. He also said to them: "...let us prove it to the outside world that we can win elections any time of the day and night".

NOT AFRAID

The President said that nobody was afraid of holding elections. But he said that he cannot "openly and clearly violate the constitution" by holding early election without the consent of the citizens because the constitution says elections must be held after six years, stating, "but if to save the lives of my people if the Legislature, the people of this country can agree for us to hold election tomorrow or anytime next month, we are prepared to do that..."

Dr. Doe said even though many people hold the view that the holding of early general elections will solve the problem, he knows that the "rebels say they want power, they want to rule this country for five or ten years before they even talk about elections; but others are saying the only way we can help the President to restore peace in Liberia is to hold fresh elections, which is against the constitution of this country.

To those who want to

seek elective posts, Dr. Doe said they should do so through the ballot box and not through the M-16 so as to avoid destruction of lives and properties, stating, "I am appealing to all fellow politicians here and abroad to come and see who is who".

The President said he was also willing for international observers to monitor any future elections, or even for the United Nations to appoint an election committee to conduct the elections.

The President also said, "If they even say Mr. President the only way the war will stop except you step aside let us bring new man to run for the sake of my country, I will step aside". But the hundreds of citizens rejected this, shouting "no," "no"; "We want Doe", "we want Doe".

He went on, "I love my country, I love Liberia, I love the citizens of this country; this is why we always put our efforts to do everything that will bring happiness to our people, but it seems to me that the people don't want this country to be developed".

Dr. Doe said should early elections be held and he is defeated, he will "sit

down or go back to the University of Liberia to teach", adding, "I can do any work; I am qualified to be anywhere, not only President. I am here to save lives and properties. If anybody feels he/she

can protect this country more than I am doing, you are welcomed; I am not compelled to be President of this country; I am qualified to work anywhere. I can be a teacher; I can be a farmer; I can do anything. All I want is peace in this country." He said, "From 1980 to now was enough for me to adjust myself".

The President also said that the rebel incursion was the result of the jealousy of detractors of his government over the numerous development programs the government has undertaken and continues to undertake. He named some as paved roads, improvement in the nation's educational system, the construction of modern markets and the graduate program at the University of Liberia.

In the morning, the youth groups paraded in the major streets of Monrovia chanting anti rebel slogans and carrying banners denouncing the rebel activities. Some of them read: "We want peace; rebels, put down your arms; we want Doe we want peace in this country, not war".

UN office

Cont'd from page 1

fice to request "security food and shelter".

A spokesman for the people said that in spite of the Government assurances to protect them, "we have been hunted vigorously in the day and at night". He continued that their lives are in danger, "therefore we have come here today to see what this international body can do for us".

One citizen complained, "We have been forced to sleep out of our home our wives have been raped; and we have been threatened at our workplaces".

Another citizen claimed that his brother, Juni Doe, who left home last Monday, has not been seen.

At the United Nations Monrovia office, a reporter was told that the Resident Representative was holding a meeting with some government authorities. He could not therefore, be reached for comments on the request of the Nimba citizens.

Happy Birthday



The late
Emmanuel N. Blaye

Today, May 28, should have made you 62, but the cold hands of death snatched you away on April 30, 1990. We miss you so dearly; but we are sure that you are resting in peace in the Lord's vineyard.

HAPPY BIRTHDAY!

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Wife
Anthony Blay
Son
&
Philip N. Wesseh
Foster Son
FOR THE FAMILY

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Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT BBB

EXHIBIT BBB

31 of 1506 DOCUMENTS

The New York Times

August 1, 1990, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

Fighting Reported Near Embassies and President's House in Liberia

BYLINE: By MICHAEL WINES, Special to The New York Times

SECTION: Section A; Page 2, Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 867 words

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, July 31

Liberian rebel forces seeking to oust President Samuel K. Doe today seized a key section of Monrovia that includes the American Embassy and other diplomatic missions, the State Department said today. But later press reports said Government forces had recaptured part of the area in a fierce counterattack.

Bush Administration officials reported fighting in downtown Monrovia, the Liberian capital, but were unable to confirm that Mr. Doe's army had retaken any of the lost ground.

Scattered rifle fire and some rocket explosions were heard in the embassy area, United States officials said, but foreigners were not believed to be in imminent danger.

As the rebels edged closer to the presidential mansion, only blocks from Monrovia's diplomatic section, called Mamba Point, the United States repeated its longstanding offer to evacuate Mr. Doe to a friendly nation if that would speed an end to the fighting.

A State Department official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the United States had "a couple of options" should Mr. Doe decide to flee, but declined to say what nations might grant the 38-year-old Liberian leader a haven.

But Mr. Doe told the British Broadcasting Corporation in a telephone interview early today that he would remain in Liberia to the end. "We will continue to fight until the last soldiers of the Liberian Army die," he said in the interview.

Mr. Doe repeated earlier charges by Liberian officials that the massacre of hundreds of war refugees in a Lutheran church in Monrovia on Sunday night was not conducted by his army, but by rebels wearing Government uniforms. But the State Department said again today that witnesses had linked Mr. Doe's troops to the killings.

At the White House, where President Bush discussed the conflict with President Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, said that the Liberian situation was deteriorating and that the country was "running out of food."

"Starvation is beginning to set in," he said. The United States has sent 50,000 tons of food to Liberia during the war, and some of it is now being handed out in rebel-held areas, he said.

Atrocities on Both Sides

Mr. Cohen condemned both sides in the war for committing atrocities against members of tribes that have sided with

their opponents. Mr. Doe's troops are said to have killed hundreds of members of the Gio and Mano tribes, which have backed the rebels, in the Lutheran church.

Today, Mr. Cohen said "reliable information" indicated that the rebels had systematically executed prisoners of war and had killed members of the Krahn and Mandingo tribes, which have supported Mr. Doe's Government.

Liberia's delegate to the United Nations was said to be seeking a Security Council meeting on the crisis.

The American delegate to the United Nations, Thomas R. Pickering, said the United States would support a request for a Security Council meeting but had not requested one itself.

The Bush Administration has promoted negotiations to end the Liberian conflict but has said consistently that it regards the war as an internal matter and that it will not intervene to force a settlement.

Mr. Doe's prospects for retaining the presidency that he seized in a coup 10 years ago appear bleak. Bush Administration officials said his army consists of the remains of a presidential guard that once numbered about 500 men but has been reduced by recent fighting. That force is increasingly caught in a vise-like grip by different factions of rebels attacking from the east and west.

East of Mr. Doe's Monrovia mansion, which sits in the center of a narrow peninsula that juts into the Atlantic Ocean, rebels led by a former Government official, Charles Taylor, have advanced to within a few miles. Mr. Taylor's National Patriotic Front of **Liberia** claims to have 15,000 troops, but Bush Administration officials said the actual number was thought to be closer to 1,500.

Rival Rebel Leader's Force

To the west, a smaller force of about 300 soldiers under another rebel leader, Prince Johnson, moved into Mamba Point today after crossing into Monrovia from neighboring Bushrod Island.

Reporters on the scene today said Mr. Doe's soldiers, clustered behind their only tank, had counterattacked and pushed Mr. Johnson's troops out of several downtown blocks they had occupied earlier. But it was not clear who controlled Mamba Point late today.

The State Department's deputy spokesman, Richard A. Boucher, said about 37,000 Liberians, mostly members of various tribes seeking to escape the fighting, had taken refuge in United States buildings and installations in the country.

The buildings are mostly residential compounds evacuated earlier, when the Monrovia fighting began, and other nonmilitary installations. The United States has no significant military posts in **Liberia**.

State Department officials said fewer than 100 United States Government officials remained in **Liberia**. The officials said another 300 American citizens were believed to be there as well, many of them missionaries or Liberians who hold dual citizenship. No evacuations are planned for now, Mr. Boucher said.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

GRAPHIC: Photo: The body of a Liberian refugee, gunned down as he tried to flee fighting on Saturday, lying on a street near Monrovia. (Agence France-Press); map of **Liberia** showing location of Monrovia, and map of Monrovia showing location of Mamba Point.

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EXHIBIT CCC

EXHIBIT CCC

Mark Huband *in Monrovia in a pooled report*

The Guardian, 1 August 1990

THE government of President Samuel Doe of Liberia launched a violent counterattack yesterday, recapturing large parts of Monrovia's city centre from rebel forces.

Five hundred government troops emerged from the Barclay training centre to take the scattered rebel troops by surprise and recover several blocks of streets, witnesses said.

President Doe's troops, most of them members of his Krahn tribe, advanced behind their one remaining tank towards the two strategic bridges leading to Bushrod Island.

In seesaw battles with rebels led by Prince Johnson, the government forces recaptured the finance and defence ministries and fought their way through the city's main shopping district.

The government counterattack led to heavy fighting in the embassy district of Mamba Point, which the rebels took on Monday. Overall control of the area remained unclear and the front line in the fighting was uncertain.

A spokesman for the Foreign Office said it had been in telephone contact with the British embassy at Mamba Point, where several foreign missions, including that of the United States, are located, and that embassy staff were safe.

A high-rise building in the city centre suspected of being a rebel observation point was set on fire with a salvo from the government's "Stalin organ", witnesses reported.

The streets of the city centre, filled for several days with civilians searching for food, were suddenly completely empty. All shops, offices and ministries remained closed.

Most of the city's 500,000 inhabitants have been without food, water or electricity for almost the entire month.

The Lutheran church, where up to 600 civilians were murdered by Krahn tribe soldiers on Sunday, remained inaccessible to Western reporters. Witnesses who managed to penetrate government lines said the soldiers again attacked civilian refugees on Monday at the nearby J. J. Roberts memorial school and killed at least four.

Volunteer nurses who tried to tend to the nearly 100 wounded at the Lutheran church were hampered by lack of equipment and vehicles, President Doe, in a telephone interview yesterday with the BBC, pledged that "we will continue to fight until the last soldiers in the Liberian army die," adding that he would not "hand

<http://www.markhuband.com/does-forces-recapture-city-centre/>

Liberia over to criminals”.

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EXHIBIT DDD

EXHIBIT DDD

'Night of Terror' Recorded in Monrovia 4 July

*AB0507184290 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 5 Jul 90*

[Text] We have just received this latest report from our correspondent, Elizabeth Blunt, in the besieged Liberian capital, Monrovia:

[Begin Blunt recording] Last night was a night of terror in Monrovia as soldiers ransacked shops under cover of curfew hours after the Army chief had fled. Troops shot their way into shops, warehouses, and restaurants, and emptied the shops in the early hours of this morning. For the fourth consecutive day, rebels have been battling troops in the city's eastern and western suburbs. In the city itself, a serious food shortage is forcing people to beg for life. Give us food, we are dying, one man said. When this morning broke, frightened Monrovians ventured out into the deserted streets and discovered at least 16 bodies.

Soldiers have continued to roam the streets in stolen cars, firing in the air to frighten people away while looting continues. The only vehicles on the streets are being driven by soldiers, who leave by the roadside wounded and dead civilians. A man with three bullet wounds bled for four hours in the city's main Waterfront Market despite pleas to the soldiers to carry him to the hospital. Monrovia's main hospital, like the rest of the city, has been without water and power for more than a week and has been abandoned by doctors and nurses and most of its patients.

Soldiers have also been firing on fishermen in canoes off the coast, claiming that they have been transporting rebels. Shipping sources say 250,000 tons of rice bound for the stricken city is on board a ship, the Sea Star, which has been steaming nervously among U.S. Navy ships in international waters. The captain is refusing to re-enter the port after the ship was pilfered when it moored last week.

In the rebel-held Port of Buchanan, health workers said young children and old people were falling sick and risked dying of starvation. Workers at a nearby rubber plantation were eating pigfeed after food had run out. In Monrovia, food shortage had forced people to fight for leaves and (?weeds) on patches of wasteland. [end recording]

EXHIBIT DDD

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EXHIBIT EEE

EXHIBIT EEE

The Guardian, 21 August 1990

Widespread looting by both sides has followed a ceasefire between the rebel troops of Prince Johnson and Liberian government forces, **Mark Huband** *writes from Abidjan*. Both sides said yesterday they would fight troops of the rival rebel leader, Charles Taylor, to protect the peace keeping force being assembled by neighbouring Africa states.

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EXHIBIT FFF

Daily

OBSERVER

Vol.10 No.64

Friday, May 25, 1990

Monrovia, Liberia 50 Cents

U.S. Embassy expresses concern

The American Embassy near Monrovia has expressed grave concern over the recent wave of killings in Monrovia.

A release from the American Embassy said since the beginning of the fighting in Nimba, the U.S. Government has condemned violations of basic human rights by all parties in the conflict.

According to the release, violence has increased dramatically in recent days. "As a close friend of Liberia,"

Cont'd on page 6

NIMBA LEADERS SPEAK OUT

— denounce killing of their citizens

The Nimba County Legislative Caucus has issued a statement condemning what it called "these genocidal killings of Nimba citizens" in and around Monrovia during the past few days. Below is the full text of the statement.

"Ever since the rebel incursion into the country, through Nimba County, intended to destabilize our peaceful and stable government and frustrate the multi-party democratic efforts presently introduced, practised and enjoyed by Liberians under the Doe

Administration, this unfortunate episode has thus brought untold hardship, suffering, damages and severe losses not only to property, but also has brought deaths to many of our innocent people including women, aged and children, as well as babies. The situation caused

many of our people to have fled the country for refuge. Some of them have also, in response to President Doe's call to them, had to leave the bushes and come to safety, and have found their way to Monrovia; yet those who fled to Monrovia are again faced with the danger of being beheaded by wicked designers.

"The Nimba County Legislative Caucus has further discovered, with utter dismay and alarm, that the rampant savage

slaughtering, beheading, imprisonment and harassment of Nimba citizens in

December 24, 1989.

"Evidently, we as Nimba leaders have been



Senator Toweh

the past two days have revealed, through identification of the heads of victims, that the victims of these barbaric acts are all Nimba County citizens. Information has further revealed that many more Nimbaians in and around Monrovia continue to be hunted to be slaughtered and many more missing, presumably dead.

"We as the Representatives of the people of Nimba County do hereby strongly condemn these genocidal killings of Nimba citizens as the present 'rebel incursion' is not of Nimba County making, neither is it a war between National Government or a particular tribe and Nimba County. In fact, Nimbaians have become the victims of the circumstances since

Chea Cheapoo, others complain — of harassment from armed men

Several residents of Monrovia, including former Chief Justice Chea Cheapoo, have complained of constant harassment by armed men and the disappearance of several of their relatives.

Complaining to security agencies and media institutions, the residents spoke of armed men ransacking their homes and in some cases taking away their relatives who have since not returned home.

A resident of Tubman Boulevard told newsmen yesterday that armed men stormed her home

Wednesday evening and ordered her to open her door. She said she managed to escape through the back door with other members of her family.

The resident explained that her home was ransacked and several valuables were destroyed. She said she later reported the incident to the Joint Security head office.

Another man of the Mandingo ethnic group also told newsmen yesterday that some men dressed in military uniform have been harassing his family. "I don't know where to turn for protection," he said.

The family of another man identified as Lt. Arthur W. Grah said he has not been seen since Sunday. The family later

Cont'd on page 6



Cllr. Cheapoo

deeply working along with other peace-searching committees so as to find a long-lasting and peaceful settlement to the crisis and as could be evidenced by our involvement in the appeal to the rebels to lay down their arms and surrender themselves to Government, we wish to appeal to Government so that something positive would be done, and within the shortest possible time, to secure the

Cont'd on page 6

Anti-rebel demonstration today

A group of Liberian citizens are this morning expected to stage a demonstration through the principal streets of Monrovia.

The demonstration has been planned to begin at the Antoinette Tubman Stadium at 8 a.m.. A spokesman for the organizing committee, Mr. D. Wah Hne, Jr., said the proposed

peace demonstration is in support of the Liberian Constitution which provides for ascension to power through the electoral process.

At a press conference at the Ministry of Information, Mr. Hne said Liberia presently stands at the cross-road of

Cont'd on page 6

Swimming Pools, Water Tanks (Concrete & Metal), Fuel Tanks.

APPLY

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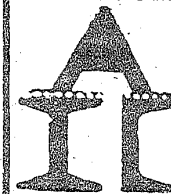
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Today is a working holiday

President Samuel K. Doe has by proclamation declared today, May 25, African Liberation Day to be celebrated throughout the country as a working holiday.

The proclamation is in consonance with an OAU summit meeting decision which set aside the 25th day of May each year to be celebrated by each member state as African Liberation Day in commemoration of the historic 1963 Addis Ababa conference attended by leaders of thirty-two independent African states to create the

Organization of African Unity (OAU).

The proclamation is also in line with the policy of the Liberian government to foster the development of a free, independent and progressive Africa, a Foreign Ministry release said.

The proclamation noted the continuing determination of the heads of independent African states to promote understanding and cooperation among their respective governments and peoples as well as to secure the general progress of the continent and the well-being of its peoples.

Chea Cheapoo

Cont'd from page 1

visited, the John F. Kennedy morgue and identified one of the beheaded bodies as that of Lt. Grah.

According to the brother of Lt. Grah, he was taken from his home at the 72nd military camp on Sunday night. He was not seen again until his body was found in the morgue on Thursday.

The body identified as that of Arthur was among the four discovered on Tuesday on the Pipeline Road in Paynesville.

The government has already announced the setting up of a special joint security team to monitor events at night. It said anyone found molesting citizens will be dealt with



The late Lt. Grah militarily.

The President has also called for the setting up of a special team to investigate the wave of gruesome mass murders. Within two days about eleven mutilated bodies, many of them headless, had been discovered

Top Liberian musician in concert tonite

One of Liberia's well-known solo musicians, Tecumsay Roberts, will appear in concert this Friday, May 25, to give the residents of Old Road their desired treat, his fans told newsmen yesterday.

According to them, the 'Masusu Man' will be staging two shows. At 5 p.m. he will storm the Frankie's Disco for a "happy hour" performance

which will last for three hours. At 8 p.m. Tecumsay will again start afresh at the same venue for his regular all-night performance.

Since the release of his much-talked-about album, "Masusu", TR has continued to pull crowds of solo music lovers. He will be doing some latest hits like 'Coconut Water' and 'Freedom Song' during his Friday's performance.

President Doe has therefore declared May 25 a working holiday and has called on all civic groups, religious organizations, and institutions of learning in Liberia to observe the day by hosting programs and ceremonies. LINA

Anti-rebel

Cont'd from page 1 stability or instability and it is necessary that all Liberians turn up to denounce the rebel incursion.

He said the demonstration is to be void of party affiliation, noting that members of different political parties are expected to participate. He said the demonstration is also an indication of concern for displaced people.

Asked why the press conference was held at the Information Ministry when, accor-

Nimba leaders speak

Cont'd from page 1

safety of our citizens including those in uniform.

"As the President of Liberia, His Excellency Dr. Samuel K. Doe, has pronounced in an Executive Mansion release, we are also appealing to all other humanitarian and religious organizations to 'speak out' against these social evils, ills and onslaught against the war-torn and already troubled Nimba County citizens who are law-abiding. The present crisis is a national catastrophe and Nimbaians, particularly those who fled for refuge to Monrovia, should not be looked upon as actors or aggressors of this conflict.

The Unity Party (UP) has rejected an invitation from the National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL) requesting UP to participate in a demonstration today.

The party, in a letter to the secretary general of NDPL dated May 23 and

ding to him, the demonstration is independent of government, Mr. Hne said as law abiding citizens, they had all right to use government facilities.

US Emabssy

Cont'd from page 1

the release continued, "we call upon all Liberians to end the ethnically related violence that has placed Monrovia and its environs in the grip of fear."

The embassy's release also called on officials entrusted with enforcing the law to vigorously pursue the perpetrators of the "heinous crimes and bring them to justice."

"We wish to unreservedly denounce these continued acts of barbaric vandalism and which if not immediately stopped will have very serious repercussions on the already national problems from which our people and nation is suffering.

"Finally, we are all struggling for PROGRESS, and progress can only be achieved when there is PEACE. Peace can only be maintained when there is UNITY. We must therefore strive to save Liberia in these bitter days. Let us stop killing innocent people and we solicit that the 'Wicked Perpetrators' be identified and brought to justice."

Pan Africa Christian Women Assembly (PACWA) Bridging Gaps and Building Women In Africa

NOTICE

All Christian women are cordially invited to attend a special women seminar sponsored by the Pan Africa Christian Women Assembly (PACWA), in collaboration with the association of full gospel ministers, sponsors of Jesus Festival 1990.

PLACE: St. Peters' Lutheran Church, 14th Street and Tubman Boulevard.

May 26-27, 1990 at 5:00 p.m. prompt daily. Issues to be addressed include: commitment to Christ and holiness, abortion & Pre-marital sex, the challenge of women in the Ministry, unfaithfulness and broken homes, etc. Come with a friend and be blessed.

Signed: Sister Arnette Taylor
CHAIRPERSON/PACWA/LIBERIA

Unity Party turns down request

signed by Unity Party's acting secretary general Mambu G. David, said it

could not participate in the demonstration in view of the present state of affairs in Monrovia.

WANTED

To buy: house or apartment. Good standing. Also a large piece of land.

For information contact:
P. O. Box 10-3354 — Monrovia-10

NOTICE



The late T. Jacob Payne

The body of T. Jacob Payne, who was affectionately called, "T.J. Cousin Jacob, Uncle Jacob, Jake, Papa, Papagrand, Oldman Payne" who died on Monday, May 14, 1990 will be removed from the Anderson Funeral Home on Friday, May 25, 1990, at 1:00 p.m. and taken to his 65 Johnson Street home for few hours. Thereafter, the body will be taken to the First United Methodist Church on Ashmun Street, Monrovia, for wake-keeping from 5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m.

The funeral services will be held at the same church on May 26, 1990 at 10:30 a.m. The remains will thereafter be borne to Duah-Zohn, Montserrado County, his natal place immediately thereafter for interment.

He is survived by 2 daughters — Dolly Payne-McCritt and Mrs. Henrietta Payne-Goodridge — one daughter-in-law, Mrs. Ethel Barclay-Payne, 1 son-in-law — Mr. A. Wilmot McCritt I — 8 grandchildren, several nieces and nephews and a host of relatives and friends.

Dolly Payne-McCritt
Henrietta Payne-Goodridge
A Wilmot McCritt

ECUMENICAL WOMEN ORGANIZATION

NOTICE

The Ecumenical Women Organization of Liberia invites all Christian women to a day of fast/prayer and retreat for the crisis now existing in our nation on Saturday, May 26, 1990 from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. at the Providence Baptist Church, Ashmun Street.

Prayerfully yours,

Beatrice Tweh
PRESIDENT, EWO

NEEDED URGENTLY CHIEF ACCOUNTANT

O.A.C. Liberia Inc. is looking for an experienced and qualified accountant to run the accounting function of the company.

Candidates will be expected to have at least three years previous experience in a similar position and be familiar with computerized accounting systems. Candidates without such experience need not apply. Short listed candidates will be asked to sit an aptitude test.

Interested candidates (male or female) should send their CV to the attention of: The General Manager, O.A.C. Liberia Inc., P.O. Box 10-0281, 1000 Monrovia 10, Liberia

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT GGG

EXHIBIT GGG

The Guardian, 25 July 1990

THE SEAFRONT mansion of Liberia's besieged President, Samuel Doe, was attacked by a rebel gunboat yesterday. In the darkness before dawn, flashes could be seen from the sea as President Doe hid inside the building, surrounded by his few remaining loyal troops, **Mark Huband** writes in a pooled report from Monrovia.

Damage could not be immediately ascertained as troops turned back reporters. The boat's fire was returned from the mansion compound, and the booming of cannon echoed through the sleeping city.

In Washington, the State Department said the US offer to help Mr Doe leave Liberia still stood, but any evacuation would depend on the local military situation.

The morale of President Doe's troops has been disintegrating as rebels close in around the capital. With petrol shipments cut off, motor transport has ground to a halt, forcing soldiers to find alternatives.

But the army's growing sense of panic is having more deadly results. At least nine male bodies, most of them stripped of their clothing, were found on a beach yesterday. Other bodies were scattered nearby.

Witnesses said that soldiers had brought the men there during the night and shot them.

Doe troops have frequently, been seen shooting civilians, usually from the Gio or Mano tribes, which provide support for the rebel leader, Charles Taylor. Rebels fighters have similarly killed people from President Doe's Krahn tribe.

Rebel fighters who entered the city on Monday were identified as breakaway forces loyal to Prince Johnson. There have been conflicting reports over whether he and Mr Taylor have been reconciled.

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

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Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT HHH

EXHIBIT HHH

Elizabeth Blunt

Abidjan

3.8.90.

N 406 FOOC: Liberia Massacre

CUE: The world was shaken this week by reports of a massacre in a church in Liberia, where a civil war has been raging for the past seven months. Soldiers burst into the Lutheran Church complex where two or three thousand people had taken refuge and opened fire on sleeping men, women and children. At least two hundred people died. Here's our West Africa correspondent, Elizabeth Blunt:-

The last time I visited St Peters it had just stopped raining; people were picking their way round muddy puddles in the forecourt, avoiding the pails set out everywhere to catch water from the roof. There was a great din coming from one of the school classrooms -- when I peered in I could see (and smell) ~~that it was crammed with~~ a couple of hundred extremely grubby children, all singing hymns at the top of their voices.

The conditions in the church were far from ideal. ^{Even then} It had over a thousand people sleeping there each night, the men in the church itself, and women and children in the next door school. There had never been enough toilets and washrooms even when the water was working, and now the water supply to the whole city had been cut off. A couple of weeks earlier every child in the place had had conjunctivitis, locally known as "Appollo."

It was hard to understand why people chose live in these conditions for weeks at a time, but once you got to know individuals, you began to see why.

I first met the Dolo family back in May in a local newspaper office. They originally came from Nimba County where the war began, but they had not been affected, because they lived down in Monrovia, where Mr Dolo had a job in an electronics company. But the previous night a group of soldiers

had come to their house, brought by a neighbour who was going round, pointing out the houses where people from the Gio tribe lived. The soldiers threatened the Dolos with cutlasses, saying that Gio people were rebels and that they were going to rape Mrs Dolo and her twelve year old daughter. The first group eventually went away with \$200 and a radio. But then more soldiers came with guns, demanded their mattress and the rest of their savings, and took Mr Dolo away.

When I met them again, it was at the United Nations office in Monrovia, where Gio people had begun to gather, thinking it would be a safe place for the men to sleep. By that time they'd found Mr Dolo's body, floating in Stockton Creek. The United Nations staff in Monrovia were not at all enthusiastic about having two or three hundred people a night sleeping in their compound, but they turned a blind eye. Then, one night, a jeep-load of soldiers arrived, jumped the wall, firing as they did so, and started grabbing men and boys. They drove with about thirty of them. The bodies of several were found near the beach the next day.

It was at this point that the churches opened their doors, and the Dolo's moved to St Peter's Lutheran Church, the first of the refuges. Virtually everyone there was from Nimba County, from the Gio or Mano tribes, upset and indignant at the way their people were being victimised by the soldiers. They pointed out that if they WERE rebels, they would be back in Nimba fighting with the Patriotic Front; the very reason they were in Monrovia was that they had wanted nothing to do with the war. Now they were bitterly resentful of the army.

Rapidly the refuges got organised, in various schools and churches, sheltering some seven thousand people, under the

protection of the Red Cross. The people who went there were delighted; however uncomfortable, inside the gates, they felt safe.

But some of the organisers had severe misgivings. The refuges had no real protection, just a fence or a low wall, and the moral force of the clergy and the Red Cross flag. And they were known concentrations of Gio and Mano people, who now had every reason to hate the government. It didn't take much imagination to guess that if the rebels did finally arrive in Monrovia, the young men would flood out and join them. And the shelters would be so easy to attack; one grenade thrown over the wall would be enough to do dreadful damage.

When the attack did come, last Sunday night, it was worse than anyone could have imagined; men and women, children and old people, massacred as they slept. Eyewitnesses painted a scene of utmost horror -- the church floor thick with blood, bodies hanging from the school windows, mothers gunned down with their babies still tied to their backs.

Now the people from St Peters are scattered to the winds. Some finally made it to the other side of rebel lines, where they have found a ready audience for their story among the young fighters, ready to take revenge in like manner on anyone they can find from President Doe's tribe, the Krahn, or anyone who had anything to do with the army or the government.

Their stories told, they have joined the thousands of other Liberians on the move, searching for a place away from men with guns. If a place is run by foreigners, perhaps the soldiers or the rebels will stay away; so embassies, missions, even secret American military installations have been turned one

after another into spontaneous refugee camps. As the fighting shifts from place to place, great surges of people are set on the move again, trying to get away. The United States Omega marine navigation beacon, had twenty thousand people on its compound until the night the fighting came near; by morning all were gone -- to the Voice of America transmitter site, or Fendell University Campus. Some ended up at the protestant mission known as Elwa, after the call sign of its radio station, ELWA. By the time the war got to them there were 22,000 people at Elwa and the missionaries had given up broadcasting in favour of running a refugee camp. But ten days ago the bullets began to fly around the compound, and rebels told them they believed the government troops were bringing up artillery. People began streaming out of the gates. Within two hours all twenty two thousand were gone, joining the endless procession of Liberians tramping the roads, all they have left wrapped up in a couple of cloth bundles.

With the latest news from Liberia talking about the rebels starting to fight among themselves, the refugees may not see their homes again for many months to come.

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

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Plaintiffs,


v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT III

(The 24-Hour People) 
ITTER PHARMACY

The Management of the Itter Pharmacy, located on the corner of Broad/Johnson Streets, wishes to inform the general public and its customers that in keeping with the ethics of our noble profession, the Pharmacy is providing services 24 hours continuously non-stop (including Sundays and holidays).
Customers bringing copy of this advertisement will receive a 10% discount of the Retail Price on all drugs purchased. This offer expires December 31, 1990.

MANAGEMENT

BAN ON 'CO-CO-LEO-CO' LIFTED — to re-appear soon

By Victoria K. Nyumah
The Government of Liberia, through the Ministry of Information, Culture and Tourism, has lifted the ban imposed on the official newsletter of the Liberia Action Party (LAP), 'Co-Co-Leo-Co'.

Information Minister Emmanuel Bowier, in a letter dated June 4 and addressed to the acting secretary general of LAP, Dr. Levi Zanga, said: "You will recall that in 1989, the government of Liberia suspended the publication of your newsletters 'Co-Co-Leo-Co' for publishing articles inimical to the peace and stability of the country."



Minister Bowier

The re-opening of the party's newsletter, according to Minister Bowier, was consistent with the President's call for national recon-

ciliation and peace. In his letter, Minister Bowier said: "The Ministry of Information is pleased to inform you that the

suspension is hereby lifted with immediate effect and please accept my best wishes for the growth and development of your party's

newsletter. Meanwhile, an official of the party, who spoke with this paper yesterday said they may likely re-appear on the newsstands as soon as the party's secretariat completes its work.

Red Cross gives St. Peter's Church protection

By Jonathan Paye Layleh

The St. Peter's Lutheran Church on 14th Street, Sinkor, which is presently housing some 1,500 displaced persons benefits from the protection of the Liberian National Red Cross and should be regarded as such, Red Cross president

J. Edwin Lloyd said over the weekend.

Accordingly, Red Cross flags have been hoisted at every corner of the church building to signify its full protection of displaced people who are mainly from Nimba County.

The displaced persons, including men, women, children and babies, have been in the church premises since last Wednesday. They took refuge there after the United Nations headquarters, where they had gone to seek refuge, was reportedly raided the morning of Wednesday, May 28 by armed men in military uniform. During the attack a security guard was killed and another injured and more than 30 persons were reportedly taken away. These have not returned since then.

The pastor of the St. Peter's Lutheran Church, the Rev. Joseph T. Allison, told our reporter recently that the church decided to house the citizens through the initiative of the Liberia Council of Churches when the United Nations officials here said they could no longer assure the safety of the displaced people.

The UN officials reportedly said this after a communique from UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar had

ordered all UN personnel out of the country without delay following the attack on the compound.

Since then the Liberia Council of Churches and the Liberia National Red Cross have been taking care of the displaced people.

During a prayer service organized by the Liberia Council of Churches last Fri-

day, Rev. Lloyd said the Red Cross was preparing to purchase about 1000 mattresses for the displaced persons. He said further that other organizations and individuals should help, "because 1000 mattresses are not enough."

Pastor Allison told this paper that the Baptist Church donated \$1000, while the Baptist women have been preparing food for them.

At the church premises last Saturday, our reporter saw the displaced people registering for several items.

Muslims condemn subversive acts

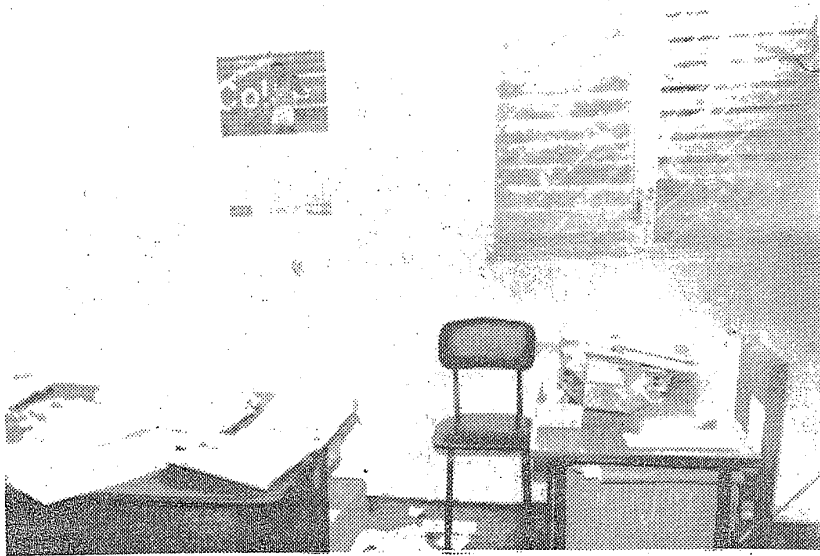
The United Muslim Brothers of Liberia have condemned the National Patriotic Front (NPF), headed by Charles Taylor, for creating chaos and disunity among the Liberian people.

A release, issued by the organization dated May 31, 1990 and signed by its chairman, noted that the NPF has disturbed religious activities in the country and displaced Muslims and Christians all around the country.

The Muslim Brotherhood, therefore, called on the security forces, political parties, Muslims, Christians and the entire people of Liberia to work together so as to bring this ugly situation under control. "We also appeal to other friendly nations to come to our aid", they added.

The release said, "Whosoever needs to be in power should do that through the ballot box."

Labour Union offices burglarized — over \$2,000; \$260 in materials stolen



The offices of the president of the Domestic Union on Lynch Street, Monrovia, were Monday night burglarized by some unknown persons who tampered with important documents. The president of the union, Mr. John Diggs, said the alleged burglars entered his office through the window by using hack saw to damage the window bar. He said they also took away \$2,600 belonging to the union, materials valued at \$260, and his official passport. He said this was the first time such a thing had happened, and he promised to inform the security forces. Photo shows the window through which the burglars entered his office.

WHAT DID DR. OWL SAY?



A hen that cannot protect the weakest of her chicks has no guarantee of her own protection.

Throwing Stone And Hiding In

The Back

By Jackson E. Doe

— A Treacherous Thing To Do

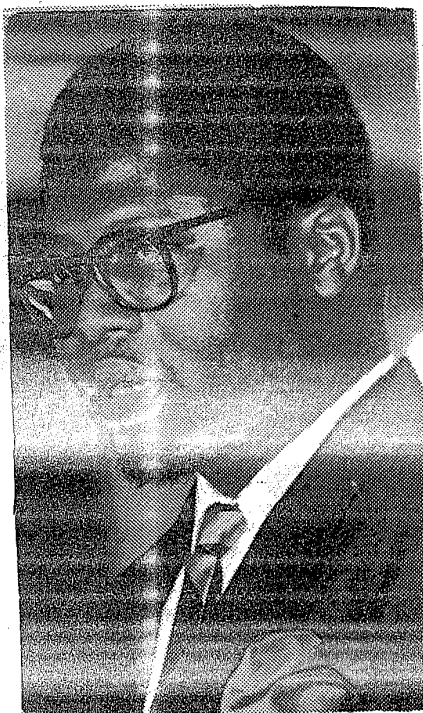
In a nationally televised presidential debate for the Presidency of the Great United States (1980) between the then California Governor & Republican Presidential Candidate Ronald Wilson Reagan and the incumbent President of the U.S., Jimmy Carter, Mr. Reagan told President Carter, "There you go again." Equally so, I wish to borrow this line from President Reagan to say, Mr. Gabriel Baccus Matthews, "There you go again."

In the Friday, February 16, 1990 and Tuesday, February 20, 1990 edition of the *News* newspaper and *Daily Observer* front and back pages, news stories appeared, captioned: UPP Denies Accusing President Doe and UPP Replies Jackson Doe", respectively. In the stories, the political setup of the United People's Party, through its Chairman, Mr. Gabriel Baccus Matthews, responded to my comments on their expressed fear and concern relative to President Doe's recent and honest revelation that funds earmarked for voter's registration for the forthcoming general elections of 1991 were used to crush the rebellion in Nimba County. In their reaction to my comments, they addressed themselves to two major issues: (1) they refutably denied that UPP ever accused President Doe of political gimmick to delay the 1991 general elections; (2) that on the 1979, April 14 crisis, Chairman Matthews of the then Progressive Alliance of Liberia (now defunct) has no regret for standing up for people like me (Jackson E. Doe) who could not afford (according to Mr. Matthews) \$30.00 for a bag of rice in those days, yet afraid to speak out against such.

First of all, I must address myself in response to their denial of accusing President Dr. Samuel Kanyon Doe when, in fact, they expressed their concern doubtfully in fear that the President's honest statement to the Liberian nation that the allocated funds for the 1991 general elections suggested the delay of the elections or not be held at all. Isn't this an indirect accusation that President Doe is somewhat using political gimmick to either delay the 1991 general elections or cleverly trying to shy away from it? From the comprehension of any rationally thinking person, such a notion is implied. Let Gabriel Baccus Matthews be a man enough to retract UPP's expressed concern and fear skeptically, if what they stated was a slip of tongue. I read the UPP's Press Release comprehensively with comprehension and so do I firmly believe are the rest of the level-headed people with good thinking faculty who analytically look at issues of concern objectively and not subjectively. Is there any reason why a person or group of people who consider themselves patriotic Liberians to express concern fearfully about general elections now in the heat of the incorrigible inqilab with Charles Taylor and followers which has militarized a political region (Nimba County) in our beloved country? In reiteration, the concern of all patriotic and peace-loving Liberians now MUST be to find a peaceful solution in Nimba County in order to demilitarize that area.

As the UPP has called on me to read carefully their Press Release, equally so, I wish to take the liberty to call on all those in UPP's Political Camp as well to comprehensively read their own press release for better understanding. It seems like UPP does not really understand its own press release. There's a need for them to re-read their own release (as appeared in the local dailies — February 1, 1990) and analyze it.

With reference to Mr. Gabriel Baccus Matthews' assertion that he does not have any regret as regards standing up for people like me (Jackson E. Doe) in those days when I (according to Mr. Matthews) could not afford to purchase a bag of rice for \$30.00 and yet sat supinely and never spoke out against it, I consider such an outright attack on my character by Mr. Matthews as an insinuatingly



The Author

derogatory, immaturely out of bound, and innuendo as he (Matthews) never knew me prior to the Liberian popular Revolution of April 12, 1980. And since he did not know me at the time, how then can he say that I (Jackson E. Doe) could not afford to purchase a bag of rice for \$30.00? During the event of April 14, 1979, I was in the employ of the Ministry of State for Presidential Affairs, with the S.S.S., Executive Mansion with a monthly net salary of over \$350. How could I have at the time not afford a bag of rice for \$30.00? His assertion in that respect is groundlessly fabricative and far from the truth. As a leader, it is unwise to spread misleading information as Mr. Matthews has done.

As Mr. Matthews stated that I did not speak out against the plan of the past government to increase the price of rice, it must be noted that I am a level-headed and rationally thinking person, an astute and seasoned veteran who does not 'jump the gun'. I usually view issues of national concern with analyses before taking a position, be it positive or negative. The

entire citizenry of Liberia, including Mr. Gabriel Baccus Matthews, would agree with me when I say that the "April 14, 1979 Demonstration" agitated and masterminded by the defunct Progressive Alliance of Liberia headed by Mr. Matthews was not because the price of rice was increased at the time. The proposed increase in the price of rice during the then Agriculture Minister Florence Chenoweth's administration (Tolbert Era) was Government's idea (at the time) to be toyed with as to whether the price of our staple food (rice) should be increased or not. While such proposal was being studied, the defunct Progressive Alliance of Liberia under the leadership of Mr. Matthews used this as an alibi.

Mr. Matthews indicated his lesson learned from keeping silent on issues in the past for which he decided to respond to my comments. He compared my comments with those of the late A.B. Tolbert, whom he said, told the Liberian nation that he (Matthews) said that he could import rice to be sold at \$9.00 a 100-lb bag. Why did Mr. Matthews remain silent and never addressed himself to such defamatorily discreditable and disparagingly humiliating remarks against him? Such negative remarks which besmeared Mr. Matthews' political reputation are of grave consequence in his political career; therefore ignoring it in trying to be, perhaps, above pettiness at the time was being politically impotent. History once made haunts people as long as they live. So it is with Mr. Matthews today.

Mr. Matthews' political syndrome and leadership style of "throwing stone and hiding hands in the back" is no more acceptable to the Liberian people. In line with the song that says, "I can see clearly now," so are the Liberian people. They can see clearly now and will no longer be blindly carried away by political rhetorics. Political movement with fruitless results can no longer blind the vision of patriotic and peace-loving Liberians.

A leader must be courageous and have the courage of his conviction to boldly meet the existing challenges. A leader sets realistic goals and sees them through to completion. A leader must preserve and maintain commitment to his goals during times of upheaval and not to abandon his followers in the streets to take refuge at a pastorate for safety while the followers face the adverse consequences. A leader must be persistent and realistic. Mr. Gabriel Baccus Matthews' leadership style is diametrically opposed to such qualities in leadership.

If Mr. Matthews would proudly say today that he stood up for the people, including me, in those days with respect to the April 14, 1979 crisis (Rice Riot), the question remains, as to the whereabouts of Mr. Gabriel Baccus Matthews during the crisis. Didn't he go into hiding at the Vatican Embassy and disguise himself by scraping off all the hair from his head as if (according to our native custom) he had lost a member of his immediate family (mother, father, brother, sister, son, daughter wife, etc.)? Wasn't he turned in by the Church leaders? Is that leadership? Was that representation for anybody including me (the he's proud of today? Reading public, you are the best judge.

Daily

OBSERVER

Vol.10 No.69

Friday, June 1, 1990

Monrovia, Liberia 50 Cents

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FOR DETAILS

Bendoo Mission suspends classes

The Bendoo Mission School in Grand Cape Mount County has been closed by the administration of the school.

Disclosing this in Monrovia, the principal of the school, the Rev. Alexander Benson, told the Daily Observer that the school was closed last Monday following the suspension of classes.

He explained that the students who were already preparing for their general weekend were sent home earlier because the parents were reporting on the school campus each day to get their children.

Rev. Benson added that the decision is in

Cont'd on page 6

I WILL NOT RESIGN

— Declares President Doe

... Says he will not talk with Charles Taylor *By Phillip N. Wessen*

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The Liberian leader made these statements at the Executive Mansion yesterday when he had a

closed-door meeting with members of the diplomatic corps, the president and members of

the Liberia Council of Churches, and the National Muslim Council of Liberia.

Briefing the press shortly after the meeting, Acting Information Minister, Moses Washington, said President Doe noted that he has no intention to step down because of "rebel pressure". He said the President declared that he

will remain here and work with the people of Liberia.

On the issue of negotiating with the rebels as requested by many people and bodies, including the National Legislature, the President was quoted as saying that he is prepared to negotiate with members of the rebels other than Charles

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Dr. Vaanii Freeman
LMDA prexy

ECOWAS leaders discuss crisis in Liberia

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hours behind closed doors discussing the present situation in Liberia.

According to a reliable conference source, the issue was first raised by Liberia's Planning and Economic Affairs Minister, Dr. Elijah Taylor, who represented President Samuel K. Doe at the summit.

Dr. Taylor, the source disclosed, briefed the leaders on the crisis and asked them to step into Dr. Doe's shoes for a moment, as any one of them could face a similar problem.

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President Doe: Prepared to negotiate with others, but not Charles Taylor

Future of UN relief programs uncertain

... As staff depart Liberia

The departure of some 57 United Nations personnel yesterday has raised yet another concern over the future of UN relief programs in the country.

An official of the UN Relief Coordination Commission said their departure will have a "severe effect on many displaced persons". He predicts that the displaced persons as well as refugees may starve.

Mr. Terry Lewis, outgoing relief coordinator, said his team is very concerned about the plight of the displaced people; hence, he hoped that something would be done for the UN team to return as soon as possible.

He said that there are 500,000 tons of food stocked up in UN warehouses, which cannot be distributed now, due the departure of the UN team. "This will have an ad-

ditional impact on the already acute food problem in the country", he observed.

He said since the beginning of relief efforts, the team had fed about 35,000 persons on ration basis. The food supplies, he added, included rice, oil, salt, corn meal and maggi cubes. However, he said, the team's target was to feed approximately 450,000 people.

Meanwhile, when our reporters visited the UN Monrovia offices yesterday morning, they were informed that 46 of the 57 expatriate UN staff had already left the country, and that the remaining staff were due to leave at 12:30, yesterday afternoon on board a special flight.

UN offices affected by the departure of the personnel are the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organiza-

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Pres. Momoh

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EXHIBIT JJJ

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'I will not resign'

Cont'd from page 1

Taylor, whom he described as "a criminal". President Doe had previously maintained this position.

During yesterday's meeting, Minister Washington said, President Doe assured members of the diplomatic corps of Government's fullest protection. The President told the diplomats that as of today Liberian security officers will be assigned near the various foreign missions on a 24-hour basis.

UN relief

Cont'd from page 1

tion (FAO), UNICEF, the World Food Program (WFP), and the UN Development Programme (UNDP).

Asked whether the offices of the UN missions will be closed, an authority said the offices will remain open and will be run by a skeleton staff.

In the meantime, the medical aspect of the relief program is being handled by Medecins Sans Frontier, a Belgian humanitarian organization now operating in Liberia.

Giving his views on the departure of the UN personnel, Mr. Thomas Teage of the National Disaster Relief Commission (NDRC) noted that the decision will definitely have an adverse effect on his commission's activities.

Mr. Teage, however, said

ECOWAS

Cont'd from page 1

Sierra Leonean President Joseph S. Momoh was quoted as saying that they, the leaders, should not encourage dissidents in one another's country.

In his contribution, the source said, President Lasana Conteh of Guinea observed that as his country is bordered by six other countries, he does not harbour or encourage dissidents to operate from his territory.

The source said Minister Taylor's "straight-forward" presentation of the issue was welcomed by Presidents Babangida, Conteh, Momoh and host President Jawara. The source said they all expressed their willingness to bring an end to the situation.

The source revealed that the Burkinabi leader, Captain Blaise Campaore, the outgoing ECOWAS chair-

The President's assurances come in the wake of confirmed reports that some armed men dressed in military uniform had on Wednesday stormed the compound of the United Nations Development Program in Monrovia and abducted several Gio and Mano citizens who had sought refuge there.

At yesterday's meeting, Minister Washington continued, President Doe apologized to the United Nations for the people who "illegally entered the

his commission will continue relief operations on a small scale for the benefit of displaced people, adding, "The United Nations was helping us a whole lot in our program".

He explained that since his commission began its operations, it has not actually implemented any significant relief program, because "something always happens" to disturb the operation.

Meanwhile, many of the Nimba citizens who had sought refuge at the UN Monrovia offices have moved into the compound of the Lutheran Church. They left the UN grounds where armed men attacked refugees about 3:00 Wednesday morning and abducted about 30 of them, including women and children, wounding and killing several others and a night watchman.

man, said African leaders should know how to keep their citizens satisfied at home and not turn them into dissidents. He was quoted as telling his colleagues that Mr. Charles Taylor did live in Ouagadougou, the Burkinabi capital, and that Taylor's name was even printed in the telephone directory.

The source revealed that Ivorian Foreign Minister Imeon Ake remarked that his country keeps good relations with all countries and does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

During the summit and after, Dr. Elijah Taylor was seen holding fervent meetings with several leaders, many of whom expressed sympathy over the situation and wished that a speedy solution would be found to bring peace to Liberia.

premises of the UNDP". The minister added that the President later gave a "special message" to the UN Resident Representative, Mr. Michael Heyn, for the Secretary General of the United Nations.

The President then informed his audience that the security forces are investigating the incident and as soon as the culprits are arrested, the law will take its proper course. Minister Washington noted that users of the vehicles involved in the incident have been identified. He said one of the vehicles was assigned to the Forestry Development Authority (FDA), another to the German Embassy and the other to the US Embassy.

On the issue of elec-

Bendoo

Cont'd from page 1

"the interest of the parents and the school because we felt that the children should be with their parents at this time", he noted.

The Bendoo Mission School which was founded in 1982 by the foreign mission board of the National Baptist Convention USA Incorporated, presently has an enrollment of 115 students from the first to the eighth grade with 12 instructors.

At the moment, the school is being subsidized by the National Baptist Convention in the United States and is serving as a feeder school to the Suehn Industrial Academy in Bomi County.

Presently, two missionaries are working with the school in various areas. Mrs. Julia Williams, one of the missionaries, is the primary foundation builder, while Mrs. Josephine Minter, another missionary who is vacationing, is the school nurse and director of scholarship for those who cannot afford to meet their education needs.

Rev. Benson then called on all Liberians to be grateful to God for the people who are willing to help build the Bendoo Mission to the glory of God, especially the foreign mission board for the sacrifices they are making. — **Writes Ephraim S. Johns.**

tions, the President was quoted as saying that the 1991 general elections will go on as planned. The President, however, said he could not comment on the reaction of the National Legislature on his recent proposal for the holding of early elections.

Following the closed-door meeting, the President after the diplomats left, held a brief meeting with the leaders and members of the Liberia

Doctors

Cont'd from page 1

Monrovia. Below is full text of the statement:

"The Liberian Medical and Dental Association (LMDA) has always been committed to promoting the highest ideals and standards of the medical profession and its officers and members have always endeavoured to do their utmost to provide the best health care of which we are capable to the Liberian public.

"Particularly at the present time, with all its drawbacks, we have continued to serve the public and have not hesitated to extend ourselves to provide care to the wounded and distressed victims — military and non-military alike — in the ongoing conflict between government troops and rebel forces. Indeed, we stand ready to do more should the need arise.

"In the last few weeks, however, certain events have happened in our country which cannot be excused on the grounds of the present national crisis and which warn us that events are going beyond the bounds of reason. To remain silent in the face of these happenings is to condone what is unacceptable to any civilized society. We therefore hold the following positions on some of these events:-

"1. The wanton killings of unarmed civilians that have occurred in the last few weeks leave us with the impression that a death squad is on the loose in our streets. We condemn unequivocally these brutal murders and we request the law enforcement agencies of the land to bring the perpetrators of these barbaric acts to book speedily. The failure in the past to apprehend and prosecute those responsible for these macabre acts is most unassuring. Under the present circumstances, it appears that the Government is unable to protect the lives and ensure the safety of citizens and other residents. The

Council of Churches and the National Muslim Council on the current crisis.

The President later told the press that their discussions were very fruitful as they discussed ways of ending the crisis in the country. He said the church is equally concerned about the situation, and promised to present him a proposal by next week in a bid to solve the crisis.

Also speaking to the

press, Methodist Bishop Arthur Kulah said the church will mediate without any conditions. He said the church will endeavor to do what it can to resolve the crisis.

Bishop Kulah said even if the President and Taylor are not willing to talk, there are other people in the organization who can be reached. The Methodist bishop confirmed that the President has agreed to dialogue.

Liberian Medical and Dental Association is extremely concerned about this present state of affairs.

2. "Five months have passed since the current crisis began. During this period, thousands of lives have been lost, several thousands more are either

maimed or in exile. It is our opinion that military action is unlikely to resolve the crisis and cannot be a permanent solution. We feel it is time for urgent and realistic steps to be taken to resolve the crisis through negotiation at the earliest".

Bible

Cont'd from page 1

He admonished his congregation not to let the desire God has placed in their hearts to be taken away by Satan, adding that love does not insist on its own. Pastor Shannon also warned against gossip and rumour mongering. He urged Christians to tell their brothers or sisters to pray rather than

spreading rumours.

He further called on Christians not to only look at the best in their fellow men, but help them to be prayerful when they go wrong, urging, "be consecrated disciples and purposeful in your hearts to love Jesus Christ".

Two hundred twenty-eight of the second-year students were awarded diplomas in the ministry.

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Signed: MANAGEMENT, CBI

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

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Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

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EXHIBIT KKK

EXHIBIT KKK

Doe Tells Diplomats 'No Intention of Resigning'

*AB3105175390 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 31 May 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Liberia's president, Samuel Doe, is digging in, in spite of increasing pressure on him to go. Charles Taylor's rebels are closing in on the capital Monrovia. Law

EXHIBIT KKK

and order is breaking down with the raid on the United Nations compound in which dozens of people were abducted, and calls are increasing for Doe to resign. But he has told diplomats firmly that he is staying, as Elizabeth Blunt reports from Monrovia:

[Begin Blunt recording] President Doe met the religious leaders and diplomats on an airy balcony in the Executive Mansion with the Atlantic surf pounding on the headland below. Journalists were not admitted to the meeting, but diplomats said afterwards that the president told them that he had no intention of resigning. He reportedly told them tough times never last, but tough people, and said that he would be the last person to flee from Monrovia in the face of the rebel attacks.

A government spokesman said that the president also showed the ambassadors that the security forces were investigating the attack on the United Nations office in Monrovia and that as soon as the culprits were apprehended, they would be dealt with drastically. He gave a special message to the United Nations representative for the UN secretary general, apologizing for the behavior of what he described as some Liberian citizens who illegally entered the United Nations compound.

Although President Doe is adamant that he won't resign or run away, not all his ministers and high officials are so absolute. An exceptional number of ministers are now out of the country attending international meetings, and rumors abound in Monrovia about which high officials have been seen heading for Sierra Leone and about others having their passports impounded to stop them from leaving the country. Ministers and others who fear the rebels' arrival are now sleeping in hotels rather than be caught in their own houses. President Doe's own wife and children flew to Britain last week. [end recording]

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EXHIBIT LLL

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Liberia

Report of 11 July Attack on Monrovia's Port

*AB1207172590 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 12 Jul 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Liberia's chief negotiator for the rebel National Patriotic Front, Tom Woewiyu, has already thrown a spanner in the works of the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] peace talks in Freetown on the day after he arrived. He has rejected proposals for a cease-fire, and for an ECOWAS peace-keeping force. And the war goes on, with the capital, Monrovia, virtually cut off as the rebels close in. There are reports of attacks by sea and land, and of atrocities and revenge killings on both sides. Journalists in Monrovia—among them our correspondent Elizabeth Blunt—sent this latest report last night on the fighting:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Two Coast Guard vessels flying the scarlet rebel flag, fired on the city's port early Wednesday [11 July] before being driven off by rocket and machine gun fire. A cannon installed at President Samuel Doe's fortified cliff-top Executive Mansion, about a mile or two kilometers from the port, fired two rounds at the rebels, and missed. On Tuesday [10 July] heavy fighting erupted in the northern and eastern suburbs, shaking windows and houses in the center of town. According to witnesses, the Army fired about 10 rockets from the Soviet-designed BM-21 launcher at a large rebel force in the eastern suburb of Paynesville. The recently-appointed chief of staff, Lieutenant General Charles Julue, formerly the head of Doe's Executive Mansion Guard, returned to Monrovia. It had earlier been reported that he resigned and fled. Julue had been appointed a week earlier to replace Lieutenant General Henry Dubar who fled abroad two weeks earlier. Associates who have seen Julue since his return say he left to buy more arms, and in particular, ammunition, which is running short. But they say neighboring Guinea refused to supply arms, to avoid compromising its position as a mediator in peace talks.

The atmosphere in the Liberian capital remained extremely tense. Residents are weary of the shortages, the curfew, and the nightly gunfire in the blacked-out city. They are also frightened by tribal reprisal killings by the army. Bodies of victims still lie rotting in various places around the city. The U.S. ambassador, Peter de Vos, said his government had expressed very grave concern about the indiscriminate killing of civilians by soldiers. He also complained about the diversion of

EXHIBIT LLL

humanitarian assistance from international donors, which was intended for people displaced by the fighting. Among goods recently looted by soldiers from the port were 200 tons of rice and other supplies left by the UN Disaster Relief Organization, which pulled out of Liberia after soldiers attacked refugees at its compound in Monrovia at the end of May.

Ambassadors of the five European Community countries represented in Liberia: France, Italy, West Germany, Spain, and Britain, called on Liberian Army leaders to control their troops and cease what they called the wanton killing of civilians and the indiscriminate looting taking place in Monrovia. They also appealed to the National Patriotic Front rebels to stop killing civilians, particularly members of the Krahn and Mandingo tribes. Doe belongs to the Krahn tribe, and Mandingos are accused of supporting him. [end recording]

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EXHIBIT MMM

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OF THE RED CROSS



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Mr. MAURICE AUBERT
Mr. ATHOS GALLINO
Mr. RUDOLF JÄCKLI
Mr. PIERRE KELLER
Mr. ANDRÉ GHELFI
Mrs. ANNE PETITPIERRE

EXHIBIT MMM

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW
OF THE RED CROSS

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EXHIBIT MMM

*EXTERNAL ACTIVITIES**May-June 1990***Africa****Sudan**

The ICRC resumed its regular flights to destinations in Sudan after a six-month interruption during which it had been able to carry out only a few technical flights. As from 3 May ICRC flights were made to the following places in accordance with a flight plan submitted each week to the two parties: Wau, Juba and Malakal from Khartoum; and Kongor, Leer and Bor from Lokichokio (Kenya). The aircraft carried ICRC staff and also seed, tools and various equipment necessary to implement veterinary programmes.

Road convoys continued to bring relief supplies to southern Sudan from the ICRC base in Lodwar despite poor weather conditions and an earthquake that damaged roads and destroyed a bridge. In the period under review two road convoys journeyed safely from Lodwar to Bor and Kongor. The ICRC also carried supplies by barge on the Nile, from Bor to Leer via Adal and to Yirol via Ghambe.

In addition to providing assistance to the people living in the regions affected by the internal conflict, the ICRC was called on to help those displaced as a result of tension at the border between Sudan and Chad. On 27 and 28 May, three ICRC flights delivered relief supplies (blankets, tarpaulins, soap, durra and vegetable oil) to El Fasher; from there the National Society organized distributions.

Ethiopia

On 19 June an agreement was concluded between the ICRC, the Ethiopian government and the National Society setting out the terms and conditions governing the work of the ICRC surgical teams sent to Ethiopia to supplement the medical personnel already on the spot.

In early June, as soon as the ICRC received official confirmation that its assistance to the war-wounded would be welcomed, a delegate and a doctor were sent to Bahr Dar, Dessie and Asmara to assess

surgical needs there. As local facilities for the reception and care of patients were found clearly insufficient to cope with the influx of wounded, the ICRC immediately dispatched several medical teams to the area. They arrived in Addis Ababa towards the end of the month, and a surgical team was already at work in Dessie by 24 June.

Somalia

A first ICRC road convoy left the port of Berbera on 26 May for Boroma via Hargeisa, carrying food supplies to the displaced people sheltering in the hills north-east of Boroma, whose living conditions had been found extremely precarious during a survey in February. Between 28 May and 1 June a total of 14,600 people received ICRC food aid. On the return journey delegates carried out surveys near Hargeisa.

In co-operation with the UNHCR, the Ethiopian and Somali governments and National Societies and its own delegation in Addis Ababa, the ICRC completed arrangements enabling it in July to begin repatriating Ethiopian refugees living in camps in north-west Somalia.

Uganda

Some 120,000 displaced persons grouped in more than ten camps in the Kumi district had still not been able to return to their villages by the end of June. Initially the ICRC had provided only non-food aid to these people since other organizations were supplying them with food. During the month of June, however, the growing insecurity caused these organizations gradually to withdraw. Faced with this critical situation, the ICRC agreed to take over food distributions as from July for a three-month period. In the last week of June, ICRC delegates registered about 8,500 recipients.

After a year's absence the ICRC returned to Kitgum, where it organized a series of dissemination talks, carried out medical surveys and resumed its tracing work. It also returned to Soroti, after a three-month interruption, to continue its tracing and protection activities for the civilian population there.

Mozambique

In May and June ICRC delegates carried out several missions overland to the areas affected by the conflict. In the province of Nampula they noted a lack of medicines and basic medical supplies, a problem which the ICRC hopes to remedy despite the hazardous

conditions and the difficulty of transporting and delivering goods to isolated areas accessible only on foot through the bush and forest.

Another mission to the province of Zambezia took considerably longer than expected owing to unsafe conditions. The delegates, who were unable to maintain contact with the ICRC during the mission, nevertheless managed to assess the needs of about 150,000 people living in isolated groups. There, too, the main problems noted were a lack of medicines and basic medical supplies, as well as inadequate sanitary facilities. However, the nutritional level of these people appeared satisfactory.

Liberia

Because of the rapidly deteriorating situation, particularly in the capital, Monrovia, the ICRC took steps to protect the civilian population. Following the attack in early June on the camp for displaced persons set up in the grounds of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) offices, the UN agencies withdrew from the country. Families subsequently took refuge in a centre run by the Lutheran World Federation (LWF), which was placed under the protection of the Red Cross emblem.

The National Society carried out thrice-weekly food distributions to displaced persons temporarily living with relatives or in makeshift shelters.

Faced with a massive influx of people seeking ICRC protection, the delegation in Monrovia opened a centre on 15 June in a Methodist school large enough to house up to 1,000 people. The National Society provided round-the-clock medical care and supplied food and other basic necessities to those sheltering there.

ICRC delegates also evacuated 60 foreign students at the request of the UNHCR, one of the agencies that had left the country in early June.

In the medical sphere the ICRC organized an ambulance service and, on the basis of a survey, decided to provide medical supplies and medicines to the hospitals and dispensaries in rebel-held territory.

Neighbouring countries continued to receive waves of refugees. In early June 10,000 people left Liberia for Sierra Leone, where the National Society had set up a tracing office.

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

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JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT NNN

EXHIBIT NNN

Elizabeth Blunt

Abidjan

30.7.90.

N 387 Liberia: Massacre in Monrovia

CUE: In the Liberian capital, Monrovia, government troops have attacked a church where hundreds of local people were sheltering from the fighting, massacring its sleeping occupants. Eyewitnesses estimate that around two hundred men, women and children have been killed. West Africa correspondent Elizabeth Blunt:-

For the thousand or more people who had taken refuge there, St Peters Lutheran Church ~~was~~ ^{seemed} a safe haven from the army death squads which ~~roved~~ ^{came} (the suburbs of Monrovia) at night, looking for people ~~from the Gio and Mano tribes, whom they accused~~ ^{they suspect} of supporting the rebels. ~~Many of the families at the church, and in other similar centres, were already refugees who had fled their homes in Nimba County when fighting started there at the beginning of the year.~~ (The conditions in the church and school buildings where they were housed were overcrowded and insanitary, but the red cross flag flew at each corner of the compound and they felt secure under ^{church's} Red Cross Protection.)

But last night (the refuge became a death trap. Reports from Monrovia say) the soldiers broke in at two o'clock in the morning when the people there were sleeping, and massacred the inhabitants. Journalists in the city quote eyewitnesses as saying they saw bodies hanging from the windows of the buildings, and women lying dead with their heads smashed in, babies still tied to their backs. (The eyewitnesses said that at least two hundred people died -- a figure borne out by a diplomat in the city, who spoke of "several hundred" dead.)

Diplomats and aid workers in Monrovia had already warned about the vulnerability of the centres just because so many (Gio and Mano) people were concentrated in one place, including young men who might be suspected of planning to join the rebels when they finally

Reached the city //

arrived in ~~the city~~. Indeed Charles Taylor's forces are now
believed to be around the airfield in the suburb of Sinkor, only a
mile or so from where the massacre took place.

CUT: in the Liberian capital, Monrovia, government troops have
attacked a church where hundreds of local people were sheltering
from the fighting, massacring its sleeping occupants. Eyewitnesses
estimate that around two hundred men, women and children have been
killed. West Africa correspondent Elizabeth Blunt

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EXHIBIT OOO

EXHIBIT OOO

UNCLASSIFIED

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520



SECRET
MEMORANDUM

To: ~~AF~~ - Mr. Cohen
From: TFLI01 - Don Petterson
Subject: ~~PCC~~ on Liberia

RELEASED IN PART
NR

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c 7/30/90 ✓
ZD
R 334

I. INTRODUCTION

- Over the weekend, military activity in downtown Monrovia increased. On Sunday the embassy described the firing of weapons as the most intense yet. This morning, elements of the AFL and Johnson's forces had a firefight very near the embassy compound. Armed men of both sides showed no hostility to us as they passed by; some even smiled and waved. Ambassador de Vos says the country team continues to believe that the embassy is not threatened under current circumstances.
- Johnson's forces have occupied much of the northwest quadrant of the Cape Mesurado Peninsula. Taylor still has not mounted his final drive on Monrovia from the southeast. One line of speculation is that he is letting Johnson and Doe have at each other so that the forces of both will be weakened to his advantage.
- Last night AFL soldiers entered the Lutheran church at Sinkor and massacred 200 people and wounded about 85. We are making a statement today condemning the senseless massacre and calling on all sides in the conflict to refrain from inflicting harm on innocent civilians.
- As far as we know, Doe and his lieutenants remain holed up in the Mansion. We have seen and talked with a few of them, but not with Doe himself since Ambassador de Vos last met with him. The anti-American sentiments fueled by Doe and others seems to have abated. There have been no new instances of hostile actions by AFL soldiers and our dealings with Doe's officials have been cordial these past three days.
- The ELWA radio station, which had been broadcasting Taylor's speech, went off the air on Sunday. This could have been a result of AFL action, for they employed an artillery piece, emplaced near the St. Joseph's Catholic hospital, to shell the Station.
- Spriggs-Payne remains open but too dangerous to use. The Air Cargo flight scheduled to come from Freetown Saturday to pick up a badly wounded Liberian government official was scrubbed on the advice of the charter company's local representative.

Vertical handwritten note: 94D 295 (16176) Box 8 Folder Liberia X-mas Comp 7/ 30-31 1990

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: JOHN S BLODGETT
DATE/CASE ID: 19 SEP 2007 200603489

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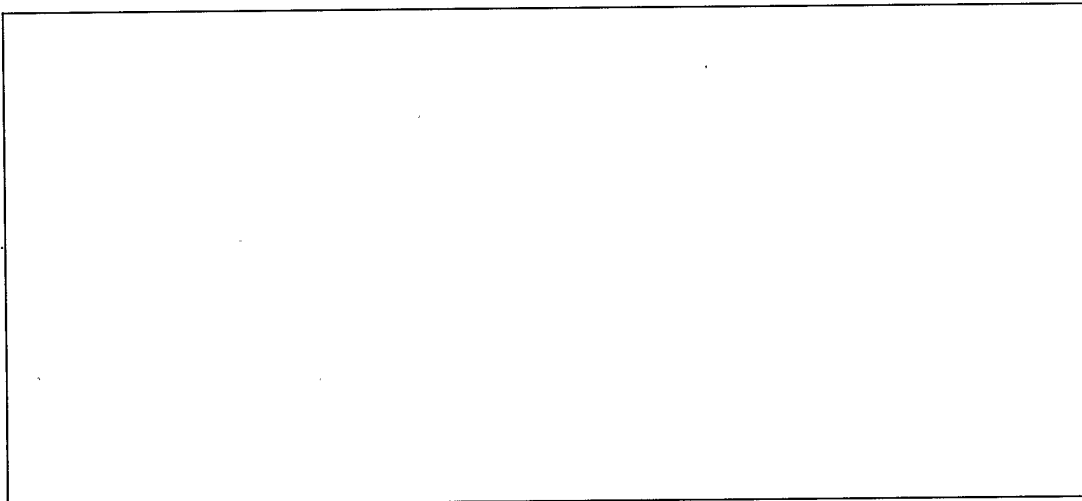
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- Johnson has been making a shrewd effort to win the hearts and minds of Liberians. Apparently his people on Bushrod Island have been restrained in their interaction with the local populace. Moreover he has had rice and canned goods distributed and has passed the word that the inhabitants of Monrovia should come for safe haven to the area he controls. He is being depicted by his people as a true democrat, anti-tribalist and man of moderation. Johnson's animosity for Taylor, though is undisguised.

II. MILITARY UPDATE

- Would DIA care to comment on the military situation?

III. FOLLOW-UP ISSUES



NR

- DIPLOMACY

The media have given some prominence to the cry by the EC ambassadors in Monrovia for action by the UN Security Council and support for any intervention by the U.S. The EC is not likely to take an activist approach. In a statement, the EC merely expressed deep concern, deplored the loss of life and destruction of property, and appealed for an end of the war.

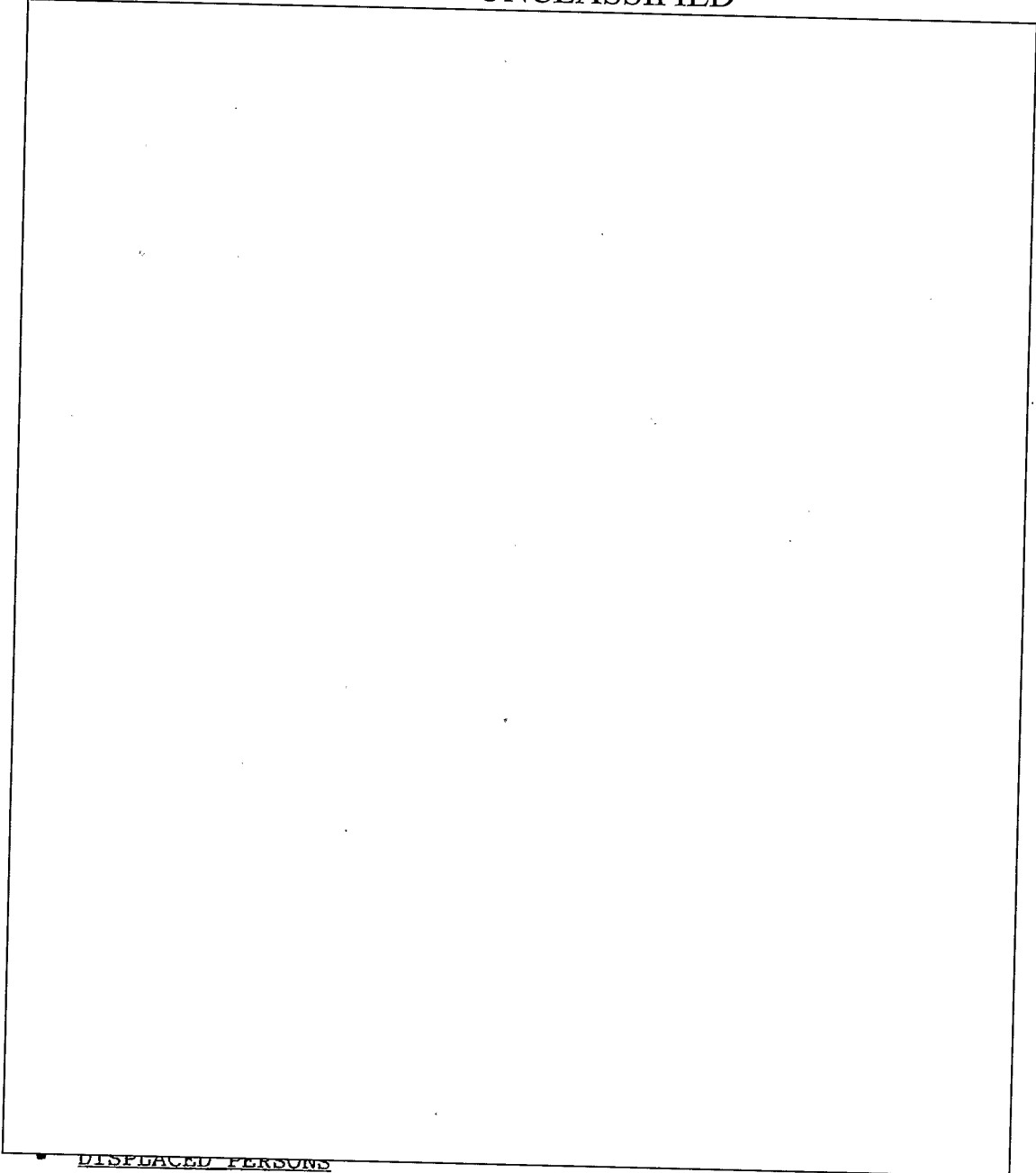
Earlier rumors that the Guinean government was considering military intervention to help Doe have not panned out. There is no indication that the Guineans have any such intention at this time.

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NR



DISPLACED PERSONS

The plight of Monrovia's worsens, as food, water and fuel become scarcer. The embassy is doing what it can for the displaced persons at the Greystone compound, but our situation does not enable us to contribute much to alleviate their suffering. The 22,000 at the R site at Brewerville are better off, for they have access to food from Bushrod Island and possible elsewhere.

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The pitiful condition of many of the displaced persons and the likelihood that their situation will get worse underlines that we, and others, will want to be positioned as well as we can to begin emergency relief work just as soon as that is possible.

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EXHIBIT 000

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v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT PPP



CTA/CPAS - MID 90-1771X

~~Top Secret~~



(b)(3)



Director of Central Intelligence

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE DAILY

Tuesday, 31 July 1990



TCS 2877/90 COPY 604

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CPAS NID 90-1771X
TCS 2877/90
31 July 1990

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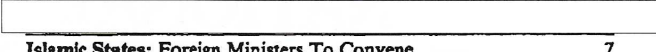
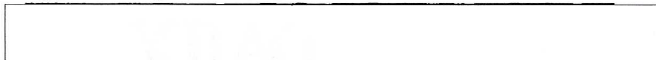
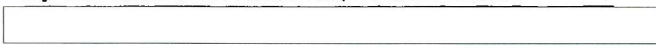



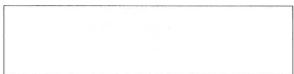
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31 July 1990

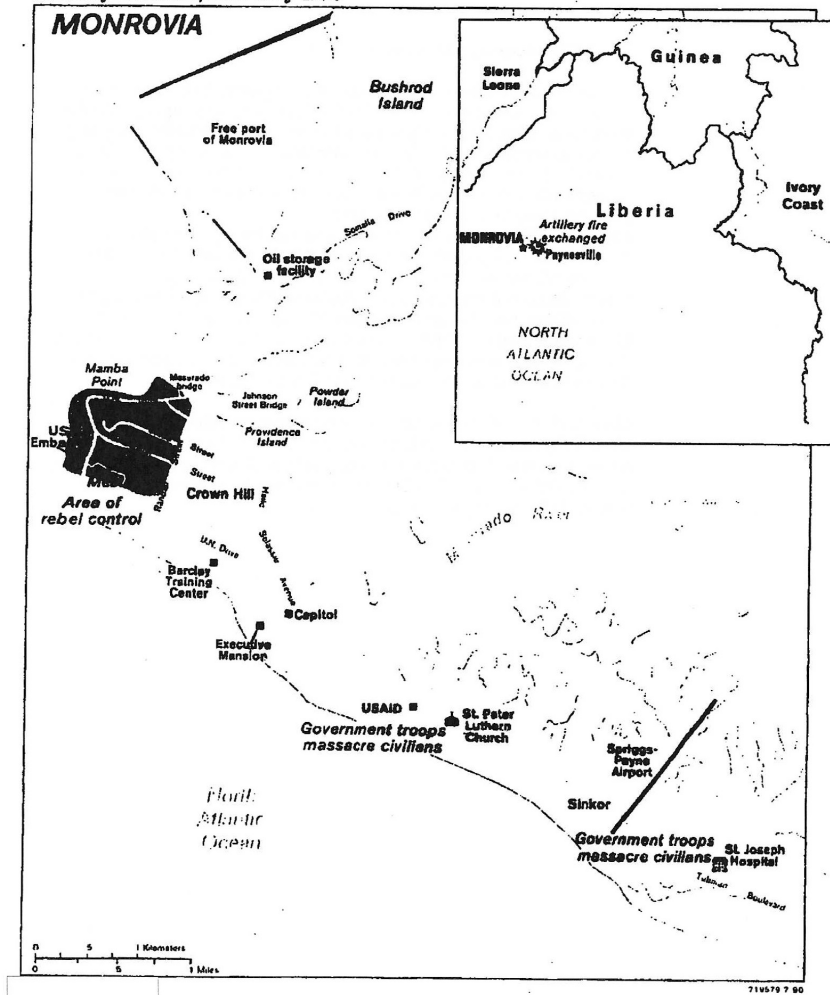
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Military Situation, Late July 1990



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31 July 1990



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LIBERIA: Security Situation Worsens

Prince Johnson's forces continued to strengthen their position in Monrovia, gaining control of Mamba Point and driving army soldiers back toward the Barclay Training Center. Johnson's rebels say they expect to capture the Training Center today. The army and Charles Taylor's troops exchanged artillery fire in the Paynesville area. Army soldiers attacked the Lutheran church compound, spraying the refugees there with automatic weapons fire.

(b)(1)

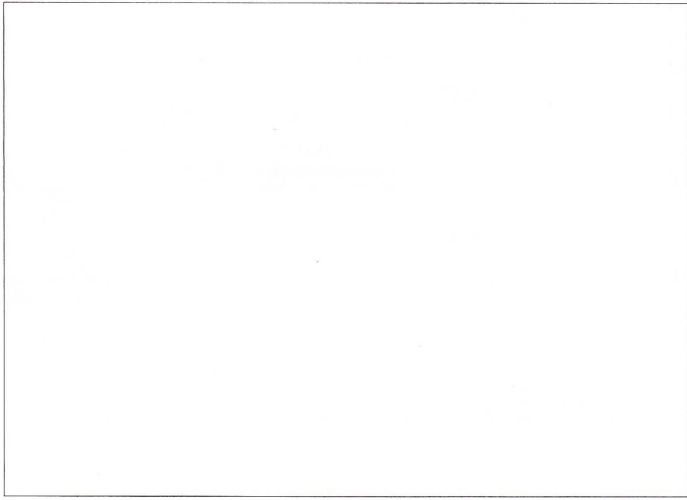
as many as 200 people were killed and another 80 were wounded. Several hundred people surged from the church into the USAID compound, but soldiers later forcibly removed them. An international aid representative claims soldiers also killed roughly 150 civilians and wounded another 100 in a refugee camp near St. Joseph Hospital. Taylor's spokesman yesterday told reporters the US probably was supporting Johnson's forces. He claimed Johnson had communicated directly with the US Ambassador.

(b)(3)

(b)(3)

Comment: The Embassy now is directly behind rebel lines, making US officials more vulnerable to stray gunfire if the army attempts to retake the area. Accusations by the army, and now by Taylor's group, that the US is supporting Johnson's forces may cause army hostility toward US citizens to increase.

(b)(3)



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TCS 2877/90
31 July 1990



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Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT QQQ

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R335A

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of the Assistant Secretary/Spokesman

For Immediate Release

July 30, 1990

STATEMENT BY RICHARD BOUCHER/DEPUTY SPOKESMAN

LIBERIA: U.S. DEPLORES MASSACRE

LAST NIGHT, SOME 200 LIBERIANS WHO HAD SOUGHT REFUGE AT THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN MONROVIA WERE MASSACRED BY ARMED FORCES OF LIBERIA SOLDIERS. DOZENS OF OTHERS WERE WOUNDED. WE ABSOLUTELY CONDEMN THIS SENSELESS ACT OF TERROR AND CALL AGAIN ON ALL SIDES TO THE CONFLICT TO REFRAIN FROM INFLECTING VIOLENCE ON HELPLESS AND INNOCENT MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN. ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT SHOULD RESPECT THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE GENEVA CONVENTION ON THE PROTECTION OF THE VICTIMS OF ARMED CONFLICT TO PREVENT MURDER AND THE CARRYING OUT OF EXECUTIONS WITHOUT DUE PROCESS. WE RENEW THE APPEAL, WHICH WE HAVE MADE BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY THROUGHOUT THIS TRAGIC CONFLICT, FOR BOTH SIDES TO FORGO A MILITARY SOLUTION AND FOLLOW THE PATH OF NEGOTIATION.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: JOHN S BLODGETT
DATE/CASE ID: 23 JUL 2007 200603489

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EXHIBIT QQQ

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AF PRESS GUIDANCE
July 30, 1990

LIBERIA UPDATE

Q: What is the latest on the military situation?

A: THERE WAS HEAVY FIGHTING IN DOWNTOWN MONROVIA ON SUNDAY. FIGHTING AND EXCHANGES OF SMALL ARMS FIRE RESUMED THIS MORNING NEAR THE EMBASSY. ALL U.S. EMBASSY PERSONNEL ARE SAFE.

Q: On Friday, five European Community Ambassadors in Liberia said that Liberia was falling into anarchy and called on the U.S. to intervene militarily. What is your reaction?

A: THE UNITED STATES SHARES THE DEEP CONCERN OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AMBASSADORS IN MONROVIA ABOUT THE CONTINUED FIGHTING AND LOSS OF LIFE IN LIBERIA. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT INTEND TO INTERVENE MILITARILY.

-- THE ADMINISTRATION BELIEVES THAT IT IS NOT OUR ROLE TO INTERVENE TO ENGAGE IN PEACEKEEPING OR TO IMPOSE A GOVERNMENT OR POLITICAL SYSTEM IN LIBERIA. THAT IS A QUESTION THE PARTIES INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT SHOULD TRY TO WORK OUT THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. WE HAVE MADE THIS POINT IN REGULAR CONTACT WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA REBELS.

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-- ULTIMATELY, WE BELIEVE THE ONLY DURABLE GOVERNMENT IN LIBERIA WILL BE ONE THAT THE LIBERIAN PEOPLE HAVE FREELY CHOSEN. WE HAVE INFORMED ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT THAT FUTURE ASSISTANCE TO LIBERIA WILL ONLY BE AVAILABLE IF THERE IS A FREELY ELECTED, DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

-- WE NOTE THE JULY 25 STATEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY URGENTLY APPEALS FOR AN END TO THE SUFFERINGS OF THE LIBERIAN PEOPLE BUT DOES NOT CALL ON THE U.S. TO INTERVENE MILITARILY IN LIBERIA.

Drafted: AF/P:GNMorris, W1767A
Cleared: TFLI01:JLewis
AF:HJCohen

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EXHIBIT RRR

EXHIBIT RRR

Hundreds Die in Massacre by Liberian Troops

■ **Civil war:** As many as 600 refugees are killed in a church. Survivors say the soldiers were President Doe's.

From Times Wire Services

MONROVIA, Liberia—Troops loyal to Liberian President Samuel K. Doe massacred at least 600 refugees, including babies in their mothers' arms, in the sanctuary of a church where they had fled for safety in war-torn Monrovia, witnesses said Monday.

State Department officials in Washington said late Monday that their information, based on reports from U.S. Embassy staff members still in Monrovia, put the death toll closer to 200.

Doe said rebel guerrillas in government uniforms committed the atrocity, but the United States discounted this version.

Survivors of the attack said about 30 government soldiers burst into St. Peter's Lutheran Church on the outskirts of the city Sunday evening and butchered men, women, children and babies with guns, knives and machetes.

The entire floor of the church was thick with bloodstains, and bodies were found under pews where people had tried to hide. The bodies of boys aged 7 or 8 were draped on the church altar, and a pile of bodies was half-hidden in a dark corner beside the altar.

Dead women lay on the floor with children still wrapped in shawls on their backs. The church crucifix had been thrown to the ground, and bullet holes riddled the ceiling.

Bodies of some people apparently killed while trying to flee were hanging from the window frames of the building, said one person who visited the church.

"My people, help me. My son—where is my son? I beg you, don't leave me," pleaded an injured woman lying on the church steps. A man nearby, his neck slashed, called out for water.

About 2,000 refugees had taken shelter in the church since rebel forces, fighting a seven-month-old

Please see LIBERIA, A12

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See full page image or
microfilm.

Reuters

Liberian guerrilla aims machine gun at government forces in a suburb of Monrovia during a Monday battle.

LIBERIA: Hundreds of Refugees Killed

Continued from A1

civil war to oust Doe, reached Monrovia three weeks ago.

The witnesses said the soldiers broke down the church door by firing machine guns into it and then opened fire on the refugees point-blank. Witnesses said the soldiers then went to the upper floor of the compound and shot at hundreds of refugees sleeping there.

There is no phone in the church, so victims had no way of calling for help.

Soldiers ordered some women who tried to flee with their children to stand aside. Other soldiers then fired on them.

“We thought they had come to ask us questions. Then they started killing, and everyone began screaming and trying to hide,” said one man who hid in the church attic during the massacre.

On Monday, the church compound was filled with the bodies brought outside after the massacre. People passing the church appeared numb at the sight of rows of corpses.

Survivors said the soldiers were from Doe's Krahn tribe while most of the refugees were from the Gio and Mano tribes, staunch supporters of the rebel armies. The rebels now control most of Monrovia and are poised to move in to overthrow Doe, guarded by a few hundred soldiers at his seafront executive mansion.

The Bush Administration issued a statement condemning massacre, calling it a “senseless act of terror” and blaming it on forces controlled by President Doe.

Doe's government blamed the massacre on rebel soldiers disguised in government uniforms. But U.S. officials insisted that “our indications are that it was government troops that were involved,” according to Deputy Press Secretary Hart.

But Administration officials said President Bush had no plans to send U.S. military forces to Liberia to stabilize the situation, as some diplomats and Liberian leaders had urged over the weekend.

“If you're asking whether we're going to intervene, we're not going to,” said State Department spokesman Richard Boucher. “We don't think our role is to intervene in the conflict directly.”

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microfilm.

SOURCE: Liberia: A Country Study. Foreign Area Studies. The American University.

The massacre was the latest atrocity in an increasingly bloody three-cornered civil war involving Doe's forces and two rebel groups, one headed by Prince Johnson, a former lieutenant in Doe's army, and Charles Taylor, a former senior official in Doe's government. The three forces each claim several thousand men under arms and each draw strength from different tribal groupings within the country.

Johnson split with Taylor months ago, and his fighters invaded the capital last week and advanced to within a mile of the presidential mansion.

Johnson indicated Monday he had no intention of working with Taylor. In a meeting with foreign correspondents in Monrovia, he accused Taylor of being a Libyan-backed socialist and said he had received \$8 million in aid from Libyan leader Moammar Kadafi.

Johnson said: “I will get Doe. He is not going to get away.” Johnson claims to have 7,000 men under his command, including 4,000 deserters from Doe's army.

Times staff writer David Lauter in Washington contributed to this story.

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FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT SSS

Liberian troops massacre 200 refugees

Publication info: Telegram & Gazette ; Worcester, Mass. [Worcester, Mass]31 July 1990: A1.

[ProQuest document link](#)

ABSTRACT (ABSTRACT)

Witnesses said most victims were children and women, some with babies strapped to their backs and others cowering in corners. They had been seeking refuge from the civil war, which began in late December when rebels invaded from neighboring Ivory Coast in a bid to oust Doe.

Government troops have killed hundreds of Gios and Manos, whose tribes have supported the rebels seeking to overthrow Doe and speak a different language than Doe's loyalists. Most of Doe's troops are from his Krahn tribe and the Mandingo tribe.

FULL TEXT

MONROVIA, Liberia (AP) - Loyalist soldiers of President Samuel Doe burst into a Lutheran church compound yesterday and massacred at least 600 civilian refugees, including many children, witnesses said.

However, State Department officials in Washington said late yesterday that their information, based on reports from U.S. Embassy staff still in Monrovia, indicates about 200 had been killed by Liberian troops.

In either case, a spokesman for Doe denied the allegations. In a telephone call to the British Broadcasting Corp. in London, the spokesman said rebels wearing government uniforms killed the civilians in the early morning raid.

Witnesses said most victims were children and women, some with babies strapped to their backs and others cowering in corners. They had been seeking refuge from the civil war, which began in late December when rebels invaded from neighboring Ivory Coast in a bid to oust Doe.

The rebels accuse Doe, in power since 1980, of rights abuses and corruption.

TRIBES SUPPORTED REBELS

People who said they escaped the attack alleged about 30 soldiers blasted the church door down with machine guns. They then opened fire on about 2,000 people from the Gio and Mano tribes who had taken refuge there.

Government troops have killed hundreds of Gios and Manos, whose tribes have supported the rebels seeking to overthrow Doe and speak a different language than Doe's loyalists. Most of Doe's troops are from his Krahn tribe and the Mandingo tribe.

Earlier yesterday, White House deputy press secretary Stephen Hart said U.S. Embassy officials had confirmed government troops slaughtered at least 200 people at the church compound in Monrovia. There was no

independent confirmation of the 600 dead figure.

The White House condemned the massacre as a "senseless act of terror" but had no plans to send in troops. "At this point we don't believe that would be a prudent course of action," Hart said.

Witnesses said soldiers broke into the church compound about 2 a.m. when the refugees were asleep. There was no telephone, so victims had no way of calling for help.

Bodies of some people apparently killed while trying to flee were hanging from window frames of the church building, said one person who visited the camp. "I saw dead bodies all around," the source said, speaking on condition of anonymity.

Other witnesses who refused to give their names said they saw women with their heads smashed open or blown to pieces by bullets.

Thousands of refugees fleeing the civil war are crowded into refugee camps in the capital. Their numbers have swelled recently as rebel troops have stormed the city.

The survivors said that after the soldiers had riddled the refugees on the ground floor with bullets they went upstairs and attacked a second group, of 1,000, sleeping there.

"We thought they had come to ask us questions. Then they started killing, and everyone began screaming and trying to hide," said one man who claimed he hid on the roof of the church.

The soldiers were from Doe's Krahn tribe, said the survivors.

The floor of the church was covered with blood stains yesterday. Bodies were huddled under the pews where people tried to hide and lay draped across the church altar. More bodies were huddled in the corner.

The bodies of women were strewn on the floor with children still wrapped in shawls on their backs. The ceiling was riddled with bullet holes.

"My people, help me. My son, where is my son? I beg you. Don't leave me," pleaded an injured woman on the church steps. A man nearby, his neck slashed, called out for water.

The compound was filled with the bodies right outside after the massacre.

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EXHIBIT TTT

EXHIBIT TTT

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Classified By: UNSPECIFIED
Classification Reason: UNSPECIFIED
Declassify On: April 26, 2042

~~(S)~~ ~~(NF)~~ **SUBJ: ACTIVITIES OF AFL COLONEL NYEPU TILLEY**

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DOCUMENT.> ORIG/REL: [] END OF MESSAGE ~~SECRET~~

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~~(S)~~ ~~(NF)~~ 1. ARMED FORCES OF LIBERIA (AFL) COLONEL NYEPU ((TILLEY)) AND APPROXIMATELY EIGHT TO 10 AFL SOLDIERS, WHO FORM AN IRREGULAR UNIT UNDER TILLEY'S COMMAND, KILLED SEVERAL HUNDRED UNARMED CIVILIANS AT THE ST. PETER'S LUTHERAN CHURCH IN MONROVIA, LIBERIA, ON 29 JULY 1990. IN A CONVERSATION WITH FORMER LIBERIAN PRESIDENT SAMUEL K. ((DOE)) ON THE SAME DAY, TILLEY PROVIDED AN ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS. HE STATED THAT HE AND HIS MEN HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT FORMER ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS DIVISION (CID) JACOB ((NIMLEY)) AND ACTING DIRECTOR OF POLICE (FNU) ((FORKPEH)) WERE ASSISTING NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA (NPFL) FORCES IN MONROVIA. TILLEY SAID THAT EARLIER IN THE AFTERNOON OF 29

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JULY, HE HAD ARRESTED NIMLEY AND FORKPEH, AND CONCLUDED THAT FORKPEH'S OFFICIAL POLICE RADIO WAS IN FACT A REBEL COMMUNICATIONS DEVICE. BECAUSE OF THIS EVIDENCE AND A NUMBER OF GUARD UNIFORMS FROM THE BOOKER T. WASHINGTON INSTITUTE, FOUND IN FORKPEH'S VEHICLE, TILLEY EXECUTED BOTH MEN AT ST. PETER'S LUTHERAN CHURCH. TILLEY CHOSE THE CHURCH AS THE EXECUTION SITE BECAUSE HE BELIEVED THAT IT WAS A CENTER FOR NPFL ACTIVITIES. HE ALSO HAD CONCLUDED THAT THE REFUGEES ON THE CHURCH COMPOUND WERE IN FACT NPFL SUPPORTERS AND THEREFORE ORDERED HIS MEN TO KILL THEM. ([] COMMENT: JACOB NIMLEY WAS NOT RELATED TO ACTING AFL CHIEF OF STAFF GENERAL DAVID Q. ((NIMLEY)).)

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(S/ [] /NF) 2. DURING THE PAST THREE MONTHS, TILLEY AND HIS MEN HAVE FOUGHT NPFL TROOPS DURING THE DAY AND LOOTED DURING THE NIGHT, OFTEN WHILE INTOXICATED. IN LATE AUGUST, TILLEY AND HIS UNIT MOVED INTO A HOUSE ON 17TH STREET IN SINKOR (06-18N, 10-48W). THEY EVICTED SEVEN FEMALE OCCUPANTS AND A YOUNG BOY. AFTER THE WOMEN COMPLAINED ABOUT THEIR TREATMENT, THEY WERE SHOT IN THE STREET. THE YOUNG BOY WAS WOUNDED IN THE ARM AND WAS ABLE TO SEEK TREATMENT AT THE BARCLAY TRAINING CENTER (BTC) (06-18N, 10-48W). HE PROVIDED AUTHORITIES THERE WITH DETAILS OF THE INCIDENT, PLUS A COMPLETE DESCRIPTION OF TILLEY. THIS REPORT WAS PASSED TO FORMER PRESIDENT SAMUEL ((DOE)), WHO CALLED TILLEY IN FOR QUESTIONING. TILLEY STATED THAT THE WOMEN WERE REBEL SUPPORTERS, AND HE WAS SIMPLY CARRYING OUT HIS ORDERS. DOE ACCEPTED TILLEY'S ACCOUNT OF THE INCIDENT AND NO OTHER ACTION WAS TAKEN.

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(S/ [] /NF) 3. TILLEY WAS ALSO RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MURDER OF ACTING LIBERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GEORGE ((WALLACE))'S WIFE, GRANDDAUGHTER AND FIVE OTHER WOMEN IN MID-AUGUST. THE WEEK BEFORE, SEVERAL OF TILLEY'S MEN HAD STOLEN TWO CARS FROM WALLACE'S COMPOUND AND HARASSED HIS FAMILY. WALLACE THEN COMPLAINED TO PRESIDENT DOE ABOUT THE INCIDENT. TWO SECURITY GUARDS WERE PROVIDED BY DOE FOR WALLACE'S COMPOUND, BUT THE ABUSIVE TREATMENT BY PERSONNEL CONTINUED. SEVERAL NIGHTS LATER WALLACE SPENT THE NIGHT IN THE EXECUTIVE MANSION, AND WHILE THERE WAS INFORMED THAT HIS WIFE AND FAMILY HAD BEEN TAKEN FROM HIS COMPOUND; INCLUDED IN THE GROUP WERE TWO TEENAGE GIRLS WHO WERE LATER RAPED BY TILLEY'S MEN. THE TWO GIRLS SURVIVED AND LATER TOLD ANOTHER GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA OFFICIAL THAT MEMBERS OF THE WALLACE FAMILY WERE TAKEN TO A SWAMP NEAR SPRIGGS-PAYNE AIRFIELD (06-18N, 10-44W) AND KILLED. DOE WAS INFORMED OF THIS INCIDENT, BUT DID NOT TAKE ANY ACTION AGAINST TILLEY.

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(S/ [] /NF) 4. WITH THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT DOE ON 9 SEPTEMBER, TILLEY AND HIS MEN HAVE CONTINUED TO ROAM FREELY IN THE DOWNTOWN MONROVIA AND SINKOR AREAS. ACTING AFL CHIEF OF STAFF NIMLEY BECAME TILLEY'S MENTOR, BECAUSE BOTH ARE KRAHN AND FROM THE TWABOE REGION OF GRAND GEDEH COUNTY. TILLEY WAS AN ELEPHANT HUNTER IN GRAND GEDEH UNTIL MAY 1990, WHEN DOE ASSIGNED HIM THE HONORARY RANK OF CAPTAIN IN THE AFL. HE REFERS TO HIMSELF AS A COLONEL BUT TILLEY HIMSELF IS THE ONLY ONE WHO HAS "APPROVED" THESE PROMOTIONS.

(b)(3)

(S/ [] /NF) 5. TILLEY'S VIOLENT BEHAVIOR AND DISREGARD FOR HUMAN LIFE ALSO AFFECT CIVILIANS LIVING IN BTC. DURING THE WEEK OF 1 OCTOBER HE KIDNAPPED AN EIGHT-YEAR OLD KRAHN BOY FROM BTC AND USED HIM AS A HUMAN SACRIFICE AT THE EXECUTIVE MANSION. RESPONDING TO APPEALS FROM THE CHILD'S PARENTS WHO WERE AWARE OF THEIR SON'S ABDUCTION BY TILLEY, GENERAL NIMLEY READILY ACCEPTED TILLEY'S VERSION OF THE STORY THAT HE SIMPLY HAD TAKEN THE CHILD

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FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT AND DID NOT KNOW HIS WHEREABOUTS.

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Subject: None

~~SECRET~~ [redacted] NOFORN

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EXHIBIT UUU

EXHIBIT UUU

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CLASS: ~~SECRET~~

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PAGE 001 TOT: 202222Z JUN 90 CIA [redacted]

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TITLE: SUBJ: INCREASING INDISCIPLINE WITHIN THE LIBERIAN MILITARY

TEXT: ~~SECRET~~/WNINTEL [redacted]

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PASS: [redacted]

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~-WNINTEL- [redacted]

(b)(3)

DIST: 20 JUNE 1990

COUNTRY: LIBERIA

SUBJ: INCREASING INDISCIPLINE WITHIN THE LIBERIAN MILITARY

[redacted]

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[redacted]

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TEXT: 1. ACCORDING TO A SENIOR LIBERIAN MILITARY OFFICIAL, THERE HAS BEEN A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN ACTS OF INDISCIPLINE BY ARMED FORCES OF LIBERIA (AFL) SOLDIERS DURING THE PAST MONTH. AFL SOLDIERS HAVE EITHER ROBBED, SHOT, OR HARASSED THE LOCAL CIVILIAN POPULATION. AFL SOLDIERS HAVE ALSO BEEN INVOLVED IN SHOOTING FELLOW SOLDIERS. THE DEATHS OF BOTH SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS HAVE BEEN MINIMIZED, BUT THE SHOOTINGS AND THE IRRESPONSIBLE DISCHARGE OF WEAPONS AT NIGHT HAVE OCCURRED ALMOST DAILY DURING THE PAST MONTH. THE AFL LEADERSHIP IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE JOINT SECURITY COMMISSION HAS TAKEN STEPS TO CONTROL THE UNDISCIPLINED SOLDIERS, BUT THEY HAVE HAD ONLY MODERATE SUCCESS TO DATE. ([redacted] COMMENT: MOST CIVILIANS ATTEMPT TO BE OFF THE STREETS AND AT HOME BEFORE 1900 HOURS FOR FEAR OF BEING ROBBED OR KILLED BY THE SOLDIERS. THE CIVILIANS SEEM TO HAVE LESS OF A FEAR OF THE REBELS THAN THE AFL SOLDIERS.)

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2. THE OFFICIAL FURTHER NOTED THAT THERE WERE TOO MANY SOLDIERS WITH WEAPONS ON THE STREETS OF MONROVIA. THE AFL HAS SUCCEEDED IN CONFISCATING A NUMBER OF WEAPONS FROM OFFDUTY SOLDIERS, BUT HAS FAILED TO METE OUT DISCIPLINARY ACTION AGAINST MANY OF THEM-- ESPECIALLY THOSE OF THE KRAHN ETHNIC GROUP. THE OFFICIAL COMMENTED THAT MANY OF THE UNDISCIPLINED SOLDIERS WERE NEW RECRUITS AND KRAHN, AND BASED ON THEIR ATTITUDE THEY DID NOT HAVE A GREAT AFFINITY FOR MONROVIA OR THE OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS. ([redacted] COMMENT: THE KRAHNS REALIZE THAT THEY HAVE CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY FOR NOW AND CAN DO WHATEVER THEY PLEASE WITHOUT FEAR OF RETRIBUTION. THE KRAHN SOLDIERS HAVE OPENLY STATED THAT THEY WILL DESTROY MONROVIA IF THEY ARE ATTACKED BY THE REBELS.)

(b)(3)

3. IN AN EFFORT TO STEM THE INCREASING INDISCIPLINE AMONG AFL SOLDIERS, MILITARY POLICEMEN HAVE BEGUN ARRESTING THE SOLDIERS FOR MISCONDUCT AND TAKING THEM TO THE BARCLAY TRAINING CENTER POST

~~SECRET~~/WNINTEL [redacted]

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STOCKADE; HOWEVER, THE KRAHN SOLDIERS ARE NORMALLY CONFINED FOR A MAXIMUM OF ONE WEEK TO TEN DAYS AND RELEASED. SOLDIERS FROM DIFFERENT ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS ARE DEALT WITH MORE HARSHLY AND SWIFTLY. (SOURCE COMMENT: A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THE THE INJUSTICES WITHIN THE MILITARY SYSTEM CAN BE SEEN IN SEVERAL CASES. MAJOR PRINCE ((JOHNSON)) AND COLONEL ((BAHN)) WERE IMPRISONED EVEN THOUGH NEITHER HAD BEEN CONVICTED OF COMMITTING A CRIME. JOHNSON WAS SUBSEQUENTLY RELEASED AND WENT INTO HIDING. BAHN REMAINS IN PRISON AND MUST SERVE OUT A FOUR MONTH TERM. ON THE OTHER HAND, A SPECIAL ANTI-TERRORIST UNIT SOLDIER FOUND GUILTY OF SHOOTING AN AMERICAN WHO LATER DIED, IS STILL WAITING TO BE EXECUTED ON ORDERS REPORTEDLY BY PRESIDENT DOE. HOWEVER, THE EXECUTION OF THE SOLDIER WILL MOST LIKELY NEVER BE CARRIED OUT.) ([redacted] COMMENT: OTHER REPORTING INDICATES THAT BAHN WAS ACCUSED OF PROVIDING WEAPONS TO THE REBELS AND WILL BE IMPRISONED INDEFINITELY. ALTHOUGH DOE REMARKED THAT THE SATU SOLDIER SHOULD BE EXECUTED, THERE IS NO INFORMATION TO INDICATE THAT HE ORDERED THE EXECUTION TO BE CARRIED OUT.)

(b)(3)

4. THE OFFICIAL PLACED MUCH OF THE BLAME FOR THE LACK OF AFL DISCIPLINE ON THE SENIOR MILITARY LEADERSHIP. THE OFFICIAL COMMENTED THAT MINISTER OF DEFENSE MAJOR GENERAL BOIMA ((BARCLAY)) WILL NOT TAKE ANY ACTION AGAINST THE SOLDIERS PARTIALLY BECAUSE HE DOES NOT EXPECT TO BE IN HIS POSITION FOR VERY LONG. THE OFFICIAL OPINED THAT LIBERIAN PRESIDENT SAMUEL K. DOE IS EXPECTED TO MAKE SOME MINISTERIAL CHANGES IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE. THE OFFICIAL ALSO INDICATED THAT CHIEF OF STAFF LIEUTENANT GENERAL HENRY ((DUBAR)) WILL ONLY TAKE MINOR DISCIPLINARY ACTION AGAINST KRAHN SOLDIERS WHICH USUALLY ENTAILS A REPRIMAND OR DETENTION IN THE POST STOCKADE FOR SEVERAL DAYS. THE COMMANDER OF THE EXECUTIVE MANSION GUARD BRIGADIER GENERAL CHARLES ((JULUE)) WILL NOT REACT TO KRAHN INDISCIPLINE UNLESS THE SOLDIER REFUSES TO OBEY A DIRECT ORDER FROM HIM. OTHER SENIOR STAFF OFFICERS DO NOT BELIEVE THEY HAVE THE AUTHORITY TO HAND OUT PUNISHMENT TO THE SOLDIERS.

5. THE OFFICIAL COMMENTED THAT PART OF THE BLAME FOR THE AFL INDISCIPLINE CAN ALSO BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE INDUCTION OF NEW RECRUITS INTO THE MILITARY. DURING THE PAST FEW MONTHS COLONEL D. Z. ((BROWN)) TRAINED OVER THREE THOUSAND NEW RECRUITS AT THE TUBMAN MILITARY ACADEMY AT CAMP TODEE (06 33N 010 32W). 800 RECRUITS WERE SUBSEQUENTLY ASSIGNED TO THE 1ST BATTALION AT CAMP SCHIEFFLIN (06 13N 10 32W); EIGHTY-FIVE PERCENT WERE KRAHN. 763 RECRUITS WERE ASSIGNED TO THE 6TH BATTALION AT BOMI HILLS (06 52N 10 49W); EIGHTY-FIVE PERCENT THIS GROUP WAS ALSO KRAHN. APPROXIMATELY 1500 RECRUITS REMAINED AT THE 2ND BATTALION AT CAMP TODEE. THIS GROUP WAS COMPRISED OF A MIXTURE OF ETHNIC GROUPS. ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL ANOTHER 3,000 KRAHNS WERE REPORTEDLY BEING TRAINED IN THE TOWNS OF TUZON AND ZWEDRU IN GRAND GEDEH COUNTY. THIS WAS IN ADDITION TO THE 2,000 SOLDIERS ALREADY POSTED THERE. ([redacted] COMMENT: THE SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF SOLDIERS IN GRAND GEDEH SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT IF DOE IS FORCED OUT OF POWER, HE WILL RETREAT TO GRAND GEDEH AND CONDUCT HIS OWN INSURGENCY AGAINST THE NEW LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT.)

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WARNING: REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~-WARNING NOTICE- [redacted]

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[redacted] DISSEMINATION AND EXTRACTION
OF INFORMATION CONTROLLED BY ORIGINATOR.

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DECL: [redacted] BY RECORDED REPORTING OFFICER. ALL PORTIONS
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EXHIBIT VVV

EXHIBIT VVV

MSGNO 19 (IDXX) ALL *27/06/90* *20:08*
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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WARNING: INFORMATION REPORT, NOT FINALLY EVALUATED INTELLIGENCE.

REPORT CLASS ~~SECRET~~-WNINTEL-

DIST: 27 JUNE 1990

COUNTRY: LIBERIA

SUBJ: FUTURE MILITARY OPERATIONAL PLANNING OF THE ARMED FORCES OF LIBERIA

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TEXT: 1. DURING THE EVENING OF 26 JUNE 1990 ARMED FORCES OF LIBERIA (AFL) CHIEF OF STAFF LIEUTENANT GENERAL HENRY ((DUBAR)) AND HIS DIRECTOR OF STAFF BRIGADIER GENERAL MOSES ((CRAIG)) WERE SUMMONED TO THE EXECUTIVE MANSION TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT SAMUEL K. DOE AND DISCUSS FUTURE MILITARY OPERATIONAL PLANNING. BOTH DUBAR AND CRAIG WERE SURPRISED BY DOE'S REQUEST BECAUSE THE EXECUTIVE MANSION HAD BEGUN TO BYPASS THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE AND TAKEN OVER CONTROL OF ALL MILITARY OPERATIONAL PLANNING.

2. DOE APPEARED TO BE IN A GOOD MOOD UPON THE ARRIVAL OF THE MILITARY OFFICIALS. DOE TOLD THE MILITARY OFFICIALS THAT HE WANTED TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA (NPFL) FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH RATHER THAN WEAKNESS; THUS, HE NEEDED SEVERAL MILITARY VICTORIES DURING THE NEXT FEW DAYS TO SLOW DOWN THE REBELS, POSSIBLY CALL FOR EARLY ELECTIONS, AND THEN START NEGOTIATING WITH THE REBELS. (COMMENT: BASED ON DOE'S REMARKS, HE SEEMED TO BE SERIOUS ABOUT CALLING FOR EARLY ELECTIONS.)

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3. THE MILITARY OFFICIALS PRESENTED DOE WITH THE FOLLOWING OPERATIONAL PLAN. ON 27 JUNE AN UNDETERMINED NUMBER OF EXECUTIVE MANSION GUARD (EMG) SOLDIERS AND TWO PLATOONS OF SOLDIERS (APPROXIMATELY 25 MEN) FROM THE 6TH BATTALION WOULD ATTACK THE REBELS AT CAREYSBURG (06-24N, 10-24W). THIS UNIT WOULD SECURE BENSONVILLE (06-26N, 10-36W), CROZIERSVILLE, AND CALDWELL (06-27N, 10-38W). THE AFL ALSO PLANNED TO SEND A UNIT TO WHITE PLAINS (06-27N, 10-40W) BECAUSE OF CONCERN THAT THE REBELS MIGHT ATTEMPT TO CUT OFF THE WATER SUPPLY THAT FEEDS MONROVIA. (COMMENT: THE WATER FILTRATION PLANT AND PUMPING STATION FOR MONROVIA ARE LOCATED AT WHITE PLAINS AND CONSIDERED TO BE OF GREATER IMPORTANCE THAN THE HYDRO-ELECTRIC

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MSGNO 19 (TDXX) ALL *27/06/90* *20:08*
 PLANT AT THE MOUNT COFFEE DAM COMPLEX (06-31N, 10-39W). IF THE
 HYDRO-ELECTRIC PLANT IS CUT OFF, THE LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT COULD STILL
 SUPPLY ELECTRICITY AND WATER THROUGH THE LOKE PLANT LOCATED ON
 BUSHROD ISLAND (06-21N, 10-47W) VIA WHITE PLAINS TO MONROVIA. THIS
 PLANT HAS THE CAPACITY OF GENERATING AT LEAST 35 MEGAWATTS OF
 ELECTRICITY WHICH WOULD ALLOW THE WHITE PLAINS FACILITY TO CONTINUE
 TO FUNCTION AND SUPPLY ENOUGH ELECTRICITY TO RUN THE MANSION AND ALL
 ESSENTIAL SERVICES IN MONROVIA. HOWEVER, IF THE REBELS SUCCEEDED IN
 CAPTURING THE WHITE PLAINS FACILITY, THEY COULD, IN ESSENCE, CUT OFF
 THE ENTIRE WATER SUPPLY TO MONROVIA.)

4. THE AFL ALSO PLANS TO LAUNCH A MAJOR OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE
 REBELS ON 30 JUNE. THE AFL WILL UTILIZE ONE BATTALION COMPRISED OF
 SOLDIERS DETAILED FROM THE OTHER BATTALIONS. THE OBJECTIVE OF THIS
 OFFENSIVE IS TO RETAKE KAKATA (06-32N, 10-21W) AND BONG MINE (06-49N,
 10-20W). THE AFL HAS RECEIVED REPORTS THAT THE REBELS IN THESE AREAS
 ARE IN DISARRAY AND THE TIMING WOULD BE RIGHT TO CONDUCT SUCH AN
 OPERATION

5. [REDACTED] THE MILITARY OPERATIONAL PLANNING FOR 27 (b)(1)
 JUNE AND THE MAJOR OFFENSIVE SET FOR 30 JUNE MAY BE ALTERED FOLLOWING (b)(3)
 THE 27 JUNE CIVIL DISTURBANCES IN MONROVIA.)

[REDACTED] (b)(3)

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**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA**

JANE W, in her individual capacity, and in her capacity as the personal representative of the estates of her relatives, James W, Julie W and Jen W;

JOHN X, in his individual capacity, and in his capacity as the personal representative of the estates of his relatives, Jane X, Julie X, James X and Joseph X;

JOHN Y, in his individual capacity;

AND JOHN Z, in his individual capacity,

Plaintiffs,

v.

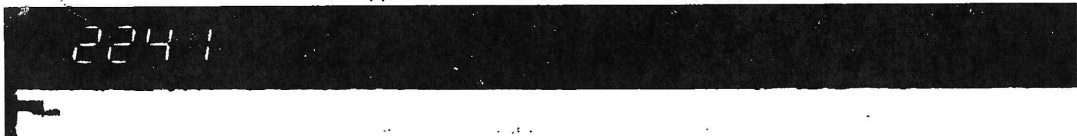
MOSES W. THOMAS,

Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

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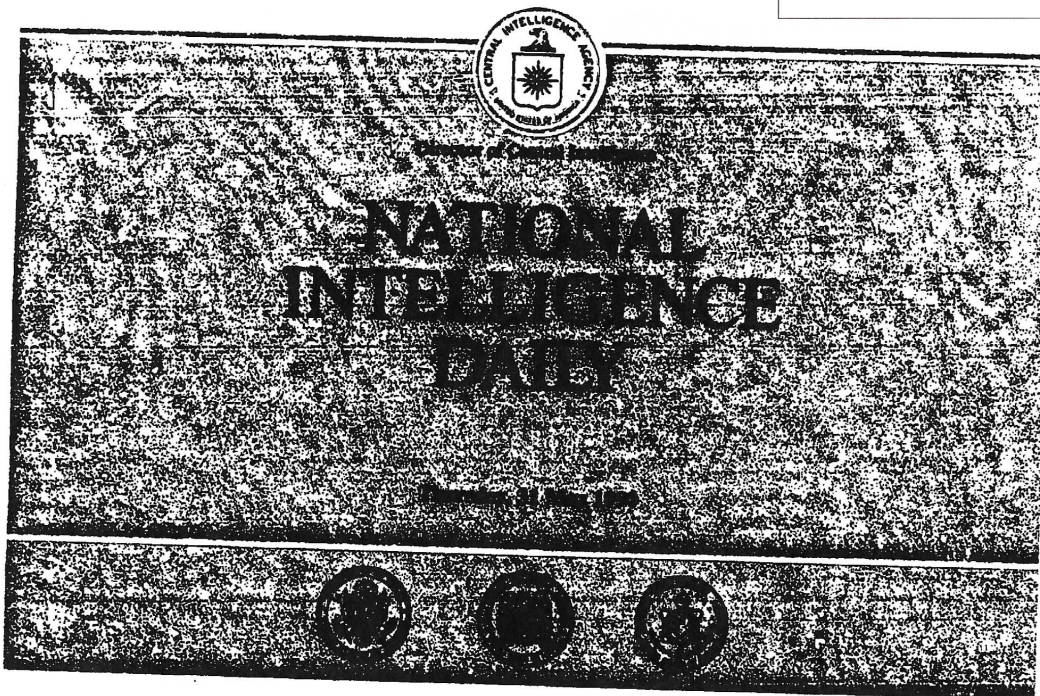
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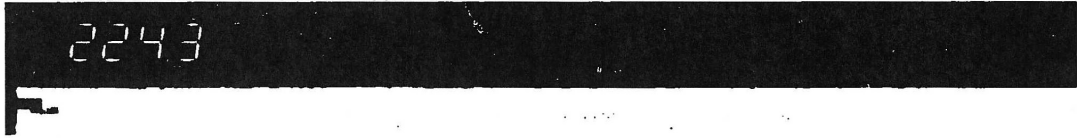


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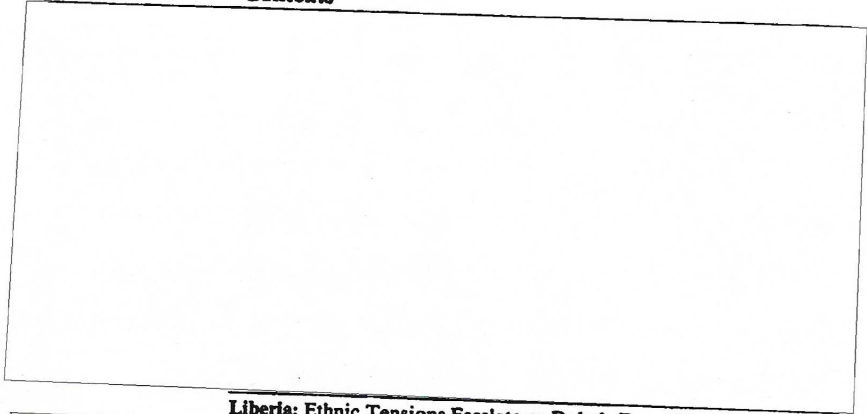


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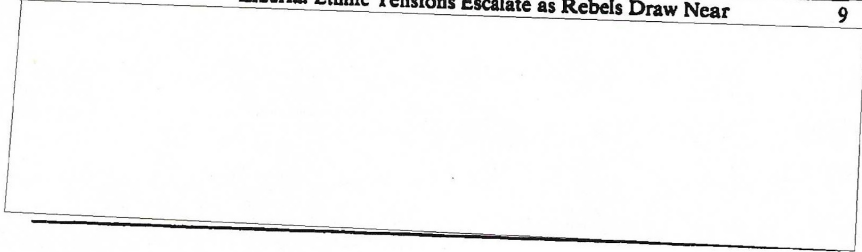
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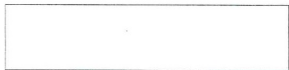
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Liberia: Ethnic Tensions Escalate as Rebels Draw Near

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LIBERIA: Ethnic Tensions Escalate as Rebels Draw Near

Armed soldiers ransacked the UN Development Program compound in Monrovia Tuesday night, terrorizing several hundred Gio and Mano civilians seeking refuge there. Four individuals were shot, one of whom died. About 30 people were abducted, and some probably have been killed. The UNDP has decided to close its offices and evacuate remaining UN personnel. At least five other civilians were killed in separate incidents, including the son of a prominent senator from Nimba County. Meanwhile, [Redacted] the rebels have retained control of Buchanan: the town is calm [Redacted]

(b)(1)
(b)(3)

Comment: The UNDP's departure from Monrovia probably will put added pressure on US Embassy officials to take an active role in protecting Gio and Mano civilians against further abuses, exposing the US to charges of abetting rebel sympathizers. Liberian citizens are likely to increasingly seek refuge at the US Embassy and Voice of America compounds. The army probably will have difficulty launching another attack on Buchanan. The insurgents' recent strategy of engaging the army on several fronts by attacking Kakata and Buchanan simultaneously appears to have spread government troops thin, allowing the rebels to regain the initiative. [Redacted]

(b)(3)

~~Top Secret~~

TCS 2826/90
31 May 1990

[Redacted]

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Defendant.

Case No. 2:18-CV-00569-PBT

EXHIBIT XXX

EXHIBIT XXX

EYEWITNESS: Mark Huband in Monrovia

The Guardian, 6 July 1990

A NIGHT of terror gripped Monrovia on Wednesday as soldiers ransacked shops under cover of a curfew only hours after the army chief fled. Sixteen bodies were later discovered.

Troops shot their way into shops, warehouses and restaurants, and emptied the shelves in the early hours of yesterday. Rebels fought with troops in the city's eastern and western suburbs for a fourth consecutive day.

Food shortages in the city forced people to beg for rice. "Give us food, we are dying," one man said. As morning broke, frightened Monrovia's ventured out.

Soldiers continued to roam the streets in stolen cars, firing in the air to frighten people and keep them back while they looted. The only vehicles on the streets were driven by soldiers who left dead and wounded civilians by the roadside.

A man with three bullet wounds bled for four hours in the city's main waterfront market, despite pleas to soldiers to carry him to the hospital. Monrovia's main John F. Kennedy Hospital, which like the rest of the city has been without water and power for more than a week, has been abandoned by doctors and nurses and most of its patients.

Soldiers fired on fishermen in canoes off the coast, claiming they were transporting rebels of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia. The rebels have tightened their grip on the city and are between three and ten miles from the fortified mansion of President Samuel Doe.

Shipping sources said 250,000 tons of rice bound for the stricken city is on board a ship, the *Sea Star*, which is steaming nervously among US Navy ships off Monrovia. The captain refused to re-enter the port after the ship was pilfered when it moored at Monrovia last week. The sources also said that 5,000 tons of rice had been landed at the rebel-held port of Buchanan. The British-owned *Rizcup Enterprise* was hijacked with the rice on board by rebels off Monrovia last week.

Health workers said young children and old people in Buchanan risked dying of starvation.

A small rice cargo also arrived at Buchanan yesterday on board the *Lindt*. The combined cargoes were expected to provide food for two months for the thousands of residents and refugees in and around the city.

Thousands of displaced people have arrived in the last two months at the Liberian Agricultural Company rubber plantation, 20 miles north of Buchanan. Monrovia's food shortage has forced people to forage for leaves and roots.

The rebels now control all roads into Monrovia and fought troops eight miles from President Doe's mansion. President Doe said on Tuesday that he would resign if his safety and that of his Krahn tribe were guaranteed.

President Doe's henchman, Lieut-General Charles Julu, left the country on Wednesday. President Doe has been deserted by most of his advisers as the rebels tightened their grip on the capital. General Julu, head of President Doe's executive mansion guard, led army troops against an uprising in northern Liberia in 1985 when more than 2,000 civilians were killed.

Soldiers looted even the main government stores, the General Services Agency, which the rebel leader, Charles Taylor, ran before fleeing to escape fraud charges. They dragged a motorist from his car outside the agency building and shot him, witnesses said.

In a pooled despatch by radio from Monrovia

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EXHIBIT YYY

EXHIBIT YYY

Liberia: AFL Soldiers Committed Lutheran Church Massacre

Monrovia — Soldiers of the Armed Forces of Liberia committed the July 29, 1990 St. Peter's Lutheran Church Massacre, Boi Bleeju Boi, a former officer of the army said.

Self-styled General Bleeju Boi, former vice chairman of the defunct rebel Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) said he was convinced that the AFL committed the massacre because the army controlled the area where the church is located.

Mr. Boi, also spokesman of the former MODEL group said that the failure of the government of President Samuel Kanyon Doe and the AFL high command to take punitive actions against the perpetrators following the massacre further convinced him that the killings were committed by the army.

He said that it was impossible for rebel enemy forces to have infiltrated areas controlled by the army, carry out the massacre and escape without the notice of the army.

Gen. Bleeju Boi, who was a major in the AFL during the massacre was testifying Monday at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia ongoing Thematic and Institutional Inquiry Public Hearing on the Contemporary History of the Conflict at the Centennial Memorial Pavilion in Monrovia.

Mr. Boi added that the stretch of territories within which the Lutheran Church is located was controlled by units of the AFL under the command of Captain Yonbu Tailey. He said that elements within the AFL must have carried out the massacre.

Hundreds of men, women and children who had taken refuge in the church were massacred on Sunday, July 29, 1990.

Witnesses said the slayings were carried out by troops loyal to then President Samuel K. Doe, whose government was under a ferocious rebel siege in the capital.

Initial reports put the death toll at 200 to 300 but witnesses said at least 600 refugees were killed. Survivors of the attack said Government troops had broken into the Church, in Sinkor and killed men, women, children and babies with knives, guns and cutlasses.

They said a group of 30 soldiers firing machine guns had broken the door and fired point blank at some of the 2,000 refugees who had been there since rebel forces reached the capital.

Under the theme: "Understanding the Conflict Through its Principal Events and Actors," the ongoing hearings are addressing the root causes of the conflict, including its military and political dimensions.

The hearings are focused on events between 1979 and 2003 and the national and external actors that helped to shape those events.

Former Warlord Demands War Crimes Tribunal - Boi Bleeju Boi At TRC

The first former Liberian warlord to recommend the establishment of a war crimes tribunal told commissioners of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) their work would be a waste if crimes against humanity committed during the civil conflict are not prosecuted.

Then self style General Boi Bleeju Boi, vice chair and spokesman of the defunct Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) contended that there can be no peace in Liberia without prosecutions of those who committed heinous crimes against civilians.

"The voices of those innocent persons killed during the civil war are crying out loud for justice. We must establish a war crimes tribunal here in Liberia. We need justice in this country," the former warlord said Monday while answering commissioners' questions.

Mr. Boi was testifying at the TRC ongoing Thematic and Institutional Inquiry Public Hearing on the Contemporary History of the Conflict at the Centennial Memorial Pavilion in Monrovia.

He said without the establishment of a war crimes court in Liberia, the peace and security of the country will not be preserved. Mr. Boi demanded that those who committed crimes against humanity during the country's civil conflict must one day have their day in court.

"The can be no genuine peace and security in Liberia without justice. Our people were killed during this conflict and they are continuously crying for justice. That's why I continue to advocate for the creation of a war crimes court here. There can be no genuine peace without justice."

He said that there can be no reconciliation in Liberia without justice for those who committed heinous crimes against humanity.

Mr. Boi said that opportunit afforded key military actors through the TRC process was being abuse due to their boastfulness and arrogance before the commission and hence the only remedy now was prosecution.

Under the theme: "Understanding the Conflict Through its Principal Events and Actors," the ongoing hearings are addressing the root causes of the conflict, including its military and political dimensions.

The hearings are focused on events between 1979 and 2003 and the national and external actors that helped to shape those events.

The TRC was agreed upon in the August 2003 peace agreement and created by the TRC Act of 2005. The TRC was established to "promote national peace, security, unity and reconciliation," and at the same time make it possible to hold perpetrators accountable for gross human rights violations and violations of international humanitarian law that occurred in Liberia between January 1979 and October 2003.

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TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

Volume II:

**CONSOLIDATED
FINAL REPORT**

JUNE 30, 2009.

i

Volume Two

EXHIBIT ZZZ

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Truth & Reconciliation Commission of Liberia
Continental Realty Building
9th Street, Sinkor,
Tobman Blvd.,
Monrovia - Liberia

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Volume II: Consolidated Final Report

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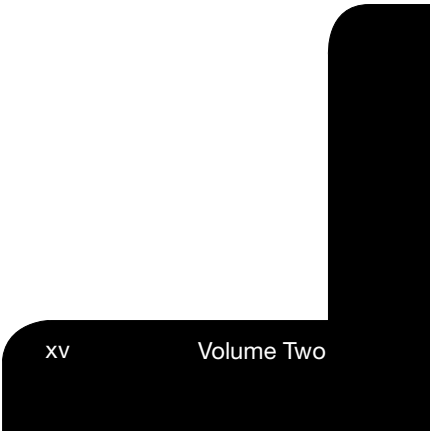
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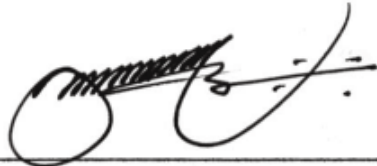
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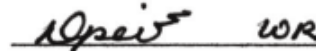


We, Commissioners of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia having taken oath to honestly and conscientiously serve the people of Liberia through the faithful execution of the mandate of the Liberian people entrusted to us by the TRC Act, with the power and authority in us vested do hereby submit our final report to the Government and people of Liberia this 30th day of June A.D. 2009.

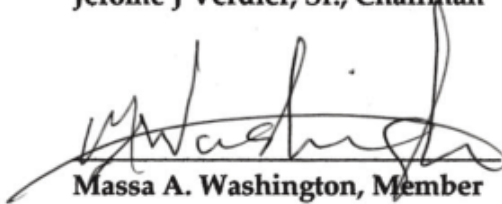
In Testimony of the fulfillment of our duties and responsibilities under the aforesaid Act, we hereby affix our signatures as below on this 29th day of June A.D. 2009.



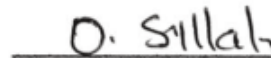
Jerome J. Verdier, Sr., Chairman



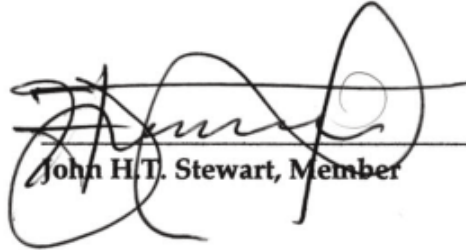
Dede A. Dolopei, Vice Chair



Massa A. Washington, Member



Oumu Syllah, Treasurer



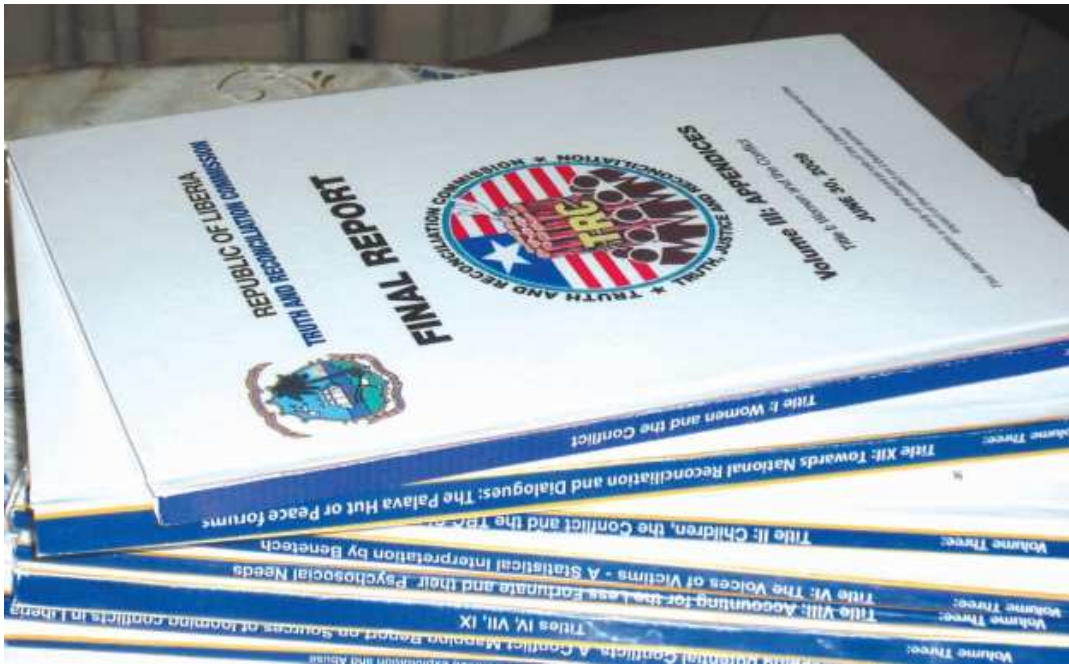
John H. T. Stewart, Member



Gerald B. Coleman, Member

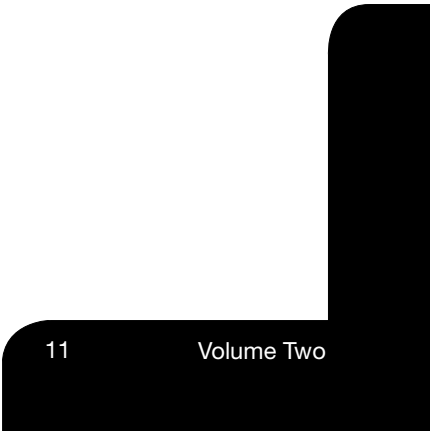
Note:

Two Commissioners, Pearl Brown Bull and Sheikh Kafumba Konneh, did not sign this report for reasons stated in what they have invariably and separately described as "dissenting opinions" in the local media, even though there is no provision in the TRC Act (2005) for such appendage. For this reason, the commission neither received copies nor was it privy to the said dissent as it was never discussed at the Commission and as such does not form part of the records of the Commission, for which reason also no reference is made of same in this report.



1

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



1.0. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Liberia (TRC) was established at the end of the peace conference in Accra, Ghana when the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed by all parties to the conflict including the international community as guarantors, in August 2003. This was for Liberia, its first period of calm and relative peace following 14 years of civil war and violent armed conflict.

Under the CPA sitting President Charles Taylor stepped down and departed Liberia into exile paving way for a two year Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) headed by Chairman Gyude Bryant. In June 2005, the National Transitional Legislative Assembly enacted the TRC Act into law. National Elections were held in November 2005 and President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected, sealing a long period of conflict and creating the space for national reckoning. The elected President inaugurated the nine-member Truth and Reconciliation Commission in February 2006 and the Commission was launched to commence its operations on June 22, 2006.

Since the launching in June 2006, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, for the last three years, worked tirelessly to fulfill its mandate in the face of mounting administrative, operational, financial and human resource challenges. This occasioned a slow start of the Commission's work in the first year till July 2007 when activities of the Commission resumed uninterrupted to present. Pursuant to its mandate, the Commission conducted public awareness campaigns, collected thousands of witness testimonies and held public hearings in all 15 counties of Liberia as well as in the Diaspora.

1.1 Mandate of the TRC

With the goal to promote national peace, security, unity and reconciliation, the TRC mandate principally contained in Art. IV, Section 4 of the TRC Act was to foster truth, justice and reconciliation by identifying the root causes of the conflict, and determining those who are responsible for committing domestic and international crimes against the Liberian people as follows:

1. Document and investigate the massive wave of human rights violations that occurred in Liberia during the period January 1979 – October 2003;
2. Establish the root causes of the conflict and create a forum to address issues of impunity;
3. Identify victims and perpetrators of the conflict;

4. Establish a forum to facilitate constructive interchange between victims and perpetrators to recount their experiences in order to foster healing and reconciliation;
5. Investigate economic crimes and other forms of human rights violations and determine whether these violations were part of a systematic and deliberate pattern of violations or isolated events of violations;
6. Conducting a critical review of Liberia's historical past to acknowledge historical antecedents to the conflict and correct historical falsehood;
7. Adopt specific mechanisms to address the experiences of women and children;
8. Make recommendations to the Government of Liberia for prosecution, reparation, amnesty, reconciliation and institutional reforms where appropriate to promote the rule of law and combat impunity; and
9. Compile a report and submit same to the Government and People of Liberia;

1.2 Background to the Founding of Liberia

Liberia is located on the Atlantic coast of West Africa and encompasses a territory of 43,000 square miles. The country shares borders with Sierra Leone to the northwest, Guinea to the northeast, and Côte d'Ivoire to the southeast. Liberia's 15 counties correspond to territories historically claimed by particular Liberian indigenous ethnic groups. English is the official language of Liberia, although more than 20 indigenous languages and a form of English known as Liberian English are also in daily use.

The modern nation of Liberia, as it exists today, was partly shaped by the transatlantic slave trade to the United States. In the early 1800s, a group of prominent white Americans developed a plan to return freed blacks to Africa. Beginning in 1822, freeborn black Americans, freed slaves of African descent, and Africans freed from captured slave ships (Congo people) were settled by the American Colonization Society on lands which later became Liberia. This group of a few thousand settlers, never more than 5% of the Liberian population, became known as Americo-Liberians. They dominated the political, economic, social and cultural life of the nation for over a century.

While Liberia has often been hailed as one of the only African nations never to be colonized, the historical facts are more complex. The settlements of repatriated Africans were in fact, governed by white American agents of the American Colonization Society

for the first several years of their existence. Although the U.S. government funded much of the American Colonization Society's efforts, it was clear that the United States never intended to formally establish itself as a colonial power in Liberia. Liberia became a sovereign nation under Americo-Liberian rule in 1847. The indigenous inhabitants of the territory claimed for Liberia were largely antagonistic to the establishment of the Liberian nation. In fact, the American Colonization Society, and later the fledgling Liberian government, was at war with various indigenous tribes over territory and trade routes throughout the 1800s. Liberia's complex history created a "state of contestation" which remains today a major source of conflict and disunity.

1.3 History of the Conflict in Liberia

Liberia developed into a relatively stable oligarchy through the 1800s and mid 1900s. By the 1970s, however, tension within Liberia was escalating. Riots broke out in 1979 in the capital city of Monrovia. In 1980, a military coup took place, resulting in the murder of the president, the summary execution of 13 government ministers, and the installation of Samuel Doe, an army master sergeant, as the new national leader. Doe ruled the country for the next decade. In 1985, Thomas Quiwonkpa, a fellow coup maker with Doe in 1980, led a band of armed militia in a failed bid to oust Doe, plunging the country into further turmoil. In 1989, Charles Taylor and his National Patriotic Front of Liberia invaded from Côte d'Ivoire, setting off intermittent civil war that raged until 2003, involved more than 10 rebel factions, and engulfed the Mano River basin.

As Liberia began to establish itself as a new nation, a small number of Americo-Liberian families and their patronage networks dominated all aspects of national life that is government, economy, the security sector, commerce, and social advancement. They acquired land and extended their influence and authority deeper into the interior from the coast by force and other coercive methods of the settlers' Government which grew from colony to commonwealth and then statehood 25 years later in 1847.

The Government in Liberia was the domain of the True Whig Party for well over a century. Although other political parties existed, opposition to True Whig Party dominance was systematically oppressed. Control of the Liberian territory and the indigenous people who inhabited it was established by the brute force of the Liberian Frontier Force (LFF) which later became the Liberian National Guard and then the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL).

Commerce with the outside world was centrally controlled by the Monrovia-based government, whose oligarchic governance structure led to an excessive concentration of power in the presidency. Lack of education and other opportunities for those of non-Americo-Liberian origin, and impunity for corruption and systematic human rights

abuses were attributes of the Monrovia hegemony composed of the few families that controlled the wealth of the nation.

The administrations of Presidents William V.S Tubman and William R. Tolbert, Jr. sought to reach out to the indigenous peoples and increase their involvement in government and society and thereby opening limited access to economic and other opportunities for self actualization. Their efforts, however, were perceived by many to be insufficient and their respective administrations perceived to be corrupt. In 1979, it was widely believed that President Tolbert planned to raise the price of rice so that he or his family could benefit economically. This led to protests and demonstrations, known as the "April 14 Rice Riots." The brutality with which the security forces quashed the Rice Riots with the help of foreign troops from Guinea, further entrenched the socio-economic and ethnic disparity in the Liberian society. Many perceived the civil unrest of 1979 as the beginning of the long-running civil crisis that engulfed Liberia.

Liberia is a country with significant natural resources, including timber, gold, diamonds and rubber. Historically, Liberian people have not been the primary beneficiaries of these natural resources. Rather, these resources have served the interests of a very small number of Liberians (relatives or cronies of the elites) and non-Liberians, seeking to reap benefits for themselves. The concentration of state power among a few influential families meant that the business of governance served the interest of businesses controlled by those families and their networks. Special deals were reached with a multitude of foreign business interests, most notably the lease of one million acres of land on highly favorable terms to the Firestone Rubber Company, which led to the creation of the world's largest rubber plantation. In 1920, the True Whig Party forcibly recruited workers for the Firestone plantation and other projects through its Labor Bureau and the Liberian Frontier Force, which would mete out harsh punishment to any indigenous leaders unable or unwilling to supply workers. Such practices led to a League of Nations investigation and the resignation of one Liberian president and his vice President. Labor practices at Firestone remain to this day the subject of discontent and ongoing litigation in the U.S.

With the lack of opportunities for economic advancement, corruption and the abuse of power spread to virtually all sectors of the Liberian government; corruption became endemic across ministries, the security forces, civil service, and judiciary that it has created a popular perception that if one doesn't steal public resources and monies when in government, he is considered stupid. On the other hand, corrupt officials who steal and bask in affluence to extend their influence in society are well respected and honored annually by social and religious institutions as "honorable" and "good citizens" and "personalities of the year" because of their "benevolence and valuable contribution to society".

Liberians have had little faith in judicial institutions to protect their interests or fundamental rights. Inadequate compensation for judicial officers, and the influence of Liberian patrimonial governance structures subjected the judiciary to political, social, familial and financial pressures. In addition, corruption and abuse of power in the security forces went unchecked by the judiciary and the state, leading to further deterioration of the rule of law. Persistent deterioration in the rule of law over the years and a history of pervasive illicit enrichment frustrated those seeking true democratic change in Liberia, and led some to advocate the use of force to attain change. These entrenched aspects of life in Liberia exacerbated behavior during the civil conflict. Vigilantism became widespread, as combatants and indigenous victims of the spoils system used their newfound power to seek revenge for past losses and wanton abuse of power. Looting and theft of property from those perceived as having benefited from the system of illicit enrichment was also commonly reported to the TRC and wide spread during the conflict.

1.4. Findings and Determinations

Findings: Professor Svend E. Holsoe employed the term “Troubled Boundaries” in reference to the root causes of the Liberian conflict; describing them as the basis for the outbreak of violence and social discontent in the Liberian society which, may best be categorized into antecedent, immediate, and remote causes.

Root Causes of the Conflict: Liberians identified the following as contributory elements in setting the stage for the conflict in Liberia as well as exacerbating the conflict; leading to loss of life and the destruction of the Liberian nation:

1. Poverty. Governance, it’s over centralization and the oppressive dominance of the Americo-Liberian oligarchy over the indigenous peoples of Liberia rights and culture.
2. The lack of any permanent or appropriate mechanism for the settlement of disputes, the judiciary being historically weak and unreliable.
3. Duality of the Liberian political, social and legal systems which polarizes and widens the disparities between the Liberian peoples – a chasm between settler Liberia and indigenous Liberia.
4. Ethnicity and the divisive clustering of the “peoples” of Liberia.
5. Entrenched political and social system founded on privilege, patronage, politicization of the military and endemic corruption which created limited

access to education and justice, economic and social opportunities and amenities.

6. Unfair discrimination against women and denial of their rightful place in society as equal partners.
7. Historical disputes over land acquisition, distribution and accessibility.
8. Lack of clarity and understanding of Liberia's history including its history of conflicts.
9. Identity and the crisis of identity engender disunity and undermine Liberian patriotism and sense of nationhood.
10. The gradual breakdown of the family and loss of its traditional value system.

Additional Findings:

1. The conflict in Liberia has its origin in the history and founding of the modern Liberian State.
2. All factions to the Liberian conflict committed, and are responsible for the commission of egregious domestic law violations, and violations of international criminal law, international human rights law and international humanitarian law, including war crimes violations.
3. All factions engaged in the armed conflict, violated, degraded, abused and denigrated, committed sexual and gender based violence against women including rape, sexual slavery, forced marriages, and other dehumanizing forms of violations;
4. Both individual and community reparation is a duty and obligation of the state, to promote justice and genuine reconciliation.
5. Where in the determination of responsibility IHRL, IHL, ICL, do not apply domestic criminal law statutes will apply.
6. No faction in particular instituted – in some cases to a very limited extent-adequate mechanisms to avoid or mitigate massive violations of human rights that characterized the conflict.
7. All factions and other armed groups recruited and used children during

periods of armed conflicts.

8. Non-derogation of rights during periods of emergency or armed conflict applies to the Liberian conflict situation and as guaranteed by the Constitution of Liberia and international instruments.
9. Prosecution of certain individuals and other forms of justice, including public sanctions, is sine qua non to sustaining the fight against impunity, and the promotion of justice, and genuine reconciliation.
10. Common Article 3 and Protocol II of the Geneva Convention, having been ratified by the Government of Liberia apply to Liberia.
11. Liberia was engulfed in armed conflict from December 1989 to 1996; from 1999 to August 2003;
12. Preponderance of evidence along with public information (notoriety) is an appropriate evidentiary standard of proof appropriate to the work of the TRC, considering that it is neither a criminal nor prosecuting institution.
13. Massacres, economic crimes, extra-judicial killings, for example, fall within the ambit of IHRL and IHL.
14. The New Penal Code of Liberia will apply as to mercenarism, official oppression, murder, kidnapping, rape, sexual assault, fraud in the internal revenue of Liberia, theft and/or illegal disbursement and expenditure of public money, counterfeiting, and misuse of public money, property or record.
15. Gross Human Rights Violations (GHRV) are generally, but not exclusively, committed by state actors, and may take place during times of peace or armed conflict, and can be directed against individuals or a group of individuals.
16. Lack of human rights culture and education, depravation and over a century of state suppression and insensitivity, and wealth acclamation by a privileged few created a debased conscience for massive rights violations during the conflict thus engendering a culture of violence as a means to an end; with an entrenched culture of impunity.
17. External State Actors in Africa, North America and Europe, participated, supported, aided, abetted, conspired and instigated violence, war and

regime change against constituted authorities in Liberia and against the people of Liberia for political, economic and foreign policy advantages or gains.

18. Significantly, more sexual and gender based crimes committed against women were under-reported to the TRC through its formal processes for reasons of insecurity, stigma, etc

Determinations: Consistent with inquiry findings, the TRC determines that:

1. All warring factions are responsible for the commission of gross human rights violations in Liberia, including war crimes, crimes against humanity, IHRL, IHL, ICL, domestic criminal laws.
2. Prosecution in a court of competent jurisdiction and other forms of public sanctions are appropriate mechanisms to promote the ends of justice, peace and security, foster genuine national reconciliation and combat impunity.
3. The massive wave of gross violations and atrocities which, characterized the conflict, assumed a systematic pattern of abuse, wanton in their execution, and was the product of deliberate planning; organized and orchestrated to achieve a military or political objective; disregarding the rights of noncombatants, children, women, the elderly, disarmed or surrendered enemy combatants, etc.
4. All factions to the conflict systematically targeted women, mainly as a result of their gender, and committed sexual and gender based violations against them, including rape of all forms, sexual slavery, forced marriages, forced recruitment, abduction, etc.
5. Reparation is a responsibility of the state and development partners as a long term peace investment to redress the gross violations of human rights committed against victim communities and individuals, especially women and children, to help restore their human dignity, foster healing and closure, as well as justice, and genuine reconciliation.
6. Children are entitled to general amnesty for crimes committed during their minority. General amnesty for crimes lesser than gross violations will also contribute to fostering national healing and reconciliation.
7. IHRL, IHL, ICL, and Liberian domestic criminal statutes are applicable in establishing accountability for crimes committed during the mandatory

period of the TRC work.

8. Reform of public institutions and certain policies will promote peace, security, national reconciliation, good governance and human rights; reduce poverty and alleviate illiteracy, create opportunities for all, as well as to guarantee that, the experiences and horror of the conflict will not be repeated.
9. While the TRC will not recommend general amnesty, except as provided in Count 6 above, the Commission however determines that all individuals who cooperated with the TRC and admitted their wrongs and spoke truthfully before or to the TRC as an expression of remorse will not be recommended for prosecution.
10. Recommendations for further investigations into other matters which were subject of the TRC inquiry, but remain incomplete up to the expiration of its tenure in June 2009, will be made.
11. Liberians in the Diaspora are as much Liberians as those at home; they continue to be engaged with developments on the homefront, supported and financed warring factions as an instrument for regime change; they equally promoted and advocated an end to the war. Having heard their voices, issues and concerns raised by them must be addressed in fostering greater national reconciliation.
12. The TRC determines that individuals, entities or groups involved in a joint criminal enterprise or conspiracy, which planned, instigated, ordered, commanded, aided or abetted in the planning, preparation or execution of any crime within its mandate, including economic crimes, are liable and responsible for the crimes so committed.
13. The TRC determines that the following armed groups, rebel groups or warring factions and their financiers, leaders, commanders, combatants and advisors etc. associated with them, are responsible for committing 'egregious' domestic crimes, 'gross' violations of human rights and 'serious' humanitarian law violations including economic crime in Liberia between January 1979 and October 14, 2003.

These groups are categorized into two with equal culpability: (1) Significant Violator Groups; (2) Less Significant Violator Groups; and (3) military institutions drawn into conflict by their defensive and offensive postures. The distinction between them relates solely to the number of reported

violations against them. The specific crimes and total reported violations committed by these armed groups, rebel groups or warring factions and the financiers, leaders, commanders, combatants and advisors etc. associated with them are detailed in other sections of this report.

I. Significant Violator Groups

- i. National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL)
- ii. Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD)
- iii. Liberian Peace Council (LPC)
- iv. Militia
- v. Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL)
- vi. United Liberation Movement (ULIMO)
- vii. Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL)
- viii. Unknown
- ix. United Liberation Movement-K (ULIMO K)
- x. Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL)
- xi. United Liberation Movement-J (ULIMO J)
- xii. Anti-Terrorist Unity (ATU)

II. Less Significant Violator Groups

- i. Vigilantes
- ii. Lofa Defense Force (LDF)
- iii. Liberian National Police
- iv. Special Operation Division of the Liberian National Police (SOD)
- v. Revolutionary United Front (RUF)
- vi. Special Anti-Terrorist Unit (SATU)
- vii. Special Security Unit (SSU)
- viii. Special Security Service (SSS)
- ix. National Security Agency (NSA)
- x. National Bureau of Investigation (NBI)
- xi. Criminal Investment Division (CID)
- xii. Rapid Response Unit (RRU)

Military Institutions Drawn into Conflict by Their Defensive and Offensive Postures

- i. ECOMOG
- ii. Black Beret

1.5. RECOMMENDATIONS

The TRC makes general and specific recommendations consistent with the dictates of its mandate; with the leading objective to promote national peace, unity, security and reconciliation. Recommendations cover such subjects as reparation, amnesty, prosecution in a specialized Liberian Criminal Court, public sanctions and a Palava Hut peace building mechanism to foster peace dialogue and rebuild broken relationships in fostering national reconciliation, and healing beginning at the grass roots.

1.5.1 Recommendations to the People of Liberia

TRC recommends to the people of Liberia that they maintain abiding faith in the potential of the Liberian Nation to rise beyond the current dilemma and work assiduously for the implementation of all the recommendations of the TRC.

That the people of Liberia begin to adopt positive attitudes and change the old mind sets in how we view ourselves as an African nation, breakdown the social, economic, and cultural barriers, that keep the nation apart, and envision a new Liberia founded on equal rights and mutual respect for the cultural values of all Liberians, and equal opportunities for all.

1.5.2 Recommendations to the Government of Liberia

The TRC recommends to the Government of Liberia, the full and timely implementation of all the recommendations contained in this report. The full and timely implementation of these recommendations are critical to Liberia's recovery and progress beyond the conflict and will contribute to the building of a more just and equitable society in which everyone is equal before one set of laws which guarantees equal protection and opportunity for all.

The wide range of recommendations directed to the Government of Liberia and more specifically, the President of Liberia, include guaranteeing to women, children and other vulnerable populations, the full enjoyment of their social, economic and cultural rights, in addition to civil and political rights.

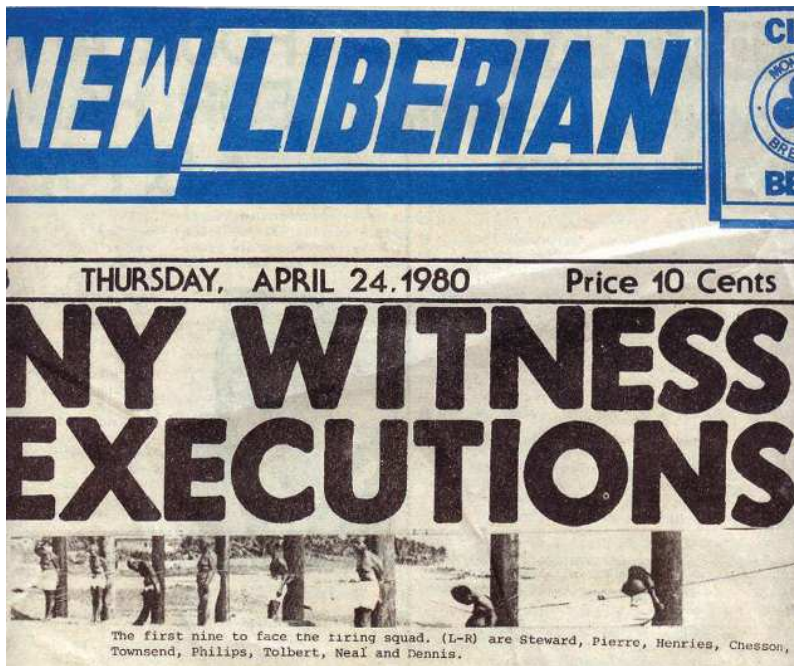
Recommendations to the Government also include the full range of mandated recommendations of the TRC Act; to include reparations, justice and reconciliation mechanisms, institutional reforms, governance, issues of the Diaspora, national integrity and corruption, the National Human Rights Commission, etc

1.5.3 Recommendations to the International Community

The TRC is recommending to the International community, continued and considered long term security engagement with Liberia and the sub region until such time that Liberia's security infrastructure is reliable and stable.

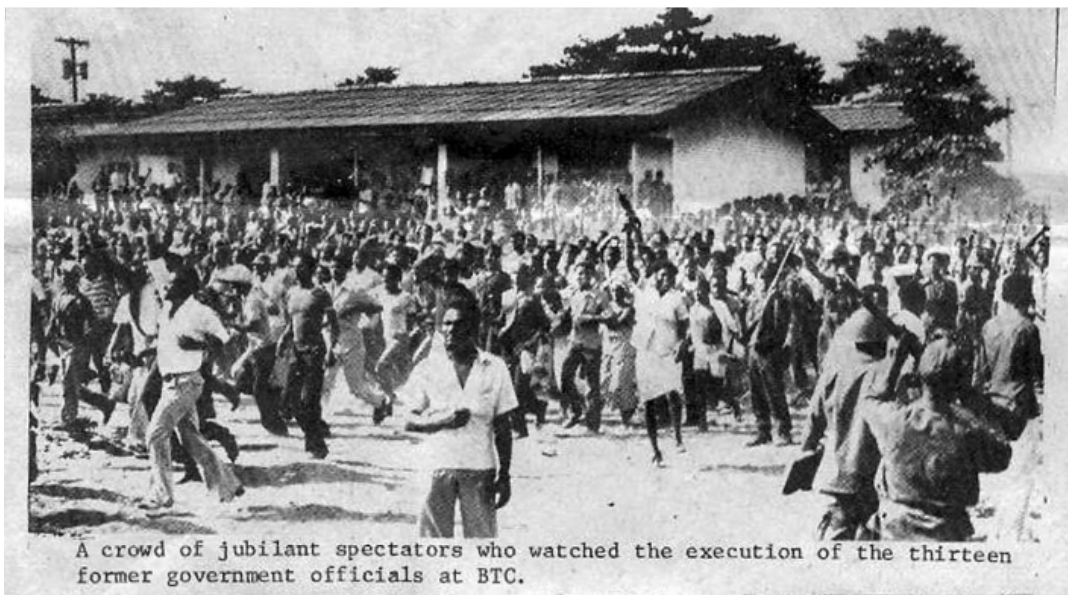
The TRC is also recommending to the international community to reconsider peacekeeping objectives and the modus operandi for negotiating peace agreements, which will assign high premium on human rights, public integrity and increased investment in conflict prevention over conflict resolution and support for implementation of TRC recommendations.

The TRC is recommending also the creation of permanent conflict prevention and early warning mechanisms that will afford aggrieved citizens the opportunity to place their grievances before an international body when certain benchmarks for peace and democracy are not maintained by their governments. This serves to invoke international involvement as an alternative to violent actions and protest in pursuit of regime change.



6

POST WORLD WAR II LIBERIA (1944 - 1979)



message across the young and restless populations of Liberia, especially the swelling ranks of the poor, illiterate and disenfranchised, but also to cultivate the support of the disgruntled and disenchanted members of the AFL. The Marcus Garvey School in Monrovia, which was eventually shut down by the Government for “teaching socialist materials” was a place of academic training and consciousness for members of the AFL at night by volunteer teachers - members of MOJA. Coupled with this were the appalling state of infrastructure and the gruesome lack of it, in most parts of the country. Schools, electricity, safe drinking water, healthcare and other basic amenities were simply either nonexistent or in extremely poor state in the greater part of Liberia.

6.3. The Military Interregnum: Highlights of the Second Republic (1980 – 1990)

On the morning **April 12, 1980** seventeen enlisted men and non commissioned officers of the Armed Forces of Liberia marched on the Official residence of the President, the Executive Mansion, where President Tolbert was sleeping and shot him in the head; killing several others on their forward march to the President’s bedroom. The soldiers, most of who were involved with the illicit diamond trade to supplement their meager incomes, were kinsmen, friends, and students of Marcus Garvey and/or relatives of the detained politicians. They had earlier participated in the April 14 riots and charged the Tolbert government with rampant corruption, and violation of human rights, nepotism and misuse of public offices. The Constitution was suspended, about 80 prisoners were mistreated, and a backlash against Americo-Liberians led to confiscation of their properties. Under the True Whig Party more than a century rule, personal wealth became the byproduct of involvement in politics and government rather than entrepreneurship. Those outside the True Whig oligarchy or not beholden to it were prevented from acquiring an independent source of economic influence. Large business firms were almost all foreign owned and therefore, depoliticized but expected and made contributions to the party and provided jobs for politically well connected Liberians. Liberian owned businesses were either small businesses run by those without political stature or larger enterprises owned but not operated by government or party officials that profited from government preferment. By the time of Tolbert’s death and the overthrow of the TWP Oligarchy 60% of the GDP was controlled by 7% of the population; all of whom were Americo-Liberian families who had ruled Liberia for over a century.

Prior to the event of April 12, 1980 President Tolbert had had the unnerving experiences of security lapses that threatened his personal security. While attending a program at the E.J. Roye Building in Monrovia, the President was stuck in the elevators for a considerable while without explanation. At his home in Bentol, there was power outage for over thirty minutes without any presence or alarm from his security details and again without explanation. Whilst the Executive Mansion was being attacked by the band of young soldiers, the President’s Director of Police, Wilfred Clark was on the

grounds of the Executive Mansion, monitoring the situation and reporting to his superior, Patrick Minikon, by radio and did nothing else. On the very early morning of the coup, at least one eye witness' or would-be benefactor of the new establishment, account reveals that a Caucasian – “white man” - was seen “with my own eyes, wounded and struggling coming from the public procurement office crossing the flower garden before the mansion where traffic lanes interchange, and I quickly drove home.” Another strong indication of foreign involvement in the 1980 coup came from the Honourable H. Boimah Fahnbulleh, Jr. the day following the coup: “I saw the American political officer standing in the mansion yard near his car and whilst taking a look on the other end, I saw the American military attaché in his gray (sic) jump suit sitting with Doe and few other guys under the hut. Thereafter, I ask Dr. Tipoteh, do you see what I am seeing, than he said yes. Nevertheless, within a moment, Dr. Tipoteh, asked the American political officer, what are you doing here? In response, he said, I am the liaison to the new government.

The new military government of the People’s Redemption Council (PRC) was established with Master Sgt Samuel K Doe as Head of State. Libya’s Muammar Kaddafi was the first to recognize the new military government. All political prisoners were released. Many, if not all, of the detainees were given government posts in the new government. Other members of PAL and MOJA not in prison were also given senior cabinet posts. The Junta’s first official speech was written on the campus of the University of Liberia by Dr Amos Sawyer, Head of MOJA, and others on request of Dr George Boley, a member of PAL and the new Minister of State for Presidential Affairs.

As the first non Americo-Liberian Head of State, Samuel Doe initially enjoyed great popular support. The summary public execution of 13 former members of the Tolbert administration on April 22, 1980, including Tolbert’s Foreign Minister C Cecil Dennis Jr. who was denied asylum by the US, soon made it apparent, however, that the Doe regime could pose a great threat to human rights in Liberia. The new PRC Justice Minister Chea Cheapoo justified the executions saying “we had to act as the people wanted it”. Yet early years of the Doe administration represents the height of US involvement in Liberia amounting to over US\$500 million. This raised speculation further that the US had backed Doe’s coup because of Tolbert’s non-aligned policies. The US position is that it was necessary to protect their assets and counter the spread of socialism. Liberia became the highest per capita aid recipient in sub-Saharan Africa and Doe the highest recipient ever, much more than that received by all previous Liberian government administrations combined.

Initial decisions of ECOWAS to ostracize Doe and his administration over the coup and assassinations, was overcome by US diplomatic efforts and overtures to West African leaders on Doe’s behalf. New Foreign Minister Gabriel Baccus Matthews announced Liberia would suspend obligations to ECOWAS in retaliation. In August 1980 US direct assistance to Liberia was increased with the signing of two agreements

committing a total of US\$17 million in that year alone. By 1985 aid to Liberia was at an all time record high which American sources attributed to the solidification of Doe's pro-Western stance. Doe closed down the Libyan Embassy in Monrovia and reduced the staff of the Soviet Embassy by May 1981. General Thomas Weh-Syen, Doe's Deputy and three other members of the ruling PRC were executed that same year in prison without a trial for "plotting a socialist coup to unseat Doe".

In 1982 President Doe visited President Ronald Reagan in Washington which led to continued and additional US support for the Doe Administration. The mutual defense pact between the US and Liberia was modified, reversing Tolbert and granting staging rights to the US on 24 hour notice at Liberia's sea and airports for the US Rapid Deployment Force. US military assistance also increased with training, arms supplies and reconstruction of the deplorable and shameful BTC Barracks.

The refrain heard widely that those who had perpetuated the unjust socio-political system were out of the way and Liberia now had a fighting chance to set things right, at least in the interest of the "masses", was fading with growing disgruntlement. But in political terms the coup had been executed on behalf of the political agitators that constituted a part of the opposition on the left. For this reason they felt an obligation to participate and lend leadership to a junta of inexperienced and half literate military leaders. Not approaching the military government with a common political, military, social and economic agenda, they entered the government on individual or personal considerations thus leaving their fate and that of their organizations and the nation's to chance. They clamored, and rightfully so, for change; but when change was eventually surrendered, they were unprepared. The PAL leader Gabriel Baccus Matthews was reportedly offered leadership of a new government, something he perhaps wisely declined in preference to the Minister of Foreign Affairs position. All overtures to Dr Amos Sawyer from the junta were declined, except Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Commission, which he accepted.

Issues of the politics of personalities (within MOJA and PAL) and of groups (clamoring ethnicities) soon became apparent with manifestations of cracks in the unity of the PRC itself. Elements of the political left were branded "socialist" and purged off the government just as was some members of the PRC. The military began to articulate or live a revolution of entitlement. A new political elite emerged. Its culture of politics was hardly different from the regime it had brought down. Corruption, political intolerance and human rights violations marred the public image and standing of the regime. This situation induced a realignment of the Liberian political map as the jockeying for power ensued within and outside the military. Rumors of coups and counter coups abounded. Doe's much feared and respected Defense Minister and close ally, Gray D Allison, threatened Doe's power base by his sheer popularity with the military. He was framed for plotting a coup against Doe and a police officer, Joe

Lesolee, was coerced to provide false testimonies against Allison which would put him away forever at the notorious Belle Yallah maximum prison where he met his fate during the Taylor uprising.

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; cracked 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 had 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 while 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, had surrendered or dead. Lt Col James (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, Patrick 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 Yonbu 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 Morris Zayzay in whose interest a rescue mission by General Rudolph Kolako appeared and threatened both Tailey and Pennue 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.

6.3.1. A failed Coup and an Ethnic Feud

The General Thomas Quiwonkpa coup had failed even before it began. The General entered Liberia through the Sierra Leonean border without his logistics officer, General Biah who was killed in cross fire at the border with Liberia leaving the General without the map of the operations and a logistics coordinator. The episode resulted in a bloody battle involving Doe loyalists and his nemesis, Quiwonkpa, during which the General was killed and his body mutilated and cannibalized. It was payback time. Ethnic Gios and Manos were direct victims of reprisals in Monrovia, Nimba and Grand Gedeh Counties. Doe was inaugurated first President of the Second Republic of Liberia in January 1986. A purge against the Nimba people in the military, security forces and especially in Nimba County was led by General Charles Julu, head of Doe's Executive Mansion guard.

This reprisal against the Nimba people made Doe increasingly unpopular and isolated. His coup and ascendancy to power which was widely welcomed, not only by the indigenous people of Liberia who had languished for over a century under humiliating and excruciating social, political, cultural subjugation, but also across Africa where many saw the development as bolstering the continent's quest to rid Africa of all forms of colonial domination, became regrettable and denounced. The Americo-Liberian government, although was mainly composed by nominally Africans, it was widely regarded as somewhat colonial in nature, given its pedigree in the supremacist legacies of the American Colonial Society (ACS).

The cacophonous encomiums that heralded Samuel Doe into the Executive Mansion in 1980 soon transformed into penchant discordant tunes. Opposition to the Doe-led "democratically elected government" rapidly swelled as Doe became not only inclined towards pocketing State resources, but also literally went out on a rampage against perceived and real political opponents with vengeance. By 1988 the US was embarrassingly disenchanted with Doe's human rights records and corruption in his government. Evidence mounted that aid money was lost perpetually to corrupt officials in the Liberian government, so that aid was not getting to citizens for whom it was intended. Doe's Government did not cooperate with US accounting experts sent to assist and under the Brook Amendment's, aid to Liberia was suspended and resumed later but never up to pre-1985 levels.

Gross violations of human rights became the order of the day. Assassination of opponents became a choice tactic, while witch-hunting became a preferred method of engagement with those who did not, or were not thought to share Samuel Doe's rather

abnegating vision of leadership. Samuel Doe chose to visit the inequities of Liberia's undeniably un-egalitarian past on all and sundry. Doe decided to remedy decades of neglect and exclusion by meting out dire reprisals to those who dared voice opposition to his government. He vengefully pursued the tribes of those who were immediately connected to the government he disposed of, just as he pursued those with whom he had personal political scores to settle. In Samuel Doe's Liberia, the national treasury was transformed into a personal vault to be plundered by Doe and his accolades. In Doe's Liberia, there were no Americo-Liberians or indigenous Liberians as such; you were either for (or seen as) pro or anti Doe. There would be nothing in between this invidious divide; only deaths and violence.

Even the media was not spared from the violence. Journalist Charles Gbenyon was arrested by state security forces in the aftermath of the Quiwonkpa November 12, 1985 abortive coup attempt. He was taken to the Executive Mansion to see the President, who angrily retorted that he did not want to see him. Later, according to eyewitnesses' accounts, Mr. Gbenyon was accosted by security personnel on the second floor of the Mansion, dragged down to the front stairs into the front yard (the beach side) of the Mansion where his throat was slit and his body openly displayed lying on his back with his face pointed toward the beach and his feet pointed towards the Mansion. He was buried on the beach of the Executive Mansion. Doe's official account of the incident said that Journalist Gbenyon lost his life during a tussle with security officers over a gun he was allegedly carrying.

A new conflict was joined. At its core were Doe and his largely Krahn and Mandingo allies, on one side, and on the other side were Mano and Gio (Dahn) sympathizers of the slain Quiwonkpa. Perhaps another characterization is that the majority of indigenous Liberians were incensed that a minority among them had appropriated power supposedly in the name of all of them; misusing or abusing it. Repatriate survivors of the bloody fight now stood on the political margins for opportunistic (or patriotic) engagement as the situation evolved. Opposition abroad, mainly in the US and the West African Sub region, intensified as almost all opposition politicians had fled the country. Amongst Doe's staunchest and most active political opponents in the Diaspora were Dr. Amos Sawyer and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, both victims of Doe's brutality, who, along with other exiles organized the Association For Constitutional Democracy in Liberia (ACDL) as a pressure group advocating in the corridors of Washington for a return to constitutional rule in Liberia without Doe.

A few critical pieces were soon brought together and resulted in an existential challenge to the Doe regime. The soldier-president had successfully liquidated almost the entirety of the 17-man group that staged the coup of April 12, 1980. The Armed Forces of Liberia had been purged of citizens from Nimba County amid a pogrom against Liberians of Mano and Dahn (Gio) ethnicities. Remnants of Liberians of Nimba

provenance that fled the fight of 1985 into neighboring Cote d'Ivoire and elsewhere awaited an opportunity to consolidate in order to avenge what had befallen them. The enigmatic Charles Taylor showed up and worked his way into the leadership, combining the resentment of the dethroned TWP with the lethal fury of a vengeful Nimba people into a ferocious enemy soon to be unleashed. Tonie King, son-in-law of former President Tolbert, who played a lead role in the planning and execution of the aborted November 1985 coup, provided sanctuary in Ivory Coast for all dissidents following Doe's clamp down and Quiwonkpa's death. Archie Williams was the go-between who bankrolled Quiwonkpa's enterprise and guaranteed secured cash flow. Ivorian President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, still smarting from the brutal murder of his friend and colleague, President Tolbert, greatly facilitated the planning of the insurgency, as did the President of Burkina Faso who introduced Taylor to the Libyan leader. The latter two African Leaders participated for their own reasons. Tolbert's slain son, Adolphus Benedict Tolbert and the Bourkinabe President, Blaise Compaore, were married to one of two daughters of Ivorian President Houphouet-Boigny.

A pernicious insurgency had come to modern West Africa. The insurgency struck first on Christmas Eve, 1989. Before the end of 1990, Doe had been captured and tortured to death by a rebel leader from Nimba County and consequently his almost ten-year rule had ended. The ACDL which was the leading political opposition in the Diaspora was short-lived and split into two opposing views over support for Taylor's misadventure. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf led the pro Taylor elements while Dr Amos Sawyer led the opposition to any form of engagement or support to Charles Taylor. This, and all other forms of support to Taylor, would prove critical to Liberia's peace and stability as the nation remained mired in a complex civil war that lasted another 13 years. It must be pointed out, though, that by the end of the first year of his rebellion, Taylor had lost popular support.

By the end of the Doe decade, rampant corruption and misuse of public office for personal gains became wanton and indistinguishable from that of the erstwhile TWP government he overthrew. Wealth was acquired not by any successful ingenuous enterprise but by outright corruption and patronage. The following persons acquired wealth under suspicious circumstances. When public officials, their cronies and close relations' source of wealth become questionable and traceable to the public trust, the need for accountability arises to restore confidence, trust and integrity in public service. Samuel K Doe, Edward Slinger, William Glay, Edwin Taye, Ignatius Clay, Raleigh Seekie, Alvin Jones, Yudu Gray, Shad Kaydea, Edwin Zelee, etc. became wealthy at the expense of the public treasury often in complicity of Lebanese family business interests.



7

THE LIBERIAN CIVIL WAR (1990 - 2003)



7.0. THE LIBERIAN CIVIL WAR – 1990 – 2003

7.1. Taylor’s Uprising, Human Rights violations & War Crimes (1990-1997)

Because the military regime ignored the developments of the 1970s, it erred in assuming that by the application of brute force, it would impose a new dichotomy, a Krahn hegemony (with a few politically marginal allies) against the wishes of a preponderant majority of Liberians. The brutal crushing of the Quiwonkpa coup attempt in 1985 was the ultimate in an apparent desire to ensure a Krahn hegemony. The insurgency, which came to be led by Charles Taylor, was the ultimate response, not just by Liberians of Nimba origins, but also by a population energized to resist political tyranny that sought to impose itself after supposedly liberating the country from 133 years of a perceived oligarchy drawn from descendants of repatriated Liberians. The insurgency, unfortunately, soon established an identity of its own as Liberia degenerated into a “rebellion without a cause.” At one point, a seven-cornered fight as represented by seven distinct warring factions, engaged in a full-blown fratricidal civil war had gripped Liberia. When its bloody end came 14 years later, it left Liberia in ruins confronted by a dilemma – how to reconcile PEACE with JUSTICE.

On 24 December 1989, some one hundred “Special Forces” of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) crossed several Liberian government targets in the town of Butuo, in the Nimba County. Mostly drawn from the Gio and Mano ethnic groups of Nimba County that were persecuted under Doe’s regime, they made rapid progress, overcoming initial setbacks at the hands of Doe’s AFL. Responsibility for these set backs created tensions in the movement and eventually saw the rise of a splinter INPFL.

The choice of Nimba County as a launch pad was deliberate and strategic as the NPFL ranks swelled overnight with willing and adventurous recruits seeking revenge. Charles Taylor convinced the people of Nimba that this rebellion was partly in response to their yearning. Scores of dissidents who festooned and congregated outside Liberia believed Taylor and hearkened to his call. Despite their differences, which became evident much later, they were united in one cause: eliminate Doe and his ethnic Krahn and Mandingo supporters and seize power, at any cost, which was denied them when Doe hijacked the presidential election victory of Jackson F. Doe in 1985. While pandering to this populist objective, Taylor also appealed to the deposed Americo-Liberian stock by pronouncing that his was to avenge the executions of 1980.

Early 1990, the AFL counter insurgency operation directly targeted Manos and Gios in Nimba County killing citizens en masse, burning villages and looting. Over 160,000 civilians fled to Guinea and Ivory Coast between January and May 1990. Capt. James Chelly and Edwin Voker commanded the onslaught. At this time the United States military advisors in Monrovia were maintained and two of them were involved in the

counterinsurgency but later withdrawn when protest against their presence mounted by anti-Doe Liberian elements in the US.

By June 1990, the NPFL rebels had made serious advances which had the Doe government panicky and suspicious of everyone as conspiracy theories abounded with fear of rebel infiltration in Monrovia. The Mayor of the City of Clay Ashland, R. Vanjah Richards, and two of his Councilmen, Butler Freeman and James Coleman, were arrested from Clay Ashland and taken away by Lts. Arthur Nyenabo and Andrew Gaye of the Armed Forces of Liberia on orders of AFL Major Henry Johnson on suspicion of harboring rebels in the city. Mayor Richards and his officials were taken away in a vehicle and hours later, their mutilated bodies were found with hands tied behind their backs lying at the foot of the Po River bridge outside Monrovia. The three soldiers involved were arrested and court martialled during which time they admitted to the killings. They were found guilty and sentenced to execution. However, following the rapid advance of NPFL the condemned men were released and sent to the frontlines. Lts. Nyenabo and Gaye died in combat while Maj. Henry Johnson is said to be currently residing in the West African sub-region.

The deadly counterinsurgency mounted by the AFL, indiscriminately targeting mainly civilians, endeared the local population to the NPFL. A meteoric rise in the NPFL and Taylor's popularity guaranteed rapid gains as civilians not only shielded NPFL rag tag fighters posing as civilians, but also exposed the AFL strategic positions and assisted the NPFL maneuvers through strategic forest terrains and bush roads. This vital role of civilians made them palpable targets in previous wars by other factions and the NPFL itself when confronted by other factions or resistant forces.

From an initial few hundred, the NPFL rapidly grew into a vast irregular army occupying and controlling around 90 percent of the country by April 1990 (five months after the rebellion began), thereby forcing the US - backed Doe regime to collapse. A beleaguered Samuel Doe remained holed up in the Executive Mansion; the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL) of Prince Johnson emerged as a splinter group of the NPFL opposed to Charles Taylor. The NPFL advanced within less than a mile from the stronghold of Doe at the Executive Mansion but the coup de grace was never to come.

At the same time, Doe's request and those of others interested in Liberia (like the Friends of Liberia –"FOL") for the US to directly intervene was denied by the Bush Administration. A proposal which the US thought was the best for Liberia, for Doe to resign and go into exile in Togo and allow Charles Taylor to take power, was rejected by Doe. The White house did not endorse the plan. An earlier request from Doe to the US through emissaries including Winston Tubman, Emmanuel Bowier, etc to stop the war was rejected. The US no longer trusted Doe and would do nothing to stop the war.

Its initial attempt at “proximity talks” failed as both parties (Doe and Taylor’s representatives) insisted on direct talks. The US later conditioned its involvement on four principles which Doe must comply with in 30 days to guarantee US actions to halt Taylor: a) that Doe calls early elections in which he will not be a candidate; b) Doe establish an independent human rights commission not amendable to Doe; c) Doe lift the ban on media and newspaper entities; and d) release all political prisoners. As a show of good faith the US will organize a peace meeting in Sierra Leone at the US Embassy- a “neutral ground”. The delegation was advised that Doe was the most disliked leader in the world and at 40 years of age, he should take his money and leave Liberia otherwise “in October 1990 you will look around and you will not find him”. Doe rejected the conditions on counsel of his Krahn kinsmen.

By now Taylor’s three month ultimatum to Doe to quit office or his forces would overrun Monrovia ended March 24, 1990 with Doe tucked in the security of the Executive Mansion. The NPFL proved incapable of dislodging Doe from his fortress. Initial expectations growing out of the NPFL rapid advances that the insurgency would end sooner rather later had dissipated; the war was stalemated as many more Liberians and supporters of the insurgency became frustrated; leading Madam Ellen Johnson Sirleaf to publicly admonish the NPFL to end the war and sufferings, raze the mansion down and it will proverbially be rebuilt in three days.

The stalemate deepened to the disadvantage of the civilian population which lived constantly under fear, threatened, brutalized and killed. The fighting forces, clearly frustrated, exacted their energies on the civil and unarmed population trapped in their controlled territories. A humanitarian and human rights disaster was in the making. The NPFL militias, mostly ill-trained and trigger happy, were part of a band of a force less inclined to respecting the values of human rights but more inclined to blaming every individual not a member of their fighting forces for their malady. The NPFL deployed not less than 180 “Special Forces” into its mission and each Special Forces deployed, had under his command a personal army of not less than 200 men who were unleashed on the civilian population. With limited supplies, they lived off the labor and sweat of civilians in an unequal relationship that saw the population massively victimized, killed and properties looted; entire villages and towns were burnt and other times abduction, and many times forcefully displaced. Massacres, rape, torture, children recruitment into their ranks were pervasive as ethnic cleansing and ethnic profiling was standardized at every one of the hundreds of check points the NPFL operated throughout its vast controlled territories. The NPFL, clearly was operating a massive force of hoodlum, vengeful Nimba citizens, victims who joined out of fear, insecurity and protection of family members; yet, there were those who took arms to “settle old scores”, loot and take advantage of a lawless institution to wield power, authority and acquire wealth. Anachronism of what became the NPFL was a cacophony in vain pursuit of power, with a single hierarchy in Charles G. Taylor who

commanded his men to “pay themselves”.

7.1.1 First Peace Conference amidst Worsening Human Rights & Humanitarian Crisis

Food stock depleted as medical supplies were running out. Hunger, diseases and malnutrition combined efforts with stray bullets from skirmishes of a brutal rag tagged militia to incessantly inflict pains, sufferings, death and the most gruesome forms of abuses on a less than suspecting but, mundane population. The emergence of the INPFL very early in July 1990 did not help, but rather hurt the cause of the NPFL. The standing of the NPFL as the sole contender for power was undermined and its progress on the war front stalled since Prince Y. Johnson was much feared by the NPFL because of his exploits on the war front. INPFL forces proved much more disciplined under the vicious leadership of Prince Y Johnson. A disciplinarian, he was intolerant of the excesses of his men. Death seemed to be the only penalty for any transgression. An entire community was victimized for the slightest suspicion of an individual and his execution style punishment with a silver pistol, (he described it during testimonies) many times in the full glare of the public, was infamously common.

The AFL, having to contend with two opposing factions, was demoralized, frantic and paranoia, but defiant. Holed up in the Barclay Training Center (BTC) and the surrounding areas of the Executive Mansion on Capitol Hill, Monrovia, The AFL took reprisals on the local population in an ethnic vendetta especially; against the Gios and Manos of Nimba County. Food and military supplies were running out as the AFL seemed resigned to its fate. Referred to as “Doe’s army”, a purged AFL had its ranks and files comprising meanly Krahn soldiers who bore the sophisticated automatic rifles and issued radio command and military instructions in the Krahn language. Secret killings and abduction by a death squad comprising George Dweh, Younbou Tailay, Jackson E. Doe and others operated without restraint of conscience, discipline or authority. The headless corpses of unknown persons were seen in the streets as student leaders –Wuo Garbie Tappia, D. Momulu Lavela, Benedict Garlawolo et al – were executed; Robert Phillips, once linked with the 1985 failed coup, charged with treason and subsequently released, was brutally murdered in his home at the airfield community at the end of the air strip which became a theatre of macabre killings. One of the assassins when asked by a mutual friend why they had to kill Phillips he said “you think we don’t know who we want; we could have killed you too but we know you are a native man; it’s the Congo people we want”.

Between June and August 1990, Liberia became a “butcher house” in the words of former Gambian President, Sir Alhaji Dauda Jawara. Socio-economic conditions had deteriorated considerably. The trapped population was desolate; physically waned, hungry and ill. The parallel market flourished with looted goods from homes and the

Free Port of Monrovia, all facilitated and instigated by the armed men and their bands of followers. The popular tones which heralded Taylor's rebellion – "monkey come down" and "Chucky must come"- were no longer heard, better, regretted. Family income depleted along with food stock. As more and more families were separated, ties were broken and young girls became the target of armed fighters. Women were targeted and raped, abducted as bush wives as they ventured out of their hiding places to fetch food. The younger girls with no clear sources of survival got "involved" with the fighters and prostitution became a way of life till the end of the conflict and even now in present day Liberia.

By this time Taylor was setting up deals for the exploitation of Liberia's natural resources having being introduced to French and European interests including Providence Steel, a business corporation operating in Nigeria. Dealings, illicit in nature and character, in timber, rubber, gold and diamonds, including diamonds from neighboring Sierra Leone, would prove crucial to sustaining Taylor's war efforts and prolonging the conflict. The Secretary General of Quiwonkpa's NPF, Moses Duopu, was killed on his return from Nigeria to Taylor's territories for claiming the Secretary General title of the new NPFL and disputing or seemingly eyeing the leadership of the NPFL; the AFL massacred 27 Gio and Mano families of the AFL in Monrovia, as 25 AFL soldiers escaped to seek refuge at the Methodist Church in Sinkor which was subsequently attacked. Also, Jackson F. Doe, David Dwanyen, Justice Patrick Biddle, Cooper Teah, Gabriel Kpolleh, Photographer B.W. King, along with 80 other very prominent personalities associated with and living in NPFL- held territories were killed at the hands of NPFL "generals"; 500 ethnic Mandingoes, including an Imam, killed in Bakedu, Lofa County by the NPFL; a retaliatory killing of over 500 supposedly men, women and children from Nimba County were massacred at the St. Peters Lutheran Church by the AFL led by Yonbu Tailay then under the command of Jackson E. Doe was followed by the killing of another 250 ethnic Gios and Manos seeking refuge at the J F K Hospital killed by a group of AFL soldiers; In Buchanan and Monrovia, dogs were eating the dead bodies of human beings in the streets as men and women on the UL Fendell Campus unashamedly bathed together naked in a dirty little stale pond better known as "Adam and Eve" creek.

Many, many more crossing through check points were killed at Spriggs Payne Airfield, Duport Road, Bushrod Island, Soul Clinic Mission, Old Road, Cotton Tree, Kakata, Iron Gate or God Bless You Gate, University of Liberia Fendell campus, Hindi, Bong Mines, Barnesville, etc. They were killed on suspicion of belonging to one ethnic group or another; for being "an enemy", for looting; for their personal belongings including rice, cassava, sneakers, cash, etc.; membership with the Samuel Doe's National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL), working for government of Liberia; having a pot belly, smelling or looking like a Krahn, Gio, Mano or Mandingo enemy; unable to speak any indigenous Liberian language and a host of other causes which justified Liberia

being labeled a “butcher house”.

By the time of the first peace meeting in Free Town, Sierra Leone, under the auspices of the ECOWAS Peace Plan, an extraction of the Inter-Faith Mediation Committee of Liberia, it became clear to ECOWAS that no one faction could boast of military advantage or victory and unless there was intervention to halt the carnage, Liberia will self-destruct as more and more innocent women and children would continue to suffer and die. Especially so, the OAU, UN and most notably the US, would have no direct involvement with Liberia, ECOWAS decided to intervene.

The June 1990 Freetown peace meeting at the US Embassy failed because the NPFL refused to sign the ceasefire agreement which also called for the establishment of an Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU). The NPFL did not sign the agreement on advice of the US Political Officer in Monrovia who followed them to Freetown for what was dubbed “Operation Coca Cola”. He told Thomas Woeweyu, NPFL Defense spokesperson, that the NPFL had the military advantage and did not have to negotiate with the Doe people. The meeting failed and the foundation was laid for a subsequent meeting in Banjul, the Gambia. Most of those attending the Freetown meeting, also later attended the Banjul Meeting, wrote Taylor a letter recognizing his military advantage and entitlement to lead the country once President Doe was out of the way.

7.1.2. ECOMOG Arrives under NPFL gunfire

Emboldened by this level of support Taylor announced the formation of the National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly government (NPRAG) in July and became angry that the Banjul Meeting established the IGNU in August without the NPFL notwithstanding that the NPFL was invited to attend. The NPFL claimed its delegation was held up at the airport in Banjul till the meeting was over. Gbarnga, Bong County became the seat of Taylor’s *defacto* NPRAG government. Taylor avowed not to cooperate with the IGNU and resist ECOMOG’s presence as an “occupation force”. ECOMOG was formed as a peace keeping force of the ECOWAS.

Prince Y. Johnson who had complete control of the Bushrod Island area welcomed the arrival of ECOMOG on Liberia’s Flag Day, August 24, 1990, under a barrage of missile attacks from the NPFL. It became necessary and ECOMOG assumed the posture and mandate of peace enforcement to separate the fighting forces and create a buffer between them and, a haven for the civilian population entrapped between ever changing frontlines and factional territories. ECOMOG’s mandate also included enforcing a ceasefire and supporting the IGNU. Doe joined the INPFL in welcoming the ECOMOG. Both forces fast running out of supplies (Prince Johnson needed arms and Doe badly needed food) were anxious for a ceasefire and ill equipped to withstand any full scale NPFL onslaught which the NPFL had threatened and was planning.

The IGNU was formed in Banjul, Gambia, on August 30, 1990. Both Taylor and Doe rejected, but Johnson accepted it. Doe was captured at the temporary headquarters of the ECOMOG at the Free Port of Monrovia and killed along with some 70 members of his guard battalion on September 9, 1990 by Prince Johnson. A gun battle lasted for 90 minutes and Doe was seen tortured-to death- in a video documentary recorded by his assailant, Prince Y Johnson. At his death, violence spread throughout the country especially in Monrovia where his supporters went on the rampage and set fire to many buildings chanting “No Doe, No Monrovia”. The 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 Dogonyaro, 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 *defacto* 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.

Taylor avowed that his NPFL would attack citizens of each West African country contributing troops to ECOMOG and that they would be killed for each Libeian life that would be lost in the fighting with ECOMOG. True to his threat, West African citizens especially, Ghanaians and Nigerians were targeted enmasse in Bomi, Cape Mount, Kakata and other places around the country. They were subjected to forced displacement, torture, looting, murder, extra judicial killings, etc.

In August 1990, two Nigerian journalists, Christopher Imodibe and Tayo Awotusin of the Guardian and Champion Newspapers respectively, were arrested by NPFL fighters and accused of espionage. The two Nigerian journalists were jailed in Gbarnga in a makeshift cell and held for a protracted period under what a witness described as horrible conditions. They were tortured and flogged twice a day and were denied food, water and access to fresh air. They had lost so much weight that they appeared as skeletons. Abandoned in their prison cells, they were left to die of starvation.

7.1.3. Securing Peace with Additional Warring Factions

Taylor was relentless, 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. A two-truck convoy filled of native Krahn and Mandingoes was captured from ECOMOG by the INPFL and apparently killed since they were never accounted for. Prominent Krahn intellectuals like Sam Today 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.

7.1.4. Securing Peace: 16 Agreements Brokered and Broken

From Banjul to Bamako to Switzerland and Cotonou to Abuja, etc., peace agreements were brokered, and no sooner broken on political disagreements, as more and more factions emerged to “get a piece of the pie” which, was the political authority to access illicit wealth by corrupt means and the authority to exploit natural resources exclusively for the benefit of faction leaders. In these marathon peace negotiations, the military and ceasefire issues were normally resolved on the first day but the issues of who gets what “lucrative jobs” became intractable and the source of great conflict which prolonged peace conferences for weeks and sometimes months. A comprehensive listing of peace agreements follows:

1. Banjul Communique, ECOWAS plan, August 7, 1990
2. Bamako Ceasefire, November 28, 1990
3. Banjul Joint Statement, December 21, 1990
4. Lomé Agreement, February 13, 1991
5. Yamoussoukro I Accord, June 30, 1991
6. Yamoussoukro II Accord, July 29, 1991
7. Yamoussoukro III Accord, September 17, 1991
8. Yamoussoukro IV Accord, October 30, 1991
9. Geneva Ceasefire, July 17, 1993
10. Cotonou Agreement, July 25, 1993
11. Akosombo Agreement, September 12, 1994,

12. Acceptance and Accession to Akosombo Agreement, December 21, 1994
13. Accra Clarification of Akosombo Agreement, December 21, 1994
14. Abuja Agreement (I), August 19, 1995
15. Supplement to Abuja Agreement (II), August 17, 1996.
16. Ceasefire Agreement, June 17, 2003
17. Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement, August 18, 2003

All these agreements, except the Accra CPA (2003), were lacking in accountability mechanisms which left one warring faction after another to continue committing mass murders and gross violations of human rights including violations of humanitarian and international human rights laws and war crimes, with impunity. In fact, the Cotonou Accord sought to grant general amnesty to all combatants. The CPA was the seventeenth peace agreement since the outbreak of war in 1989. Indeed, it was comprehensive, covering a broad range of issues, and perhaps even more detailed and lengthy than previous agreements. Each new faction tended to be more vicious and callous than the one before it or the one it was established to resist.

Fear, dehumanization, rape, looting and employing children into factional ranks became acceptable norms of the war from one faction to another. Apart from the NPFL and MODEL no other faction adopted minimum standards or learned lessons from the deprecating and widely condemned actions of previous factions to militate with and mitigate the widespread and wanton abuses meted against the civilian population. Ethnic cleansing and profiling continued throughout the civil war with very brutal consequences. The Liberia Peace Council (LPC) of George Boley in the South East, ULIMO in the Western and Southern belts and with Taylor in Central and Northern regions of Liberia, there was no escape or safety for civilians other than havens provided by ECOMOG in territories occupied by it. Overstretched, the NPFL established vigilante militias in its occupied territories to “watch its backs” and undermined community unity by pitting one community group against another. Some examples like the Lofa (the Mandingoes called it Lorma Defense Force) Defense Force (LDF), Royceville (others called it Congo Defense Force) Defense Force (RDF), Tasso Defense Force, etc.

ECOMOG became ostensibly embroiled in an intractable conflict which overstretched the resources and endurance of the regional force. Alliances and military support to smaller factions opposed to the NPFL became a strategy to undermine the capacity of the NPFL to wage war thereby compelling the NPFL to sit down and negotiate a peace with its opponents. More than a dozen peace agreements were brokered and broken when the parties returned to Liberia. All factions negotiated their interest at peace conferences/in peace agreements based on four principles: a) territorial occupation; b) lucrative positions in government; c) access to state resources and coffers; and d) unhindered access to natural resources. Whenever an occupied territory or factional

position in government was threatened or altered the peace process would be threatened and derailed, and a new round of peace conference would be convened. Similarly, whenever accountability measures were adopted to limit access to natural resources, state coffers or the power, wealth and authority that comes with being in government, a new process of negotiation or renegotiation will be held only to strengthen the grip of the factions in no less measure. Against this background, the CPA granted the great majority of ministries in a transitional government to the warring factions that were just putting down their guns. All warring factions had their fair share in the spoils of government, having previously benefited from the spoils of war.

A strong desire to end the conflict and secure the peace, led the international community to consider arms embargo on Liberia and further sanctions on the export of raw materials; timber and diamond exports from Liberia. Rubber exports, especially by Firestone, continued throughout the conflict period without sanctions. The US Government made representations for the continuation of this trade during the conflict on behalf of Firestone. Firestone resumed full scale operations on January 22, 1992 pursuant to a memorandum of understanding signed January 17, 1992, with Charles Taylor's NPFL awarding the NPFL US\$2 million annually in exchange for NPFL's protection. Firestone plantation was the launch pad for NPFL's infamous "Operation Octopus" attack on Monrovia and ECOMOG to unseat IGNU.

7.1.5. Taylor's Deadly Surge for Power: Operation Octopus

In 1992 Taylor, launched his infamous "Operation Octopus" on October 15; attacking ECOMOG positions and the suburbs of Monrovia, including the Caldwell Base of Prince Johnson who had earlier planned the operation with Taylor but later declined and called for ECOMOG's assistance when it was clear the NPFL had overwhelmingly infiltrated his base. The destruction in lives and properties in Monrovia was enormous. Prince Y Johnson was rescued by ECOMOG and resettled into exile in Nigeria. The combined efforts of ULIMO, AFL, Black Beret and ECOMOG denied a battered Taylor of victory. Taylor used the lull in hostilities after the **Yamoussoukro IV Accord** of October 30, 1991, to re-arm, reorganize and build up his armory while, requesting President Jimmy Carter to prevail on ECOMOG to reduce its heavy weapons in Liberia which was in "peace times". ECOMOG obliged to the request of President Carter. Octopus therefore, caught ECOMOG off guard without heavy weaponry and at a time when the Force Command was also changing hands. Human casualties were in the thousands, including ECOMOG's. Five American Catholic nuns with the Catholic Church in Liberia were brutally murdered by Christopher Vambo and others were amongst the notable Octopus casualties. John T Richardson, code named "General Octopus" was the mastermind behind the planning and execution of the dastardly "Operation Octopus", assisted by General John Teah, NPFL Commanding General.

By 1993 a conflict over allocation of allocated government jobs broke out in ULIMO between the Mandingo and Krahn factions. A bitter struggle ensued in Tubmanburg, Bomi County and the ULIMO faction was effectively split into ULIMO-J of Roosevelt Johnson (Krahn) and ULIMO-K of Alhaji Kromah (Mandingo). An attempt by ECOMOG to compel ULIMO-J to open the roads leading up to Bomi County proved fatal for ECOMOG and the entrapped civilian population. Scores of ECOMOG soldiers died in the battle; as did hundreds of children of starvation and they were buried on the Catholic St. Dominic Campus. As part of the NPFL's terror campaign to render IGNU and ECOMOG territories ungovernable, a June 6, 1993 attack at Harbel, Margibi County saw an infiltrating NPFL special Unit, under cover of dark, crept on innocent displaced civilians who were asleep, killing approximately 600 persons, including women and children. This attack was planned to give the impression that the AFL was responsible since Harbel, Firestone was under AFL control.

The UN Panel, the Wako Commission, commissioned to investigate the incident, was deceived into believing AFL committed the atrocities. The TRC has determined otherwise that the NPFL was the perpetrator of the massacre and survivors 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 survivors 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.

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 forbidding 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 Woweiyu, 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 into 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 intervene, 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.

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.

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 waned 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 GHANKHAY, 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 rendition by the teeming Liberian youths who supported Taylor: "*You killed my ma, You Killed My pa, I'll vote for you*". Innocuous as this curt song may appear, it clearly summed up the climate of fear, trepidation and resignation that prevailed in 1997 when Taylor ran for the election that saw him into the Executive Mansion. Even though it was announced that Taylor won over 75% of all votes cast, the final results of the elections were never published.

7.3. A New War: Lurd – Model Insurgency: 2000 - 2003

The reality of being President of Liberia did not dawn on President Taylor himself early enough to enable him succeed. International good will and the meekness of his people in submitting to his new status and authority were squandered. He maintained the same antics and disposition of the warlord he was eight years before. In his mindset, Monrovia was Gbarnga, and he did everything to resurrect and represent the defunct NPFL, as the national army of Liberia and the security forces in a wholesome manner to the exclusion of other armed factions. This was viewed as a major threat to the fragile peace. Perhaps the most significant public act performed by Charles Taylor within the first year of his election was to expel ECOMOG troops from Liberia in 1998. He claimed this was to enable the government control its security. Without doubt it was more in revenge for ECOMOG's stiff opposition to his military bid to take over the reins of power in Liberia by force of arms. Ex-commanders of the NPFL were given permission by the government to operate private security outfits for hire by the private sector businesses to guarantee their security. Reports of extortion, harassment and general lawlessness by these private security agents and government personnel were commonly heard without redress.

These initial acts brought the Taylor regime under immense pressure and challenges to its authority from international, regional and domestic forces. A series of

governmental actions became portend of looming conflict on a national scale. Immediately preceding the elections an attempt to kill Taylor failed. Taylor radio also claimed that LPC and ULIMO J were planning to wage another war should Taylor win the elections. President Taylor's Police Director's public display of brute force against armed robbers and journalist including, Phillip Wesseh of the Inquirer Newspaper, was unwelcoming; an opposition member of parliament, Samuel Johnson, was whipped by Taylor's Vice President security forces. On 27 November 1997 opposition member Samuel Dokie and family were killed by Taylor's SSS personnel and their charred remains were later discovered. In March 1998 Roosevelt Johnson complained that Taylor's SSS forces made attempts on his home more than once. Taylor did nothing.

By April 1998 the political climate in Liberia became tense due to a string of extra judicial killings and Taylor's intentions to control the security forces in manner and form contrary to the Abuja Accord that ended the civil war. There was a crackdown on the press and mass media, and other civil society activists, while Taylor refused to cooperate with ECOMOG in demobilizing approximately 35,000 ex-combatants. Instead, Taylor re-armed and reintegrated many of his ex-combatants into the AFL without incorporating members from other armed factions. Without further training, they preyed on the civilian population leading to an increase in violent crimes throughout the country as the opposing LURD forces lurked on:

- a) November 28, 1997 the murder of Samuel Dokie and his family;
- b) December 16, 1997 the murder of Daniel Nyenkan body found on freeway;
- c) April 1988 Mass grave discovered in Zorzor, Lofa County;
- d) July 10, 1988 Abduction and murder of Nowai Flomo, a prominent market woman was taken away by nine members of the SSS;
- e) September 18, 1998 Attack on Roosevelt Johnson 53 to 100 persons lost their lives;
- f) September 19, 1998 1,500 civilians executed in the aftermath of the September 18;
- g) September 19, 1998 murder of 13 Krahn individuals on Schiefflin high way;
- h) August 10, 1999 massacre of 25 Quardu-Gboni individuals in Nekebozu, Lofa County;
- i) September 2, 1999 some 25 persons massacred in again in Nekebozu, Lofa

County;

- j) January 2000 18 Mandingoes massacred in Bawon Town, Zorzor, Lofa County;
- k) January 2000 26 unarmed civilians killed on allegation of being LURD supporters in Gbah, Bomi County;
- l) January 2000 summary execution of 100 persons on ATU Gbartala Training Base ;
- m) Taylor sweep of the human rights community arresting journalist Hassan Bility ; human rights activist Aloysious Toe, Blamo Sieh and five others; and on April 24, 2002 human rights lawyer Tiawan Gongloe was arrested on spurious charges and severely beaten and tortured in prison; and
- n) June 4, 2003 John Yormie and Isaac Vaye murdered by Benjamin Yeaten

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 Gbartala 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 Amalia 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 Malu over Taylor’s strategy for reconstructing the army. Malu 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 the allegations and called for proof even though it was public knowledge that RUF operatives, including Sam “Mosquito” Bockarie, had free movements in and out of Liberia and were literally operating and living in Liberia. The suspicion of the West African sub region, especially Guinea, Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast was that the arms for-illicit diamonds trade between Taylor and the RUF could further destabilize the sub region. Taylor’s intransigence led to the imposition of mandatory sanctions on Liberia and individuals involved in the illicit arms and diamond trade, including close associates of the president who stood to benefit from the illicit dealings involving the exploitation of Liberia’s natural resources. Taylor’s rule signaled the continuation of authoritarian rule in Liberia leaving behind a legacy of poor governance, administrative malfeasance, corruption, intimidation and intolerance of opposition, threats, torture, terroristic acts against the population and summary executions reminiscence of his predecessor, President Samuel K Doe.

7.3.1. The LURD and MODEL Insurrections

Taylor’s antics continued as president. His repressive policies at home, and the continued support for rebels in neighboring countries, soon attracted to him armed opposition from without. In 1999, incursions and skirmishes along the Liberian common border with Guinea continued. Not until 2000 that the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), a rebel group that had the support of Sierra Leone, Guinea and the US, began attacking the government of Taylor with US made weaponry. LURD mounted several deadly attacks from the northwestern front and was joined, in 2003, by the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL), from the southeastern front. These two rebel groups staged a series of sustained attacks from both fronts against the Taylor government and insisted that the president should step down from the presidency.

There was a pattern of callous abuse and abandonment of the rights of civilian population continued. Reprisal killings on all sides, decapitation and disembowelment in the northwestern corridor of Lofa and Bomi Counties were common as the LURD forces and Government militia inflicted untold sufferings and killings on the innocent population. Black Saturday in Lofa and the Maher bridge massacre in Bomi, were prominent features of this new war. At Maher Bridge, in Bomi County, hundreds were loaded in pick-up backs for “transport to Monrovia” but were dumped in the river for being “supporters of LURD” by Benjamin Yeaten and Roland Duo. Black Saturday in Lofa County saw LURD massively killing residents of Voinjama City at which time the fighters compelled a lady to carry around in a wheel barrow the mutilated remains of her children, sister and husband, as meat on sale and, the local population was compelled to also purchase them. LURD fighters retained the proceeds. The atrocities included shelling of population centers, especially in Monrovia, with mortar rounds unrelentingly fired by LURD. Liberians jokingly refer to that experience as “more mortar” mocking the Guinean who operated the equipment and the only English he is mocked to have spoken was “more mortar”.

In demonstrating Guinea’s support for LURD he is scorned as asking members of his unit, presumably Guineans: “your mother there? A chorus “NO”; Your father there? “NO”! Then “more mortar”. What became known as “World War I, II & III”, referring to LURD’s strike, retreat and strategic attacks on Monrovia, revisited the horrors and persecution of the past on the civilian population in no less measure. Except for MODEL, which instructed its militias to only loot and not kill or rape, as a control measure, atrocities were minimized with looting as the hallmark of its engagements in the southeastern and central regions of Liberia. The scale of destruction and brutality, and the humanitarian catastrophe looming overhead, however, compelled a full involvement of the international community- UN, AU, USA, and EU - in coordination with ECOWAS - to stop the war. The International Contact Group on Liberia (ICGL) was created to do just that. President Charles Taylor, beleaguered and embattled without sources of fresh supplies of weapons, and slapped with a war crimes indictment and the unanimity of the international community led by US President Bush, Jr that he must leave, stepped down as President of Liberia and went to Nigeria to commence a new life of uncertainty in exile. In all of these hostilities, the suffering and persecution of the local population was always merciless. Economic hardship, rising unemployment and inflation, family break up or displacement imposed further strains on familial relationships with devastating impact on children, young girls and women. Education opportunities were lost or diminished as school closures meant loss of fees already paid and shortage of essential commodities led to price hikes and a declining living standard.

Throughout the conflict period, the traditional roles of women shifted remarkably to being major bread-winners. Men were the natural targets of advancing, occupying or

resisting armed factions and, were therefore in hiding all the time. Women had to step in; performing household chores, selling or trading in consumable items across factional lines, providing food, securing shelter, medical needs and clothing for family members, maintaining the farm, bearing children and cooking for the family in the midst of war, violence and massive atrocities against the unsuspecting general population. This, not only led to, but increased their vulnerability and exposed them to all manners of violence and abuse. They were caught up in an intractable state of victimization that dehumanized them and sought to deprive them of their womanhood; in many cases the perpetrators succeeded.

They were abducted and accused of being enemy spies on espionage missions because they dared venture out when no one dared to; they were raped, and compelled to be house or bush wives for the armed men and would be accused of supporting “rebels” of the opposing faction; they were also accused of being enemies for cooking for and serving the “enemy” while in captivity as servants, slaves and “infidels” or “kaffli”. They were rejected by their own when liberated from captivity and returned home; husbands, children and relatives were condescending and suspicious; lacking in self-actualization and low morale after years of abuse and a sense of inferiority, begging and prostitution become inconvenient realities; children begotten of these illicit relationships – “rebel baby”, “ECOMOG children”, “OTC Children”, “bastards”, “orphans”, “child without back or front”, were ostracized victims of stereotyping, stigma and a perfect target for recruitment into a marauding armed gang. A vicious cycle of debasement, violence, crime and human rights violations continued without notice, suspects or acknowledgement and accountability.

On 4 June 2003, the Chief Prosecutor of the Special Court for Sierra Leone issued a press statement announcing the opening of a sealed indictment of Liberian President Charles Taylor for “bearing the greatest responsibility” for atrocities in Sierra Leone since November 1996. This development excluded Charles Taylor from any other future role in the peace negotiation process as an indictee for war crimes. On June 18, 2003, the Accra Ceasefire Agreement was signed by the Government of Liberia (GOL), LURD and MODEL.

It was not until, another two months, after massive protests from Liberian women, who stormed the conference without being invited, and the impatience of the host country and the ICGL, that on August 18, 2003, the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed; marking the cessation of hostilities in the nearly 15 years of civil war. Apart from the CPA making provisions for the new government after the expected departure of Charles Taylor from Liberia, the agreement also provided, for the first time, accountability mechanism in the creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) for Liberia, in an attempt to provide the opportunity for Liberians to confront the legacies of their difficult past.

The Liberian civil war would best be remembered for a long time to come, not simply for the several thousands of lives it claimed – which will surely remain one of the sordid points of the country’s checkered history – but for the carnage and the sheer brutality that characterized the war. The horrors of the Liberian war were abhorrent to the sensibilities of all and intolerable as collateral or inevitable consequence of war. According to Stephen Ellis, “the Liberian conflict topped and surpassed all other wars in form and character, in intensity, in depravity, in savagery, in barbarism and in horror”.

7.4. The CPA and International Efforts to Restore Lasting Peace

The push for a peace conference in 2003 came from civil society, the leadership of the Inter-Religious Council of Liberia which held several meetings with each of the rebel factions, including President Charles Taylor himself. A separate initiative by leading political and civil society leaders, known as the Liberia Leadership Forum, met in 2002 and called for a peace conference in 2003. ECOWAS also continued to push for the possibility of talks. All parties to the Liberian raging conflict convened in Accra, Ghana for peace talks along with representatives of select civil society institutions; the political parties and The Inter-Religious Council were heavily represented. Taylor’s sealed indictment at the UN, USA and Great Britain backed Special Court for Sierra Leone was unsealed on June 4, 2003; charging President Taylor with several counts of war crimes and crimes against humanity for his support and complicity with the RUF of Sierra Leone. President Charles Taylor had to flee the Republic of Ghana and remove himself from further participation in the peace conference. As an indictee, his future role in Liberian politics was extinguished and his protégés had to continue representation of GOL at the talks.

Back home, word of his imminent arrest in Ghana reverberated in Liberia, with his supporters led by the dreaded and murderous Benjamin Yeaten threatening “military vibration”, should Taylor be arrested. Liberians and Ghanaian nationals, with fresh memories of the NPFL modus of indiscriminate reprisal killings during the nineties in which citizens of West African countries contributing troops to ECOMOG were directly targeted and killed, became uneasy. Calm returned to Monrovia when the Ghanaian authorities refused to honor the indictment and permitted President Taylor, its guest, to return home to Liberia.

The fighting in streets of Monrovia raged on, despite the convening peace talks and the attacking armed forces demanded Taylor’s resignation before a ceasefire. Taylor became increasingly vulnerable as his scrawny forces ran out of both military supplies and food. Life in Monrovia, with over a million inhabitants, was precarious and unbearable. Two fresh supplies of Taylor’s arms were seized. The Nigerian contingent

at the Roberts International Airport confiscated a cache of Taylor-bound arms when it arrived at the airport. The opposition MODEL overran Buchanan, Grand Bassa County, before a shipment of another consignment of arms could dock at the Buchanan port of entry. Taylor forces in Buchanan, weary of war, and avoiding a destructive confrontation with MODEL, deliberately surrendered Buchanan to MODEL to prevent the shipment of arms from docking knowing that the consignment of arms and ammunition “was sufficient to continue the war for years to come”, because the President was planning to “leave Monrovia and retreat into the interior of the country to continue his guerilla warfare”.

ECOWAS presented to Taylor a list of names of potential facilitators of the Peace conference and Taylor chose General Abdusalami Abubakar, former Military Head of State of Nigeria, from the ECOWAS list to mediate the peace conference scheduled for June 2003. The conference convened on June 4, 2003 with high hopes of an early ending as the ceasefire agreement was signed June 18, 2003, allaying all fears that the war would have been taken to the door steps of the Executive Mansion in a bloody struggle for power would have only continued the war with more resistance forces emerging, thereby exacerbating the worsening humanitarian situation.

Accountability and amnesty became contestable issues at the peace conference in a way no other previous conference or agreement had addressed. The only other prior reference to these transitional issues was the Cotonou Agreement of 1993 which provided for conditional amnesty of sort. This amnesty clause which refers repeatedly to acts committed “while in actual combat,” was “clearly understood at the time not to cover war crimes such as rape or other atrocities, according to those who took part in these talks”. In addition, that amnesty was contingent on a successful ceasefire and disarmament of forces, neither of which happened. A compromise at the Accra Conference was to proceed with the business of ending the conflict thus, deferring these matters to the future through the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

The June 18, 2003 ceasefire agreement called for a transitional government excluding Charles Taylor. The agreement was broken amid growing international and domestic pressure, even at the peace talks to end the conflict. On July 6, 2003, Charles Taylor announced he would step down and leave Liberia for exile in Nigeria. The decision to step down led to a swift move by the UN and the international community to support ECOWAS efforts to secure the peace and enforce the ceasefire. The US sent troops to protect its Embassy near Monrovia, triggering an angry demonstration over the lack of military intervention by the US. The bodies of 18 persons killed by mortar fire were placed at the front gates of the US Embassy in protest; demanding that the US do something to end the carnage.

On the eve of Liberia's 136th independence anniversary - July 25, 2003 - US President George Bush ordered a naval amphibious force including 2,300 marines to the coast of Liberia. On August 1, 2003, the UN Security Council authorized ECOWAS to launch peacekeeping mission in Liberia (ECOMIL) as a vanguard peacekeeping force which began deployment on August 4, 2003, when the first group of Nigerian peacekeepers arrived in Liberia. A seven-man US Marine team arrived on August 5, 2003 to assess logistical needs and assist with humanitarian efforts, Taylor resigned for exile on August 11, 2003 as his vice President, Moses Blah held on to the reins of power until the seating of the National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL) . Another batch of US Marines, approximately 200, landed on Liberian soil on August 14, 2003 to assist the ECOMIL peacekeepers, in securing the distribution of humanitarian supplies as the parties to the conflict – GOL, LURD, MODEL – signed the CPA establishing the NTGL on August 18, 2003.

Charles Gyude Bryant of the Liberia Action Party (LAP), by decision of the three warring factions, was selected from a short list of potentials including Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (obtained the highest votes of delegates) and Togba Nah Tipoteh, as Chairman of the LNTG on August 21, 2003, two days after the execution of the CPA. The US Marines withdrew on Liberia's Flag Day to warships off the Liberian Coast after eleven days on land, as an additional 650 ECOMIL forces deployed in Liberia. By September 11, 2003, ECOMIL troop level stood at approximately 3,500. On September 19, 2003, the UN Security Council unanimously approved a 15,000 peace keeping force – the largest in the world at the time - designated as the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). The first batch of UNMIL troops began deployment on October 1, 2003 as the ECOMIL troops were inducted into UNMIL. C. Gyude Bryant was inducted into office at a ceremony in Monrovia as head of the new Transitional Government of Liberia on October 14, 2003. The war ended in Liberia and a period for confronting post-conflict challenges of peace-building, reconstruction and reconciliation had begun. The TRC of Liberia was established by an Act of the Legislature in June (2005), to investigate human rights abuses during the period January 1979 to October 15, 2003 and "provide a forum that will address issues of impunity, as well as an opportunity for both victims and perpetrators of human rights violations to share their experiences in order to get a clear picture of the past and to facilitate genuine healing and reconciliation".



A TRC witness whose neck was cut with the blunt edge of a cutlass, he passed out and was left to die in the bush. Miraculously he survived but cannot move his neck

8

CONFRONTING THE BITTER PAST: Truth, Justice & Reconciliation

April 14th 1979	Constitutional violation*	The army and Police of Liberia	The offices of the PAL were ransacked because they were the organizers of the peaceful protest against the government	The Progressive Alliance of Liberia (PAL)
April 15,- June 26, 1979	Illegal arrest and detention	Government of the True Whig party	After the protests, the leadership of the PAL and their sympathizers were arrested and detained without due process	The PAL leadership and sympathizers
March, 1980	Illegal arrest and detention	The True Whig Party	The Progressive People's Party (PPP) staged a midnight march demanding the resignation of President Tolbert. The leadership of the party were arrested and imprisoned and the party banned	The PPP
April 12, 1980	Constitutional violation, military takeover and violation of human rights	The Armed Forces of Liberia	On the 12 of April, 1980, seventeen enlisted men of the AFL staged a military coup, overthrew the government and murdered the president in cold blood	President William Tolbert and some security personnel
April 22, 1980	Human rights violation, constitutional violation	The People Redemption Council under Doe	Thirteen officials of the Tolbert government were executed at a Monrovia beach after the military takeover. C. Cecil Dennis, Foreign Minister was denied asylum by the US Embassy in Monrovia and was subsequently executed.	Frank Tolbert, Cyril Bright, James A.A Pierre, Richard Henries, Frank Stewart, Cecil Dennis et al

8.2.3. Catalogue of Selected Human Rights Violations over the period 1979 – 2003 mostly documented by none TRC sources

February, 1979: Seven people including one woman (Allen Yancy et al) convicted and hanged in Harper, Maryland County for ritual (Gboyo) killings in 1976.

April 14, 1979: Brutal suppression by Government security of a pending mass demonstration over planned increase in the price of rice. More than 100 people were killed and some 500 injured, according to Liberian Government statements.

March 1980: A Major crackdown and arrest of Bacchus Matthews and opposition leaders and supporters by Tolbert government. Hundreds were rounded up around the country, beaten, tortured and dehumanized whilst in prison “awaiting trial”.

April 9, 1980: Government issued a “wanted dead or alive” hunt for members of the opposition. Many arrested, detained and tortured at the military facility of Post Stockade because of their political beliefs.

April 12, 1980: Samuel Doe's bloody overthrow of the TWP Government of William Tolbert. Scores were killed during the takeover on charges of corruption and human rights violations. On 17 April shadow trials without due process proceeded against 14 members of the deposed government. 13 were publicly executed on April 22nd. The prisoners were tied to stakes and shot in public view. Proceedings against another 10 detained former officials continued throughout May, and 400 other prisoners including, family members of the deposed president, remained in custody without charge or trial for a prolonged period.

March, 1981: Seven people were executed by hanging after being summarily convicted of alleged murder and conspiracy in influencing the conduct of armed men.

June, 1981: 14 lower-ranks soldiers were arrested and accused of plotting to overthrow the government and to assassinate several leading members. After a summary trial without defense counsel, 13 of the soldiers were sentenced to death and allegedly secretly executed in the Post Stockade prison, Monrovia.

Late January 1982: Sergeant David Gbedeh was executed by firing-squad after being convicted of murder by the Supreme Military Court.

February 3, 1982: Four soldiers executed by firing-squad without trial. They allegedly confessed during a hurried "preliminary investigation" by the military authorities to having participated in an armed robbery in which three other soldiers died.

1983: The Nimba Raid by supporters of Thomas Quiwonkpa in Yekepka, LAMCO Mining Company and government offices left many injured and rights violated.

February 8/9, 1984: Willis Knuckles, journalist for the Daily Observer Newspaper and a correspondent for the BBC in Liberia was detained at Post Stockade prison. He was severely beaten upon his arrest and also whipped during the following days.

June, 1984: Rufus Darpoh, a freelance journalist and former editor of the government controlled New Liberian Newspaper, was arrested and taken to maximum prison Belleh Yallah, under harsh conditions and released in November without charge.

April - October, 1985: In the months preceding the elections several leading opposition politicians and others were imprisoned. They included Dusty Wolokollie, a prominent member of the Liberian People's Party (LPP) and John Karweaye, another LPP member, after expressing doubts as to whether the elections would be fair. Both were released without charge.

July, 1985: Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, a leading member of the Liberian Action Party (LAP),

was placed under house arrest, and a few days later she was detained and moved to the Post Stockade prison. Tried before the Special Military Court and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for sedition, released twelve (12) days later.

November 1985: Random Campaign of terror in Nimba and other counties against the people of Nimba suspected of supporting the failed coup attempt of General Thomas Quiwonkpa on November 12. General Charles Julu of the Executive Mansion Guard Battalion (EMG) led the purge against the Nimba people. Human rights abuses including killings occurred on a substantial scale in the days following the failed coup. The victims appeared mostly to be civilians who had not been involved in the conspiracy but who were suspected by the government of being sympathetic towards Thomas Quiwonkpa. A number of people unconnected were killed including Charles Gbenyon, a senior television journalist working for the Liberian Broadcasting System, who was killed a few days after the coup at the Executive Mansion, official residence of Head of State Doe.

1987: John Vambo, a journalist, was also detained without charge in August and later released.

1987: Zaye Gontee a businesswoman, was arrested in May and detained incommunicado and without trial for over three months in the Post Stockade and later released.

1989: Gabriel William Kpoleh and nine other prisoners of conscience remained in prison throughout the year. They were convicted without due process and imprisoned under poor conditions.

October, 1989: D. Momolu Lavala and two other students including Benedict Garlawulo were detained illegally and without charge for two weeks and eventually killed in early 1990 reportedly by beheading.

January, 1990: The government said a number of rebels had been captured and would be brought to trial, but they appeared to include Gio and Mano civilians arrested in Monrovia. None was brought to trial and their fate remained unknown. Meanwhile a counterinsurgency by the AFL against people mainly of Nimba origin led to killings, burning of villages and looting. This forced 160,000 civilians in Nimba County to flee into Guinea and Ivory Coast from January to May. Massacres in May were led by Capt. James Chelly and Edwin Voker.

1990: Tecumsey Roberts was killed by Gen. Prince Y. Johnson at his Caldwell Base.

May, 1990: Angeline Watta Allison and two others sentenced to life imprisonment for

complicity to murder but appeared to be prisoners of conscience.

June 1990: Murder of Moses Duopu by Benjmin Yeatin for questioning the leadership status of Charles Taylor of the NPFL.

June 1990 Massacre of 27 Gio and Mano family members of the AFL by Moses Thomas, Moses Wright, James Chelly and George Dweh; reportedly under orders of Samuel Doe.

Between June and August 1990: Killing of prominent Liberians including Jackson F. Doe, Cooper Teah, Gabriel Kpolleh and up to 80 others associated with the NPFL in a purge authorized by Charles Taylor. Paul Vaye, Henry Kerdiah, George Mansuo and George Karsua effected the arrest in Buchanan, Grand Bassa County. Jackson F Doe was murdered in Zorgowee, Nimba County.

Early July 1990: Barkedu, Lofa County massacre of 500 ethnic Mandingoes by NPFL. An Imam was beheaded.

July 29, 1990: Massacre of over 500 men, women and children mainly of Gio and Mano ethnicity seeking refuge at the St. Peters Lutheran Church in Monrovia as reprisal for rebel attacks on Monrovia.

August 2, 1990: Massacre of 250 Gios and Manos seeking refuge at the JFK Hospital in Monrovia; allegedly led by George Dweh.

August, 1990: About 50 foreigners including Americans were detained by the NPFL. The NPFL also took prisoner, at least 30 Nigerians as well as nationals of Guinea and Ghana, as part of attacks on ECOWAS citizens whose countries were contributing troops to ECOMOG. There were reports of widespread arrests among the Ghanaian community living in areas under the NPFL's control in response to ECOWAS decision to deploy ECOMOG.

1991: The INPFL reportedly held one woman at its camp throughout 1991, having taken her prisoner in November 1990, and to be holding a number of children at an orphanage within the camp as human shield to deter a possible attack by ECOWAS forces.

February, 1991: The INPFL detained and ill-treated some seven members of the Interim Legislative Assembly for three days.

September, 1991: After the September (ULIMO) incursion into western Liberia from Sierra Leone, and again in December, foreign and Liberian aid workers were detained

for several days by the NPFL, assaulted and accused for spying.

June 1, 1992: Ambassador Albert Karpeh was killed by forces loyal to Alhaji Kromah over power struggle within the ULIMO movement.

April, 1992: Father Seraphino Dalpont was arrested by NPFL for possessing Interim Government currency and a Roman Catholic newsletter alleged to be seditious literature. He was released after paying a large fine, but re-arrested allegedly on suspicion of espionage. He was held in a police station in Gbarnga until mid-May, when he was released and deported to Cote d'Ivoire.

October 1992: Operation Octopus was the NPFL unprovoked attack on ECOMOG and Monrovia, left scores of civilians dead, paralyzed the city and created a humanitarian disaster.

October, 1992: Up to 300 orphans and a former government official were apparently taken away by NPFL forces on about 28 October from an orphanage near Gardnersville; orphans who escaped reportedly said that the NPFL was forcing the boys to fight for them.

October 1992: Five Catholic nuns were slain in Gardnersville, Monrovia during the Octopus attack, by Christopher Vambo and Edward Wowah of the NPFL .

June 6, 1993: Massacre of 600 displaced persons at a Harbel Camp within Firestone Plantation. The UN Wako Commission placed responsibility at the door steps of the AFL; observers and TRC findings hold the NPFL responsible for the massacre in which the victims were burned on the outskirts of the camp.

November, 1993: The NPFL detained UN aid workers for several days accusing them of spying. They were later released.

November, 1993: After thousands of refugees had fled the fighting in Sierra Leone into Lofa County, ULIMO forces reportedly took about 300 persons as prisoner, on suspicion of being supporters of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF).

1993: Murder of six Senegalese ECOMOG soldiers by Oliver Varney, Timothy Mulbah and Joe Doe in Vahun on orders of Charles Taylor and defense Minister Thomas Woeweyu. The bodies were dumped in a Vahun Valley.

September 1990-1994: The four major Industrials Plank or logging companies in Maryland County, equipment and other valuable materials were looted by General Moses Z. Blah, former vice President who later served as the President of the Republic

of Liberia in the year 2003, along with Generals Sumo and Toe, all of NPFL.

1994: The late John Hilary Tubman was a top businessman and prominent citizen of Maryland County. All his Money and other properties were taken from him and he was later killed by Jack the Rebel of the NPFL.

May, 1994: The LPC reportedly detained 10 Ugandan UNOMIL soldiers, releasing them a few days later.

May, 1994: In separate incidents Mandingo ULIMO fighters held hostage 17 UN employees delivering food aid and 16 Nigerian ECOMOG soldiers, accusing them of supporting the rival ethnic Krahn ULIMO faction. They were released after a few days.

June, 1994: AFL soldiers detained UNOMIL staff at Schiefflin barracks near Monrovia for three days.

June, 1994: Krahn ULIMO fighters took hostage six unarmed UNOMIL officers in Tubmanburg for two days, reportedly beating them and subjecting them to mock executions.

July, 1994: The NPFL was reported to be holding about 25 ECOMOG soldiers and 30 long-term political prisoners.

September 9, 1994: The NPFL arrested 43 unarmed UMOMIL observers and 6 NGO workers and held them at nine different sites. Thirty three were released after 5 days and the rest were released by 18 September. The UN reported that some were beaten and terrorized by their captors.

September, 1994: NPFL fighters reportedly detained 43 UNOMIL officers and six aid workers in various parts of the country for up to 10 days.

September, 1994 Massacre of 100 persons hospitalized at Phebe Hospital. They were mostly fleeing hostilities between NPFL and ULIMO K.

November, 1994: LPC fighters reportedly took 10 girls captive in Sabo Wofiken, slashing their feet and forcing them to walk back to the fighters' base in Sinoe County.

December 15, 1994: Cow Field massacre of 48 civilians, while they were asleep, on Duport Road, Monrovia by the NPFL.

1994-1995: The Liberia Peace Council also looted the Cavalla Rubber Plantation (CRC) and Décor company equipment and materials.

January 1995: LPC fighters killed 18 civilians in Grand Kru County.

January, 1996: In the area around Tubmanburg, ULIMO-J detained 130 ECOMOG troops who had been engaged in clearing mines and held them for 10 days as a shield against attacks.

February, 1996: Eight (8) aid workers were held for three days by the LPC in southeastern Liberia.

April 6, 1996: Monrovia- fighting to arrest Roosevelt Johnson, in a combined NPFL/ULIMO operation, with support of ECOMOG, devastated the City, imposed economic and financial hardships and caused deaths. During the fighting in Monrovia, members of ECOMOG and other foreign nationals were held at the Barclay Training Centre Military barracks by Krahn troops loyal to Roosevelt Johnson.

April 18, 1996 Murder of 12 persons in Zuanna Town and Bloun Town, Bomi County. Group of fighters stormed the displace camp and burned it down along with Karmo Town.

November 1996: The late Samuel Kwah Mensah who once served as Superintendent from 1992-1994 for Maryland County was accused of conniving with LPC and was beaten for about four hours and later killed by a group of soldiers under the command of General Toe who served as Deputy Minister of Defense in the NTGL government, Sumo and Compaore (Gambian) all of the NPFL.

During the period of 2001-2003: During the period from 2001-2003, about 750-1000 civilians, comprising of pregnant women, children, of 12-18 years old, elderly people were taken from their hiding places (bushes) villages, towns and forests by LURD soldiers and forced to carry ammunition on their heads from Fassama to Macenta and Bopolu. These civilians were not allowed to go further into Guinea, but some brave ones would escape while many others were killed whenever they complained about hunger or tiredness while in route. The content or consignment of goods and ammunition which they were often forced to carry had an average weight of about 50-75kg. Women and girls were used as domestic slaves to pound rice and cooked while others were sexually abused.

March 7, 2002: Police arrested and detained five Human Rights Activists Tunny Zeogar, Peter Nicholson, John Okai, Sam Nimely and Aloysius Toe for protesting the arrest of New Deal Movement Chairman Nigba Wiaplah.

October 28, 2002: Police arrested Blamoh Sieh, Director, National Human Rights Center

and three staff members from the Center for Protection of Human Rights.

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 soldiers beat and injured a local 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: ECOMOG soldiers beat and injured a local British Broadcasting

Corporation journalist, apparently because he had criticized ECOMOG in his reports.

September, 1994: LPC fighters allegedly cut off the fingers and ears of Albert Mende, a journalist.

1995: LPC fighters, operating with the support of the AFL, systematically swept through rural areas in southeastern Liberia, robbing, torturing and intimidating people and forcing them to take refuge in Buchanan or other places under ECOMOG control. Many of those fleeing to Buchanan in February were reported to have been bayoneted, shot or flogged by LPC fighters. At the time, large numbers of people, perhaps as many as 6000, were reportedly being held by the LPC in the compounds of an agriculture company, where many were raped.

April, 1995: ULIMO-K set ablaze the towns of Fassama, Zuanna 1 and Zuanna 2. Survivors reported rapes, abductions and looting.

April, 1995: Benjamin Wilson, a journalist with "The Eye", was beaten by police when he refused to give them photographs he had taken of damages at a refugee compound in Monrovia.

June, 1995: UNICEF workers in Buchanan reported that they had registered 652 cases of women who had been raped, mostly by members of the warring factions, within a period less than 6 months.

July, 1995: Bill Jarkloh, a journalist with "The News", was beaten unconscious by ULIMO-J fighters. He had been interviewing Roosevelt Johnson when fighters stormed the building and he tried to photograph the incident. Three of those involved in the attack were arrested by ECOMOG and then handed over to the ULIMO-J high command.

September, 1995: James Momoh, a journalist with "The Inquirer" was beaten by ECOMOG soldiers when trying to photograph AFL soldiers at a check-point.

March, 1996: NPFL officials shot two men in the legs after they were found threatening civilians.

Additional Extrajudicial Executions; Unlawful killing of civilians including massacres

1990: The predominantly Gio and Mano rebel forces summarily killed government officials and others considered to be supporters of President Doe's government, particularly members of the Krahn ethnic group and the Muslim Mandingo

community.

1990: An unknown number of prisoners were executed after unfair trials before special courts set up by the rebels. At least a hundred people – government officials and members of the Krahn and Mandingo ethnic groups – were reportedly executed after being convicted of “crimes against the people” or of supporting the government.

January, 1990: Hundreds of unarmed civilians were killed by rebels and government troops in Nimba County in northeast Liberia.

January, 1990: A former prisoner of conscience, Robert Philips, was brutally murdered at his home in Monrovia by an AFL Death squad.

May, 1990: At least 30 Gio and Mano men, women and children were abducted by government soldiers from a UN compound where hundreds were seeking protection. They were then apparently executed extra judicially by the AFL.

June, 1990: A government soldier was executed by firing squad after being convicted by a court-martial of murdering a civilian.

June, 1990: Several hundred Gio and Mano soldiers were reported to have been arrested. Some appear to have been extra judicially executed - their bodies were found in the streets, although the government said that 150 had been released.

July, 1990: Large-scale killings occurred when predominantly Gio and Mano rebel groups entered Monrovia. One rebel leader was said, by eye-witnesses, to have personally shot four people dead in cold blood, including a Red Cross worker and a woman whom he shot in the face in front of her child.

August, 1990: In Grand Gedeh County, the NPFL forces were responsible for indiscriminate killings of people belonging to the Krahn ethnic group. Former government minister, Senator Fred J. Blay and Representative William T. Jabbah were reportedly executed by the INPFL; they did not appear to have had any form of trial.

September 10, 1990: The assassination of Liberian President Samuel Doe by Prince Yormie Johnson, leader of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), after being captured the day before at the temporary headquarters of the ECOMOG.

October, 1990: Two Nigerian journalists detained by the NPFL, Tayo Awotunsin and Krees Imodibie, were reportedly executed extra judicially. TRC findings revealed that they were executed by food deprivation; they were allowed to starve till death in NPFL Prison.

1991: Accord between Charles Taylor and Firestone. The management at Firestone had an arrangement with factional leadership during the war to organize protection and export of their product. Firestone paid the NPFL \$2million annually for protection. NPFL's "G-2" security forces compelled rubber workers to continue work in exchange for use of Firestone communications equipment and a base for Operation Octopus that began in October, 1992.

1991: The NPFL was responsible for the killings of hundreds of members of the Krahn ethnic group and members of the Mandingo community in Grand Gedeh County, who were targeted for formerly supporting the Doe government. NPFL continued to detain, torture, and kill civilians in other areas under their control.

1991: The INPFL killed Angeline Watta Allison. It was also reported that her husband, a former defense minister, Major-General Gray Dioh Allison, was taken from his prison cell in Belleh Yellah and executed by the NPFL.

September, 1991: It was reported that a number of NPFL soldiers had been extra judicially executed after attempting to assassinate Charles Taylor. However, these reports were denied by the NPRAG administration. It said that an NPFL officer had been executed after a special court-martial had convicted him of murdering five soldiers.

October 20, 1991: Arrest of Jackson F. Doe. Paul Vaye, Henry Kerdiah, George Mansuo, and George Karsuo arrested Jackson Doe in Buchanan, Grand Bassa County, on the orders of Charles Taylor and murdered him in the town of Zorgowee in Nimba County.

January, 1992: The INPFL had executed at least three of their own soldiers at an NPFL camp near Monrovia for being in possession of new currency issued by the Interim Government.

April, 1992: NPRAG authorities charged four senior NPFL officers with the murder of seven suspected ULIMO supporters in Buchanan. Three were later released and it was not known if the other was tried.

July 3, 1992: NPFL fighters allegedly killed nine forestry workers in Jendemana.

August, 1992: When ULIMO seized NPFL-controlled territory, both NPFL and ULIMO forces were alleged to have killed civilians suspected of supporting the other side in the fighting.

August, 1992: Several dissident NPFL soldiers were reportedly executed by the NPFL for their involvement in an attempted assassination of Charles Taylor in which a

bodyguard was killed.

October, 1992: During the Octopus attack on Monrovia, NPFL forces were reported to have deliberately killed civilians and taken other prisoners. NPFL troops reportedly abducted 50 people and killed others when they took control of Louisiana Township near the capital.

October 20, 1992: Two nuns, both US nationals, a Liberian man employed by the nuns' convent and two ECOMOG soldiers were killed in the nuns' car near Barnersville apparently by the NPFL.

October 23, 1992: Six NPFL soldiers entered the nuns' convent in the suburb of Gardnersville, killed three other American nuns and a Lebanese businessman, and abducted the businessman's Liberian wife, two other Liberian women with their four children, and four Liberian novices. Those abducted were apparently later released. NPRAG officials denied that NPFL forces were responsible.

Late October, 1992: The NPFL allegedly killed more than 25 people in Maryland County, apparently because they were suspected of supporting ULIMO.

October, 1992: Civilians in Monrovia were subjected to ill-treatment, harassment and looting by AFL and ULIMO troops. At least six people were reported to have been summarily executed by these forces on suspicion of being NPFL fighters.

November, 1992: ECOMOG forces threatened to shoot on sight any member of the armed forces who broke a night curfew imposed in Monrovia.

January, 1993: Two unnamed soldiers were reportedly executed in January after being convicted of looting by an AFL court martial.

January, 1993: AFL soldiers found responsible for extrajudicial execution of Brian Garnham, manager of a research laboratory.

February, 1993: ULIMO reportedly executed eight of its fighters in February for looting and harassing civilians.

February, 1993: 13 elders at Haindi were held responsible for the drowning of a ULIMO commander when his canoe capsized. They were executed.

March, 1993: ULIMO summarily executed 114 young men in Zorzor suspected of supporting the NPFL. Refugees who fled to neighboring Guinea were reportedly either forcibly returned to Liberia or executed in Guinea after perfunctory investigations by

an illegal Court of Liberian exiles based in Macenta and apparently linked to ULIMO.

April, 1993: When ECOMOG forces took Buchanan in April, civilians who refused to flee with the NPFL were apparently killed by NPFL soldiers.

May, 1993: In an attack on Fasama, a town under ULIMO control, about 200 civilians were reportedly killed indiscriminately by NPFL soldiers.

July, 1993: ULIMO was alleged to have extra judicially executed as many as 300 members of the Lorma ethnic group in Voinjama who opposed their control of the town.

August/September, 1993: Reports of NPFL attacks on Liberian refugees in camps close to the border in Cote d'Ivoire or as they returned to tend their crops in south-eastern Liberia. Several were reportedly killed.

September, 1993: A UN inquiry found that the AFL had been responsible for the extra judicial executions of nearly 600 unarmed civilians- mostly women, children and elderly people- at displaced people's camps near Harbel in June. This report by the WAKO Commission is disputed by findings of the TRC to the effect that NPFL committed the atrocities.

October, 1993: ULIMO fighters reportedly killed large numbers of people from the Kissi ethnic group in Foya district.

October, 1993: Hundreds of civilians died or were deliberately killed during ULIMO takeover of Lofa and Bong Counties and the NPFL recapture of Bong County. Countless civilians who remained after the recapture were killed by the NPFL.

October, 1993: Sierra Leonean Revolutionary United Front forces were reported to have killed civilians in Lofa County on suspicion of supporting opposing forces.

October, 1993: Liberian Peace Council fighters reportedly killed civilians who refused to join them in Sinoe County in the southeast.

December, 1993: LPC fighters killed nine church ministers in Greenville after accusing them of being "anti-Krahn".

June, 1994: Mandingo ULIMO fighters reportedly killed at least four civilians and took women hostage for money when they burned and looted villages in the Tienne area.

June 17, 1994: ULIMO fighters raided the village of Goe. They forced all the villagers

to assemble at a central point and accused them of supporting a rival ULIMO group. They burnt houses and looted extensively. They also tied up the village chief in his hut and set it on fire.

June 19, 1994: An ULIMO group led by commander Keita killed six people from the Bangorama village and burnt down the house of the local chief.

June 23, 1994: An ULIMO-K group attacked the village of Ngojah and murdered two people. They were tied up and their throats slit.

July, 1994: In Barnablo Beach, LPC fighters allegedly tied the victims' arms behind their backs, burned them severely with heated machetes, forced them to carry looted goods to another village and shot dead one man who had collapsed on the way.

July, 1994: LDF fighters reportedly killed more than 70 civilians in the village of Worzi, near Zorzor, Lofa County.

August, 1994: Mandingo ULIMO fighters allegedly killed at least 20 civilians in Gbesseh, Lofa County.

August/September, 1994: An ULIMO Court ordered the execution by firing-squad of civilians whom it suspected to be NPFL supporters.

August/September, 1994: Mandingo ULIMO fighters reportedly killed civilians in Lofa and Bong Counties.

August, 1994: The NPFL was reportedly to have executed up to 80 of its own fighters, without trial, and to have tortured and killed Lieutenant-General Nixon Gaye, an NPFL Commander, for leading a mutiny against Charles Taylor.

September, 1994: The massacre of over 100 persons who were hospitalized and/or seeking shelter at the Phebe Hospital. Some of those killed were fleeing fighting between ULIMO-K and NPFL. The NPFL is alleged to have committed the crime.

September, 1994: NPFL fighters tied up at least 20 men, women and children and threw them into the St. John River at Baila Bridge.

September, 1994: At least two Tanzanian UNOMIL soldiers were killed in Kakata when Krahn ULIMO fighters reportedly attacked a convoy of civilians fleeing Gbarnga, which included UNOMIL observers and aid workers.

September, 1994: NPFL fighters reportedly shot dead some 100 people in Palala, Bong

County, on suspicion of being ULIMO supporters.

September, 1994: LPC fighters in Greenville were reported to have killed Marie Tokpa, a girl from the Kpelle ethnic group, who resisted being raped.

September, 1994: LPC fighters reportedly assembled the inhabitants of Kpolokpala, Kokoya District, Bong County, killed 30 alleged NPFL fighters and supporters with machetes, then shot dead 15 other civilians prisoners and fired into the crowd. TRC investigations confirmed.

September, 1994: NPFL fighters robbed and killed civilians as they fled fighting for the control of Gbarnga with ULIMO.

October, 1994: From October NPFL fighters reportedly killed scores of civilians in Maryland County whom they suspected of supporting the LPC, among them Simon Gyekye, a Ghanaian school principal in Pleebo.

October, 1994: LPC fighters apparently fired on assembled civilians in Zanzaye, killing scores of them.

November, 1994: LPC fighters allegedly killed 12 residents of Sabo Wofiken.

December, 1994: More than 50 civilians were massacred at Paynesville. Responsibility was unclear but witnesses said the attackers were Krahn AFL soldiers.

December, 1994: The NPFL executed six (6) senior commanders held responsible for the fall of Gbarnga in September, apparently after a court-martial.

December 15, 1994: The massacre of 48 civilians at Cow Field, Duport Road, Montserrado County. The civilians were murdered and burned by Paul Vaye, Sam Lartoe and other soldiers from the NPFL while they were asleep in their homes.

January 1995: Liberian Peace Council (LPC) fighters killed eighteen (18) citizens in Grand Kru County.

April, 1995: UNICEF representatives reported a massacre in Yourcee, a village near Buchanan. They stated that at least 62 people, including women and children, had been rounded up and killed – most had been hacked to death. The UNICEF workers could not determine who was responsible for the massacre; the area had been controlled by the NPFL but was contested by the LPC.

June, 1995: Clashes between ULIMO factions in Royesville left many civilians dead;

survivors were raped and terrorized.

August, 1995: After the peace agreement, it was reported that NPFL fighters had been responsible for the massacre of at least 75 civilians in the Tappita area, Nimba County. Although he discounted the figure of those killed, Charles Taylor, leader of the NPFL, stated that some NPFL members had been arrested and would face court-martial for these acts.

November, 1995: At least four LPC commanders were executed by firing-squad on the orders of a specially constituted court. According to reports, the execution followed a two-week investigation into human rights abuses.

December, 1995: UNOMIL observers commenting on the human rights situation in Tubmanburg confirmed that ULIMO-J had forced civilians out of the hospital where they had sought refuge from the fighting and had used them as "human shields" to protect their positions.

January, 1996: Members of the LPC killed, raped, and harassed members of the Grebo ethnic group in southeast Liberia.

January, 1996: The buried remains of five civilians were exhumed in Tubmanburg, together with those of nine ECOMOG soldiers, allegedly killed by ULIMO-J. One of the victims had been decapitated and, according to a pathologist, another had apparently been tied up and then shot.

February, 1996: Lieutenant Prince Musa of the NPFL was killed a few minutes after being found guilty by a court-martial of killing a civilian who refused to hand over money.

March, 1996: At least four (4) civilians were reportedly killed when LPC combatants in Buchanan opened fire on them after running over a pedestrian with their vehicle.

April 6, 1996: The attempted arrest of Roosevelt Johnson by the NPFL and ULIMO-K with ECOMOG support. The attempt led to the third battle for Monrovia, in which the US government supported the beleaguered ULIMO-J troops.

April 18, 1996: The murder of twelve (12) persons in Zuanna Town and Bloun Town, Bomi County. A group of fighters stormed the area and burned down the displacement camp and Karmo Town.

April & May, 1996: Fighters loyal to the NPFL publicly displayed the head of a ULIMO-J fighter who had been shot and then decapitated.

April & May, 1996: The body of Benson Gwyan, former Managing Director of the Forestry Development Agency, was found near the police academy in Paynesville. He was reportedly killed by the NPFL.

May, 1996: Five (5) bodies were found on Benson Street, Monrovia. The victims reportedly had their ears cut off or their throats cut before being shot, following fighting between ULIMO-J and the NPFL.

July, 1996: Aid workers reported that ULIMO-K was restricting the movement of civilians in a displaced camp in Suehn and starving the inhabitants to cause food supplies to be diverted to their troops. ULIMO-K released some 60 starving children within a few days but did not permit the evacuation of other inhabitants for a further two weeks.

September, 1996: Dozens of civilians were killed after clashes between ULIMO-J and ULIMO-K. At least 21 civilians were killed in Sinje, Cape Mount County, reportedly by ULIMO-K. One of those killed was a baby girl, whose skull had been fractured.

September 28, 1996: The massacre of about seventeen citizens in Sinje, Grand Cape Mount County according to a UN press release issued by the Special Representative of the Secretary General, Amb. Anthony B. Nyakyi.

1996: An LPC official publicly stated that LPC fighters responsible for the killing of three civilians in Buchanan would be executed.

The Charles Taylor Era (1997-2003)

November 28, 1997: The murder of Samuel Dokie, a former ally of Taylor, was allegedly murdered by Taylor's special security forces after defecting to found the Central Revolutionary Council (CRC). Dokie was arrested with his family at a checkpoint in Gbarnga. The Special Security Services (SSS), a government force within Liberia dedicated to the protection of the president, ordered the arrest and killing. Benjamin Yeaten is linked.

December 16, 1997: The murder of Daniel Nyenkan. Nyenkan was found dead somewhere near Freeport, Monrovia with bruises all over his body.

April, 1998: The discovery of a mass grave in Zorzor, Lofa County. The NPFL has been implicated. The victims, including pregnant women, were bound at the hands and legs before being buried alive in shallow graves.

July 10, 1998: The abduction of Nowai Flomo, a prominent market woman, was taken by nine members of the SSS. She was allegedly abducted from her house at about 11:00

a.m.

September 18, 1998: The attack on Roosevelt Johnson on Camp Johnson Road. The attack claimed the lives of between 53 to 100 people. Johnson and others fled to the US Embassy for protection and were later evacuated to Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

September 19, 1998: The execution of 1,500 Liberian civilians at dawn. The execution took place pursuant to President Taylor's order that Roosevelt Johnson be evicted from his residence. The operation was spearheaded by Col. Junior Fania, Leo Jebo, Saah Gbollie, Joe Tuah, General Eric Sway, Arthur Saah and Benedict Mentee.

September 19, 1998: The murder of thirteen (13) Krahn individuals on Shiefflin highway by Mark Guahn.

August 10, 1999: The massacre of about 25 Quardu-Gboni individuals. The massacre took place in Nekebozu, Lofa County by militia men.

September 2, 1999: The massacre of about 25 persons in Nekebozu, Lofa County. The massacre was blamed on the Defense Minister, Daniel Chea.

September 28, 1999: The murder of Papa George. Henrique Cassell, the Deputy Commissioner of Immigration and brother-in-law of President Taylor, shot Mr. George, a taxi driver, for overtaking him on a road. Cassell moves around freely without any published knowledge of how he got released from prison.

October 10, 1999: The massacre of about twenty (20) civilians by Siafa Norman.

2000: The summary execution of more than 100 persons at the Gbartala ATU Training Base in Bong County by Charles Taylor, Jr. Some of the victims were trainees charged with failing to follow instructions.

January, 2000: The massacre of eighteen (18) Mandingo persons in Bawon Town, Zorzor District, Lofa County.

January, 2000: The massacre of 26 unarmed civilians in Gbah, Bomi County. The civilians were accused of being supporters of LURD and were killed on the orders of Melvin Sogbandi.

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 Konia, 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 Maher 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.

February 28, 2003: The murder of Kara Lund, Emmanuel Sharpolor, and Musa Keita of the Adventist Development Relief Agency by Gbor Vaye in Toe's Town, Grand Gedeh County.

June 4, 2003: The murder of John Yormie and Isaac Vaye on the orders of Benjamin Yeaten in Paynesville, Montserrado County. Yormie, the Deputy Minister for National

Security, and Vaye, the Deputy Minister for Public Works, were arrested by a group of armed men acting under the command of one "Banana" of the SSS who was acting on the orders of Benjamin Yeaten. They were brought to Monrovia and interrogated before they were killed. Their bodies were dumped on the train tracks but have not been found.

May 6, 2003: The massacre of Samuel Bockarie, his wife, mother, and two children in Nimba County by Adolphus Sampson, Gola Red, Alphonso Nyanay and Marcus High Grade on the orders of Benjamin Yeaten.

May 26, 2003: The murder of a family of five at the railroad bridge near Gban, Nimba County by Adolphus Sampson. Sampson, the Special Bodyguard to Benjamin Yeaten, murdered the family upon seeing them with 75,000 Liberian Dollars and two pieces of diamonds.

May, 2003: The murder of 24 persons on Lofa Bridge by General Sekou Kromah of the LURD and his men.

June 9, 2003: The murder of eighteen (18) persons at the Stockton Creek Bridge in Monrovia by Charles Taylor, Jr. The victims were POWs arrested by General Roland Duo's men.

June/July, 2003: The murder of 42 persons on the Johnson Street Bridge in Monrovia by Lomax and Marcus High Grade. Lomax was the artillery crew commander of the Wild Geese. High Grade was the bodyguard to Yeaten and Nyenay. The victims were accused of looting and summarily executed.

July, 2003: The murder of 78 wounded soldiers by Marcus High Grade and Gola Red on the instruction of Benjamin Yeaten at Combat Camp. The soldiers, who had demanded payment from Charles Taylor, were transported from Monrovia to the camp under the pretense that they were going to be paid.

July, 2003: The summary execution of 26 persons in Klay by General Abbas of LURD. The victims were arrested on Bushrod Island as POWs.

September 8-20, 2003: The feeding of 26 living persons to Charles Taylor's lions by Joseph Zigzag Marzah at Tubman Farm, Bong County. This was the prescribed punishment for crimes.

October 11-26, 2003: The execution of over 26 persons on the Po-River, Tubmanburg highway on the orders of General Wasue Donzo of the LURD. Some of the bodies were dumped in the Po River. Nineteen (19) mass graves were discovered by researchers

for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Lofa County. Locals attributed the dumping to Marine Chief of Staff, Roland Duo.

Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, Torture and Ill-treatment

February – May, 1997: ECOMOG forces undertook cordon-and-search operations to find hidden weapons. More than 70 people were arrested and held in secret detention camps on suspicion of possessing weapons. Most of them were tortured or ill-treated.

February, 1997: An ECOMOG patrol arrested 25 suspected former combatants in Grand Cape Mount County, took them to Monrovia and held them in a secret cell at the ECOMOG base. They were reportedly beaten with electric wire.

February, 1997: Four dock workers suspected of being former United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy-Johnson branch (ULIMO-J) fighters were arrested in Sayon Town and taken to the ECOMOG base in Monrovia. There, three ECOMOG soldiers reportedly beat them with wire on their backs, shoulders and legs and kicked them.

May, 1997: ECOMOG soldiers based in Fendell traveled to grand Cape Mount County to conduct a cordon-and-search operation at Lajoy goldmine. During interrogation, six former fighters and three civilians were reportedly slashed with razor blades. One former combatant died during the night following the beating. The other victims reportedly had swollen faces, injured eyes, slashed wounds and hearing problems.

September, 1997: Liberian police and ECOMOG soldiers assaulted a group of some 500 employees of the Firestone Plantations Company in Harbel, near Monrovia, who were demonstrating peacefully for the release of four colleagues held by the company's security staff. Police and soldiers reportedly beat the workers with batons and gun butts, and then opened fire, injuring seven people.

April, 1999: At least 34, people mainly of Krahn ethnicity were charged with treason following fighting in September 1998. In April, 13 of the defendants were acquitted. Observers at the trial expressed concerns about the competence of the court and irregularities in the trial proceedings. Some of the defendants complained 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.

1999: A group of military officers, nine of whom were charged with sedition, was arrested in connection with the fighting in Monrovia of September 1998 and brought to trial during 1999. Their trial was suspended several times by a Court Martial Board amid controversy about the government's reported failure to ensure adequate financial

resources for the trial. By the end of 1999, the trial was suspended indefinitely. Concerns were also expressed about the perceived lack of guarantees for a fair trial and about alleged intimidation of defense lawyers. Moreover, the defendants were reportedly ill-treated and held in conditions which might have amounted to cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment. They were reported to have been regularly denied food and medical care. On at least one occasion defendants fainted during the trial proceedings, reportedly because they had been denied food for several days. The prisoners were also repeatedly beaten and flogged in the early days of their detention.

February, 2000: A court martial convicted four army officers of sedition - General Joseph Jarlee, Major Alphonso Dubar, Master Sergeant Alexander Gee and Private Okpakakpu Mongar - and sentenced them to 10 years' imprisonment. Five other officers were acquitted. There were concerns that the trial did not meet international standards for fair trial and about the alleged intimidation of defense lawyers. The defendants, who were reportedly beaten following their arrest, continued to be detained in harsh conditions at a military barracks. General Jarlee was reportedly denied adequate food or medical treatment.

August, 2000: The Liberian government issued an arrest warrant for Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, an opposition leader in exile, to face treason charges, with 14 others, for allegedly supporting the insurgents. Of those charged, only Raleigh Seekie was still in detention awaiting trial at the end of 2000. Several other civilians suspected of supporting the insurgents were reported to have been arrested in Monrovia and in other parts of the country. It was not known whether they had been released by the end of the year.

December, 2000: The Supreme Court heard appeals by 13 people convicted of treason in April, 1999 and by the prosecution in the same case which called for longer prison sentences. The Court increased the sentences from 10 to 20 years' imprisonment. In April 1999, the Criminal Court had given as its reason for a lenient sentence the "need for genuine reconciliation in the country". The trial had been marred by irregularities and some of the defendants had been beaten severely following their arrest. Most were former government officials serving 10-year prison sentences in the Central Prison, Monrovia, where they were reportedly harassed and denied adequate medical care.

May, 2001: Over 100 men and boys in Bong County in northern Liberia were arrested as suspected dissidents. They were subsequently detained at Gbartala military base for periods of up to a month and reportedly tear gassed, had acid thrown at them, denied water and starved. Several reportedly died as a result.

April, 2001: As many as 15,000 fleeing civilians were halted for several weeks at the St. Paul River on the border between Lofa and Bong Counties by the Liberian security

forces. Civilians were subjected to violations such as torture, including rape and forced recruitment into the security forces. There were reportedly numerous deaths from starvation, disease and unsanitary conditions.

June, 2001: A 29-year-old man was captured by the LURD while trying to flee the fighting. His hands were tied behind his back. He was detained for several days with two other men and a woman. He reportedly witnessed the deliberate shooting and killing of the two other men on the orders of a high-ranking officer. The woman was reported to have been raped. Both the woman and the man eventually escaped.

June & July, 2001: On several occasions ATU and police forces reportedly entered a camp for internally displaced people in Bong County, fired in the air, seized men and boys and took them to Gbatala military base where they were severely ill-treated.

November, 2001: Two Nigerian nationals reportedly died in custody as a result of torture after being arrested on suspicion of stealing jewellery from a deputy government minister, Bedell Fahn. The deputy minister and members of the security forces were subsequently arrested, tried and convicted.

December, 2001: A 14-year-old boy in Gbarnga, Bong County, was shot dead for participating in a student demonstration by police who subsequently said that he was an armed robber.

January, 2002: A LURD commander forced several men from Kolahun, Lofa County, to carry ammunition. Two were shot in the leg for not walking fast enough, one of whom later died.

February 24, 2002: ATU and SOD forces arrested 45 young men at a displaced people's camp in Monrovia. They were released the following day after payments by their families.

February, 2002: In Tubmanburg, four men suspected for being "dissidents" were reportedly tortured by members of the ATU; one subsequently died. A surviving victim described his scrotum being beaten with a hammer. Arrest and ill-treatment of suspected opponents continued after the lifting of the state of emergency in September.

June, 2002: During an attack by the LURD on a refugee camp at Sinje, Grand Cape Mount County, five nurses working with a Liberian medical relief organization were abducted and held until September.

December, 2002: Leading members of the Inter-Religious Council of Liberia, David Kiazolu and Christopher Toe, were arrested, apparently suspected of collaborating

with the LURD.

December 11, 2002: Five members of opposition political parties were arrested in Grand Bassa County and taken to Monrovia where they remained held without charge before being released.

December 14, 2002: Throble Suah, a journalist on The Inquirer Newspaper, was stopped in the street of Monrovia and severely beaten by security forces, believed to be ATU members; he required urgent medical treatment.

Rape and Other Forms of Sexual Violence

March, 1999: Members of the military, searching for a missing man, detained and beat elders in the village of Dambala, Grand Cape Mount County. Villagers complained that the soldiers had raped several women and had looted money and goods. The alleged violations followed several hours of shooting in the village. Military authorities admitted that looting had occurred but denied the allegations of violence and rape.

June, 2001: A 17-year-old woman was seized in Vahun district by an ATU officer, detained and gang-raped repeatedly over 10 days. When she was released, her life was threatened if she told anyone.

February, 2002: A woman aged 23 who had fled her home was gang-raped and severely beaten by security forces in Margibi County.

May, 2002: As thousands of civilians fled fighting around Gbarnga as many as 20 women reported that they had been raped by security forces. They included a 19 year old raped by four government militia. Another woman was abducted, held for two days and reportedly raped by an ATU member.

August, 2002: Three women fleeing to Guinea were abducted by LURD combatants between Kotolahun and Honyahun. They were forced to carry loads and then raped. Those responsible were subsequently beaten by their commanders.

February, 2003: B.D., aged 18, from Bomi County, was captured by LURD forces in February, 2003 and forced to become the "wife" of a LURD combatant. A child was begotten out of the illicit relationship.

November, 2003: Persistent reports of killings, beatings, abduction and rape by MODEL forces were received. A 60-year-old man, narrated to Amnesty International how MODEL forces attacked Graie on November 1, 2003 burning most of the houses in Graie, Nimba County. Tied some people, beat them with cutlasses and stripped

people-both men and women.

April, 2003: Abduction of civilians from displaced peoples camps by LURD forces.

Repression on Human Rights Defenders; Opposition Leaders

July, 1997: During the election campaign, there were numerous reports of intimidation and harassment by former combatants, particularly in the north and the southeast of the country and by former members of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). Both were accused of threatening civilians and some returning refugees.

September, 1997: Philip Wesseh, managing director of an independent newspaper, The Inquirer, questioned police methods in dealing with alleged armed robbers. He was arrested and interrogated for several hours.

November, 1997: Samuel Dokie, former deputy speaker of the recently dissolved Transitional Legislative Assembly and a former Minister of Internal Affairs, his wife, Janet Dokie, and two other relatives were arrested by officials of the Special Security Service. In early December their bodies were found in a burned car; Samuel Dokie had reportedly been beheaded.

December, 1997: Seven journalists with The Inquirer Newspaper were taken to the President's residence, the Executive Mansion, in connection with an article about the killing of Samuel Dokie. They were questioned for two hours by members of the Special Security Services, who reportedly told them that some journalists might be killed if they did not improve their work.

December, 1997: Alex Redd, a journalist with Radio Ducor, was abducted by plainclothes security officials, apparently in connection with interviews he had carried out while covering Samuel Dokie's funeral. He was abducted some 150 kilometres outside the capital, Monrovia, but was found two days later in police custody in the city. He had reportedly been beaten and bore knife wounds. His captors had apparently abandoned him in the capital with his arms still tied behind his back and he had been handed over to the police. He was held for questioning and charged with treason but after six days in formal police custody the charges were reduced to felony and he was released on bail.

January, 1999: A journalist was arrested and detained in January for four days, apparently because of his investigative work on the involvement of Liberia in the Sierra Leonean conflict. He was allegedly beaten and held naked. He was accused of treason and espionage, but no formal charges were brought against him. The police authorities denied his arrest. His fiancée was briefly detained when she tried to locate him. A few

weeks later, he was again seized by plainclothes security officers, and released only after the intercession of senior officials and foreign representatives. He had previously been arrested and reportedly tortured in August 1998.

March, 1999: Police briefly detained Isaac Menyongai of the Heritage newspaper for refusing to disclose the source of his article about a South African businessman's ties to Liberian officials.

March, 1999: Philip Moore, a reporter with the independent newspaper The News, was arrested on charges of 'criminal malevolence'. He was released a day later after intervention from the Press Union of Liberia and the JPC.

December, 1999: Police arrested the news editor of the Concord Times newspaper, Sarkilay Kantan, and a reporter on similar charges, following their articles about corruption in government and state-run companies. Four other journalists were also sought for arrest.

December, 1999: Police arrested James Torh, the Executive Director of FOCUS, on charges of sedition in connection with comments he had made in a speech at a high school. James Torh had a record of speaking out about human rights concerns in Liberia and had publicly criticized President Taylor over the issue of a truth commission to investigate past abuses. He was released on bail after three days.

March, 2000: Suah Deddeh, President of the Liberian Press Union, was arrested and questioned by security officers after criticizing the closure of two privately owned radio stations, Star Radio and Radio Veritas, by the authorities. He was released the next day without charge. After protest, Radio Veritas was allowed to reopen but Star Radio remained banned.

March, 2000: James Torh, a prominent human rights activist, fled the country after Anti-Terrorist Unit officers twice came looking for him at his home at night. In December 1999, he had been briefly detained and charged with sedition for allegedly making remarks critical of the government. When he did not appear at a court hearing in April, the authorities ordered his re-arrest.

August, 2000: Four journalists working for Channel 4, a UK television station, Sorious Samura, Gugulakhe Radebe, David Barrie and Timothy John Lambon - were detained for several days in Monrovia and accused of spying. The four were beaten following their arrest and one of them was threatened with death. They were released unconditionally after widespread protests.

September, 2000: Staff members of the independent New Democrat, including its

editor Charles Jackson, fled Liberia following death threats, intimidation and harassment by the security forces.

November, 2000: Armed men believed to be civil war veterans, who reportedly included a senior armed forces officer, attacked members of a non-governmental organization, the Centre for Democratic Empowerment (CEDE), in Monrovia. They stabbed and wounded Conmany Wesseh, and physically assaulted Amos Sawyer, formerly head of the Liberian Interim Government during the civil war and CEDE Chairman, and other staff. The armed forces officer and seven others were subsequently charged with aggravated assault and released on bail to await trial. However, others believed to be also responsible for the attack were not known to have been investigated by police. Local human rights activists called for an independent inquiry. Suspects arrested in connection with a 1999 attack on the home of Conmany Wesseh and death threats against his family had been released without charge or trial despite evidence against them.

February, 2001: Joseph Bartuah, Abdullah Dukuly, Jerome Dalieh and Bobby Tapson, four journalists from the privately owned newspaper The News, were arrested and charged with espionage after publication of a report criticizing the delayed payment of civil servants salaries.

March, 2001: Dozens of university students and professors were whipped and severely beaten by the security forces during a peaceful protest in Monrovia against the arrests of more than 40 students. Some were released shortly afterwards without charge, with visible marks of beatings, and at least seven women students were reported to have been raped repeatedly in detention. At least 17 were released over the next three weeks after widespread public protests. In April the university suspended student leaders; most of whom fled the country.

April, 2001: Veteran politician Togba-Nah Tipoteh said that he and other politicians had received threats for criticizing the international community for giving financial assistance to the government.

April, 2001: Francois Massaquoi, Minister of Youth and Sports and former leader of the Lofa Defense Force, an armed group active in the civil war, was killed in unexplained circumstances in Lofa County. Reports suggested that he might have been killed because his political influence with government forces in the area was perceived to be a threat to the government.

September, 2001: Thompson Ade-Bayer, head of Liberia Watch for Human Rights, was illegally detained without charge or trial for 10 days after criticizing the security forces in a published article. The Liberian police reportedly paid fellow inmates to hang him

by his feet and beat him.

October, 2001: Emmanuel Wureh, president of the National Bar Association, was imprisoned for a week after he was found in contempt of court for alleged insulting remarks during court proceedings. Leading Bar Association members Marcus Jones and Ishmael Campbel announced a lawyers' boycott in protest and were themselves arrested. The House of Representatives subsequently asked the Minister of Justice to charge them with contempt of the Legislature and to detain them until they apologized to the House and retracted their protest. The legal basis for this process and their detention was unclear. Emmanuel Wureh was released in November and the other lawyers in December.

2001: Raleigh Seekie, an opposition leader, charged with treason along with 14 others in August 2000, was still in prison awaiting trial at the end of 2001. Others charged with him had not been arrested.

February, 2002: Frances Johnson-Morris, former Chief Justice and head of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, was arrested after publicly questioning the constitutional legality of the state of emergency. She was detained briefly with male detainees before the Minister of Justice ordered her release without charge.

March 20, 2002: Henry Cooper, a member of an opposition political party in Bong County, was reportedly arrested by police; his bullet-ridden body was found later.

April, 2002: Tiawon Gongloe, a human rights lawyer, was arrested and tortured in police custody, requiring hospital treatment for his injuries. He was initially prevented from leaving the country and was briefly detained again in May.

June, 2002: Hassan Bility, a journalist with The Analyst newspaper, was arrested with two associates, following articles condemning human rights violations. Sheikh Sackor, Executive Director of Humanist Watch, was arrested the following month. Both were held incommunicado and tortured. The government accused them of belonging to the LURD and announced that they would be tried by a military court.

October, 2002: Aloysius Toe, a leading human rights activist, went into hiding in late October after police raided his home and briefly detained his wife and three other human rights activists. These arrests followed the launch of a campaign by the Liberia Coalition of Human Rights Defenders to secure the release of Hassan Bility and Sheikh Sackor.

8.2.4 Recorded Massacres in Liberia (1979 – 2003)

Below is a synoptic presentation of massacres that occurred in Liberia between 1989 and 2003. To date the TRC has recorded more than 100 different mass graves containing the remains of massacre victims estimated in excess of 8000 persons.

Table 12A: Recorded Massacres

Case #	Date of incidence	Violations	Place of Occurrence	Source / Witness	Victims / Perpetrators
1	1994	Massacre	Nyounde Town, lower Bomi County	Eye Witness Account	83 Zoes from the surrounding towns and villages were massacred by the ULIMO-K led by Col. Donzo
2	November 2, 1992	Massacre	Camp Two, Harbef, Margibi County	Witness	During a football match, ECOMOG bomb fell on the playing pitch and killed about 150 persons and wounded about 86 persons
3	1993	Massacre	Greenville, Sinoe County	Mr. David Swen (Acting Hospital Administrator) & The National Newspaper, December 19, 1996- Vol. 1# 62	More than 100 human skeletons were discovered at the Francis J. Grant Hospital in Greenville, Sinoe County. According to Mr. David Swen, the acting hospital administrator at the time, skeletons of people taken captive By LPC in 1993. They were discovered when the hospital staff went in to access their facilities after ECOMOG was deployed 1996
4	January 15, 1994	Massacre	Neeswen Town, Rivercess County	Returnees from the county/Monrovia Daily News Newspaper Vol. 3 # 24	NPFL fighters killed 32 persons after they were accused of been supporters of the LPC. The NPFL fighters were said to have entered the town about 3:00 a.m. and began slaughtering occupants of houses marked by the LPC.
5	June 19, 1994	Massacre	Moulton Corner Browerville, Montserrado County	Charles Bryant, Benjamin Brown, Marilyn Wright/The INQUIRER Newspaper June 23, 1994 Vol. 4#111	Nine persons including an entire family were slaughtered in the area that was controlled by Mandingo fighters who captured in from Krahn fighters.

6	August 1996	Massacre	Barclay Training Center (BTC) beach Central Monrovia, Montserrado County	Chief Pathologist Dr. Isaac Moses/The National Chronicle, August 29, 30 1996, Vol. 1#31 Vol. 5#62:& the News, Vol. 7#	A team of medical doctors and health practitioners involved in the exhuming and reburial of the dead bodies revealed that over 500 bodies that were exhumed at the BTC beach and reburied at the center street cemetery. Some of the people died from bullets or blunt objects while some were beheaded civilians were killed and many injured while about 1000 civilians were bloodbath.
7	November 18, 1994	Massacre & Destructions	Dior, Jolorh District. Grand Kru County	Residents of the town	Liberia Peace Council {LPC} massacred 35-person. The 35 persons were massacred when the LPC forces opened suppressive firing into the town on the pretense that enemy were advancing on the town. All those got killed were all farmers that were returning from the farm that evening and they also burned down 14 houses
8	April 14, 1994	Massacre	Sogbeh - Bo. Grand Kru County Picnicess District	Residents of the town	The Liberia Peace Council {LPC} massacred 45 - persons in Sugbeh-Bo., without reason.
9	August 18, 1994	Massacre & Human Rights Violations	Barclayville, Grand Kru County	Residents of the town	The NPFL massacred five persons in Barclayville, because the men were of the Krahn ethnic group other Human violations was carried on by this group, such as sexual slavery, forced labour and looting/extortion properties
10	Nov 18, 1994	Massacre	Sass Town beach Jolorh District, Grand Kru County	Residents of the town	The Liberia Peace Council {LPC} massacred 25- persons in Sasstown because of the alleged involvement in witchcraft deeds
11	Nov. 18, 1994	Massacre & Destructions	Dior, Jolorh District, Grand Kru County	Residents of the town	The Liberia Peace Council {LPC} Liberia Peace Council {LPC} massacred 35-persons. The 35 persons were massacred by the LPC forces . They opened suppressive firing into the town pretended that enemies were advancing. All those got killed were all farmers that were returning

					from the farm that evening and they also burned down 14 housesmassacred 25- persons in Sasstown because of the alleged involvement in witchcraft deeds
12	2003	Looting & extortion	Maryland County	Residents of Maryland County	The Seaport of Maryland county and the four Major Industrial logging companies were finally looted by the MODEL faction.
13	July 28, 1996	Massacre	Gbarma town, Gbarpolu County	Residents of Gbarma	Government forces massacred 24-civilians in the house where they sought refuge/safety from the fighting between LURD and the Government forces (Counter attacked) at Gbarma Town which lasted for about three hours (6:10 am)
14	Dec. 28, 1996	Massacre	Tubmanburg Bomi County	Residents of Tubmanburg	After December 28, 1996 after ECOMOG abandoned their Base in Tubmanburg, Bomi County ULIMO-J entered the based where about 27000 civilians sought refuge and massacred over 1000 displaced persons in cold blood.
15	May, 2002-3	Massacre	Gbarma Town Gbarpolu County	Residents of Gbarma	Massacre of 110-persons in Gbarma by General Oforie Diah of LURD. Who is presently serving as chief Security as the National Port Authority in the NTGL
16	2003	Massacre	Schiefflin High Way	Witness	About 50 ex- combatants mostly handicaps were massacred by the NPFL Government led by Gen. Benjamin Yeaten
17	January 15, 1994	Massacre	Neeswen Town, Rivercess County	Returnees from the county/Monrovia Daily News Newspaper Vol. 3 # 24	NPFL fighters killed 32 persons after they were accused of been supporters of the LPC. The NPFL fighters were said to have entered the town about 3:00 a.m. and began slaughtering occupants of houses marked by the LPC.
18	June 19, 1994	Massacre	Moulton Corner Browerville, Montserrat County	Charles Bryant, Benjamin Brown, Marilyn Wright/The INQUIRER	Nine persons including an entire family were slaughtered in the area that was controlled by Mandoing fighters who cap-

				Newspaper June 23, 1994 Vol. 4#111	tured it from Krahn fighters.
19	August 1996	Massacre	Barclay Training Center (BTC) beach Central Monrovia, Montserrado County	Chief Pathologist Dr. Isaac Moses/The National Chronicle, August 29, 30 1996, Vol. 1#31 Vol. 5#62:& the News, Vol. 7#	A team of medical doctor and health practitioner involved in the exhuming and rebury of the dead bodies revealed that over 500 bodies that were exhumed at the BTC beach and reburied at the center street cemetery. Some of the people died from bullets or blunt objects while some were beheaded civilians were killed and many injured while about 1000 civilians were bloodbath. But other reports put the number at 25 to 48.
20	November 18, 1994	Massacre & Destructions	Dior. Jolorh District. Grand Kru County	Residents of the town	Liberia Peace Council (LPC) massacred 35-person. The 35 persons were massacred by the LPC forces. They opened suppressive firing into the town on the pretense that enemy were advancing on the town. All those got killed were all farmers that were returning from the farm that evening and they also burned down 14 houses
21	April 14, 1994	Massacre	Sogbeh – Bo. Grand Kru County Picnicess District	Residents of the town	The Liberia Peace Council (LPC) massacred 45 – persons in Sugbeh-Bo., without reason.
22	August 18, 1994	Massacre & Human Rights Violations	Barclayville, Grand Kru County	Residents of the town	The NPFL massacred five persons in Barclayville, because the men were of the Krahn ethnic group other Human Rights violations was carried on by this group, such as sexual slavery, forced labour and looting/extortion properties

The listing of county specific massacres recorded below were reported, recorded and confirmed by county delegates to the National Conference on Reconciliation.

Table 12B: County Specific Massacres:

Lofa County Specific: NUMBER OF MASSACRES & MASSACRE SITES

Districts	Massacre Sites	Warring Faction Responsible	Approximate # of People Killed	Year
Salayea	Danenama	LURD	213	2003
	Passama	LURD	112	2003
Zorzor	Yeala	ULIMO	86	1993
	Worzi	LDF	75	1993
	Balagwalazu	LDF	100	1993
Voinjama	Bakedu	NPFL	387	1990
	Kuruka	NPFL	27	1990
	Selega	NPFL	47	1991
	Malamai	ULIMO	142	1993
	Tenebu	LDF	86	1993
	Lawalazu	ULIMO	55	1993
	Jallamai	ULIMO	47	1993
	Kpotomai	ULIMO	40	1993
	Zowodamai	ULIMO	37	1993
	Kpankpalamai	ULIMO	11	1993
	Vezela	ULIMO	25	1993
	Kpakumai	ULIMO	20	1993
	Jaryamai	ULIMO	60	1993
	Nekebuzu	GOL/NPP	27	2003
		Voinjama City (Black Monday)	ULIMO K	750
Kolahun	Kolba City	GOL	550	2003
	Kailahun-Luka	GOL	800	2002
	Yandihun	GOL	100	2002
	Popolahun	GOL	100	2002
	Fangonda	ULIMO	36	1993
	Kamatahun	GOL	147	2002
	Kambolahun	GOL	300	2002
Foya	Foya City	ULIMO	45	1993
	Nigesakonja	NPFL	27	1992
Vahun	Folima	ULIMO	130	1993
	Gbondomai	ULIMO	207	1993
	Gogoma	ULIMO	75	1993
Total Estimated Death toll from massacres in Lofa			4,864	

Note: The massacres took place because ethnic vengeance or revenge.

Lofa memorialization areas:

Memorialize areas selected are the district head quarters and the county seat.

Bong County Specific:

Districts	Massacre sites	Factions Responsible	Approximate # of people killed	Year
Jorquelleh	Kpolokpala	LPC	750 plus	1994
Zota	Naama	ULIMO K	1000	1994
	Gweyea	NPFL	500	1994
Sheansue	Samay	LPC/NPFL	500	1994
Jorquelleh	Folonailah	NPFL	100	1994
Suakoko	Phebe Hospital	NPFL	100+	1994
Sanoyea	Gbonota	NPFL	50+	1994
Sanoyea	Gbongyea	NPFL	125	1994
Gist				

Rivercess County Specific:

District	Massacre Sites	Factions Responsible	Approximate # Killed	Year
Yarnee	Poweh	LPC	9	1994
	Doe	LPC	10	1994
	Gbokon/Garade	NPFL	26	1993
	ITI	NPFL	100	1993
	Krakpo	LPC	15	1994
Timbo	Cestos City	-	6	1990
	Banwon	LPC	120	1995
	Bloe	LPC	560	1995
Nyuenwuen	Wrobone	LPC	37	1995
	Seah	NPFL	7	1994
Central "C"	Barkey	LPC	75	1995
	Neezuen	NPFL	60	1995
	Saywionwor	LPC	12	1995
	Garpue	NPFL	6	1995
	Bodazar	NPFL	7	1995
	Zammie	NPFL	200	1995
	Gbardiah	NPFL	60	1995
	Gborwuzohn	NPFL	64	1995
	Firestone	NPFL	8	1994
	Teekpeh	NPFL	22	1994
	Sahn	NPFL	9	1994
	Jodo	NPFL	13	1994
	Zeegar	NPFL	18	1994
Moweh	Zaryea	LPC	21	1994
	Budoin	LPC	7	1994
	Gleozahn	NPFL/LPC	70	1994
	Boe	LPC/NPFL	100	1994
	Paye	LPC	10	1994
	Karngbo	LPC	13	1994

Grand Bassa County Specific:**Sites of Massacres:**

<u>Town:</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Alleged Perpetrators/Yr</u>
Messeh Camp	District #2	NPFL MARINE — — — 1995
Pallapoe	District #2	LPC — — — — — — — 1994
Civil Compound	District #2	LPC/NPFL — — — — — 1994
Kpue Town	District #3	AFL — — — — — — — 1990
Yorcee Town	District #4	
Ben Town	District #4	NPFL(KASAKA) — — 1994
Bahn Town	District #4	

Nimba County Specific:**Sites of Massacres:**

PPF Headquarters/Yekepa	1985	PPF Director/AFL
Karnplay	1990	AFL
Lutheran church	1990	AFL
Gbarnga Iron Gate	1990	AFL
Constance Farm/Saclepea Highway	2003	GOL Forces
CNC	2003	GOL Forces

Grand Cape Mount County Specific:**I. Bringing Closure**

Building memorial sights (monuments) by government at each massacre site
 Government should build guest houses in each district as specified by citizens
 bearing names of massacre victim in each district

Massacre Sites**A. Tewor District**

Town	Faction	Date/Year
1. Sanga	ULIMO Forces	1992
2. Zwanii #1	ULIMO Forces	1992
3. Gbesseh	ULIMO J&K	Aug. 1994
4. Tewor Mendimasa	ULIMO-K	1994
5. Ngojah	ULIMO-K	1994
6. Victoria Village	ULIMO-K	1994
7. Diah	ULIMO-J&K	1996
8. Sowee	ULIMO-J&K	1996

9. Jene Wonde	ULIMO-K	1996
10. Tiene	ULIMO-K	1996

B. Garwula District

Name/Town	Faction	Date/Year
1. Mehkor	ULIMO-K	January 17, 1995
2. Gbaah Forboi	NPFL	July 24, 1990
3. Singey	ULIMO J&K	April 28&Sept. 17, 1996
4. Dassalamu	ULIMO-K	Aug. 9, 1996

C. Common Wealth District

Town	Faction	Date/year
1. Mandoe	ULIMO-K	May 8, 1996
2. Robertsport	ULIMO-K	July 9, 1996

D. Gola Konneh District

Town	Faction	Date/Year
1. Lofa Bridge	NPFL	Jan. 9, 1991
2. Weajue	NPFL	Feb. 10, 1992
3. Mbaloma	ULIMO-J	Feb.17, 1994
4. Mecca	ULIMO-J	Feb. 17, 1994
5. Larjoh	ULIMO-K	March, 1995

E. Porkpa District

Town	Faction	Date/Year
1. Mano River	NPFL	July 21, 1990
2. Camp Israel	NPFL	Feb. 12, 1992
3. Bamballa	ULIMO Forces	May 16, 1994

Bomi County Specific:**Massacres sites**

- St. Dominic Compound- 300 children in 1996
- Maher River-many persons in 2002
- Weakama school building in 2003
- Demeh(mass graves) in 2003-amputees
- Madina (Suehn Mecca District) football field-150killed
- Bomi police station in 1990
- Golodee Gaila town
- Indian Water, New Road in 1990
- Gbah Jakeh Massacre in 1990
- Gbjay (Suehn Mecca) in 1990-50 plus persons

Gbarpolu County Specific:**Areas of Massacre****Bopolu District**

Bopolu Town
Media town on the football field
Totoquelleh town
Henry town
Obayama town
Armada town

Gbarma District

Gbarma town
Sawmill town
Yangayah town
Weasua town
Vaye town

Belleh District

Fassama district
Mavator town
Konasu town
Bokomu town
Monlaquelleh town
Bellekpama town

Kongba District

Zuoi town

Montserrado County Specific:**Massacre Sites**

Lutheran Church-14th Street Monrovia
Cow field, Duport Road
Fendell Campus
Grey Stone- Mamba Point
ELWA Compound
ETMI- CaldWell

Margibi County Specific:**Massacre sites**

- Carter Camp-1992
- Marshall Massacre
- Nyama Town Massacre
- Zoewein Town- Mambahn chiefdom
- Senzohn town
- Wheavien town

River Gee County Specific:

1. Wolfiken, Sarbo District;
2. Sweaken, Sarbo District;
3. Yougbo, Sarbo District/Glarro;
4. Salla, Sarbo District/Glarro;
5. Gbawelegen, Webbo District (Tuobo);
6. Putuken, Chedepo District (Putuken);
7. Kanweaken Villages, Gbaepo District;
8. Killepo Kanweaken, Chedepo District

Maryland County Specific:

1. Harper District – In this district, we have the Cavalla Massacres, Fish Town Massacre and Ferguson Campus Massacre;
2. Pleebo District – In this district, we have the Pleebo Compound Hill Massacre, Gbolobo Mission Town Massacre, Pedebo Massacre, Pleebo Diamond Light Massacre, and the Baraken Methodist Church Massacre;
3. Karluway District – In this district, massacre took place in Boniken, and Warteken;
4. Barrobo District: in the town of Glofaken, there are 11 sites.

Grand Gedeh Specific:

1. Gbarzon District: Zalaken, Pouh Town, Gorluway, Barh Town;
2. Konobo District: Boundary Town, Gboluo Town, Konobo Ziah Town, Walabo Town;
3. Tchien District: Tubman Palace – Zwedru, Bargblor Town, Kumah Town, Zaybay Town.

Grand Kru Specific:

1. Taybue, Buah District – 13 persons were killed by LPC on August 24, 1995;

2. Blebo, Trien District – nearly the whole town people were killed by LPC;
3. Wropluken, Buah District – 15 persons were killed by NPFL;
4. Jrao District – 10 persons were killed by NPFL;
5. Dorbor District – More than 30 persons were killed by NPFL.

Sinoe County Specific:

1. Pratt Farm – 42 persons were killed in 1990 by the NPFL (National Patriotic Front of Liberia);
2. Juazon Statutory District when Noriega called the citizens that their son Joe Wylie invited them (unfortunate);
3. Chebioh Town, 125 persons were killed by NPFL;
4. Elementary Demonstration/Old Sinoe High School, over 100 persons were killed by LPC (Liberia {Peace Council) in 1994 in Greenville;
5. Saywonkan-Jedep, over 20 persons were burnt in a house by LPC on the orders of Agent Tarlue the late;
6. Po-River, Greenville, in 2003, MODEL killed six persons;
7. Mississippi Street, Methodist 1st Church in July of 2003, MODEL killed some people there;
8. In Sayklapo-Butaw, 14 persons were killed in 1993 by LPC and at ENI Peace Conference, 500 persons were killed by LPC in 1994.

8.3. Nature, Pattern and Character of Human Rights Violations and War Crimes categories

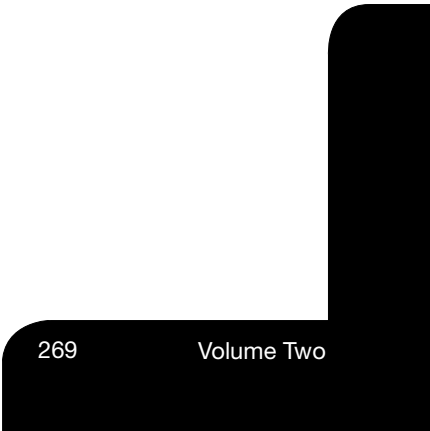
The catalogue of violations enumerated above evidences the distinct nature of violations of human rights that characterized the conflict in Liberia. Rightly so, the TRC has determined that gross violations of international human rights and humanitarian laws, egregious domestic violations and other forms of violations were very much pervasive in Liberia's several wars and armed conflict during the TRC mandated period of review.

It is trite and banal to assert that war brings with it dastardly, carnage, wanton destruction of lives and properties. It is even common to accept that despite the prohibition of certain practices as war weapons – e.g starvation – it is not implausible for the human psychology to tolerate these occurrences as inevitable consequences of war. However, the species of crimes committed in the Liberian civil war – especially cannibalism (eating of human flesh by humans), disembowelment of pregnant women undoubtedly take the meaning of war crime/crime against humanity to another level and stretches the tolerance of mankind of war atrocities. According to Stephen Ellis, “the Liberian conflict topped and surpassed all other wars in form and character, in intensity, in depravity, in savagery, in barbarism and in horror. Whilst the Liberian



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IMPACT OF THE CONFLICT AND VIOLATIONS ON THE PEOPLE



Many elderly persons have either lost real income or its value have dropped so dramatically that it can not meet their basic needs. Family members or children have been displaced or are in foreign lands as refugees. Elder folks also lost, many of them, their life time investment in housing destroyed or damaged during the war. Aged and incapable of active work or employment, this is often the source of trauma, depression leading to death. At the end of the conflict, the deaths of many elderly persons were reported because of heart failure. Yet in many isolated instances, they were directly targeted and abused sexually, killed under queer circumstances and rendered invalid, penniless and public charge.

Given the relatively youthful composition of the Liberian population and a national Life Expectancy rate of 55, it can be argued that any Liberian, age 55 would be considered an elderly person. In Liberia as in most African societies respect for the elderly is engrained in cultural norms and practices. Until the advent of the civil war these mores and norms governed traditional societies around the country whether amongst Kwa or Mande speaking peoples. During the war, however all of these norms were violated with reckless abandon as traditional authority, relations, and structures fell to the assault of the various fighting groups. In a number of reported cases elderly people, both male and female alike were killed, assaulted, abused, inhumanely degraded on the slightest pretext by perpetrators, on many occasions, by fighters old enough to be their children. The age-targeting of increasingly older men is for killing and looting. One possible interpretation of this is that perpetrator groups targeted older men, perhaps chiefs and elders of influence in the community for killing. Wealth and property may also have been concentrated among older men, making them targets for looting whereas, the younger population was targeted for force recruitment into the fighting forces.

Overall, we do not observe high levels of risk for elderly female victims in the violation categories studied by the TRC in statements except for in the age category of 70-74 for killing. We also see a bump in the relative risk for women between the ages of 65-69 for rape violations, though relatively small for the ages 65-69. Even though the actual number of rape violations for female victims between the ages of 65-69 is relatively small, however, when adjusted for the very small proportion this age-sex group makes up the population, we see that women in this age category faced a relatively high risk for suffering rape compared to other age-sex categories with the exception of much younger women.

9.7. Cultural, Traditional and Religious Dimensions

Liberia encompasses multiple religious traditions among its population. Prior to the founding of the Republic of Liberia by settlers very closely identified with the Christian faith, the land was inhabited by tribes and societies that practiced indigenous

traditional religions as well as the faith of Islam. Although it is generally recognized that a majority of Liberians profess to align themselves with Christianity, there is extensive intermingling of traditional and faith-based practices among religious participants such that the faith of many Liberians is blended and integrates elements of both indigenous traditional and religious practices. Nonetheless, the prevailing historical narrative of Liberia is from a distinctively Christian perspective that has failed to recognize and accommodate the full breadth of Liberia's diverse religious and Traditional communities and their significant influences on the distinctive history and formation of a Liberian identity.

The Constitution of Liberia was changed in 1986 to reflect that Liberia is a unitary state and that no religion is preferred over the other to address the perception that the historical association of Christianity with the nation's leadership undermined the free exercise of religious and political rights of practitioners of other faiths and religious traditions in Liberia.

Because of the close affiliation between religious practice and tribal identity, tribal or ethnic characteristics were closely identified with a particular faith. Most notably, it was presumed that all Mandingoes practice Islam. While adherence to Islam is strongly prevalent within the Mandingo tribe, this assumption led to the deaths of numerous Muslims who were unaffiliated with the Mandingo tribe, particularly in the early 1990s, because the NPFL presumed all Mandingoes (and thus, Muslims) to be aligned with their adversary, President Samuel K. Doe.

Violence was broadly directed against other ethnic groups or tribes often based upon perceived characteristics of that tribe, including a tribe's perceived support for certain political or military leaders. Because one's ethnicity, tribal identity and religious faith were rarely distinguished, it is difficult to discern whether a particular violent act or atrocity was motivated by ethnic or by religious hatred. However, military leaders and combatants sought the blessing and support of religious and traditional leaders for protection during battle. Such protection was offered by religious and traditional leaders in the form of prayers, blessings, charms and secret practices that were designed to provide protection from harm, such as "bullet protection". Some religious bodies solicited financial support for various factions. To date, there is no strong evidence to suggest that religious intolerance was or is at the core of Liberia's prolonged conflict.

A not uncommon practice by combatants during the conflict was to kill and dismember enemy combatants as well as civilians. Body parts were sometimes distributed to other communities for consumption by combatants. Certain organs, such as the heart, were often eaten with the belief that the eating of human flesh and organs would embolden the combatant. Another common practice was to create a concoction comprised of

human blood, sugar, gunpowder and gin to serve to combatants with the expectation that it would make them more powerful.

These practices were perverted derivations of Traditional rituals of secretive origin. During the conflict, these Traditional ritualistic practices became openly visible and commonly practiced by military as well as political leaders seeking supernatural powers in the prosecution of armed conflict.

Scholars point to religious and Traditional communities as having a reliance on political leaders of their respective eras. The case of Presidents Tubman and Charles Taylor dominating the affairs of their respective Christian denominations and at the same time playing leadership roles in the traditional societies was common. This is an attribute of the conflict with deeper roots in the Liberian political history of patronage. Likewise, these religious and Traditional institutions received patronage and otherwise benefited from their relationship with “the President”.

The civil war and the havoc that accompanied it pressured Liberia’s two main religious faiths to work together for peace. Partly in response to violence in Nimba County in 1990 directed at Muslims (who were identified as Mandingoes) by the NPFL, the Liberian Council of Churches and the National Muslim Council of Liberia collaborated in the formation of the Inter-Faith Mediation Committee (IFMC). The IFMC was later reorganized into the Inter-Faith Council of Liberia, and in 2001 organized into its present entity, the Inter-Religious Council of Liberia (IRC-L).

In addition to assisting with implementing disarmament and repatriation initiatives prior to the 1997 presidential elections, the IRC-L most notably embarked upon mediation efforts between the Government of Liberia and rebel factions beginning in 2002 that paved the way for formal peace talks between the parties in Accra, Ghana.

Among religious and traditional leaders active in peacemaking activities, leaders such as Catholic Archbishop Michael Kpakala Francis were recognized for their personal courage and continuous advocacy of peace. Likewise, it was the commitment of Bishop Arthur Kulah and Sheikh Kafumba Konneh who spearheaded cooperative interfaith efforts that led to the establishment of the IFMC.

There were acts of violence against religious populations and sacred places that were not *motivated* by intolerance of religious or Traditional institutions, but were directed specifically at religious and Traditional populations. In some instances and in some areas of Liberia, conflict and violence was in fact fueled by religious intolerance. The desecration and destruction of sacred places led to a weakening of religious and traditional institutions and threatened the collapse of systems of reliable rules and norms upon which religious and traditional communities depended on a daily basis.

Perpetrators intentionally violated the institution of ‘sanctuary’ – a place where the dispossessed should be able to find safety. The key events addressed below demonstrate a broader loss of respect for and violation of, religious and traditional institutions during the conflict.

For several months in 1990, St. Peter’s Lutheran Church became the refuge of women, children and men predominately from the Mano, Gio and Kpelle tribes fleeing violence throughout the country. Of significance here is that the Church was seen as a place of sanctuary – sanctified by God as a place of worship and protection; it became an attractive site for protection from harm *because* it was a sacred place.

On the night of July 29, 1990 combatants from the Armed Forces of Liberia surrounded the church and desecrated its sanctity by committing the murder of approximately six hundred persons taking refuge there. First using cutlasses and bayonets and then gunfire, soldiers moved into the sanctuary and classrooms in the outbuildings to locate and kill persons who had sought the protection of the church. The next day, July 30th, the few that survived the attack were being assisted at neighboring facilities, including the nearby United Methodist Compound, where soldiers of the AFL again violated the sanctity of church facilities to kill survivors and those who sought to provide the victims with humanitarian assistance.

The expansion of the territorial scope of this atrocity is significant not only because its impact on the Christian community was therefore larger, but also because it reflects a larger community of religious institutions that were victimized because of their willingness to provide assistance in response to the carnage.

Lofa County is an ethnically and religiously diverse county where 16 tribes can be found living in close proximity to each other. Consequently, communities were gravely impacted as the conflict exploited and perpetuated religious and ethnic distinctions. Thus violence in Lofa County was directed specifically toward religious and Traditional communities and structures. The victimized community was primarily the Muslim community, but traditional sacred sites and communities were also targeted for violence.

It is commonly held that Traditional communities suffered greatly in particular through the desecration of sacred sites; although due to the secretive nature of traditional societies, little or no documentation can be obtained to detail the breadth and scope of this violence. However limited, documentation and dialogue with stakeholder communities provide evidence that acts of violence were directed toward Traditional societies, such as the instance where NPFL combatants rounded up all Zoes in a region, locked them in a house and set fire to the house. By comparison, there is substantial documentation on the plight of the Muslim community in Lofa County.

Events in and around Lofa County in the early 1990's exposed religious intolerance as a force fueling violence in those areas, particularly against Muslims who were generally associated with Mandingoes and who were seen by the forces of Charles Taylor as supporters of the Samuel K. Doe regime.

The killing of five Catholic Nuns in Monrovia by NPFL operatives appears to be intentional and bordering on religious intolerance, pointing also to the type of harm inflicted upon religious institutions during the conflict. Religious and Traditional communities were targeted and violated because of religious intolerance, ethnic associations and the exercising of political influence by religious and Traditional leaders. Religious and Traditional institutions bear some responsibility for prolonging the conflict by failing to intercede in preventing violence and by directly supporting warring factions through prayer, advocacy, ritual protection and financial support.

9.8. Liberian Diaspora

The West African nation of Liberia is recovering from years of conflict characterized by egregious violations of human rights that created the Liberian Diaspora. From 1979 until 2003, the Liberian people survived a bloody coup d'état, years of military rule, and two violent civil wars. The atrocities were the result of complex historical and geopolitical factors. The slave trade, U.S. efforts to return slaves to Africa, the abuse of the indigenous population by a ruling oligarchy, the looting of the country's substantial natural resources by its own corrupt government and by foreign interests, and the political ambitions of other African leaders all contributed to the conflict. The international community, including the United States, failed to take effective action to limit the bloodshed. Out of a pre-war population of three million, an estimated 250,000 people were killed, with as many as 1.5 million displaced. A mass exodus fleeing the fighting created Liberian Diaspora communities in many countries around the world, including the United States. An estimated 30,000 Liberians live in the state of Minnesota alone, but there are also tens of thousands of Liberians living in other U.S. cities, in the United Kingdom, and in refugee settlements in the West African sub-region.

The violence finally ended in 2003, but the peace remains fragile. The conflict's impact is evident in the streets of Monrovia, the homes of villagers in the Liberian countryside, and Liberian gathering places in London, Philadelphia, Minnesota and elsewhere. Liberians were forced from their homes and deprived of their education and livelihood. They are suffering from physical and psychological trauma and are separated from their families by death or distance. Deeply felt conflicts continue to divide the Liberian people at home and abroad. Corruption, both real and perceived, continues to pervade the society. Hence, Liberians in the Diaspora seek food, work, health care, education and a future. Increasingly, Liberians are also calling for justice. These demands are made to a government that struggles with few resources and an unstable security



12

RECOMMENDATIONS ON ACCOUNTABILITY: Extraordinary Criminal Court



12.0 RECOMMENDATIONS ON ACCOUNTABILITY: EXTRAORDINARY CRIMINAL COURT

In the preliminary Final Report of the TRC – Volume 1 Findings and Determinations, the TRC reserved the right to make determinations of responsibility for EDC, GHRV and SVHL on any persons, groups or entities, or those involved in a joint criminal enterprise or conspiracy including those that planned, instigated, ordered, committed, aided or abetted in the planning, preparation or execution of any crime within its mandate.

The TRC Act requires that the TRC produce a report that is “...detailed on all aspects of the TRC’s work, investigations, hearings, findings and recommendations” ... “based on factual and objective information and evidence collected or received by it or placed at its disposal.” The TRC Act further mandates that the TRC make recommendations to the President of Liberia with regard to the need for reparations to victims; rehabilitation of victims and perpetrators in need of specialized psycho-social and other rehabilitative services; legal, institutional and other reforms; continuing investigations and inquiries into particular matters; and prosecutions. See Art. X section 44, 48; Art. VII Section 26(h)(j) of the TRC Act (2005) which is incorporated by reference to this report.

Consequently, after several months of deliberation, debate and reflection, Commissioners have made numerous recommendations based on public hearings in Liberia and the Diaspora, testimonies, consultations with civil society, findings from investigations and inquiry, etc. and what they believe is needed to bring about truth, justice and reconciliation to Liberia.

The Commission determined that the TRC Act mandates that all TRC recommendations are authoritative, binding and have the weight of law serving as quasi-judicial directives that must be implemented by the Government of Liberia and National Legislature. The TRC Act mandates that “all recommendations shall be implemented” and requires the President to “report to the National Legislature within three months of receipt of the report of the TRC, and on a quarterly basis thereafter, as to the implementation of the Commission’s recommendations.” The Legislature must require the President to “show cause” for non-compliance with any TRC recommendations and ensure their compliance.

The TRC welcomes *THE VIRGINIA DECLARATION: A Call For a Way Forward to a New Liberia through Reconciliation and Justice* (The Virginia Declaration) adopted by the delegates to the National Truth and Reconciliation Processes Culminating in the National Conference on Reconciliation held at the Unity Conference Center in Virginia, Liberia from June 19-22, 2009. The TRC adopts through incorporation all of the

recommendations in The Virginia Declaration except for those recommendations that may conflict with findings, determinations and recommendations made by the TRC in this report. See Annex 1 for The Virginia Declaration.

12.1. Accountability: "Extraordinary Criminal Court for Liberia"

The TRC hereby recommends the establishment of an "Extraordinary Criminal Court for Liberia" to try all persons recommended by the TRC for the commission of gross human rights violations including violations of international humanitarian law, international human rights law, war crimes and economic crimes including but not limited to, killing, gang rape, multiple rape, forced recruitment, sexual slavery, forced labor, exposure to deprivation, missing, etc.

12.2. Nature, Jurisdiction and Scope of Authority of Criminal Court

See Article 10 of the Annex 2, draft Statute Establishing The Extraordinary Criminal Court For Liberia which is incorporated by reference.

12.3. Names of Those Responsible (Perpetrators) Recommended for Prosecution

The TRC recommends several persons for prosecution for gross human rights violations including violations of international humanitarian law, international human rights law, war crimes and egregious domestic laws violations of Liberia and economic crimes. Some perpetrators recommended for prosecution include:

LEADERS OF WARRING FACTIONS	
NAME	FACTION
Charles G. Taylor	NPFL
Prince Y. Johnson	INPFL
Roosevelt Johnson*	ULIMO & ULIMO-J
Alhaji G.V. Kromah	ULIMO & ULIMO-K
George Boley	LPC
Thomas Yaya Nimely	MODEL
Sekou Damante Konneh	LURD
Francois Massaquoi*	LDF

*Dead

MOST NOTORIOUS PERPETRATORS		
NO.	NAME	VIOLATIONS
1	Prince Y. Johnson	Killing, extortion, massacre, destruction of property, force recruitment, assault, abduction, torture & forced labor, rape
2	Moses Z. Blah	Torture, Abduction, Assault & Looting
3	William Sumo	Torture, Abduction, Assault & Looting
4	Mehnsayon Sayon	Torture, Abduction, Assault, Looting, force detention, force recruitment
5	John Gbeto	Torture, Abduction, Assault & Looting
6	Paulson Garteh alias Gen. Satan	Massacre, Torture & Extortion
7	Momoh Gebah (Bull Dog)	Killings, murder, & Torture
8	Joseph Kpeyon	Massacre
9	Mateus Paily	Massacre
10	Gen. Lawrence Guanuu	Force Labor & Massacre
11	Senator Jonathan Banney	Torture
12	Albert Sumeh	Murder & Rape
13	Gen. Sampson	Murder
14	Christopher Vambo alias Gen. Mosquito	Murder & Torture
15	Col. Joloka	Rape, Torture & Murder
16	Prince Nagbe	Rape, Torture & Murder
17	Pat Ran Kennedy	Murder, Looting & Force Labor
18	Klehgbayee	Murder, Looting & Force Labor
19	Abel S. Gbalah	Torture, Rape & Murder
20	Gen. Nally	Rape, Force Labor & Murder
21	Macdonald Tarpeh	Rape, Mutilation & Murder
22	Anthony Ponnio	Rape, Mutilation & Murder
23	Alfred Payne	Rape, Mutilation & Murder
24	Gen. Greene	Conscription, Rape & Murder
25	Saywalaka	Conscription, Rape & Murder
26	Chris Davis	Murder, Conscriptoin, Torture & Rape
27	Col. Boy Tarley	Murder, Force Labor, Mutilation
28	Moses Goahn alias Gen. Norriega	Massacre, killings, mutilation
29	Michael Davies alias Sundaygar Dear-boy	Looting, Torture, killing & Gang Rape
30	Peter Giah children father	Killing
31	Coco Dennis, Gen. Gonda, (NPFL)	Massacre, Killing, Forced Labor, Canibalism
32	Carsacar Group (NPFL) Joseph (model)	Massacre, Forced Labor
33	(LPC) Blood Sucker war bus	Rape, Killing, Torture & Canibalism
34	Nuku Johnson - Gen. Nathan (LPC)	Massacre, Torture, Rape
35	(NPFL) Red Devil	Massacre
36	(LPC) Mohammed Bah (Superman)	Killing, Rape
37	(LPC) Superman	Massacre
38	J.Y. Wongboe NPFL (delta force)	Rape, Torture & Extortion
39	Chinese Jabber Philip Kamiongar (NPFL)	Killing, Rape, Torture, Forced Labor
40	LPC Debbah	Killing, Torture, Destruction
41	(NPFL Marine), Gonkarnue	Torture, Detention
42	NPFL-Markdamie, Black Diamond	Massacre, Cannabalism

43	Gen. James Freeman (NPFL)	Massacre
44	Sundaygar, young killer, skinny	Torture, Massacre
45	NPFL - Matthew Gio	Killing, Massacre
46	(NPFL Gen. Gondah (Reginald Ballout)	Torture, Forced Labor, cannibalism or eating victim's human flesh
47	Citizens of Duo (single barrel) unit NPFL	Massacre
48	(NPFL) Mekarnu Goweh, Saye Boayou	Extortion, Torture
49	(LPC) George pee Solo Garsanoo	Killing, Destruction and Torture
50	Saah R. Gborllie	Murder, dismemberment of pregnant women
51	Cllr. Richard Flomo	Torture and Killing
52	Jerry Risks	Massacre
53	John Garan (Junior Garan)	Torture, Killings & Massacre
54	Gen. Steven Wontoe	Torture, extortion & Killings
55	Gen. Joe Tuah	Torture, summary executions, conscription, forced labor and ritualistic killings
56	David Daniel	Torture, rape, summary executions, conscription, forced labor and ritualistic killings
57	Martina Johnson	Killings
58	Junior Mitchell	Torture, sexual slavery, forced labor & killings
59	Gen. Rufus Fasue alias Equalizer	Rape, Massacre, looting, Summary killings, torture
60	George Dweh	Murder, killing & torture
61	Gen. Charles Julu	Murder, killing, destruction of property & torture
62	Augustine Nagbe alian Gen. Power	Torture, looting & destruction of property
63	Marcus High Gray	Torture, killing & looting
64	J. Appollo Swen	Killing & extortion
65	Sando Johnson	Killing & force recruitment
66	Joseph Marzah alian Zigzag Marzarh	Murder
67	Kai Farley	Massacre & killing
68	Varmuyah	Rape, torture & force labor
69	Amos Barclay	Rape, torture & force labor
70	Larry Murphy	Killing & torture
71	Gen. Ofori Diah, alias Iron Jacket	Force labor
72	George Warpo	Massacre, Arson & Torture
73	Co. Zero-Zero	Massacre, Arson & Torture
74	Peter Dahn	Massacre, Arson & Torture
75	Co. Kortor	Massacre, Arson & Torture
76	Tommy B. Wongba	Massacre, Arson & Torture
77	Peter Pewee, alias Gen. Katali	Killing & torture
78	Gen. Ericson Bardio	Rape, sexual slavery & force labor
79	Benjamin Yeaten	Murder, torture & abduction
80	Roland Duo	Murder, torture & abduction
81	Felix Washington	Murder
82	Senegalese	Murder, torture & force displacement
83	Moses Tarley alias Co. Crab	Torture & murder
84	Co David	Torture & extortion
85	Siafa Norman	Abduction & arson

86	Sakou Donzo	Arson
87	Adolphus Dolo (Peanut Butter)	Murder
88	Melvin Sogbandi	Killing, torture, massacre & looting
89	Mango Menlor	Murder, abduction & rape
90	Mark Guahn	Killing, genocide & murder
91	Moses Thomas- former SATU Commander	Torture, Murder,
92	Maj. Jerry Gban	Torture, Murder, Looting
93	Waheeb Saab	Torture, Murder
94	Maj. Henry Johnson	Torture, Murder
95	Zico Nah Darliah	Murder, torture & force displacement, Rape, Genocide, Massacre
96	Doepo Menkazohn	Murder, Torture, Looting
97	Alex Tolbert alias Gen. Young Devil	Torture, sexual abuse, murder, looting
98	Daniel K. Bracewell	Rape, murder, looting
99	Lanka Tay-Lanka	Murder, torture, looting, cannibalism
100	Nyondweh Monokonmanah	Massacre, ritual killing
101	William B. Toe	Killing, rape, abduction, destruction of property, forced recruitment of child ^{of} soldiers, torture, robbery
102	David Kpoah (David Bryant)	Massacre, ritual killings
103	Dan Morias	Massacre, gun running, economic crime, destruction of property, summary execution, torture, killings
104	Capt. Paye Suah	Murder, massacre, torture
105	Gen. James Freeman	Massacre
106	John T. Richardson alias Gen. Octopus	Mastermind and chief executor of Operation Octopus
107	Benedict Bartuah	Rape, sexual slavery, killings
108	Yeanae Keryeazue	Massacre, killing, arson, destruction of property, extortion, looting, torture, rape
109	Tigae Wontee	Extra judicial killing, massacres
110	Tiagen Wontee	Massacres, murders
111	Edwin Voker	Massacres, murders
112	Charles Breeze	Massacres, murders
113	Gola Red	Killings, torture, rape
114	Josseph Montgomery	Killing, rape, arson
115	Moses Samukai	Killing, raper, arson
116	Momoli Jibba	Abduction, Killing, Rape, Massacre

12.4. Names of Persons (Perpetrators) Not Recommended for Prosecution

The TRC recommends, without prejudice to the Palava Hut process, that the following persons though found to be responsible for gross human rights violations including violations of international humanitarian law, international human rights law, war crimes and egregious domestic laws violations of Liberia are recommended not be prosecuted because they cooperated with the TRC process, admitted to the crimes committed and spoke truthfully before the Commission and expressed remorse for their prior actions during the war:

No.	Name	County	No.	Name	County
1.	Eugene Zinnah Gray	Montserrado	20.	Joseph Kpagbor	Grand Bassa
2.	Emmett Sando Gray	"	21.	Mulbah Sheriff	Gbarpolu
3.	Allan M. Nicholas	"	22.	Papa Ballah	"
4.	Joshua Milton Blayir	"	23.	George T. Sengbe	Bomi
5.	Alfred Suah Debleh	"	24.	Anthony Gballe	"
6.	Morris A. Padmore	"	25.	Amos Chea	"
7.	Musa Fofana	"	26.	Oldman Musa Pewee	"
8.	Yar Martor	"	27.	Felix Washington	"
9.	David Kennedy Vanyan	"	28.	Adam Johnson	Margibi
10.	Morris Weah	Marylandd	29.	Vivian Willie	Nimba
11.	Washington Moore	River Gee	30.	Rufus Mahmu Woyee	"
12.	Mohammed Sheriff	"	31.	Gertrude Pajebo	"
13.	Wilson Saweayah	"	32.	Junior Duo (J. Born J)	"
14.	Stephen Jones	Grand Gedeh	33.	Junior Flomo	Cape Mount
15.	Daniel Seth	Sinoe	34.	Sando Kiazolu	"
16.	Barduse Sarkoh	"	35.	Philip Wlue	Montserrado
17.	Bob Kofi Zar	Rivercess	36.	Thomas Boye Bloaju Boye	Montserrado
18.	Armah Youlu	Montserrado	37.	John Namayan	"
19.	Joe Wylie	"	38.	LPC Buck Naked Monger	"

12.5. Public Sanctions, Lustrations, Debarment from Holding Public Office

The TRC also recommends that all persons recommended for prosecution be barred from holding public office for thirty (30) years as a form of public sanction. All those holding elective offices shall continue to the end of their tenure and not be eligible to contest any public office in future. This recommendation considers that holding by-elections now would be impracticable in light of the current global financial constraints for which Liberia is no exception. However, those holding appointed offices should resign immediately. In the event they fail to resign immediately, all remuneration should be cancelled.

12.6. Witness Protection Statute

The TRC recommends the immediate enactment of a comprehensive Witness Protection Statute for the express purpose of securing protection; domestic or external for witnesses of the court.



13

RECOMMENDATIONS ON ACCOUNTABILITY: Domestic Criminal Prosecutions

13.0. RECOMMENDATIONS ON ACCOUNTABILITY: DOMESTIC CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS

13.1. Names of Those Responsible (Perpetrators) Recommended for Domestic Prosecution

The TRC recommends that certain individuals who committed egregious violations against the generality of the population but such crimes are lesser than “gross violations” those persons, at the discretion of the prosecutor, the Ministry of Justice shall be prosecuted under jurisdiction of appropriate domestic courts already existing.

- i. Group one comprises those persons that the TRC determined are responsible for committing the following EDC, GHRV and SVHL including, but not limited to: murder, attempted murder, aggravated assault, kidnapping, official oppression and mercenarism. These crimes form a part of Liberian penal law. Persons listed in this group should be prosecuted in Court “A” of the First Judicial Circuit in Montserrado County, or in any other court as designated by the Ministry of Justice having competent jurisdiction.

GROUP 1.	
NAMES OF PERPETRATORS DETERMINED RESPONSIBLE FOR COMMITTING EDC RECOMMENDED FOR DOMESTIC PROSECUTION	
NAME OF PERPETRATOR	
1.	(WATER FACE) NPFL
2.	(CIVILIAN KILLER) NPFL
3.	JUNIOR MATADI (NPFL)
4.	SONPON TOE DOE
5.	TARGBEH SAYDEE (DIRTY PRICK)
6.	(DO IT QUICK) MODEL
7.	JAMES (OCEAN)
8.	TWEH (YEKEZAI)
9.	(BULLET FLY) MODEL
10.	YAWALA KOLLIE
11.	MUHAMMED KEITA (TORTLE BONE)
12.	KARPHOHAM
13.	(3 QUESTIONS) NPFL
14.	JOSEPH KPINGBA
15.	ZACK FREEMAN (QUICK TO KILL)
16.	SAM YEABEH
17.	NYAMAH POTOKEENOR
18.	JAMES LAZALEE
19.	DAMO (KPELLE BOY)

20.	MATTHEW DOLO
21.	WILLIAM SUMO
22.	PAUL DOWEL (DOUBLE TROUBLE)
23.	ANTHONY NYEPAN
24.	ALEX TWEH (I MEAN IT)
25.	ALFRED GBAR
26.	VICTOR (KILLER)
27.	(WAR BUS) LPC
28.	WINSTON COOPER
29.	MOMODU KIAZOLU
30.	(KPELLEH BOY)NPFL
31.	(LORMA BOY) ULIMO
32.	TAMBA KWENDA
33.	CHARLES JACKSON
34.	KULA FASAMA
35.	JEAN YAIME
36.	AMOS TOTAYE
37.	PHILIP BROOME
38.	MUSA FOFANA
39.	BOAKAI BALO (PUMP YOUR JAW)
40.	SHAD BARTUNA
41.	(GENERAL GONPUE) NPFL
42.	MOSES PEWEE (MIKE TYSON)
43.	MOSES LOVERBOY MULBAH
44.	MARK DOSEN GELAY

ii. Group two comprises those persons that are responsible for committing sexual-related EDC including, but not limited to: rape, gang rape, aggravated involuntary sodomy, involuntary sodomy, voluntary sodomy, corruption of minors, sexual abuse of wards and sexual assault. These crimes form a part of Liberian penal law. Persons listed in this group should be prosecuted in Court "E" of the First Judicial Circuit in Montserrado County, or in any other court as designated by the Ministry of Justice having competent jurisdiction.

GROUP 2.	
NAMES OF PERPETRATORS DETERMINED RESPONSIBLE FOR COMMITTING EDC RECOMMENDED FOR DOMESTIC PROSECUTION	
NAME OF PERPETRATOR	
1.	(COME TO MY LEVEL)
2.	(GENERAL ABU)
3.	PORKPA (COM)
4.	(WOMAN THING)
5.	GRAY
6.	(PEOPLE THING)
7.	(FUCK MY DOG)
8.	(NEVER TO DIE)
9.	(RED BANANA)
10.	(PEOPLE SON)
11.	(RED DOG)
12.	JUNIOR CONTEH (BOMBLAST)
13.	VICTOR (KILLER)
14.	DANIEL T. SETH (DEATH ROW)

13.2. Names of Persons (Perpetrators) Not Recommended for Prosecution

No one from this category qualified for exemption from prosecution as in the case of section 12.3 above.

13.3. Public Sanctions – Lustrations, Debarment from Holding Public Office, etc.

The TRC also recommends that all persons recommended for prosecution within the domestic courts of Liberia be barred from holding public office for thirty (30) years as a form of public sanction. All those holding elective offices shall continue to the end of their tenure and not be eligible to contest any public office in future. This recommendation considers that holding by-elections now would be impracticable in light of the current global financial constraints for which Liberia is no exception. However, those holding appointed offices should resign immediately or be terminated.

14

**RECOMMENDATIONS ON
ACCOUNTABILITY: Public
Sanctions Generally**

14.0. RECOMMENDATIONS ON ACCOUNTABILITY: PUBLIC SANCTIONS GENERALLY

14.1. Nature, Description, Objective and Justification for Public Sanctions

Pursuant to the Powers and Authority of the TRC under the TRC Act to address issues of impunity and to ensure “accountability, political or otherwise” for violations committed during the period 1979-2003, the TRC is recommending that all those named in this report for commission of gross human rights violations, international humanitarian law violations, international human rights law, war crimes, economic crimes, and egregious domestic law violations be subject to public sanctions as named and described herein. See Art. VII Section 26(a)(b)(c)(d)(e) of the TRC Act (2005) which is incorporated by reference to this report.

The purpose of public sanctions is to promote integrity in public service, restore confidence of Liberians and the international community in Liberia’s under rated public service and ensure that any person that the TRC determined is responsible for committing EDC, GHRV or SVHL, or who has in any way contributed to armed conflict in Liberia, will be formally and publicly admonished and sanctioned for such action.

Public sanctions are a form of justice mechanism punitive in nature but short of prosecution; intended to redress impunity, ensure accountability and maintain integrity in public service. All those holding elective public offices shall continue to the end of their tenure and not be eligible to contest or hold any public office in the future. However, those holding appointed offices should resign immediately or their services be terminated.

14.2. Lustrations, Debarment from Holding Public Office

Public sanctions may take the form of lustrations, debarment from holding public offices, restitution, public apologies, written or oral; community service, restitution, compensation of victims, etc and other forms of social responsibilities that may be imposed for the purpose above stated.

The TRC therefore recommends that any person that it determines is responsible for committing EDC, GHRV or SVHL, or that planned, instigated, ordered, committed, aided or abetted in the planning, preparation, financing or execution of any crime within its mandate, not be bestowed with government or legislative authority and power to govern or make decisions on behalf of the Liberian people whom they victimized.

14.3. List of Persons Subject to/Recommended for Public Sanctions

All those associated with former warring factions, their leaders, political decision makers, financiers, organizers, commanders, foot soldiers shall be subject to public sanctions in one form or another.

The below comprising of the most prominent political leaders and financiers of different warring factions and armed groups, by their conduct, leadership, finances, and support, actions or inactions, are responsible for the commission of gross human rights violations, international humanitarian law violations, international human rights law, war crimes, and egregious domestic law violations. This list is by no means exhaustive but represents the most prominent individuals identified by the TRC worthy of public sanction because of their roles during the years of war and instability in Liberia. The following and all other persons similarly situated shall be subject to public sanctions as herein described above in section 14.2 and are specifically barred from holding public office, elected or appointed, for a period of thirty (30) years as of July 1, 2009.

No.	Name	No.	Name
1	Allen Brown, Sr.	26	Alieu Kosia
2	Randall Cooper	27	Albert S. Toe and other members of the PRC
3	Ethelbert Cooper	28	Weade Kobbah Wureh
4	Toga McIntosh Gayewea	29	Octavious Walker
5	Jackson E. Doe	30	Lavali Supuwood
6	Dew Mayson	31	Tom Woewiyu
7	Nyan Mantein	32	Tarnue Marwolo
5	Clarence L. Simpson	33	James Chelley
9	Byron Tarr	34	Amos Lincoln
10	Harry Yuan	35	Noah Bordolo
11	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf	36	Edward Slangar
12	Isaac Nyenabo	37	Mohammed Jourmandy
13	Kabineh Ja'neh	38	Prince Seo
14	Richlieu "Archie" Williams	39	Abbas Kenneh
15	Tonie King	40	Aisha Konneh
16	J. Apollo Swen	41	Morris Dolley
17	Joe Gbala	42	Alhaji Sekou Fofana
18	Thomas Ziah	43	Charles Bennie
19	Maxwell Kaba	44	Moses Jarbo
20	Ignatius Clay	45	K.B.K. Sando
21	Vamba Kanneh	46	Grace Minor
22	Valee Keita	47	Wilfred Clarke
23	Paul E. Mulbah	48	Edward Massaquoi
24	El Mohammed Sheriff	49	Cllr Momo Kpaka Rogers
25	Kwame Fofana		



15

**RECOMMENDATIONS ON
ACCOUNTABILITY: National
“Palava Hut” program**



15.0. RECOMMENDATIONS ON ACCOUNTABILITY: NATIONAL “PALAVA HUT” PROGRAM

Thousands of former combatants were disarmed and demobilized pursuant to the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 18th August 2003. In order to facilitate their reintegration into society, they were provided with an allowance referred to as the Transitional Settlement Allowance (TSA) and opportunities for education and skills training. According to UNMIL Statistics, 103,019 former combatants were disarmed, and 101,495 demobilized. Of this number about 98,000 demobilized former combatants received reintegration assistance in the form of vocational training and formal education.

Local leaders, victims and communities from around the country believed that the ex-combatants were rewarded rather than punished for committing widespread atrocities against them, while war victims and local communities were provided with no remedy or assistance. Such perceptions were informed to a large extent by the displayed arrogance and unremorseful attitudes exhibited by many ex-combatants and their leaders during Liberia’s various episodes of armed conflict and reemphasized during the TRC hearings and consultations.

During public hearings conducted around the country, victims recounted the callousness and insouciance that ex-combatants have, since the cessation of hostilities, displayed in their interactions with local-host communities. It was not surprising therefore that during hearings victims made resounding calls for justice. But responding adequately to such calls is indeed fraught with difficulties. While the TRC has made concrete and substantive accountability recommendations, no court system, whether old or new, will be able to effectively prosecute the thousands of known perpetrators and alleged perpetrators, not including the unknown thousands whose identities are yet to be determined.

Moreover, the lack or absence of courts, resources, lawyers, penal institutions and police officers, in large parts of the country necessitates consideration of alternatives that would provide opportunity for reconciliation and justice. In this regard, the challenge will be finding the nexus between the shortcomings of the country’s dual legal system and tailoring it to address the exigencies created by the need for justice, reconciliation, institutional reform, amnesty and reparation as a product of the TRC process. Consequently, the TRC firmly believes that the nation must engage traditional authority structures, civil society and human rights organizations, religious institutions and local communities to ensure that justice and reconciliation are more than rhetorical phrases.

The National Palaver Hut Program, common to rural communities around the country,

is a conflict resolution mechanism wherein select members of integrity in the community adjudicate matters of grave concern to the community and seek to resolve disputes amongst or between individuals and or communities. Palava Hut derives legitimacy from a host of cultural influences including the Poro, Sande and Bodio institutions and has the greatest legitimacy and viability in rural areas. Decisions reached through Palava Hut are binding. This mechanism is adopted by the TRC to redress outstanding transitional grievances and create both the basis and opportunity to repair and restore broken relationships at the community and national levels.

The Palava Hut Program must be a transparent and well documented public process involving all levels of the Liberian society, playing multiple roles to the maximum extent feasible. It must involve community leaders and organizations, excluding any one known to be or perceived to be a human rights violator or corrupt official/officer in the past or present. Without limiting the generality of involvement, participation shall not be limited to civil society organizations, labor unions, victim groups, child advocacy groups, the children parliament, women organizations, youth and student organizations, professional bodies, religious and traditional institutions, etc.

15.1. Nature, Description, Objective, Jurisdiction, Sanction and pardoning Authority of Palava Hut)

The Palava Hut is another form of justice and accountability mechanism with traditional orientation to foster national healing and reconciliation at the community and grass root levels creating the opportunity for dialogue and peace building. It requires that all perpetrators, their associates, warlords, financiers, organizers, activists; whether named or not in the TRC report but who have committed some wrong including assaults, destruction of property, forced displacement, looting, robbery, extortion, etc. appear before it. Also appearing are persons recommended for public sanctions and prosecution in the TRC Final Report, Volume II, Consolidated Report.

The purpose of the Palava Hut is also to afford anyone who has committed a wrong or crime, whether knowingly or unknowingly, against an individual or the state, to admit the wrongful act and seek pardon from the people of Liberia through the Palava Hut.

The jurisdiction of the Palava Hut to render pardon shall be limited to public sanctions for supporting waring groups, factions and lesser crimes only. Persons recommended for prosecution in the TRC Report for the commission of high crimes i.e. crimes against humanity, war crimes, international human rights and humanitarian law violations are not entitled to pardon by the Palava Hut. Any recommendation from the Palava Hut in favor of any one accused of the commission of economic crimes or a high crime, i.e. war crimes, humanitarian law violations and gross human rights violations or persons recommended for prosecution in the TRC Report (Volume II, Consolidated

Report) shall be made to a court of competent jurisdiction or the Head of State.

The Palava Hut shall have tenure of not less than three years and not more than five years. For worthy cause, the tenure of the Palava Hut in particular district or locale may be extended upon recommendation from the Independent National Human Rights Commission (INHRC) to the Head of State. The Palava Hut may be established by Executive Order and subsequently enhanced or supported by statute so as to expeditiously commence the process of community and individual reconciliation.

The Palava Hut shall be established in all Statutory Districts and may extend to towns or villages as the need may arise. "National 'Palava Hut' Committees", once established, will serve as a traditional quasi-judicial forum for justice and reconciliation that provide: (1) persons and communities in the rural areas with a nationally recognized mechanism to seek redress for crimes committed against them and participate in and resolve long-standing conflicts and claims; (2) victims and communities with a community based public venue to confront perpetrators and alleged perpetrators that committed crimes against them in further pursuit of justice, closure, reconciliation and healing; (3) perpetrators and alleged perpetrators with yet another public forum to acknowledge their wrongs, apologize, seek forgiveness and make atonement for the crimes committed; (4) reparation to victims and communities; and (5) public sanctions to promote justice and accountability generally and specifically.

The Independent National Human Rights Commission shall oversee the Palava Hut process and coordinate its activities. Upon request, the INHRC may review a decision by any Palava Hut Committee or Forum.

15.2. Names of Those Responsible (Perpetrators) Recommended for Palava Hut

Anyone who has committed, any wrongful act or crime associated with the Liberian civil war, (1979 -2003) whether knowingly or unknowingly, against anyone or the state may seek pardon from the people of Liberia through the Palava Hut. In the case of those subject to public sanctions the number of debarred years may be reduced or waived. In the case of those recommended for prosecution for economic crimes and high crimes including international human rights and humanitarian law violations and war crimes, any recommendation in their favor must consider restitution of all gains made during the conflict period ending 2003 and other forms of compensation and restitution for victim.

In the case of those equally situated for prosecution or public sanctions and are not listed herein, the Palava Hut shall pronounce any range of public sanctions(see section 14.2 of TRC Final Report, Volume II, Consolidated Report) within its discretion to the

extent that the Palava Hut Program shall ensure that there shall be no impunity or blanket amnesty. A full listing of persons recommended for Palava Hut is contained in TRC Final Report, Volume III, Title XII. This listing is however, by no means exhaustive, provided that persons named in the “Not Recommended for Prosecution” category in the TRC Report may avail themselves to the Palava Hut process pursuant to its stated objectives.

15.3. Public Sanctions, Lustrations, debarment from holding Public Office, etc

Anyone who has committed, any wrongful act associated with the Liberian civil war, whether knowing or unknowingly, whether listed or not, against another individual, group or the state, and refused to take advantage of the Palava Hut process, as a peace building and reconciliation initiative, will be subject to public sanctions, lustrations, debarment from holding public office for life, civil actions and criminal prosecution in a court of competent jurisdiction, now or in the future, at the behest of the state or an individual.

15.4. Other forms of Accountability – traditional and Informal Mechanisms

The INHRC may sanction other traditional, cultural, ethnic and informal mechanisms for justice and accountability as part of the Palava hut mechanism which may impose penalties and sanctions as local culture, traditions and customs may warrant., provided that any such other traditional mechanism other than the Palava hut shall apply to members only or persons holding such “traditional or cultural” affiliation or beliefs.



17

RECOMMENDATIONS ON REPARATIONS



17.0. RECOMMENDATIONS ON REPARATIONS

The TRC hereby recommends that the Government of Liberia assumes its full responsibility under international law principles and regimes and pursuant to its moral, legal, social, political, cultural, economic, and security obligations to its citizens to provide reparations for all those individuals and communities victimized by the years of instability and war.

The TRC recommends a reparation program of approximately US\$500m spanning a 30 year implementation period. Specifically the TRC recommends that within the first 5 years that is from July 1, 2009 - July 30, 2014 all direct victim support program must be implemented including memorials, victim support and the process of prosecution. Further that the program of compulsory free education must continue in operation for at least 30 years. See annex 4 for some and Application of Reparation Funds.

17.1. Addressing the Needs of Victims

The TRC recommends reparation in the form of psychosocial, physical, therapeutic, counseling, medical, mental health and other health related services for all physically challenged individuals who were incapacitated as a consequence of the civil war to rehabilitate them in returning to normal live utilizing the full potentials of other human resources

The TRC recommends that personal cash or material assistance be given other victims who are today asking nothing more than assistance as little as a bundle of zinc or two to put shelter over their heads of their burnt out or badly looted residential structures to protect them from repeated sun beat and rain fall year in and year out. This shall be done on a case by case basis as the managers of the Reparation Trust Fund may determine.

17.2. The Reparation Trust Fund

The TRC recommends the resourcing of the reparation trust fund to ensure that the reparation programme is well managed and timely executed to satisfy the post-war objectives envisioned in the TRC Act and Policy on reparation.

Pursuant to this objective the TRC recommends that the E.J. Roye building which was constructed by tax payers' money for private purposes shall be nationalized and the proceeds therefrom be utilized for reparation trust fund.

The TRC also recommends that considering the history of land disputes and the well established fact that the colonialists of the ACS and pioneers of the Liberian

Government acquired land by force from the natives, that the JJ Roberts Trust Fund established by former president JJ Roberts for the education of the “children of Monrovia” be nationalized and the proceeds therefrom be utilized for the education of the “children of Liberia”.

17.3. Reparation for Particular Groups, Individuals and Communities

The TRC recommends that reparation in the form of community development project and programs including school, health facilities, road, be considered for communities most victimized by years of conflict and civil war including for example Lofa County which have acute housing needs because of the massive depletion of its housing stock more than any other county during the war.

The TRC recommends free education for all Liberians from primary to secondary education and for certain disciplines at the college level. Said disciplines are medicine, nursing, education, teachers training, agriculture, science and technology and according to the human development resource needs of the country.

The TRC further recommends that a reparation program for the empowerment of women devastated by the civil war be extended to survivors to advance their academic and economic pursuits in the form of soft micro credit economic programs, small enterprise and marketing programs with education on small business management for sustainability, including free education for themselves and children from primary to secondary as well tertiary education.

The TRC recommends that the Central Bank, Ministry of Finance or the Government of Liberia ensures that commercial banks and lending institutions expand existing micro economic programs and government guaranteed lending schemes to women every where, especially in the rural areas, and on very flexible terms and conditions suitable to poor people. Training in management of funding shall be critical and imperative.

17.4 Memorials

The TRC recommends that in order to memorialize the dead and out of respect for the survivors of the Liberian civil conflict, that there be established a national holiday for that purpose to be observed once every year; preferably that National Unification Day be renamed National Unification and Memorial Day, and that memorial sites be built in the capital cities of each county to include every site of massacres where the remains of our people en masse have been buried from 1979 to 2003.

The TRC recommends that befitting programmes be held on that day and that the

Government assist the people to conduct proper cleansing ceremonies according to their customs and traditions to cleanse the land and lay the spirits of the dead ones to rest. That there be assistance to rebuild the shrines and holy places and rehabilitate desecrated traditional, cultural and religious institutions.

17.4.1 Burial of former Presidents

The TRC recommends that appropriate national memorial ceremonies be held and a befitting grave be erected with a tomb to honor the memory and loss of President William R. Tolbert, Jr., the 19th President of Liberia who was buried in a mass grave in Monrovia.

The TRC also recommends that appropriate national memorial ceremonies be held and a befitting grave be erected with a tomb to honor the memory and loss of President Samuel K. Doe who surrendered to Prince Y. Johnson and was killed while in his custody. Hon. Prince Y. Johnson should be made to account for the remains of the late President, especially the skull of the head of the President which was occasionally displayed by Hon. Johnson as a “war trophy”.

17.4.2 Issuance of Death Certificates for war dead

The TRC recommends that certificates of death adorned in the National Colors, be issued to the surviving heirs of all those who lost their lives during the period 1979 to 2003 as a consequence of the national conflict and who to date remain unaccounted for, are without a grave or other legal evidence of death. The Independent National Human Rights Commission will verify and authenticate the conflict related deaths utilizing TRC database and other reliable sources and will work of the Bureau of Vital Statistics in the issuance of death certificates.

That all missing persons, that is, those who have not maintained any contact with relative or friends for a period of more than seven years, be and are hereby declared dead.

17.4.3 Public Apology

The TRC recommends that the Government of Liberia issues public apology to the people of Liberia for the dastardly nature of the Liberian conflict and the wanton loss of human life and destruction of properties that ensued in its wake.

The TRC also recommends that the Government of Liberia issues public apology to the Governments and peoples of West African nations and other foreign nations and their peoples for the wanton, malicious, inhumane and willful deaths of their citizens

during the Liberian civil war. The TRC takes particular note of the death of journalists Christopher Imodibe and Tayo Awotusin of the Guardian and Champion Newspapers respectively and recommends that the Government of Liberia issues death certificates to their memory and that the Press Union of Liberia hold appropriate memorial service in their honor and that of all other journalists who fell during the Liberian crisis.

The TRC further recommends that the Government of Liberia issues public apologies to each government that contributed troops to the various peace keeping missions deployed in Liberia for the wanton, deliberate, and malicious killings of their soldiers in active duty.

