

*A Desk Study of U.S. Assistance
to Liberia's Complex Humanitarian Emergency*

Final Draft

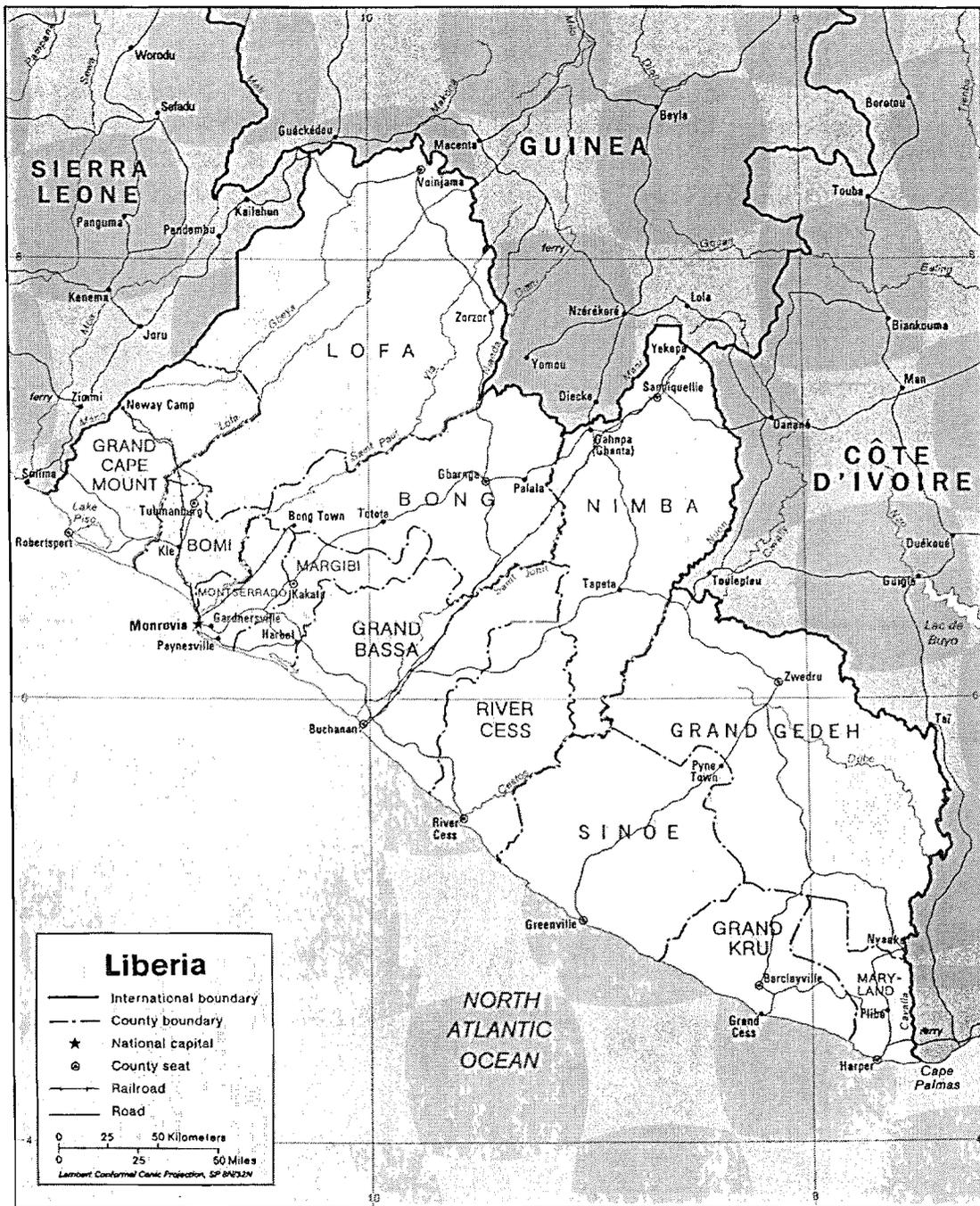
November 1998

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LIBERIA FACT SHEET¹

Capital city	Monrovia
Currency	Liberian dollar
Official language	English (20%)
Principal languages	20 tribal languages, many not written
Population	2,602,068
% urban population	44 percent (as of 1992)
Ethnicities	Kpelle, Bassa, Gio, Kru, Grebo, Mano, Krahn, Gola, Gbandi, Loma, Kissi, Vai, and Bella (Americo-Liberians 5%)
Territory	11,370 kilometers; slightly larger than Tennessee
Official per capita income	\$90.00

Demographic indicators

Health and Sanitation		Education	
average life expectancy at birth	59.02 (56.43 for men, 61.69 for women)	% current female illiteracy	78
infant mortality (deaths per 1,000 live births)	115 in 1992	% current male illiteracy	45
under-five mortality (deaths per 1,000 live births)	217 in 1992	% children not in school	50
maternal mortality (deaths per 100,000 live births)	550 in 1980-1992		
% population under 15 yrs.	45		
% population under 15-64 yrs.	52		
% access to health facilities	63		
% access to safe drinking water	39		

Economic Indicators

GNP (1995)	\$2.5 billion m.
Real GNP real growth rate (1995)	0 percent
GDP per capita	\$1,045 m. ^a

¹ Data obtained from the 1997 CIA World Factbook and the 1995 Human Development report.

^a Estimates for this figure range from \$765 to \$1,600 depending on the source and the stage of the conflict.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

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ALCOP	All Liberian Coalition Party
BHR	Bureau of Humanitarian Response
CDC	Centers for Disease Control
CDF	Congo Defense Forces
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
DART	Disaster Assistance Response Team
ECOMOG	Economic Community cease fire Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
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FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
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ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDPs	Internally displaced persons
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INPFL	Independent Patriotic Front of Liberia
LDF	Lofa Defense Force
LNC	Liberia National Conference
LNTG	Liberian National Transitional Government
LPC	Liberian Peace Council
LWR	Lutheran World Relief
MDM	Médecins du Monde
MSF	Médecins sans Frontières
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NGO	Nongovernmental organization
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPFL-CRC	National Patriotic Front of Liberia-Central Revolutionary Council
NPP	National Patriotic Party
NPRAG	National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government
OAU	Organization of African Unity
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OTI	Office of Transition Initiatives
SCF	Save the Children Federation
SELF	Special Emergency Life Food Programme
SMC	Standing Mediation Committee
ULIMO	United Liberation Movement for Democracy
UN	United Nations
UNDHA	United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDRO	United Nations Disaster Relief Office
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund
UNOMIL United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia
USAID United States Agency for International Development
USCR United States Committee for Refugees
VITA Volunteers in Technical Assistance
WFP World Food Program
WHO World Health Organization
WVRD World Vision Relief & Development

Chronology of Liberia's Recent History

For details about major players in the Liberian civil war and peace agreements, please see Annexes 1 and 2.

1979

April The government discontinues its subsidies of rice, Liberia's staple food. The subsequent price increase sparks riots in Monrovia. Police fire upon protesters and kill 40 people. President William Tolbert declares a state of emergency and has opposition leaders arrested.

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April 12 Indigenous members of the presidential guard, led by Master-Sergeant Samuel Doe, stage a coup and consolidate power by immediately executing President Tolbert and other leading Americo-Liberians.

May Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) soldiers loyal to Tolbert stage an unsuccessful counter-coup.

1985

Presidential elections are held. Doe is declared the winner, despite protests of fraudulent election policies and procedures. Public opposition, particularly by the Mano and Gio ethnic groups, is extreme.

November Brigadier-General Thomas Quiwonkpa, a member of the Gio ethnic group, leads a unit of the AFL in an unsuccessful coup. Quiwonkpa is executed and hundreds of civilian Gios and Manos are massacred by Krahn soldiers.

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24 December The National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by Charles Taylor, stages an uprising in Nimba County, home of the Gio and Mano ethnic groups, which the AFL cannot contain. The AFL initiates an ongoing campaign of terror against Gio and Mano civilians and begins to murder Gios and Manos within its ranks. In retaliation, the NPFL targets Krahn and Mandingo civilians.

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February United Nations Disaster Relief Office (UNDRO) arrives to assess the state of the conflict.

28 May NPFL forces massacre displaced persons sheltered in the UN compound in Monrovia. The UN immediately evacuates all UN staff from Liberia.

- May The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Authority establishes a Standing Mediation Committee to deal with the crisis.
- July ECOWAS establishes the Economic Community Cease Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), although there is not yet a cease fire agreement.
- The Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL) seizes parts of Monrovia.
- August At the end of the month, 4,000 ECOMOG troops arrive in Liberia. Professor Amos Sawyer is elected president of the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) at a national conference attended by all parties except the NPFL.
- September The U.S. Navy evacuates foreign nationals and diplomatic staff.
- 9 September President Doe is abducted from the ECOMOG compound by INPFL troops and dies after 24 hours of torture.
- 24 September Charles Taylor of the NPFL declares himself president of “Greater Liberia” from his headquarters in Gbarnga. His forces control over 90 percent of Liberia.
- October A neutral zone is established in Monrovia after an ECOMOG offensive. The AFL and INPFL agree to a cease fire.
- November The IGNU is installed and recognized by the international community. The INPFL and AFL sign an agreement of allegiance to the IGNU. The NPFL refuses to sign. The IGNU and ECOMOG control Monrovia. Taylor controls the rest of the country.
- UN personnel return to Monrovia.
- 28 November Bamako Cease Fire is signed.

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- February Disarmament is delayed until after the IGNU is installed again.
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- The Revolutionary United Front, a Sierra Leonean group supported by the NPFL, commences raids into border areas rich in diamonds.

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- September ULIMO attacks NPFL forces in western Liberia.
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- June Approximately 600 displaced persons die in an attack on the Firestone plantation. A UN-sanctioned panel determines that the AFL is responsible.
- July The UN, ECOWAS, and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) invite representatives from all factions to Geneva and a cease fire is signed.
- 25 July The Cotonou Accord, a formal version of the Geneva cease fire, is signed.

1 August The Cotonou cease fire begins.

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ECOWAS extends its embargo against NPFL-held areas to include cross-border humanitarian aid sent through Côte d'Ivoire. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) protests the UN's support for the embargo.

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January UNOMIL forces are deployed, and ECOMOG troops from East Africa arrive. There are several violations of the Cotonou cease fire.

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May ULIMO infighting results in a split into two ethnic factions: ULIMO-K (Mandingo) and ULIMO-J (Krahn).

June-August UNOMIL withdraws from western Liberia for security. The Liberia National Conference (LNC) meets to discuss the peace process.

September A UN official organizes a meeting in Akosombo, Ghana, between the NPFL, ULIMO-K, and the AFL. The three factions sign the Akosombo Agreement.

ULIMO-K leads anti-NPFL forces in an attack on Gbargna headquarters while Taylor is out of the country.

The NPFL, located in the north and east, detain and harass UNOMIL and other humanitarian workers.

UNOMIL recalls most staff to Monrovia and reduces overall staff in Liberia.

The NPFL-Central Revolutionary Council (CRC) is established under Tom Woewiyu and Sam Dokie.

ECOMOG stops an attempted coup against the LNTG by AFL General Charles Julu.

December New talks that include all factions are held in Accra, Ghana. All factions sign the resulting Accra Clarification. ULIMO-J and NPFL-CRC and NPFL and ULIMO-K form coalitions. The AFL remains unaligned.

28 December The Accra Clarification cease fire begins.

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January The warring factions agree to expand the number of Council of State nominees to allow for independent representation of the AFL and “coalition” forces.

A U.S. State Department Human Rights report condemns ECOMOG for “systematic and large-scale looting”, and along with the UN, cuts funding.

February The NPFL and the LPC begin fighting again.

April Sixty-two civilians, mostly women and children, are massacred in Yosi. Witnesses accuse the NPFL and report that the dead were cannibalized.

19 August Taylor and Sani Abacha hold secret meetings which result in the Abuja Accord, the 13th peace agreement of the conflict.

26 August The Abuja cease fire begins.

September The new Council of State enters office.

October The international community promises ECOWAS continued monetary assistance.

30 October Taylor and Kroman sign the Memorandum of Understanding, bringing to an end skirmishes between NPFL and ULIMO-K troops.

December ULIMO-J forces attack the ECOMOG headquarters in Tubmanburg, taking some ECOMOG personnel hostage. ECOMOG and ULIMO-J forces fight over disarmament and control over diamond mines.

The NPFL and ULIMO-K form an alliance.

1996

March The Council of State agrees to change the name of the LNTG to “the government of Liberia,” and the Council itself is renamed “the Collective Presidency.” Taylor and Kromah begin to refer to their troops as “government forces.”

The government accuses ULIMO-J of inciting the December 1995 violence. Johnson is removed from ULIMO-J leadership and the Council of State suspends him from his official post.

April The Council orders the arrest of Johnson on murder charges. Fighting erupts in Monrovia between government forces and LPC, AFL, and ULIMO-J fighters

loosely allied under Johnson. Johnson's forces use 600 civilians as "human shields." During seven weeks of violence, at least 1,500 people die. The U.S. evacuates foreign nationals and 2,000 relief workers. Johnson is flown to Ghana. Independent press offices are destroyed. Thousands seek refuge in the U.S. embassy compound.

- 7 May After a brief period of anarchy, ECOWAS leaders meet in Accra, designing a peace settlement that results in a 26 May cease fire in Monrovia. Fighting elsewhere continues.
- May The Council of State orders the "government forces" in Monrovia to surrender their positions to ECOMOG troops.
- Fighting begins between the newly emerged Congo Defense Forces (CDF) and ULIMO-J forces north-east of Monrovia.
- August The Abuja II Peace Accord is signed.
- September Ruth Perry, a civilian, is appointed head of the Council of State.
- 22 November Disarmament begins.

1997

- 9 February Disarmament is declared complete.
- February The three main faction leaders—Charles Taylor, Alhaji Kromah and Roosevelt Johnson—resign from the Council. Kromah and Taylor announce their candidacies for president.
- May Liberia's political parties and civil society organizations request the rescheduling of the elections to 19 July to ensure full complicity with requirements for democratic elections.
- 16 June Presidential campaigning begins with thirteen candidates, including three former warlords.
- June Clashes are reported between Taylor's National Patriotic Party (NPP) and Kromah's All Liberian Coalition Party (ALCOP) in Monrovia. An arms cache is found in northern Liberia, an area controlled by the NPFL.
- The UN extends UNOMIL's mission until 30 September.
- July ECOMOG discovers a second cache of weapons in Bong, NPFL-controlled territory.

- 19 July Elections, declared free and fair by international and domestic observers, are held for the first time since 1985. Charles Taylor wins with an overwhelming majority of votes.
- 2 August Charles Taylor is inaugurated as President of Liberia.

1998

- September Government soldiers in Monrovia attempt to arrest Roosevelt Johnson on treason charges. Fighting between Johnson's rebels and the soldiers lasts two days, leaving around 50 dead. Johnson flees to the American embassy compound. After Liberian government security forces fire on Johnson's group, killing four Johnson supporters and wounding two Americans, embassy officials offer refuge based on an international law promising protection in the face of immediate threats to life. The embassy flies Johnson and his entourage to Freetown, Sierra Leone, but promises to make Johnson available for trial. The Taylor administration states that the Special Security Unit was dispatched to arrest Johnson after Johnson's forces abducted the director general of the budget and accuse Johnson's rebels of instigating the fire fight.²

The above time line is based on:

Adibe, Clement. 1996. *Managing Arms in Peace Processes: Liberia*. Disarmament and Conflict Resolution Project. Geneva: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research

Scott, Colin. 1998. "Liberia: A Nation Displaced." In *Forsaken People: Case Studies of the Internally Displaced*, edited by Roberta Cohen and Francis M. Deng. Washington: Brookings Institution Press

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Carver, Richard. October 1994. "Liberia: What Hope for Peace?" WRITENET Country Papers. REF WORLD. [<http://www.unhcr.ch/refworld/country/writenet/wrilbr.htm>]

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² 1998 information consolidated from news articles: Associated Press. 9/22/98. "U.S. Embassy caught again in Liberia's crossfire;" Associated Press. 9/22/98. "Monrovia bounces back from battles, but some fear the worst;" Reuters. 9/24/98. "FOCUS—Liberia says U.S. can fly out Taylor foe;" Reuters. 9/25/98. "U.S. to fly out Liberia fugitive and end stand-off"; "Text of Clinton Letter on Liberia." 9/29/98. White House Press Office, US Newswire.

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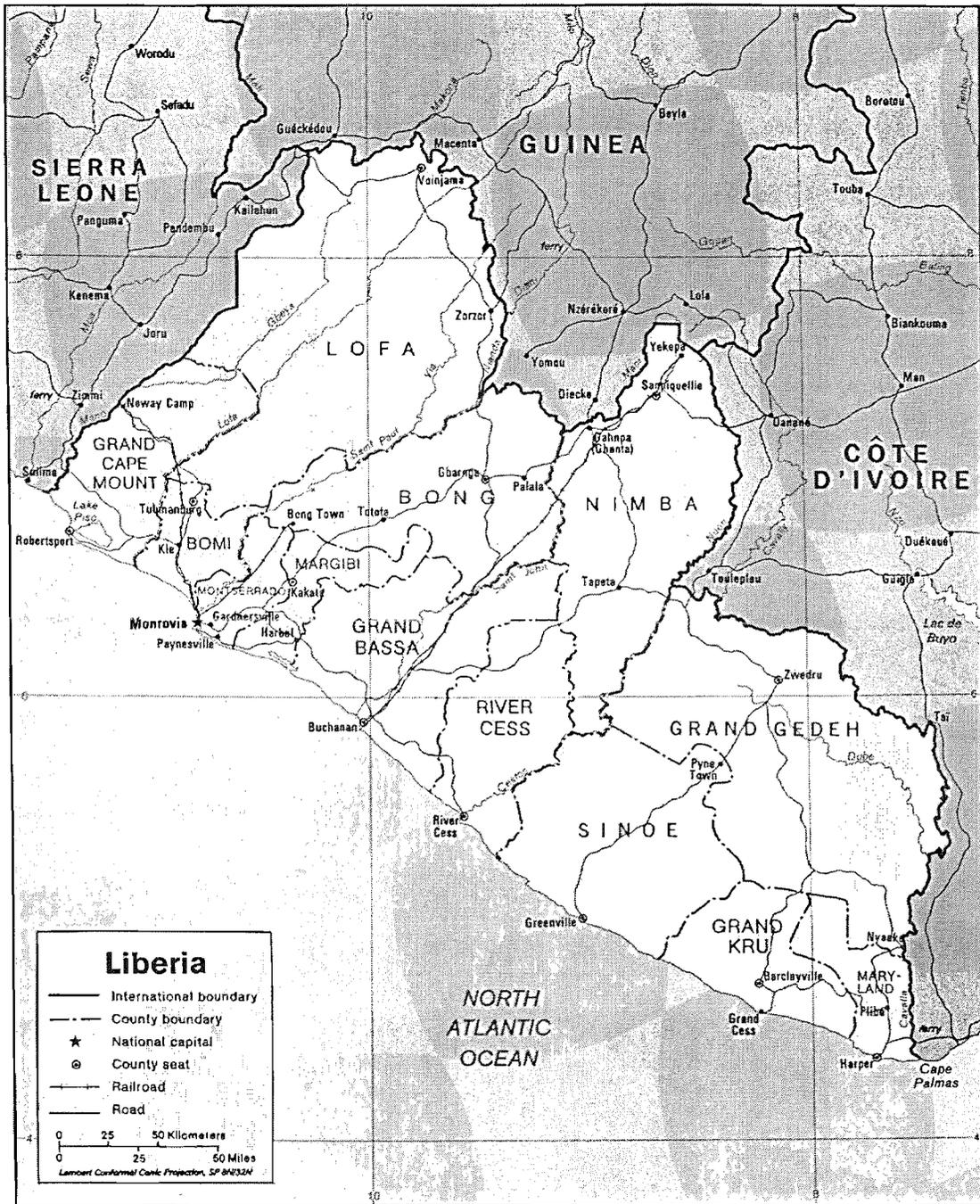
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April Sixty-two civilians, mostly women and children, are massacred in Yosi. Witnesses accuse the NPFL and report that the dead were cannibalized.

19 August Taylor and Sani Abacha hold secret meetings which result in the Abuja Accord, the 13th peace agreement of the conflict.

26 August The Abuja cease fire begins.

September The new Council of State enters office.

October The international community promises ECOWAS continued monetary assistance.

30 October Taylor and Kroman sign the Memorandum of Understanding, bringing to an end skirmishes between NPFL and ULIMO-K troops.

December ULIMO-J forces attack the ECOMOG headquarters in Tubmanburg, taking some ECOMOG personnel hostage. ECOMOG and ULIMO-J forces fight over disarmament and control over diamond mines.

The NPFL and ULIMO-K form an alliance.

1996

March The Council of State agrees to change the name of the LNTG to “the government of Liberia,” and the Council itself is renamed “the Collective Presidency.” Taylor and Kromah begin to refer to their troops as “government forces.”

The government accuses ULIMO-J of inciting the December 1995 violence. Johnson is removed from ULIMO-J leadership and the Council of State suspends him from his official post.

April The Council orders the arrest of Johnson on murder charges. Fighting erupts in Monrovia between government forces and LPC, AFL, and ULIMO-J fighters

loosely allied under Johnson. Johnson's forces use 600 civilians as "human shields." During seven weeks of violence, at least 1,500 people die. The U.S. evacuates foreign nationals and 2,000 relief workers. Johnson is flown to Ghana. Independent press offices are destroyed. Thousands seek refuge in the U.S. embassy compound.

7 May After a brief period of anarchy, ECOWAS leaders meet in Accra, designing a peace settlement that results in a 26 May cease fire in Monrovia. Fighting elsewhere continues.

May The Council of State orders the "government forces" in Monrovia to surrender their positions to ECOMOG troops.

Fighting begins between the newly emerged Congo Defense Forces (CDF) and ULIMO-J forces north-east of Monrovia.

August The Abuja II Peace Accord is signed.

September Ruth Perry, a civilian, is appointed head of the Council of State.

22 November Disarmament begins.

1997

9 February Disarmament is declared complete.

February The three main faction leaders—Charles Taylor, Alhaji Kromah and Roosevelt Johnson—resign from the Council. Kromah and Taylor announce their candidacies for president.

May Liberia's political parties and civil society organizations request the rescheduling of the elections to 19 July to ensure full complicity with requirements for democratic elections.

16 June Presidential campaigning begins with thirteen candidates, including three former warlords.

June Clashes are reported between Taylor's National Patriotic Party (NPP) and Kromah's All Liberian Coalition Party (ALCOP) in Monrovia. An arms cache is found in northern Liberia, an area controlled by the NPFL.

The UN extends UNOMIL's mission until 30 September.

July ECOMOG discovers a second cache of weapons in Bong, NPFL-controlled territory.

- 19 July Elections, declared free and fair by international and domestic observers, are held for the first time since 1985. Charles Taylor wins with an overwhelming majority of votes.
- 2 August Charles Taylor is inaugurated as President of Liberia.

1998

- September Government soldiers in Monrovia attempt to arrest Roosevelt Johnson on treason charges. Fighting between Johnson's rebels and the soldiers lasts two days, leaving around 50 dead. Johnson flees to the American embassy compound. After Liberian government security forces fire on Johnson's group, killing four Johnson supporters and wounding two Americans, embassy officials offer refuge based on an international law promising protection in the face of immediate threats to life. The embassy flies Johnson and his entourage to Freetown, Sierra Leone, but promises to make Johnson available for trial. The Taylor administration states that the Special Security Unit was dispatched to arrest Johnson after Johnson's forces abducted the director general of the budget and accuse Johnson's rebels of instigating the fire fight.²

The above time line is based on:

Adibe, Clement. 1996. *Managing Arms in Peace Processes: Liberia*. Disarmament and Conflict Resolution Project. Geneva: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research

Scott, Colin. 1998. "Liberia: A Nation Displaced." In *Forsaken People: Case Studies of the Internally Displaced*, edited by Roberta Cohen and Francis M. Deng. Washington: Brookings Institution Press

UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs Integrated Regional Information Network for West Africa (IRIN-WA). N.d. "IPS: Critical Watch-Africa: Chronology of Liberia's July Elections." [<http://www.ips.org/Index.htm>]

1998 Europa World Book

Carver, Richard. October 1994. "Liberia: What Hope for Peace?" WRITENET Country Papers. REFWORLD. [<http://www.unhcr.ch/refworld/country/writenet/wrilbr.htm>]

———October 1996. "Liberia: the Prospects for Peace—Update December 1994-September 1996." [<http://www.unhcr.ch/refworld/country/writenet/wrilbr02.htm>]

Conciliation Resources. September 1996 "The Liberian Peace Process: 1990-1996." *Accord: An International Review of Peace Initiatives*. [<http://www.c-r.org/cr/accord/contents.htm>].

² 1998 information consolidated from news articles: Associated Press. 9/22/98. "U.S. Embassy caught again in Liberia's crossfire;" Associated Press. 9/22/98. "Monrovia bounces back from battles, but some fear the worst;" Reuters. 9/24/98. "FOCUS—Liberia says U.S. can fly out Taylor foe;" Reuters. 9/25/98. "U.S. to fly out Liberia fugitive and end stand-off"; "Text of Clinton Letter on Liberia." 9/29/98. White House Press Office, US Newswire.

INTRODUCTION

The United States Agency for International Development Strategic Plan, completed in 1997, outlines six Agency goals, the sixth of which concerns humanitarian assistance and is defined as “Lives saved, suffering associated with natural or man-made disasters reduced, and conditions necessary for political and/or economic development re-established.” Within this goal area, four specific performance goals with corresponding indicators were set:

1. Crude mortality rate for refugee populations returned to normal range within six months of onset of emergency situation. Indicator: crude mortality rate in emergency situation.
2. Nutritional status of children under five years of age and under populations made vulnerable by emergencies maintained or improved. Indicator: Proportion of children under 59 months who are wasted (weight-for-height).
3. Conditions for social and economic development in post-conflict situation improved. Indicator: Number of people displaced by open conflict.
4. Freedom of movement, expression and assembly, and economic freedom in post-conflict situations increased. Indicator: changes in the number and classification of designated post-conflict countries classified by Freedom House as free/partly free/not free. Economic Freedom Composite Index. (USAID 1997 Strategic Plan)

While this framework was not in place during the USAID response to the complex emergency in Liberia, it does offer benchmarks that assist in assessing the effectiveness of humanitarian assistance interventions.

This paper will review the causes of the Liberia complex emergency and USAID’s response, and offer an analysis of evaluations and studies to date on the effectiveness of this aid package. In consideration of the above criteria, this analysis will provide insight regarding three basic questions:

- Did emergency assistance save lives and alleviate suffering? If so, to what extent?
- Did emergency assistance reduce or prolong hostilities and political instability associated with the complex emergency? If so, to what extent?
- Did emergency assistance contribute to long-term development? If so, to what extent?

The analysis will conclude with a discussion of results and lessons learned taken from both governmental and nongovernmental sources.

I. BRIEF HISTORICAL NOTE

Liberia is one of only two African countries that never officially existed as a colony. Liberia was founded by freed American slaves, termed Americo-Liberians, in 1847. The country remained economically dependent on the United States. Americo-Liberians established the government and formed an educational and social elite, which was rarely breached by indigenous Liberians. It was not until 1946 that the indigenous population was even given the right to vote. President William Tubman (1944-1971) adopted policies designed to reduce the poverty and illiteracy of the majority of the population, resulting in the integration of some indigenous Liberians into the political and economic elite (Abide 1996, 5).

Until 1980, U.S. aid focused on economic development and took advantage of Liberia's open door policy toward foreign investment. After World War II, Liberia's mining and shipping industries grew steadily, and, during the 1960s, exports increased by 18.4 percent annually. Beginning in the 1960s, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) provided more than \$250 million in loans to stabilize the currency and encourage fiscal responsibility. These funds, as well as other international aid, were used increasingly in corrupt ways. During the 1980s, as the Doe regime became more and more unpopular, foreign aid was used to pay for President Doe's patronage-powered regime. In spite of U.S. pressure, in 1987, the World Bank discontinued its Liberian operations altogether (Scott 1998, 102).

From 1980 to 1986, over half of the \$434 million of U.S. assistance to Liberia was obligated for government debts and military assistance (Scott 1998, 102). Critics of the U.S. policy in Liberia during the Reagan administration pointed to human rights abuses and undemocratic policies under the Doe regime. The 1985 election was a prime example of Doe's lack of commitment to democracy. After bowing to international pressure to hold elections, the president became involved at every level of the process to ensure his definitive victory. In addition, Doe's regime was infamous for open and excessive violence against anyone seen as the opposition. Initially, Doe focused his brutality against Americo-Liberians. Over time, however, the violence of his regime and his favoritism toward the Krahn and Mandingo peoples resulted in new opposition by the Gio and Mano ethnic groups (Adibe 1996, 8-9).

Due to the corruption of the Doe administration, the general population did not benefit from the marginal growth of GDP during the early 1980s or the significant amount of U.S. economic aid. Critics further asserted that U.S. interest was based upon the perceived strategic importance of the country in the Cold War and as a counter to Libya. As the Cold War ended, Liberia's strategic importance declined, and U.S. assistance and involvement gradually decreased (Scott 1998, 102).

Armed conflict began in December 1989 with an uprising of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) against government forces in Nimba county. The conflict lasted for seven years, through thirteen unsuccessful peace agreements. As recently as September 1998, armed conflict between Johnson's and Taylor's forces resulted in casualties. During most of the war years, the country was divided into two sections: Monrovia and its immediate surroundings were controlled by the Economic Community Cease Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), and the rest of the country was controlled from Gbarnga by Charles Taylor and the National Patriotic

Reconstruction Assembly Government (NPRAG), the political wing of the NPFL. The U.S. Embassy compound was considered a safe haven for displaced persons fleeing to Monrovia from NPFL-controlled territory.

International humanitarian assistance agencies became involved in the situation from the beginning of the conflict. ECOMOG, and later the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL), functioned as peace-keeping forces, while other UN agencies, international and local NGOs, international donors, and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) provided relief and rehabilitation support. Throughout the conflict, humanitarian assistance was delayed or unavailable to parts of the country due to a tenuous security situation (Scott 1994, 5). Insufficient transportation also constrained relief efforts.

Humanitarian agencies closely coordinated their relief efforts in Liberia. Food aid distribution was coordinated by the UN World Food Program (WFP) and implemented by local and international NGOs such as SELF. Food was distributed in Monrovia as well as to NPFL-occupied areas throughout the conflict. Health services assistance was coordinated by United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), World Health Organization (WHO), Medecins Sans Frontiers (MSF), GOAL, and Save the Children Federation (SCF). International health aid, as well as assistance for water, sanitation, and power services, were targeted to sustain and reconstruct the country's decimated infrastructure. Assistance for education and children in difficult situations was coordinated by UNICEF, MSF, and SCF and primarily targeted to orphaned or abandoned children, many of whom had been additionally traumatized by atrocities witnessed and committed. From November 1993 to December 1994, UN agencies requested \$284 million for food aid and nonfood relief and rehabilitation aid but received only a fraction of that sum (Scott 1994, 5-6).

II. ANTECEDENTS TO THE COMPLEX HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCY

This section outlines the antecedents to the declared emergency in Liberia and several of its characteristics. Economic, social, refugee, internally displaced persons (IDPs), and gender issues are outlined; specific data are provided when available.

Economic Factors

Throughout the decade prior to the civil war, Liberia's economy was in steady decline. The real growth rate of GDP from 1980 to 1989 was zero. As the conflict erupted, GNP began falling by an annual average of 12.8 percent. The World Bank estimated in 1997 that GNP per capita was \$765 or less (Europa 1998, 603). U.S. trade with Liberia declined from \$147 million in 1986 to \$77 million in 1996, at an average negative growth rate of 6.3 percent.³ Liberia now owes about \$2 billion in foreign debt.

Prior to the conflict, the agriculture sector constituted 36.7 percent of the country's GDP. Cash crops included rubber, coffee, and cocoa, while food crops included primarily rice, cassava, palm oil, and some meat and fish. The agricultural sector grew at an average of 1.4 percent from 1980 to 1989, despite difficulties in the economy. From the beginning of the conflict to 1995,

³ Source: US Department of Commerce.

agricultural production fell by an annual average of 9.6 percent. Over 70 percent of Liberian farmers had lost both their crops and seeds. In 1995, the agricultural sector employed 70 percent of the official work force. As agricultural production decreased, food security became a contributing factor to the conflict (Europa 1998, 603).

Although it only employed slightly more than 5.1 percent of the labor force in 1989, the mining industry made a considerable contribution to Liberia's GDP—10.9 percent in 1989. Iron ore mines were by far the most profitable, while diamond, gold, and other minerals brought diversity and security to the mining industry. These natural resources were often exploited by the Americo-Liberians, in conjunction with international corporations. As the conflict escalated, the mines became a source of contention for armed factions, who found the mines (especially diamond and gold) to be an excellent source of income.

The Social Sector

Ethnicity

For over a century, Liberia was dominated by an Americo-Liberian elite, although they only constituted 5 percent of the population. During this time, the Americo-Liberians controlled all political, economic, and social aspects of life. Shortly after WWII, the Tubman administration began implementing social programs to ameliorate the poverty and illiteracy of the masses. As some native Liberians became educated, they found themselves in competition for wealth and resources with the Americo-Liberian elite. As a result, ethnic groups became a social base for support. In April 1979, the Tolbert administration ended state rice subsidies under increasing economic pressures resulting from the oil crisis. The price for rice, Liberia's staple food, increased dramatically—causing mass riots in Monrovia. This discontent and the government's repressive response were factors in the coup led by Samuel Doe (Adibe 1996).

Martin Lowenkof points to Samuel Doe's seizure of power as the initial spark of ethnic conflict in the civil war. Lowenkof argues that the April 1980 coup was not a revolution against Americo-Liberian domination, but a coup within a marginal institution by "a socially marginal element, the Krahn" (Zartman 1995, 101). Liberia's previous leaders, Tubman and Tolbert, ceded little power or status to the military. Doe's actions resulted in the creation of the first generation of warlords by introducing ethnic rivalry and failing to develop or liberate indigenous peoples outside his own ethnic group and their alliances (Zartman 1995).

To date, an extensive study of ethnic relations within Liberia prior to the conflict has not been completed. Thus, it is difficult to claim that ethnic conflicts within Liberia resulted from Doe's seizure of power. However, many analysts agree that Doe's oppressive regime and preferential treatment of the Krahn and Mandingo ethnic groups exacerbated ethnic tensions.

Health

Little specific data on the health situation prior to the conflict is available. Due to the decline of the agricultural sector, malnutrition and famine became prevalent. At the end of 1990, 50 to 60 people a day were dying of starvation in Monrovia alone, while 55 to 80 percent of the

population was considered severely malnourished (CRS 1994). As violent conflict escalated, infrastructure throughout the country was devastated, including the health services industry. Chronic disease, malnutrition, and starvation left the Liberian population in deplorable health.

The 1995 *Human Development Report* states that from 1985 to 1993 30 percent of the rural population and 50 percent of the urban population had access to health services. In the same period 22 percent of rural Liberians and 93 percent of urban Liberians had access to safe water. Eight percent of the rural population had access to sanitation services. Infant mortality in 1992 was 126 per 1,000 births and the under-five mortality rate was 216 per 1,000. From 1990 to 1993 86 percent of children under one year old were fully immunized against tuberculosis and 38 against measles. In 1993, AIDS cases reached a rate of 5.8 per 100,000 (UNDP 1995).

Education

As in the case with health services, education data for the period prior to the conflict is not readily available. The adult literacy rate in 1970 was 19 percent and 36 percent in 1992 (UNDP 1995). Most accounts point to the lack of accessible educational services throughout the country.

Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons

By the end of the war, an estimated 5 percent of Liberia's pre-war population of 2.6 million was dead, and over 700,000 Liberians had fled to neighboring countries as refugees. Of those remaining, almost half were internally displaced (Fitzpatrick 1997). As of the end of 1997, over a year after the signing of the final peace accord and five months after free and fair elections, 475,000 Liberians were still refugees (USCR 1998).

During the first year of the conflict, Liberians fled primarily to Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire, and Sierra Leone. In all three countries, the refugees initially lived with the local populations—paying for rent and other services. In border areas particularly, many refugees had family and friends to help them resettle. By 1994, the number of refugees had grown substantially, increasing tensions between villagers and refugees as it became more difficult for local populations to absorb the influx. In addition to Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, and Ghana, Liberians fled to Nigeria where many were placed in a refugee camp in Oru, Ogun State. Local human rights groups criticized the treatment of the refugees and conditions in the camp (Carver 1994). By 1996, most refugees were settled in “assistance zones” in border areas (USCR 1996). See Table 1 for a review of asylum countries.

The majority of IDPs fled to Monrovia, which was an ECOMOG safety zone during the majority of the conflict (USCR 1998). In IDP settlements, women and children were frequent victims of violence, and children were often forcibly recruited as soldiers. A 1993 UN mission assessing support networks for women IDPs found that, in spite of horrible conditions, there was “abundant local capacity to address many of the problems faced” (Scott 1998, 114). Although a large number of IDPs reportedly lived in government-approved shelters by the middle of 1997, over 40,000 in Monrovia alone lived in run-down, overcrowded, dirty government buildings (USCR 1998).

After the July 1997 elections, 138,000 refugees, as well as some displaced persons, returned to their homes. In December 1997, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) began registering refugees in Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria for a voluntary repatriation program. UNHCR, the Seeds and Tools Committee of Liberia, and the WFP all provide assistance packages to repatriating refugees (<http://www.unhcr.ch>). As of September 1998, approximately 80,000 Liberian refugees had repatriated with UNHCR assistance. The process was delayed and temporarily reversed in September 1998 as flooding in northwest Liberia caused 5,000 people, many of them repatriated refugees, to evacuate their homes (The Associated Press 10/1/98).

Most returnees have reported no major security issues, although there have been claims of harassment and difficulties reclaiming property by Mandingos returning to Lofa and Nimba counties. In addition, ethnic Krahn have been hesitant to repatriate while Taylor is president (USCR 1998).

Table 1 : Asylum Countries for Refugees in the Liberia Crisis

Source: Information from UNHCR web site [<http://www.unhcr.ch>]

Number of Refugees as of May 1997	Country of Asylum
210,000 Liberians	Cote d'Ivoire
420,000 Liberians	Guinea
17,000 Liberians	Ghana
14,000 Liberians	Sierra Leone
6,000 Liberians	Nigeria
120,000 Sierra Leoneans	Liberia

III. USAID'S HUMANITARIAN RESPONSE

USAID's response to the complex emergency in Liberia began in 1990 and is continuing to date. From 1990 to 1996, USAID contributed approximately \$421 million in humanitarian aid, channeled through the UN and numerous NGOs, to the Liberian complex emergency. The Bureau of Humanitarian Response (BHR) provided the majority of this assistance through its Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA), the Office of Food for Peace (FFP), and the Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI). All USAID activities were conducted through the UN or NGOs due to the tenuous security situation. The funding levels of each of these offices are reviewed in annex 6.

BHR/OFDA's Disaster Assistance Response Team (DART) was deployed in 1990 to provide support and guidance to USAID's humanitarian response efforts, specializing in health, water, sanitation, and logistics. Due to security concerns, the DART team was unable to meet its objectives and was withdrawn. The team was redeployed later that same year and was once again unable to meet its targets. In 1996, the DART team made its third trip to Liberia in order to assist

the U.S. embassy with relief efforts, specifically with the displaced living within the embassy's compound.

The activities of each of the offices mentioned above, as well as those of the Africa Bureau (AFR), are outlined below in terms of the three questions addressed in this study. The questions themselves are answered in section IV.

Question 1: Did emergency assistance save lives and alleviate suffering? Is so, to what extent?

USAID activities in the areas of health, water and sanitation, and food aid throughout the emergency were directly related to the objective of saving lives and alleviating suffering. The bulk of this assistance, in terms of dollars, took the form of food aid delivered through BHR/FFP. From 1990 to 1996, BHR/FFP contributed US \$377,922,100 in food aid commodities. BHR/OFDA also provided funding for emergency food distribution. The WFP and Catholic Relief Services (CRS) were the primary recipients of these funds—receiving over 791 metric tons of food for distribution. This total includes both food that was distributed internally and funding given by BHR/FFP to the WFP Regional Operation that assisted cross-border refugees in Sierra Leone, Guinea, Liberia, and Côte d'Ivoire. The WFP targeted its aid to 3.88 million women, children, elderly, IDPs, and refugees.

CRS was tasked by BHR/OFDA to target their distribution of food aid to 1.7 million severely or moderately malnourished children under five years old and malnourished adults, as well those who were handicapped, disadvantaged, or socially destitute. In 1996, CRS assisted 40,000 persons with Title II food aid programs. For example, 4,000 health workers received food commodities as an incentive to maintain health services, while community food for work programs assisted in the construction of roads and bridges. In 1996, CRS also provided food assistance to 200,000 IDPs. Other NGOs that received smaller grants from BHR/OFDA for food distribution related activities include Action Internationale Contre la Faim (AICF), IEFER, and CARE. Only one local NGO, SELF, received limited funding from BHR/OFDA.

USAID also pursued efforts to provide health services to affected populations. From 1992 to 1995, BHR/OFDA contributed over US \$2.5 million to the UNICEF for nutrition and health-related services, orphan programs, and water and sanitation activities.

Medecins Sans Frontiers/Belgium (MSF/B) and AICF were also primary recipients of BHR/OFDA health relief funding. MSF/B received numerous grants from 1990 to 1996 to rehabilitate hospitals and provide medical supplies. In 1990, MSF/B worked in three hospitals in the Nimba province, and several hospitals in Bong, Cofa, and Grand Bassa. In 1990 alone, over 70,000 pounds of medical supplies were airlifted to Liberia. MSF/B continued to provide health-related relief services throughout the conflict. In 1995, MSF/B was charged by BHR/OFDA with providing basic health care services to 400,000 internally displaced persons.

AICF began providing health-related relief services in 1992 when their agreement to assist in food distribution was extended to include a health, water, and sanitation project. In 1994, AICF received \$1.5 million for health programs and distribution of seeds and tools. SCF/UK also received a grant for \$1 million in 1994 for the provision of medical and sanitation services.

Other NGOs that received USAID funding for health-related services include GOAL, Centers for Disease Control (CDC), American Colonization Society (ACS), Medecins Sans Frontiers/Holland (MSF/H), UNIPAC, and Salasian Missions.

In FY 1997, BHR/OFDA contributed more than \$8.6 million to address the needs of vulnerable groups through grants to Africare, ACIF, CRS, Lutheran World Relief (LWR), Médecins du Monde (MDM), SCF/UK, World Vision Relief and Development (WVRD), United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs (UNDHA), UNICEF, and VITA. WFP and CRS received \$23 million in P.L. 480 Title II funds to deliver 42,060 MT of emergency food assistance (USAID 1999). This aid was complemented by a shift toward increased development-oriented aid. In 1997, USAID provided \$1 million for child survival and disease programs, \$6.5 million in development assistance, and \$1 million in economic support funds.

Question 2: Did emergency assistance reduce or prolong hostilities and political instability associated with the complex emergency? If so, to what extent?

In September 1997, USAID joined in the national reintegration program, which involved reconstructing school, clinics, and medical facilities; repairing farm-to-market roads; and implementing agricultural projects such as swamp rice cultivation, warehousing, and food processing (OFDA 1997).

Immediately after the demobilization efforts were completed, BHR/OTI began funding a variety of activities in Liberia that reflected BHR/OTI's objectives:

- Aid in the peace-building process by re-orienting aid to serve the needs of a political transition.
- Promote pluralism and strengthen efforts to consolidate demobilization and pursue economic recovery.
- Test the development of democracy through civil society.

In FY 97, BHR/OTI spent more than \$1.7 million on these transition efforts. The Civil Reconstruction Teams, funded by BHR/OTI and implemented by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), provided temporary employment for 10,000 ex-combatants and fire fighters. The STAR Radio program began in 1997 to provide independent information throughout the country and border regions through short wave radios. This program was jointly funded by BHR/OTI and AFR. In support of this effort, OTI funded the distribution of 2,640 wind-up, short wave radios that were distributed during the elections in 1997 to polling stations and community groups. BHR/OTI provided funding to Search for Common Ground to support the Talking Drum Studio. This activity produced voter and civic education programs for radio and live community performances on topics that ranged from reconciliation to basic freedoms.

Question 3: Did emergency assistance contribute to long-term development? If so, to what extent?

The recovery of the agricultural sector is crucial to long-term food security and economic development in Liberia. USAID has undertaken a number of initiatives to support the agricultural sector. BHR/OFDA and BHR/FFP coordinated with CRS, LWR, European Union (EU), and WFP to implement an agricultural recovery program. The program provided seed and bulgar wheat to 57,600 families.

USAID and the UN jointly funded a Seeds for Rice Program that offered edible rice to farmers in exchange for seed rice, which was then distributed to farmers without access to seeds to start their crops. This program was implemented by CRS and MSF/Belgium (MSF/B) (Branaman 1994, 3).

In addition to efforts to facilitate agricultural recovery, AFR/Office of West African Affairs provided more than \$7.2 million from development assistance accounts to assist war victims (including IDPs, child soldiers, and disabled ex-combatants) through community reintegration activities such as trauma counseling, skills development, nonformal education, provision of agricultural kits, civil society rehabilitation and the promotion of conflict resolution. These efforts were designed to begin repairing human and physical infrastructures needed to move from relief to development.

IV. RESULTS AND LESSONS LEARNED FROM USAID'S HUMANITARIAN RESPONSE IN LIBERIA

The efforts of the international community to provide humanitarian relief were severely hampered by a continuously unstable security situation. As a result, relief efforts were not constant and results fluctuated over time. International aid workers were pulled out of Liberia several times throughout the emergency due to security issues, adversely affecting the efficiency and effectiveness of the humanitarian aid. NGOs and other international agencies' efforts to assist those in need outside of Monrovia, where over a million people had fled by 1993, were hampered by factional harassment, shifting control of territory, looting of supplies, and theft of vehicles. These difficulties led to periodic suspension of aid to insecure areas and worsening conditions for those displaced.

In the first half of 1996, the delivery of relief assistance was severely limited by the outbreak of violence and subsequent looting in Monrovia. After this major setback, NGOs improved their coordination, sharing of resources, formation of strategy, policies, and advocacy. As one USAID implementing partner stated, the NGOs pursued a "minimum input for a maximum output" approach in their overall strategy (LWR 1996). International NGOs issued a joint public statement arguing that the mixture of humanitarian, political, and security problems in Liberia was "forcing international humanitarian agencies to reconsider their standard approaches to relief" (UNSCR).

Following the peace accords in August 1996, relief agencies were finally able to reach regions of Liberia that were inaccessible during most of the war due to insecurity. They extended their emergency programs in food, agriculture, health, water/sanitation and began to reintegrate ex-combatants into their communities. They faced the challenge of repatriating over 500,000 refugees and resettling approximately one million IDPs, including 33,000 ex-combatants.

As a result of the re-emergence of violence in fall of 1998, NGOs have once again appealed to the Secretary General of the United Nations for an investigation into the situation in Liberia. Since that time, there have been numerous reports of oppression and reprisal by government forces, though they have yet to be substantiated. This threat to the fragile peace in Liberia once again threatens relief efforts that are only just beginning to move toward a development orientation (InterAction 1998, 2).

On saving lives and alleviating suffering

The primary objective of USAID humanitarian aid through the provision of food aid and health and sanitation relief is to save lives and alleviate suffering. Evidence of the effectiveness of this effort can be seen through changes in the health and nutritional status of targeted groups.

In 1995, 1.5 million people required distributed food; of that number 400,000 were deemed inaccessible. Of the 1.4 million that did receive aid, 800,000 were internally displaced and 700,000 were in refugee camps along the border (Scott 1995). The UN estimated that 70 percent of Liberia's food needs during the crisis were met by international assistance. USAID provided roughly 75 percent of the total food aid in Liberia throughout the civil war. Thus, USAID food aid had a significant impact in terms of saving lives.

In 1994, BHR/OFDA reported that malnutrition among children in ECOMOG-secure areas had dropped significantly since 1993. "The food assistance that has been able to get through has enabled all but a few geographic areas to avoid mass starvation"(OFDA Sit Rep, 1994). Thus, lives have been saved. However, this does not address the issue of the quality of life of the targeted population who remain in poor health. OFDA also reports that the "reduced quantity and quality of food intake, however, has increased susceptibility to disease, caused rates of malnutrition to rise precipitously, and decreased the capacity of the rural population to participate in heavy agricultural labor" (OFDA Sit Rep 1994, 2).

A health assessment for Liberia conducted by OFDA in 1997 indicated some improvement in the health of the population. After a systematic review of health facilities, it was found that many were still being operated by NGOs and relief workers. A general trend emerged throughout the report that indicated reduced malnutrition rates and mortality in some areas. OFDA cited several priorities for its continued assistance in the health sector that include restoration of critical outpatient clinical services, provision of essential drugs, rehabilitation of health care facilities, and the re-establishment of emergency health care capacity (OFDA 1997, 17).

Two relevant USAID indicators of humanitarian assistance performance include the crude mortality rate in emergency situations and the proportion of children under 59 months who are wasted (weight-for-height) in emergency situations. Given the difficult situation in Liberia,

reliable data on these issues are difficult to obtain. The crude mortality rate for the internally displaced in 1990 was reported by the CDC as 7.1 per 1,000 per day. Current data were not available for comparison. The proportion of wasted children in emergency situations has been included in numerous surveys. A summary of this information is included in Annex 8. The CDC reported in 1990 that the prevalence of malnourished children under five years of age in refugee camps was 5.2 percent. In 1996, WHO reported child malnutrition rates to be 16.34 percent in refugee populations. However, due to the security issues described above, this should not be considered a failure of USAID humanitarian assistance efforts.

On prolonging or reducing hostilities and political instability

The provision of humanitarian aid to Liberia throughout the conflict may have aggravated the hostilities in some areas. Due to the struggle for power, territory, and resources at the root of the conflict, it became increasingly difficult to insert additional resources into the system on a neutral basis. For example, in the latter half of 1996, even though child malnutrition rates in the extreme northwest of Liberia were about 28 percent, an assessment team of UN and private relief officials recommended not intervening, because local people did not want humanitarian assistance without protection from attack. One UN official was quoted as saying, “This is the first time I’ve heard local people say, ‘Don’t give us food.’ Just yesterday, a local deputy traditional chief said, ‘Don’t bring food. We need it, but don’t bring it. [Because there] are fighters around here’” who will use deadly force to steal it (USCR October 29, 1996).

Some relief experts point out that

Despite recommendations early in the Liberia crisis for more cross-border aid to up-country areas, aid agencies flocked into Monrovia. Although it provided the only secured port and airstrip, the concentration of resources guaranteed further polarization of the conflict. Monrovia was reaffirmed as the chief prize in the conflict. Aid agencies based there were seen as partisan. Cross-line aid became dangerous. Cross-border aid was seen as feeding the enemy and subjected to bans and harassment. Greater diversification at the outset might have secured a more neutral and safer role for aid, and thereby reached a wider population (Pendergast and Scott 1996, 25).

The decision by most international NGOs to follow and work with the UN to establish operations out of and around Monrovia led to the creation of a parallel system and did little to build capacity or lend credibility to the IGNU (Scott 1998). Indeed, IGNU officials were worried that international NGOs would replace the “weak, dependent state with indirect control through foreign-based institutions,” and they suggested greater use of local NGOs (Scott 1995, 25). Eventually, this mistrust led to resentment that NGOs would face later as the conflict continued, and would be reflected in the government relationship with donors as well. Despite the value of strengthening government capacity, unbiased government distribution of resources was not possible in this case. USAID practitioners were faced with the decision to save lives as their top priority.

On linking relief to development

In examining the USAID humanitarian response to the crisis in Liberia, a link from relief to development is not obvious. This may be due to the re-occurring cycle of conflict in which Liberia has found itself. The lack of security forced USAID and its partners to work in an environment that was devoid of security and characterized by increasingly deteriorating conditions. As humanitarian programs started to make progress in areas of relief, violence erupted once again, preventing a sustainable move toward more development-oriented delivery methodologies. Despite these difficulties, some limited progress was made in the transition from relief to development in the agricultural, health, and democracy sectors.

BHR/OFDA claimed in 1994 that, in Bong and Nimba Counties, agricultural assistance programs, like those of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and CRS, showed positive results, encouraging a return to farming and self-sufficiency (OFDA Sit Rep 1994 #2, 3). NGOs have assisted more than 120,000 farmers under USAID's seeds and tools distribution program (USAID 1998), providing an opportunity to restore the livelihoods of this section of the population. As the security situation improved in 1996, a bumper rice harvest was possible in the two rice producing areas of Liberia, both of which had benefited from OFDA and EU funding of NGO distributions of seeds and tools. To encourage agricultural recovery, grantees designed programs with incentives such as seed payback and exchange schemes, seed banks, and technical assistance and farmer training (OFDA 1997).

In the health sector, efforts to rebuild and maintain medical infrastructure and services may have contributed to moving from relief toward development. Programs that provided food to health workers may have enabled the country to retain a small capacity in health care delivery. Efforts by OFDA to rebuild and supply hospitals may have had a significant contribution to the development of the health sector. However, little information is available on the current state of this reconstructed infrastructure and therefore it is difficult to determine the impact of these activities.

After the end of conflict, BHR/OTI assisted in the transition from conflict to a stable democracy. Efforts in civil reconciliation and democratic transition are designed to encourage a stable political and social environment in order to facilitate economic recovery. The Civil Reconstruction program not only provided space for reconciliation, but employed 10,000 ex-combatants and fire fighters to build roads and bridges. If this infrastructure has been maintained, this activity may be seen as an example of the first steps in moving from relief to development. Local NGOs have been incorporated into this effort, as have other current USAID initiatives in Liberia, to begin rebuild local capacity. These programs began in 1997 and are not yet at a point where lessons learned can be drawn or impact can be determined.

CONCLUSION

Even though Liberia returned to civilian rule after the elections in July 1997, a large proportion of the population still cannot provide for their own basic needs. As is common in many protracted conflicts in poverty-stricken countries, life is better for many refugees and IDPs in the

camps than at their places of origin. This dependency, and the lack of security guarantees, provides little incentive for the displaced to return home. The future stability and prosperity of the country depend upon the ability of the government and the international community to help the displaced and refugees reintegrate and restore their lives and livelihoods.

Many questions remain concerning USAID's response to the complex emergency in Liberia. Since the situation continues to be unstable, it is difficult to determine the final impact of USAID humanitarian assistance..

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Annex 1: Major Players in the Liberian Civil War⁴

National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL):

Leader: Charles Taylor

Supported by Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso

Taylor is an Americo-Liberian and a former member of the Doe administration. He fled to the United States on embezzlement charges and escaped from prison while awaiting his extradition trial. After returning to Africa, Taylor recruited forces from the Gio and Mano ethnic groups, exploiting their pre-existing animosity toward Doe's government (and the Krahn and Mandingo ethnic groups) to win their support and loyalty.

NPFL-Central Revolutionary Council (CRC):

Leaders: Tom Woewiyu and Sam Dokie

Split from the NPFL in September 1994

Independent Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL):

Leader: Prince Johnson

Split from the NPFL in 1990

Lofa Defense Force (LDF):

Emerged in December 1993

Supported by the NPFL

Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL):

Leader: Hezekiah Bowen

The government army created under the Doe Administration. As elsewhere in the government, Doe showed preference to the Krahn and Mandingo ethnic groups.

During the conflict, the AFL developed close ties to ULIMO.

United Liberation Movement for Democracy (ULIMO):

Leader: Alhaji Kromah

Founded in Sierra Leone and Guinea in May 1991 from four existing groups. Primarily Mandingo and Krahn that emerged as an anti-NPFL force, but split in 1994 into the following factions named for their leaders:

ULIMO-K:

Leader: Alhaji Kromah

Comprised of Mandingo (Muslim)

ULIMO-J:

Leader: Roosevelt Johnson

⁴ Carver, Richard. October 1994. "Liberia: What Hope for Peace?" WRITENET Country Papers. REFWORLD. [<http://www.unhcr.ch/refworld/country/writenet/wrilbr.htm>]

Comprised of Krahn

Liberian Peace Council (LPC)

Leader: George Boley

Emerged after the signing of the Cotonou Accord, September 1993

Comprised of Krahn

Despite its name, it is an armed group. Supported by AFL, anti-NPFL.

Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU):

Established in 1990 by ECOWAS

Amos Sawyer: elected president

Ran the official Liberian government from Liberia under ECOMOG protection.

Replaced by the LNTG in 1994.

Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG):

A government council created in 1994 and composed of representatives from the IGNU, the NPFL, and ULIMO.

Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS):

Founded by fifteen West Africa states on 28 May 1975: Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

The main purpose of ECOWAS is to improve trade and to ensure security in the region.

Economic Community Cease Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG):

Based in Monrovia. Assigned to implement peace agreements, but ultimately took a more offensive role in the conflict and aligned with the AFL and ULIMO. Accused of violation of neutrality and human rights abuses by domestic and international organizations.

United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL)

Officially established to monitor the cease fire, the UN arms embargo, and the implementation of the Cotonou Accord.

Annex 2: Major Peace Agreements of the Liberian Conflict⁵

Yamoussoukro IV—30 October 1991

Liberian Signatories: IGNU, NPFL

International Signatories: Heads of State of Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Mali and Senegal, and representatives of the Heads of State of Togo, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Ghana, and Guinea

Conditions:

- All warring factions to be disarmed and encamped within 60 days
- ECOMOG control expanded to cover all of Liberia
- ECOMOG to supervise the agreement, including the resettlement of the country's displaced
- Creation of a five member elections commission and five member ad hoc supreme court with NPFL and IGNU representatives
- ECOWAS-supervised elections to be held within six months
- Creation of buffer zone along border with Sierra Leone to prevent cross-border attacks
- Opening of all roads to Monrovia

Reason for Failure:

A lack of NPFL cooperation caused ECOWAS to issue an ultimatum. In response, the NPFL declared that, because ECOMOG was allied to ULIMO, it was not neutral. The NPFL reiterated its refusal to comply with the accord and the plan was never implemented.

Cotonou Accord—25 July 1993

Liberian Signatories: IGNU, NPFL, ULIMO

Conditions:

- Provided for a United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) to assist ECOMOG in the implementation of encampment, disarmament, and demobilization
- Expanded ECOMOG to include troops from outside the region
- Declared that a cease fire to be supervised by OAU, ECOMOG, and UN forces, would begin in 7 days

⁵ Conciliation Resources. "Accord: The Liberian Peace Process 1990-1996." [<http://www.c-r.org/cr/accord/contents.htm>]. September 1996.

- Creation of the Joint Cease Fire Monitoring Committee (JCFC) comprised of ECOMOG, UNOMIL, and representatives from the NPFL, INPFL, and ULIMO
- Creation of the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) to replace the INGU: five-member council of state with representatives from the NPFL, ULIMO, and IGNU to head the LNTG; 35 member transitional parliament (13 members from NPFL; 13 members from IGNU; 9 members from ULIMO)
- ECOMOG to establish buffer zones at borders with Guinea, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire to prevent cross-border attacks
- Resumption of humanitarian missions
- General elections to be held on 7 September 1994

The Triple Seven Agreement supplements the Cotonou Accord. In an effort to end disputes within the time table agreed to under the Cotonou Accord, the Triple Seven Agreement was signed on 7 February 1994. It stipulates that deployment of peacekeeping forces, disarmament, and the installation of LNTG all occur on the same day, 7 March 1994.

Reason for failure:

Fighting continued, few combatants were disarmed, and new fighting factions that had not signed the agreement had emerged.

Akosombo Agreement—12 September 1994

Liberian Signatories: NPFL, ULIMO, AFL

- Designed to “augment” the Cotonou Accord
- Talks overseen by Jimmy Carter, Ghanaian President Jerry Rawlings, UN reps.
- Talks excluded ULIMO-K and LPC
- Liberian civil society and community groups and ECOMOG view the accord as no more than a legal justification for the partitioning of the country into three factional sections

Conditions:

- Establishment of an immediate cease fire
- Reformation of the LNTG Council of State:
The AFL, NPFL, and ULIMO to appoint one representative each
The LNC to appoint one civilian
The NPFL and ULIMO-K to appoint one civilian
Decisions to be made by simple majority
- Council of State to appoint one civilian from each of Liberia’s 13 counties to the Transitional Legislative Assembly

- Elections scheduled for 10 October 1995, inauguration day on first Monday of 1996
- Provided for the reformation of the AFL who, together with police, immigration, and customs officials are to form an appropriate national security structure to include members of ULIMO, AFL, and the NPFL
- Strengthened the role of the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) in supervising and monitoring the implementation of the Cotonou agreement
- Empowered the newly constituted AFL to collaborate with ECOMOG/UNOMIL in overseeing disarmament and demobilization
- Stipulated that no group or individual is to bear arms in the perimeter of the capital, except for the personal protection of faction leaders
- All council of state decisions to be reached by a simple majority
- Expanded the Transitional Legislative Assembly by adding one civilian representative from each of the 13 counties, appointed by the council of state
- LNTG to have a life span of some 16 months. A power balancing arrangement was formed whereby ministries under the executive control of one party have two deputy posts allocated to other parties

Accra Clarification—21 December 1994

Liberian Signatories: LDF, LPC, NPFL-CRC, ULIMO-J, LNC, NPFL, ULIMO-K, AFL

Conditions:

- Included an agreement drawing in nonsignatories to the Akosombo and Cotonou Accords (ULIMO- J, LPC, LDF, NPFL-CRC, and LNC)
- Re-specified composition of council of state; one member to be drawn from NPFL, one from ULIMO-K, and one to represent jointly the AFL and the new armed signatories
- Provided for two civilian council members: Chief Tamba Taylor, plus a Liberian National Conference (LNC) appointee
- Set up procedure for facilitating the establishment of safe havens and buffer zones
- Stipulated that the council of state be inducted within 14 days of a 28 December cease-fire
- Empowered council of state to determine criteria for recruitment into new security forces

Abuja Accord: 19 August 1995

After secret meetings between Taylor and Sani Abacha (ECOWAS??), the Abuja Accord, the 13th peace agreement of the civil war, was signed providing for a new six-member Council of State.

Supplements the Cotonou and Akosombo Accords, as clarified in Accra

Liberian Signatories: NPFL, ULIMO-K, LPC, AFL, ULIMO-J, LDF, NPFL-CRC, LNC

Conditions:

- Cease fire to begin on 31 August 1995
- Elections to be held on 30 May 1997 with inauguration of the new government in June 1997
- A cease fire to begin on 26 August
- Disarmament to begin on 22 November 1996; declared complete on 7 February 1997 when 20,322 of about 33,000 combatants were disarmed.
- Writer Wilton Sankowulo appointed chairman of the Council of State
- Taylor, Kromah, and George Boley of the LPC appointed vice-chairs of the Council of State
- LNTG members are permitted to contest the presidential elections provided they resign their seats three months prior to the election date
- Only one council seat was granted to the AFL/Coalition, however ULIMO-J assumed control of three ministries; partially accommodated ULIMO-J without giving them representation on the Council of State
- Sanctions to be instigated against any faction that did comply: travel restrictions, exclusion from elections, establishment of war crimes tribunal
- Reasserted the allocation of ministries, public corporations and autonomous agencies agreed after the Cotonou Accord, confirming that IGNU posts would be ceded to LPC/Coalition members

Reason for failure: Accord broken by fighting in April 1996 that resulted in about 3,000 military and civilian deaths, as well as the displacement of hundreds of people.

Abuja II (Supplement to the Abuja Accord)—17 August 1996

Liberian Signatories: NPFL, ULIMO-K, LPC, AFL, ULIMO-J, LDF, NPFL-CRC, LNC

Conditions:

- Ruth Perry is appointed Chairman of the Council of State

- Approval of a new implementation schedule. Extension of the mandate of the LNTG in accordance with the new time table

Liberia, as Recipient

Total ODA Net Flows

in US\$ millions, current

Source: Geographical Distribution of Financial Flows, OECD, DAC-CAD

Prepared by the Economic and Social Data Service, (ESDS), PPC/DI/CDIE

DONOR	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	Total
AFRICAN DEV. FUND	5.84	2.55	0.12	32.36	0.05	0	0	0	0	0	40.92
AS. D B	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AS. D B SPECIAL FUNDS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CARDB	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CEC	6.15	5.19	11.47	8.3	14.75	5.12	9.45	14.1	12.66	11.01	98.2
EBRD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
EIB	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IBRD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IDA	6.03	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7.03
IDB	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IDB SPECIAL OPER. FUN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IFAD	3	0.31	0	1.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.41
IFC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IMF	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IMF TRUST FUND	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
OTHER UN	0.3	0.56	0.58	0.5	0.14	0.1	0.2	0.73	0.44	0.03	3.58
SAF & ESAF	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	-1
UN AGENCIES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
UNDP	2.42	2.86	3.87	2.7	2.3	2.09	2.1	1.81	2.9	3.6	26.65
UNFPA	0.11	0.62	0.74	0.45	0.12	0.08	0.01	0.05	0.13	0.14	2.45
UNHCR	0	0.36	0.38	0.21	0.08	3.99	9.4	5.23	3.55	2.76	25.96
UNICEF	0.6	0.63	0.92	0.53	4.17	10.9	9.1	5.88	5.45	4.73	42.91
UNRWA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
UNTA	1.03	0.92	1.23	0.75	1.01	1.41	1.95	1.21	3.05	1.17	13.73
WFP	1.26	1.49	0.82	22.93	78.74	69.55	65.97	0	63.8	70.77	375.33

Liberia, as Recipient**Total ODA Net Flows**

in US\$ millions, current

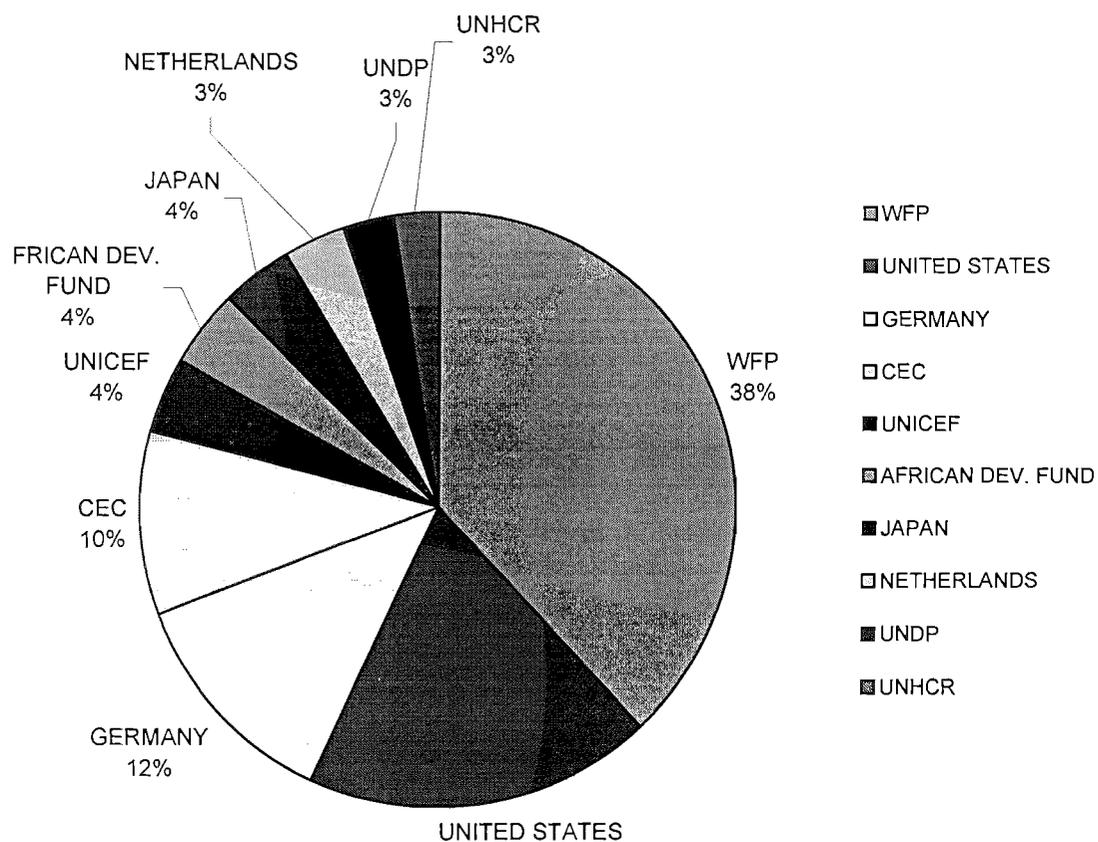
Source: Geographical Distribution of Financial Flows, OECD, DAC-CAD

Prepared by the Economic and Social Data Service, (ESDS), PPC/DI/CDIE

DONOR	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	Total
COUNCIL OF EUROPE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NORDIC DEVELOPMENT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arab Agencies	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL MULTILATERAL	26.74	16.49	20.13	69.83	101.36	93.24	98.18	28.01	91.98	94.21	640.17
											0
Arab Countries	0	0.04	0	0	0	0.11	0	0.01	0	0	0.16
CEC + EU Members	22.2	21.86	25.08	24.66	25	17.63	19.74	28.65	25.12	104.07	314.01
TOTAL DONORS	78.39	64.78	58.69	112.09	158.01	119.42	122.82	63.48	123.12	206.63	1107.43

Annex 4: International Assistance from Top Ten Donors to Liberia from 1990-1996

	US\$ Millions
Total Top Ten Donors	983.97
Other Foreign Assistance	123.46
Total Foreign Assistance	1107.43



Rank	Country	US\$ Millions
1	WFP	375.33
2	UNITED STATES	185
3	GERMANY	119.73
4	CEC	98.2
5	UNICEF	42.91
6	AFRICAN DEV. FUND	40.92
7	JAPAN	36.4
8	NETHERLANDS	32.87
9	UNDP	26.65
10	UNHCR	25.96
		983.97

Annex 5: Total USG Humanitarian Assistance to Liberia for Complex Emergency

Year Office	1990				1991				
	USAID	State	DOD	USDA	USAID	State	DOD	USDA	
Water&Sanitation					\$1,005,000.00	\$ 3,000,000			
Health	\$551,124				\$ 130,637				
Food	\$42,654,789				\$ 77,130,449	\$ 1,800,000			
Housing and Resettlement									
Misc*	\$1,143,734	\$ 5,945,925			\$ 1,734,859	\$ 2,519,046			
Total	\$44,349,647	\$ 5,945,925	\$ -	\$ -	\$ 80,000,945	\$ 7,319,046	\$ -	\$ -	
Total USG Assistance					\$50,295,572				\$87,319,991

Year Office	1992				1993				
	USAID	State	DOD	USDA	USAID	State	DOD	USDA	
Water&Sanitation	\$1,450,000								
Health	\$2,197,165				\$1,505,452				
Food	\$58,246,966				\$50,963,664				
Housing and Resettlement	\$695,655								
Misc*	\$627,952	\$6,223,343			\$1,821,710	\$3,070,908			
Total	\$63,217,738	\$6,223,343	\$ -	\$ -	\$54,290,826	\$3,070,908	\$0	\$0	
Total USG Assistance					\$69,441,081				\$57,361,734

Year Office	1994				1995				
	USAID	State	DOD	USDA	USAID	State	DOD	USDA	
Water&Sanitation									
Health	\$3,622,510				\$2,168,765				
Food	\$58,228,500				\$51,686,343				
Housing and Resettlement	\$410,704				\$1,122,829				
Misc*	\$6,246,580	\$ 5,288,873	370000		\$1,789,115	\$ 497,938	\$ 252,000		
Total	\$68,508,294	\$ 5,288,873	370000	\$0	\$56,767,052	\$ 497,938	\$ 252,000	\$0	
Total USG Assistance					\$74,167,167				\$57,516,990

Year Office	1996			
	USAID	State	DOD	USDA
Water&Sanitation				
Health	\$1,355,298			
Food	\$69,221,900			
Housing and Resettlement	\$180,614			
Misc*	\$3,979,240	1,313,717		
Total	\$74,737,052	1,313,717	\$ -	\$0
Total USG Assistance				\$76,050,769

Source: Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance Commodity/Service Report.

* Misc. category includes data all expenses that are not clearly delineated in other categories. Details available through OFDA.

\$74,167,167
74167167
\$0

Annex 6: Total USAID Humanitarian Assistance to Liberia for Complex Emergency

Year	1990			1991			1992			
	Office	BHR/OFDA	BHR/FFP	Mission	BHR/OFDA	BHR/FFP	Mission	BHR/OFDA	BHR/FFP	Mission
Water&Sanitation				\$1,005,000						
Health	\$518,053			\$113,500						
Food		\$42,540,140		\$736,949	\$76,307,000				\$56,043,700	
Housing and Resettlemen	\$50,000			\$550,000						
Misc	\$1,219,454		\$22,000	\$1,270,359			\$7,189,742			
Total	\$1,787,507	\$42,540,140	\$22,000	\$3,675,808	\$76,307,000	\$-	\$7,189,742	\$56,043,700	\$-	\$-
Total USAID			\$44,349,647			\$79,982,808				\$63,233,442

Year	1993			1994			1995			
	Office	BHR/OFDA	BHR/FFP	Mission	BHR/OFDA	BHR/FFP	Mission	BHR/OFDA	BHR/FFP	Mission
Water&Sanitation	\$750,677									
Health	\$1,505,452									
Food	\$2,062,464	\$48,901,200			\$56,396,500		\$500,000	\$48,867,800		
Housing and Resettlement				\$136,500						
Misc	\$1,071,033			\$9,778,294			\$7,399,252			
Total	\$5,389,626	\$48,901,200	\$-	\$9,914,794	\$56,396,500	\$-	\$7,899,252	\$48,867,800	\$-	\$-
Total USAID			\$54,290,826			\$66,311,294				\$56,767,052

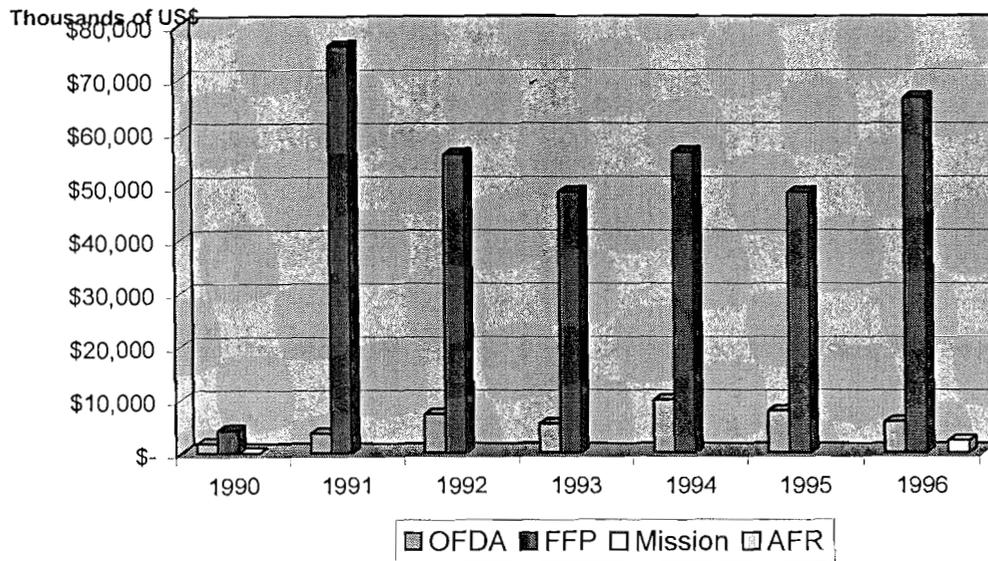
Year	1996			
	Office	BHR/OFDA	BHR/FFP	AFR
Water&Sanitation				
Health				
Food			\$66,562,500	
Housing and Resettlement				
Misc	\$5,848,527			\$2,250,000
Total	\$5,848,527	\$66,562,500	\$2,250,000	
Total USAID			\$74,661,027	

Source: USAID/BHR/OFDA annual reports from 1990-1996.

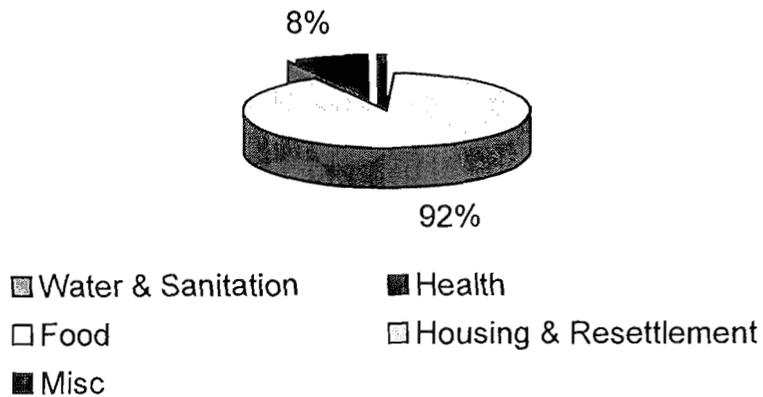
*Mission funds are reported as OFDA funds in OFDA report and as Mission allotments in OFDA Commodity/Service reports.

Annex 7: USAID Assistant to Liberia Graph Analysis

USAID Humanitarian Assistance to Liberia by Office (1990-1996)



USAID Humanitarian Assistance to Liberia 1990-1996



Annex 8: Results of Health Surveys RNIS

Source: UN/ACC/SCN-Refugee Nutrition Information System (RNIS)

Situation	Survey Areas	Conducted by	Survey	Survey	Wasted	Wasted	Severly	Severly	Crude	Under-5	
			Date	(%)	notes	(%)	notes	Oedema			Mortality
Liberia	Bo Town, Sierra Leone	MSF	Mar-96	12.1	**	1.2	**				
Liberia	Bo Town, Sierra Leone	ACF	Nov-95	13.1	**	1.2	**				
Liberia	Bong, Liberia	ACF	Feb-96	5.1		0.4		0.9	5.50	8.50	6.2
Liberia	Bonthe Islands (Sierra Leone)	MSF	Nov-95	12.9		2.3		2.4	2.70		24.0
Liberia	Bo, Displaced Camps, Sierra Leone	ACF	Nov-95	25.3	**	4.3	**				
Liberia	Bo, Displaced Camps, Sierra Leone	MSF	Mar-96	23.8	**	3.5	**				
Liberia	Buchanan, Liberia	ACF	Feb-96	4.1		0.6		0.5	3.00	5.00	53.7
Liberia	Gondama (Sierra Leone)	AICF	Oct-95	28.1		5.7		1.9	2.70	4.00	97.7
Liberia	Kenema Town	MSF	Feb-96	6.3	**	1.0	**				
Liberia	Macenta (Guinea)	AICF	Nov-95	5.7		0.9		0.3			
Liberia	Putu, Grand Gedeh County (Liberia)	WV	Dec-95	31.7	(<80%)**	5.7	(<70%)**				
Liberia	RTI Camp (near Kenema)	MSF	Feb-96	8.6		0.2		0.0			
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Blama, Sierra Leone	MERLIN	Oct-96	25.0	***						
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Bo-Waterside, Liberia	(1)	Oct-96	28.0		11.0		13.0			
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Bo (displaced) Sierra Leone	ACF	Sep-96	21.8		3.5		0.2			0.8
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Bo (resident) Sierra Leone	ACF	Sep-96	9.4		0.9		0.1			0.7
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Bong County, Liberia	ACF/LWF(WS)/ SCF	Sep-97	6.7		0.4		1.9			0.5
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Bonthe islanda	MSF	Mar-96	5.6	**	0.6	**				22.8
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Bo, Sierra Leone	ACF	Apr-98	10.9		1.2		0.2			
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Buchanan, Grand Bassa Liberia (Displaced)	ACF	Dec-96	6.1		0.3		0.1			0.5
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Buchanan, Grand Bassa, Liberia	ACF	Jul 97	6.6		0.3		0.3			0.4
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Buchanan, Grand Bassa, Liberia	ACF	Feb-98	6.7		1.2		0.3			46.0
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Buchanan, Grand Bassa, Liberia Residents)	ACF	Dec-96	14.2		0.4		0.1			0.5
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Buchanan, Liberia	ACF	Aug-96	47.0		4.9		0.6			49.0
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Clay Factory, Freetown, Sierra Leone	ACF	Jan-98	5.5		0.0		0.0			19.2
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Freetown	ACF	Dec-96	5.5		0.8		0.0			
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Freetown	MSF	Aug 97	8.9	*	1.8	*				
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Freetown	ACF	Dec-97	8.7		1.6		0.0			27.2
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Freetown	ACF	Mar-98	9.1		0.4		0.0			
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Freetown, Sierra Leone (OIC)	ACF	Jan-98	15.0							
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Gbamga, Bong country, Liberia	ACF	Aug-96	23.7		6.6		3.1			25.0
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Gbarnga, Bong County, Liberia	ACF	Mar-97	9.1		1.0		1.2			0.4
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Gondama, Sierra Leone	ACF	May-96	8.1		1.7		0.0			88.0
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Guinea Forestiere, Guinea	MSF	Aug 96	1.1-3.2		0.0		0.0			
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Kambia Ditric	MSF	Aug 97	6.4	*						
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Macenta Prefecture, Guinea	ACF	Jul-96	4.8	**	0.3	**		2.23		16.5
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Makeni Town, Sierra Leone	ACF	Oct-97	13.2		1.4		0.8			0.4
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Makeni, Sierra Leone	MoH	Jun-96	7.0	**	0.4	**				
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Monrovia (Displaced)	(3)	Feb-97	13.2		0.9		1.3			0.4

Annex 8: Results of Health Surveys RNIS

Source: UN/ACC/SCN-Refugee Nutrition Information System (RNIS)

Situation	Survey Areas	Survey Conducted by	Survey	Survey	Wasted	Wasted	Severly	Severly	Crude	Under-5	
			Date	(%)	notes	(%)	Wasted	Wasted			Oedema
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Monrovia (Displaced)	(4)	Aug 97	11.9		1.8		1.0			0.3
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Monrovia (Residents)	(2)	Feb-97	6.1		0.9		0.1			0.4
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Monrovia (Residents)	(4)	Aug 97	10.3		1.2		0.1			37.6%
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Monrovia(displaced)	various	Jul-96	21.2		3.6		3.6			56.0
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Monrovia(resident)	various	Jul-96	13.3		2.2		1.9			69.0
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Port Loko, Sierra Leone	UNICEF	Aug 97	10.8	*						
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Ross Road, Freetown, Sierra Leone	ACF	Jan-98	21.0							
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Rural Bombali District, Sierra Leone	ACF	Oct-97	14.2		1.3		1.3			0.4
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Segbwema, Sierra Leone	CONCERN	Dec-96	6.4	**	4.5	**				
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Segbwema, Sierra Leone	CONCERN	Jul-96	11.1	**	7.8	**				
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Tonkolili, Sierra Leone	ACF	Oct-97	17.7		1.9		1.2			0.3
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Tubmanburg, Bomi County, Liberia	EPICENTRE	Oct-96	38.0	**	32.0	**		5.40	11.80	
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Tubmanburg, Liberia	ACF	Apr 97	4.0		0.8		0.1			0.4
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Upper Bong County, Liberia	ACF	Apr-98	9.1		0.8		0.4			55.6
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Vahun, Liberia	SCF/MSF	Mar-98	9.9	**	3.5	**				
Liberia/Sierra Leone	Waterloo Camp, Freetown, Sierra Leone	ACF	Jan-98	3.0		0.0		0.6			15.3

Annex 9: Current News Events

This annex is composed of various current news articles that reflect the current situation in Liberia.



FOCUS-Liberia, U.S. strike embassy stand-off deal

(Adds deal to fly out Johnson, delays)

By Matthew Bunce

MONROVIA, Sept 24 (Reuters) - Liberia and the United States struck a deal on Thursday to end a six-day stand-off at the U.S. embassy over the presence there of fugitive Krahn leader Roosevelt Johnson.

But the U.S. embassy said that Johnson, his two pre-teen sons and two aides would be delayed until Friday due to logistical reasons.

A spokesman for President Charles Taylor said that Liberia would not stand in the way of any attempt by Washington to fly out Johnson, one of Taylor's rivals from a seven-year civil war that ended with his election victory in 1997.

"Since they are technically on American soil this government will not take issue with the Americans on flying him out," Deputy Minister of State for Public Affairs Reginald Goodridge told Reuters.

Goodridge, a close presidential aide and spokesman, said that the deal followed high-level negotiations.

"There is a belief that his continued presence here in Liberia may be raising tensions," Goodridge said, adding that Johnson's two aides and his sons could also leave.

U.S. Charge d'Affaires John Bowman told Reuters that the embassy had planned to fly them out by helicopter to the Sierra Leone capital Freetown by dusk on Thursday but that the flight had been delayed.

"It looks like it may now happen tomorrow," he said. "All the negotiations are being done in New York," he added, noting that West African foreign ministers were gathered there for the U.N. General Assembly meeting.

Goodridge said that the government would start legal proceedings against Johnson on charges of rape, murder, kidnapping and treason, irrespective of whether he was in the country or not. "The Americans have agreed to make him available for trial if the Liberian government demand it," he said.

Johnson fled to the embassy on Saturday after Taylor's security forces moved against his supporters in a part of town which the government said had become a no-go area.

Johnson, diplomats and relief workers say the death toll in the weekend operation and resultant clashes could run into hundreds. One senior Johnson aide and at least one other supporter were shot dead on Saturday in a gunbattle at the U.S. embassy gate.

Taylor's government said the death toll was much lower. "The death toll could not be more than 50 or 60," Defence Minister Daniel Chea told Reuters.

Chea said that Liberia did not want to fall out with Washington. "This government has no intention to get into conflict with the Americans. They are a long-term ally and that is why we expect them to turn over Roosevelt Johnson for prosecution. There is no interest in mob-lynching Johnson or carrying out an execution," he added.

He said that the government's Special Security Units had moved against Johnson after the director general of budget was taken hostage by Johnson's men on Friday.

"Roosevelt Johnson had been making trouble for the government for some time. We decided to exercise tolerance and I think Mr Johnson took advantage," Chea added.

"When the government realised that Camp Johnson had become an untouchable enclave, we deployed some Special Security Units," he said, accusing Johnson's men of opening fire first.

"If we had not done this, it would signify we were a weak government," Chea said.

Taylor, who launched the civil war in 1989, finally won power in multi-party elections under a peace plan brokered by Liberia's West African neighbours.

A West African peacekeeping force, which policed the elections and stayed on, deployed around the embassy at the weekend and guarded approach roads.

Taylor's government denied permission for a demonstration at the embassy to demand that Johnson be handed over.

Freed American slaves proclaimed Liberia as Africa's first modern republic in 1847. Reut14:25 09-24-98

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Text of Clinton Letter on Liberia

To: National Desk Contact: White House Press Office, 202-456-2100 WASHINGTON, Sept. 29 /U.S. Newswire/ --
The following was released today by the White House:

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE September 29, 1998 Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:) Liberia is just emerging from a 7-year civil war. Since democratic elections were held in July 1997 there have been moments of instability in that country. In the past 10 days, conflict erupted between Liberian security forces and supporters of another former faction leader, Roosevelt Johnson.

On the morning of September 19, Liberian government security forces fired on a small group of Liberians led by former Ulimo Krahn faction leader Roosevelt Johnson, who was speaking with U.S. Embassy officials outside the Embassy compound, after Johnson and his group were initially refused refuge. When Liberian government security forces opened fire on the group, the Embassy officials fled into the U.S. Embassy, and in the chaos were joined by the Johnson party. Two Americans were wounded in the melee and four members of the Johnson party were killed. The U.S. personnel injured in the gunfire were a government contractor and an Embassy staff member.

Responding to a U.S. request for enhanced security, forces of the Economic Community of West Africa Observer Group (ECOMOG) subsequently positioned themselves in a defensive perimeter around the Embassy. Later, a group of 23 supporters of Mr. Johnson was discovered hiding on the Embassy grounds. After extensive negotiations between President Taylor and representatives of the U.S. Government and western African states, permission was obtained to airlift Mr. Johnson and his party to Freetown, Sierra Leone. This was accomplished without incident on September 25, 1998.

The situation in Monrovia continues to be uncertain and could deteriorate. Although ECOMOG forces remain in the vicinity of the Embassy compound, their numbers have been reduced. Our Embassy believes that security could deteriorate rapidly during President Taylor's absence for an official visit to France. The Embassy does, however, project that, barring further incidents, security should significantly improve over the course of the next several weeks as factional tensions ease in the wake of Mr. Johnson's departure. There are approximately 230 non-official American citizens in Liberia and 29 official Americans at the Embassy.

On September 27, 1998, due to the tenuous security situation and the potential threat to American citizens and the Embassy in Monrovia, a stand-by response and evacuation force of approximately 30 U.S. military personnel from the U.S. European Command deployed to Freetown, Sierra Leone. About half of this unit has moved onto the Navy's coastal patrol craft, USS CHINOOK (PC-9), which is operating in the waters off Monrovia. The U.S. military personnel are prepared, if needed, to augment the Embassy's security unit in Monrovia and to conduct an evacuation of American citizens, if required. Although the U.S. military personnel are equipped for combat, this action is being undertaken solely for the purpose of preparing to protect American citizens and property. The U.S. forces will redeploy as soon as it is determined that the threat to the Embassy compound has ended or, if an evacuation is necessary, it is completed.

I have taken this action pursuant to my constitutional authority to conduct U.S. foreign relations and as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive.

I am providing this report as part of my efforts to keep the Congress fully informed, consistent with the War Powers Resolution. I appreciate the support of the Congress in this action to assist in Embassy security and the security of American citizens overseas.

Sincerely, WILLIAM J. CLINTON -0- /U.S. Newswire 202-347-2770/

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EXPAND STORY

Liberia-Flooding

Flooding in Liberia drives 5,000 from their homes

MONROVIA, Liberia (AP) Heavy rains has triggered flooding in northwestern Liberia, where more than 5,000 people have fled their homes to escape rising waters in recent weeks.

At least eight people have been killed in the floods and about 160 homes have been washed away, rescue workers were quoted as saying in Thursday's Inquirer newspaper.

The worst of the flooding in Grand Capemount County, near the border with Sierra Leone, has affected at least 20 villages, the newspaper reported.

Grand Capemount County is still struggling to recover from brutal civil war fighting that ended in 1995, but has periodically flared up. Some of the worst fighting was centered in the predominantly rural county.

"We are in double trouble," said Tenneh Freeman, the mayor of Robertsport City in Grand Capemount County. "After years of fighting, we are now facing natural disasters."

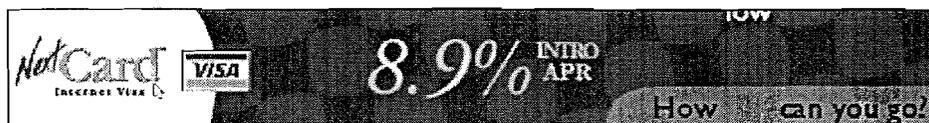
In September, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said heavy rains throughout the Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea region had halted the repatriation of tens of thousands of people displaced by various conflicts in the area.

The UNHCR has repatriated about 80,000 of the 480,000 Liberians who fled their country during the civil war. Many of the returning refugees had moved to the Grand Capemount County area to resettle. (jpl/ids)

(PROFILE (WS SL:BC-Liberia-Flooding; CT:i; (REG:AFRI;) (REG:ENGL;) (REG:EURO;) (REG:BRIT;) (REG:SCAN;)) (LANG:ENGLISH;)) AP-NY-10-01-98 1222EDT

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exacerbation of
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Liberian Daily News Bulletin

October 9, 1998

Monrovia - Modalities to grant Mr. Roosevelt Johnson asylum are still being worked out by the US government and a receiving country. A US official this morning over VOA said Mr. Johnson will be taken to the receiving country soon. But he did not name the receiving country.

He said the US government would announce this officially after receiving confirmation from the third country. Last month, Roosevelt Johnson was airlifted from the US Embassy in Monrovia. Before he left the US government guaranteed that Mr. Johnson would be granted asylum in a third country. The Liberia government did not want the third country to be near Liberia's borders. The government also has persistently said Mr. Johnson is still in Sierra Leone. Meanwhile, Ambassador Jeter has denied the US Embassy has been closed. He said that because of the security situation in Liberia the Embassy was compelled to ask some of the Embassy staff to leave

* The Liberian government has indicted thirty-two persons on charges of treason. The thirty-two men are accused of plotting to overthrow the Liberian government by force. An indictment issued by the Criminal Court 'A' said the accused held a series of meetings in and outside Liberia to carry out their alleged plan. The indictment said the accused met since October 1997 through September eighteen this year. The government said part of the plan was to attack all military and para-military facilities in Monrovia. The government said the accused including Mr. Roosevelt Johnson engaged government security forces in a gun battle on September eighteen and nineteen. According to the indictment, Dr. Vamba Kanneh was to head the new government had the plot succeeded. The Liberian government filed the case through the Minister of National Security and the Director of the National Security Agency. The two men are to testify in the case as state witnesses. Hearing into the case has been slated for the November term of court, which begins on November ninth.

* The Liberian government is requesting US involvement in setting up a joint team. The team is to investigate the recent shooting incident at the American Embassy in Monrovia. The Acting Speaker of the House says President Charles Taylor has informed the House of the government's request. Representative Patrick Williams told STAR radio yesterday that a joint US-Liberian joint team would lend credibility to the investigation. He said the decision by the government to have the matter investigated is intended to normalize relations between the two

countries. Mr. Williams said Liberia cannot afford to engage in a diplomatic row with America. Meanwhile, Acting Speaker Williams says the government has directed that the Foreign Ministry be the only authority to speak on the matter.

* President Charles Taylor yesterday held discussions with political leaders at the Executive Mansion. The discussions were centered on US- Liberia relations and issues of national security. Present at the meeting were officials of seven political parties. The Information Ministry said President Taylor assured that government will not encourage hostile relations with the United States. Meanwhile, President Taylor has denied reports that arms have been flowing from Liberia to Guinea and the Ivory Coast. He said he foresees no danger in Liberia's relations with these countries. President Taylor said events of September eighteen were not an anti-Krahn campaign. He advised security forces to respect the rights of law-abiding citizens.

* Twelve Liberian students left the country yesterday to undergo undergraduate studies in the Kingdom of Morocco. The students were selected by the authorities of the Ministry of Education following their success in passing an aptitude test. The twelve students are expected to pursue studies in architecture, economics, medicine, accounting, commerce, management, computer science and communication engineering. According to the Director of Scholarships at the Ministry, the students will stay in Morocco for four to six years. A Liberian Diplomat yesterday presented a consignment of drugs and medical supplies to the Liberian government. The supplies are worth over a quarter million dollars. Ambassador-at-Large George Kiadii said he has been moved by the suffering of Liberians to solicit the assistance. Ambassador Kiadii made the presentation during a courtesy call on President Taylor at the Executive Mansion. The medical supplies were donated by Healing Hands International, a US-based church organization. President Taylor praised Ambassador Kiadii for being exemplary. He said there are some Liberians who write senior US government officials projecting a negative image of Liberia.

President Taylor noted the drugs are coming in the wake of recent floods in Grand Cape Mount County. He promised to personally lead a delegation of top government officials today to the disaster areas. Nineteen villages and towns around Lake Piso were virtually washed away when the lake over-flooded two weeks ago. Several thousand people were displaced by the floods.

* The Senate Judicial Committee started its investigation of Margibi County Senator Bedell Fahn yesterday but the Senator was not present. The committee was mandated by plenary to investigate Senator Fahn for carrying armed soldiers in the Capitol. The armed soldiers, acting on the orders of Senator Fahn, broke into the Senate Finance Committee Chairman's office. Senator Fahn had earlier claimed the office belonged to him. The Chairman of the Judiciary Committee says Senator Fahn's absence without an oral or written excuse is an abandonment of the matter. Senator Francis Garlawulo said Senator Fahn received and signed for the citation for the hearing. Senator Garlawulo said the committee will deliberate on the facts and evidence gathered. He said the Judiciary Committee's decision will be submitted to full plenary for final deliberation.

The Sierra Leone government has committed ninety nine thousand dollars for ECOMOG's operations in that country. This new funding will come from Sierra Leone's government account for the period between October to December this year. The amount is the second in a series of financial assistance the government of President Ahmed Tejan Kabbah has provided the peace keepers so far. The government allocated nearly two billion Leones in its fiscal budget this year to assist ECOMOG in its fight against the rebels. Meanwhile, an advance party of military officers from Cote d'Ivoire is in Freetown. The arrival of the party is in preparation for the arrival of additional troops to beef up ECOMOG for Operation Tiger Tail.

ECOMOG says the latest military operation is aimed at ridding the country of RUF and AFRC Junta rebels. A military source told the STAR radio correspondent in Freetown that troops are

expected from Togo, Mali, Niger, Gambia and Cote d'Ivoire. The source said the new troops could arrive as early as this week.

* The trial of RUF leader Foday Sankoh is continuing in Freetown. The third state witness today took the stand. Mr. Mohamed Keita told a High Court that his parents were killed and their village completely looted by the RUF rebels. He said during the siege of their village people attempting to escape were killed. A video recording was played in court, showing Mr. Sankoh giving command to his militia. The first witness yesterday, who is an official of the West African Examination Council in Freetown, tendered a voice recording of Corporal Sankoh. The recording carries a voice reported to be that of Sankoh, ordering his men to join the Junta government of deposed AFRC leader Johnny Paul Koromah. The second state witness was a signal officer in the RUF. He also produced a recording in which Mr. Sankoh was alleged to have ordered his men to attack Sierra Leone. Corporal Sankoh is defending himself in the trial.

* Sierra Leone Defense authorities say they've captured three Armed Forces of Liberia soldiers fighting alongside RUF/AFRC rebels. According to the BBC, the soldiers were captured during an ambush in Pujehun District, southern Sierra Leone. One of those captured, Morris Sonii, claimed they were sent by Liberian authorities to fight alongside the rebels. He said there were other AFL soldiers fighting against ECOMOG and the KAMAJORS in other parts of Sierra Leone. The Liberian government has persistently denied allegations of its involvement in the Sierra Leone fighting. Defense authorities in Monrovia have said Liberians fighting in Sierra Leone are mercenaries and are there on their own.

* Health authorities in Sierra Leone say at last fifty-three people have died of aids. Over two hundred are infected with the HIV Virus. The Coordinator of the STD and Aids Control Program said the statistics were gathered between January to now. Dr. Andrew Kosia told STAR radio's correspondent in Freetown that the spread of the disease was due to what he called unprotective sex. Since nineteen eighty over six hundred cases have been diagnosed. Of that number, over three hundred have died of the disease.

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Over 50 Killed In Monrovia Gun Battle

October 23, 1998

by Tepitapia Sannah, PANA Correspondent

MONROVIA, Liberia (PANA) - At least 52 persons were killed and 32 others wounded in September's gunbattle between Liberian government forces and supporters of former faction leader Roosevelt Johnson, justice minister Eddington Varmah said Friday.

He said statistics available to government showed that 50 of those killed in the 18-19 September clashes in Monrovia were "mostly combatants of Johnson," and the other two were women.

Government had earlier said "more than 15 persons were killed in the fighting."

Varmah told reporters the wounded included 19 government forces and 10 civilians who were all treated and discharged. But three other wounded civilians were still hospitalized.

Government forces clashed with supporters of Johnson, majority of them ex-combatants of the dissolved Krahn Ulimo-J faction on Camp Johnson Road in Monrovia, where residents had complained of continuous lawlessness by Johnson's men.

At the end of the clashes, the government charged Johnson and 21 others with treason for alleged coup plotting against President Charles Taylor, both former battlefield enemies during Liberia's seven-year civil war.

Seven of the alleged plotters have been arrested and detained in Monrovia. But Johnson and unspecified number of his alleged collaborators, who sought refuge at the US embassy, were 25 September flown onboard a US military helicopter to another African country, under a bilateral agreement.

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FOCUS-W.African states sign non-aggression pact

06:10 p.m Nov 12, 1998 Eastern

CONAKRY, Nov 12 (Reuters) - Three West African countries, whose enmity has led to thousands of troops being deployed on their borders, signed a non-aggression pact on Thursday at a summit in the Guinean capital of Conakry.

Leaders of Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia, which have been battling raiding rebel groups using bases across their common frontiers, agreed the pact after a mini-summit attended by U.S. presidential envoy Jesse Jackson.

``The three heads of state expressed their willingness to reinforce sub-regional integration by reviving the (regional) Mano River Union," they said in a joint statement read out at the end of the talks.

``They welcomed the various agreements focusing on the non-aggression pact signed by the three countries," it added.

Jackson, who arrived from Nigeria, told reporters: ``The United States encourages regional cooperation and the relaunch of activities by the Mano River Union and notes the non-aggression pact signed between the three countries."

The talks between Jackson, Guinean President Lansana Conte and presidents Ahmad Tejan Kabbah of Sierra Leone and Charles Taylor of Liberia lasted some three hours, witnesses said.

Under the pact, the three will prevent their territories being used as a base for armed attacks on the other signatories and pledge not to aggress each other.

Diplomats said the summit had been called to try to defuse tension arising from a series of border confrontations and deep-seated distrust of Taylor by neighbouring countries.

``Recent developments between Sierra Leone and Liberia, and between Sierra Leone and Guinea, are threatening to throw the three states into full-scale war and undermine the stability of

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the entire Western Africa," a senior diplomat said.

According to the regional diplomat, the latest flare-up started after Kabbah in September tipped off Taylor about a coup plot by Liberian dissidents.

"This led to the Liberian government's attempt to arrest the former Liberian warlord Roosevelt Johnson and the fighting that broke out in Monrovia...," the diplomat said, referring to well-publicised clashes in September.

Kabbah's tip-off, far from easing suspicion, fuelled even more distrust in Liberia which habitually accused Freetown of supporting factions opposed to Taylor.

"In October this led to the Liberian army massing thousands of soldiers on its border with Sierra Leone and Sierra Leone doing the same," the diplomat said.

Sierra Leone's troops were mainly from the Nigerian-led African intervention force ECOMOG, he said, adding that a battle broke out and there were casualties on both sides.

"The tension between Sierra Leone and Liberia has not decreased in recent weeks," said the diplomat.

ECOMOG Brigadier-General Maxwell Khobe confirmed the battle to reporters and said it had only been stopped from spreading by U.S. pressure on Liberia, which pulled back its troops.

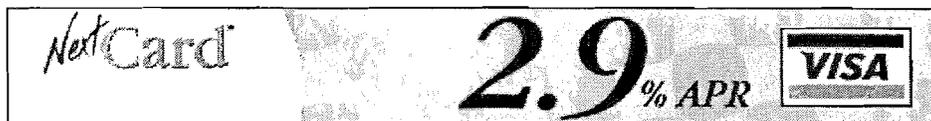
Freetown has repeatedly accused Liberia of arming rebels and sending troops to help them. In the past two weeks military officials in Freetown have displayed weapons they say have been captured from Liberian soldiers in border skirmishes.

Late last month, Conte said on state radio that Guinean dissidents were preparing to invade the country from Liberia. Guinea has since sent 3,000 troops to its border with Sierra Leone because of raids from rebels.

Taylor and Tejan Kabbah left Conakry for home late on Thursday. Jackson was due to visit Sierra Leone on Friday and then Ghana for talks with President Jerry Rawlings.

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Liberian Daily News Bulletin

November 19, 1998

Monrovia - Students of the University of Liberia have called off a planned demonstration.

The demonstration was scheduled to be held this Friday in Monrovia. It was aimed at consciencizing the university authorities to conduct registration for the academic 1998/99 school year. A release from the University of Liberia Student Union said the demonstration had been called off following the intervention of the University's Board of Trustees. The University board had an emergency meeting yesterday during which they discussed several issues including the students' planned demonstration. As a result, registration at the University for the first semester will begin this Friday, November 20. Following this positive development at the University the ULSU leadership is calling on all students of the University to forego the planned demonstration. The University students' release signed by ULSU President Augustine Nygafuan is therefore calling on students of the University to report to the main campus on Friday to begin the registration exercise.

* President Charles Taylor has accused some human rights organizations of reporting lies. He said the action was deliberate and was hurting the country. According to the President these human rights groups engage in reporting falsehoods to impress their donors for more money. The President's remarks were made in Buchanan yesterday where he's continuing his nation-wide tour. He didn't name the human rights groups that engage in false reporting. But he continued his attacks on human rights activists, saying they were selling their country for small amounts of money. President Taylor said this was dangerous to the national interest. He called on the international community to begin to listen to the Liberian government instead of human rights groups.

* A former Legislator from Grand Bassa County is decrying continued reports of security harassment of business people. Former Senator Lawrence Morgan said harassment is causing Liberia to lose international funding. Mr. Morgan emphasized Liberia now needs a high level of foreign investment. Speaking at programs marking the visit of president Taylor to Grand Bassa County, Mr. Morgan called on Liberians to be understanding and hospitable. He said both Liberians and foreign businessmen can mutually gain from each other.

* A local child organization says it's concerned about the possible recruitment of children into military and para-military forces. The Eminent Persons Group on Children wants the

government to ensure that young recruits show authentic proof of age and parental approval. The organization said government must adopt a policy to discourage recruitment of youths below eighteen years into the armed forces. The organization said this is to ensure government compliance with international law on the rights and protection of children. It stressed the need for the training of former child combatants with vocational skills to avoid them engaging into criminal activities. The organization said government has the responsibility to ensure the protection, survival and development of Liberian children. The Eminent Persons Group on Children comprises personalities advocating the empowerment and protection of street children, orphans and ex-child soldiers.

* The Senate's plenary has requested its committee on Post and Telecommunications to compel Minister Maxwell Kaba to appear before it. Minister Kaba has been summoned to show cause why he shouldn't be held in contempt. The Senate has invited Mr. Kaba twice to appear before it. The Minister failed to appear each time he's called. He's wanted at the Senate to provide explanation on the reason for the withdrawal of STAR radio's short wave frequencies. The frequencies were withdrawn last month by the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications. The Ministry said the withdrawal was due to government's differences with STAR radio's objective and ownership.

A report read by a Senate secretary said Minister Kaba wrote the senate to channel its request through the President of Liberia. This is the second time a cabinet minister has failed to appear before the senate. Deputy Finance Minister Arthur Cooper refused a senate summons this year. His refusal was backed by presidential intervention. The Executive Mansion at the time said request for a cabinet member to appear must be made through the President's office.

* Nearly a dozen security officers have been deployed at the offices of the Forestry Development Authority. FDA authorities said the police are deployed because of information that striking workers have planned a mob action. More than five hundred workers are on strike for the second week running. They yesterday threatened a demonstration if their action against the management fails. The workers complained the management of unfair labor practice and wrongful dismissals to the Labor Ministry. The Ministry began hearing into the labor dispute yesterday despite FDA management failure to appear. The Ministry heard the workers evidence and reserved ruling on the matter.

* Gboveh High School in Gbarnga, Bong County is having problems with students who are refusing to salute the national flag. These students are Jehovah Witnesses. The students said their religious beliefs do not permit them to pledge allegiance to the flag. They said their refusal would continue until the school authorities can explain the need to salute the flag. Gboveh High Principal George Amishi said he has forwarded the matter to the County Education Officer for advice. Observers say the stance by the students reflects Jehovah Witnesses practices worldwide.

* Court ruling into whether seven alleged coup plotters are poor or not has been postponed to tomorrow. Criminal court Judge William Metzger said documentary reports are still coming in from the Finance Ministry and banking institutions. Judge Metzger said investigations into these new reports will be completed today for the court to pass judgment. Documents presented by state prosecutors showed properties and monetary value owned by the seven defendants respectively. All of the seven defendants have denied ownership of the properties. The seven defendants including David Gbala, Teah Collins, James Chelly, Edward Slinger and Charles Breeze are among eighteen persons charged with treason. They claimed they lack financial capacities to retain their choice of lawyers as compensation. They want government to underwrite the cost of their legal services. State prosecutors have rejected their claims and said the accused are financially solvent to hire their choice of lawyers.

* An industrial property consultant from the World International Property Organization (WIPO) based in Geneva, Switzerland has arrived in Liberia. Mr. Anderson Zikonda arrived yesterday

as guest of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is expected to stay in Liberia for four months. During his visit, Mr. Zikonda is to assess the equipment and documentation needs of the Department of Archives at the Foreign Ministry. The WIPO's official assignment in Liberia is at the request of the Foreign Ministry. The Foreign Ministry two months ago requested assistance in the re-establishment of its industrial property office. The record department of the Foreign Ministry, like other institutions, was destroyed during the civil conflict.

* Hundreds of tenants in Saye Town, an eastern suburb of Monrovia, have been evicted from their homes. The eviction was ordered by the civil law court in Monrovia. The court's decision followed a judgment it rendered last year in a lawsuit filed by executors of the land. History of the case was not immediately available. The land contains three town lots and belonged to the late Thomas Wollsey Philips and John Bishop. Its executor Edgar Mitchell had filed a law suit to repossess the land. More than twenty buildings were affected by the eviction order yesterday. Many of tenants, some of whom lived there for twenty years, claimed their properties were damaged in the eviction process. The tenants told STAR radio other valuables including money were lost. Meanwhile, the tenants are appealing for government's intervention. They also want direct negotiation with the heirs of the land.

* The Justice Ministry has inducted the new chairman of the Joint Security at the Roberts International Airport. Colonel Robert Miller of the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization was inducted by the National Coordinator of the Joint Security Colonel Jusu Donald. Colonel Miller replaces Martina Johnson, who still remains head of the airport security. Miss Johnson was removed as head of the joint security by Justice Minister last September. But she challenged her removal, saying her appointment was by the President.

* The Canadian Teachers Federation has agreed to grant female Liberian teachers scholarships. This follows the signing of an agreement between the Canadian - Liberian teachers associations. Under the agreement the Canadian Federation of Teachers are to sponsor the scholarship program. NTAL President Rev. J. Rudolph told STAR radio the scholarship is to assist poor female teachers. Meanwhile, a five-man committee has been constituted by the NTAL to formulate guidelines for the selection of beneficiaries. At the same time the President of the National Teachers Association has been elected member of Education International's (EI) congress. He will serve on the Executive Advisory Committee for Africa. Rev. Marsh was elected recently during the World Education International Conference. The conference was held in Washington, DC U.S.A.

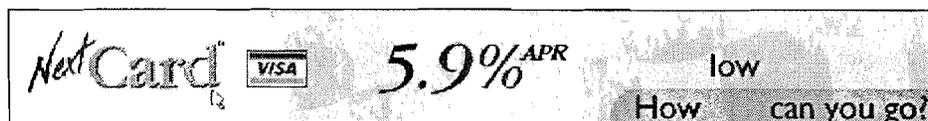
* Authorities in Rivercess county want a resident surveyor to be assigned in the county. Land Commissioner Wallace Joe said this will help reduce land disputes in the county. He observed that during the war most people's land documents were destroyed. He therefore stressed that a resident surveyor be assigned to the county who will demarcate existing boundaries. Mr. Joe recalled that prior to the war four surveyors were assigned to the county by the Ministry of Lands, Mines and Energy. He told STAR radio Rivercess correspondent the surveyors have left the county and have been in Monrovia since the end of the civil crisis.

* The Minister of Planning has underscored the need to establish a national secretariat for women NGOs. Minister Amelia Ward said the secretariat will collaborate with the ministry to set up a data bank system. This will assist women organizations standardize activities and to remain focused. Minister Ward was speaking today at the start of a two-day workshop on women NGOs. She said a data bank system will help in the proper planning and utilization of limited resources. The workshop brought together various women groups operating in the country.

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Liberian Democratic Future

LDF Calls For Fair and Impartial Trial Of 32 Indicted

November 16, 1998

Smyrna, GA - The following document was released by the Liberian Democratic Future on November 16, 1998: On October 7, 1998, the of the Republic of Liberia, through its Ministry of Justice, issued a sweeping indictment against 32 individuals, mainly supporters of former warlord D. Roosevelt Johnson, for the commission of the criminal offense of treason.

The indictment arises from a series of meetings and activities, which the government alleges, culminated into the Sept. 18-19 raid against Johnson and his loyalists on Camp Johnson Road in which more than 300 people were massacred.

The government case is based primarily on alleged evidence obtained surreptitiously by a massive network of secret police headed by Phillip B. Kamah, Minister of National Security, and Freddie R. Taylor, Director of National Security Agency (NSA), in which the defendants conspired to overthrow the government of the Republic of Liberia. Those charged of treason are: D. Roosevelt Johnson, George Dweh, Madison Wion, Ted Quiah, Jacuba Dolley, Amos Chelley, Charles Breeze, Edward Slangar, Polson Gartie, Joe Wylie, Teah Collins, Philip Seo, Alhaji G. V. Kromah, Vamba Kanneh, David Gbala, Amos Cheayee, Chris Farley, Edward Farley, Philip Farley, Bai Gbala, Abraham Keita, Chea Doe, Armah Youlu, Ignatius Clay, Morris Harris, Edward Jah, Lassannah Kennedy, Peter Toe, Jackson Gaye, Lavali Supuwood, John Gbedze and General Amos Lincoln.

According to the government, a grand jury empaneled to hear testimonies decided there is convincing evidence to charge the above named defendants with the criminal offense of treason. Section 11.1 of the New Penal Code of Liberia, page 27; paragraph (1), defines treason as follows: A person owing allegiance to Liberia has committed treason, a felony of the first degree if:

- (a) he levels war against the Republic of Liberia in an overt manner or otherwise; or
- (b) he commits any act or acts, overt or otherwise tending to overthrow the government of the Republic of Liberia by the use of force; or
- (c) he participates in military activity of a foreign power with the purpose, expressed or implied, of compelling the abdication of Liberia's sovereignty to any power; or
- (d) When Liberia is engaged in international war, conflict or in a bush fire war with a foreign power, he participates in activity of the enemy with the purpose of aiding the enemy of preventing or obstructing a victory of Liberia.

The indictment laced in Liberian legalese alleges that the defendants at various times had meetings in different locations, within and without the Republic of Liberia, as they concocted what the government called "their nefarious and diabolical plan."

The government further alleges in the indictment, inter alia, that "the defendants also had meetings in Freetown, Sierra Leone and one of such meetings was attended by George Boley, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, Alhaji G. V. Kromah, D. Roosevelt Johnson and Morris Harris at the Brofile Hotel where Harris, head of a 35-man fighting force of ULIMO-J residing in Zimie, Republic of Sierra Leone, was informed to keep his men on a standby for an attack on the Government of the Republic of Liberia for the purpose of overthrowing same...."

We at the Liberian Democratic Future (LDF) consider the charges alleged in the indictment to be serious, and with profound consequences for both the state and the individuals implicated. And for this reason, we urge the government to exercise maximum judicial prudence as it adjudicates its case against the accused. We strongly believe that the trial could have enormous national and international implications for Liberia. No doubt, this trial could become an important crossroads which could determine the efficacy and viability of the due process of law, crystalize Liberia's commitment to transparent justice - albeit grudgingly, and our reaffirmation to the precept of the individual's right to fair and impartial trial as guaranteed by the constitution.

The manner in which this trial is conducted and its outcome will be a turning point at which Liberia decides to pursue a national policy based on a framework of law and the administration of justice. Or whether the country continues in the bewildered state of ruthless assault against individual's liberties while it also professes to be nominally democratic.

In this regard, the Liberian Democratic Future (LDF) notes with deep concern that the trial is taking place before His Honor William B. Metzger. It can be recalled that he is the same judge who presided over the infamous Samuel Dokie and family murder trial, a theater of miscarriage of justice, that ended in a "not guilty" verdict.

The Liberian Democratic Future (LDF) further notes that there is a "crisis of confidence" in the administration of justice and the judicial process in Liberia. This has been borne out and corroborated by the Liberian legal community and ordinary citizens who have gone to the extent of referring to the justice system as being "rotten", driven by a lack of impartiality, and eager to appease the executive branch.

We must, however, commend the Minister of Justice Eddington Varmah for his commitment to uphold his oath by bringing the accused to justice, and by putting into place the necessary mechanism to facilitate what we hope will be a fair and speedy trial. We believe everyone should be subject to the laws of the Republic of Liberia.

Accordingly, we urge Minister Varmah to broaden the scope of the indictment to include President Charles MacArthur Taylor, Prince Yomie Johnson and their collaborators. These individuals also perpetrated the same criminal offense of treason as stipulated in section 11.1 of the new penal code of the Republic of Liberia which is the basis for the ongoing case.

The indictment poses a number of serious legal and political problems for the government. First on the political dimension, in the past, the regime had demonstrated, and this indictment apparently confirms, that the authorities have decided to use the weak and vulnerable judicial and legal apparatus as well as political power to intimidate, harass and ultimately eliminate its opponents. We believe this is an antithesis to the tenets of constitutional democracy which is rested on the principle of the rule of law for the benefit of the individual, not against him.

We note with particular interest page 2, paragraph (5) of the indictment which listed Mrs. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf and Dr. George Boley as having attended a meeting held at the Brofile Hotel

in Freetown, Sierra Leone. We also observe the names of Charles Dent and Abie Jabarteh on page 2, paragraph (3) of the indictment, that these two individuals along with others attended a meeting in July 1998 at the business center of co-defendant Madison Wion at the corner of Benson and Center Streets. The government further alleges that the participants at both meetings discussed the use of fighting men and other strategies for "an attack on the Government of the Republic of Liberia for the purpose of overthrowing same."

But conspicuously absent from the list of those formally charged are Mrs. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, Dr. George Boley, Charles Dent and Abie Jabarteh. Everyone else, except Mrs. Johnson-Sirleaf and Dr. George Boley, who allegedly attended the Brofile Hotel meeting, and Charles Dent and Abie Jabarteh, who supposedly took part in the Benson Street meeting, is being tried for the commission of treason.

Questions: 1) Why were these individuals excluded from the indictment? 2) Does this mean the regime lacks credible and compelling evidence to support its claims that these meetings ever took place? and 3) Does the government intend to call these four individuals as state witnesses?

According to her open letter, Mrs. Johnson-Sirleaf stated "my last visit to Freetown was in the first quarter of 1997 when I called upon President Kabbah in the capacity of a U.N. official. This was well before the [Liberian] elections and my own decision to participate. I have not been to Freetown since then as my travel documents and the official government of Sierra Leone can readily attest. Given my high profile, there is no way I could enter and leave Sierra Leone surreptitiously."

The burden of proof is on the government to show by preponderance of the evidence that Mrs. Johnson-Sirleaf was in Sierra Leone and participated in the meeting at the Brofile Hotel. A competent defense counsel ought to demand this evidence during the discovery phase of the trial. And if the regime fails to produce such evidence, a motion for summary judgment is a likely possibility.

In order to avert a legal travesty and restore confidence within the justice system, LDF calls upon the government of Liberia to invite the participation of the Liberian Bar Association, the human rights community, the media, and international legal experts to observe the trial proceedings.

Liberian Democratic Future believes anything short of the above cannot assure the transparency of justice in this trial. Peace without justice is hypocrisy.

Issued this 16th day of November 1998, in the State of Georgia, USA.

In the supreme interest of the Liberia people, we remain

Siahyonkron J. K. Nyanseor Chairman, LDF

George H. Nubo Co-Chairman, LDF

Abraham M. Williams Secretary-general, LDF

The Liberian Democratic Future is a think-tank, democratic, and research organization devoted to Liberia's democratic future

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