



of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

English Edition

(Special Edition) 1997

MAIN DOCUMENTS ON THE LIBERIAN CRISIS, SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT OF THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL (EXTRACTS FROM FINAL COMMUNIQUE AND REPORTS)

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**THE FIFTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE
AUTHORITY OF HEADS OF STATE AND
GOVERNMENT OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF
WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)**

DAKAR, 27TH – 29TH JULY, 1992

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. The Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) held its Fifteenth Ordinary Session in Dakar, Republic of Senegal, from 27th to 29th July, 1992 under the Chairmanship of His Excellency, Abdou DIOUF, President of the Republic of Senegal.

2. Present at the session were the following Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives:

- His Excellency, Nicéphore Dieudonné SOGLO, President of the Republic of Benin;
- His Excellency, Blaise COMPAORE, President of FASO, Head of Government of BURKINA FASO;
- His Excellency, Félix HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY, President of the Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE;
- His Excellency, Alhaji Sir Dawda Kairaba JAWARA, President of the Republic of THE GAMBIA;
- His Excellency, General Lansana CONTE, Head of State, President of the Republic of GUINEA;
- His Excellency, Dr. Amos Claudius SAWYER, President of the Interim Government of National Unity of LIBERIA;
- His Excellency, Alpha Oumar KONARE, President of the Islamic Republic of Mali;
- His Excellency, General Ibrahim Badamasi BABANGIDA, President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of NIGERIA;

- His Excellency, Abdou DIOUF, President of the Republic of SENEGAL;

- His Excellency, Captain Valentine E.M. STRASSER, Chairman, Supreme Council of State of the National Provisional Ruling Council and Head of State of the Republic of SIERRA LEONE;

- The Honourable Carlos Wahanon de Carvalho VEIGA, Prime Minister of the Republic of CABO VERDE;

- The Honourable Amadou CHEIFOU, Prime Minister, Head of Government of the Republic of NIGER;

- Lt. General Arnold QUAINOO, Member of the Provisional National Defence Council representing the Head of State of the Republic of GHANA;

- The Honourable Luis SANCA, Minister of Trade and Tourism representing the President of the Council of State of the Republic of GUINEA BISSAU;

- The Honourable Ahmed Ould ZEIN, Minister, Secretary-General in the office of the President representing the Head of State of the Islamic Republic of MAURITANIA;

- The Honourable Mr. Kwassivi Elias KPETIGO, Minister of Finance and Economy representing the Prime Minister of the TOGOLESE Republic.

3. Attending the fifteenth session as Observers were:

- The Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU);

- The Under Secretary-General of the United Nations, representing the Secretary-General of the United Nations;

- The Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA);

- The Chairman of the Committee of Governors of Central Banks in West Africa;

- The Secretary-General of the ACP Group;

- The Executive Secretary of the West African Clearing House (WACH);
- The President of the West African Development Bank (BOAD);
- The President of the Federation of West African Chambers of Commerce (FWACC);
- The Secretary-General of the West African Women's Association (WAWA);
- The Executive Director of West African Health Community (WAHC);
- The Governor of the Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO);
- The Director of the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning (IDEP);
- The President of the African Accounting Council;
- The Representative of the African Development Bank (ADB);
- The Representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP);
- The Representative of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO);
- The Representative of the West African Economic Community (CEAO);
- The Representative of the Pan-African News Agency (PANA);
- The Representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR);
- The Representative of the World Bank;
- The Representative of the International Monetary Fund (IMF);
- The Representative of the European Economic Community (EEC);
- The Representative of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD);
- The Representative of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO);
- The Representative of the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA);
- The Representative of the Islamic Development Bank (IDB);
- The Representative of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC);
- The Representative of West Africa Rice Development Association (WARDA);
- And a large number of Ambassadors accredited to the Republic of Senegal

REVIEW OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Reviewing political developments.

4. Heads of State and Government discussed the continuing global political upheavals, which were redefining and reshaping international relations. The Authority, in recognition of the possible effects these developments would have on West Africa, agreed to keep these changes under review in order to ensure that the vital interests of the community and Member States are properly protected.
5. The Authority recalled the 1991 Abuja Declaration of Political Principles, and expressed satisfaction with the democratisation process going on in Member States and the general popular commitment to political pluralism everywhere in the region. The Authority urged all governments in the region to facilitate the political transition process by establishing such institutional mechanisms and public enlightenment campaigns as necessary, so that at their meeting next year they could all rejoice in the acknowledgment that political pluralism is fully restored within the entire region.

THE LIBERIAN SITUATION

6. Heads of State and Government reviewed developments relating to the situation in Liberia since its last summit in Abuja, in the light of the reports made by the Chairman of the Committee

of Five and the Field Commander of ECOMOG, supplemented by the Foreign Minister of Senegal. The Authority commended the Committee of Five, under the distinguished Chairmanship of His Excellency, Felix Houphouët-Boigny, President of the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire, for its untiring efforts these past twelve months to restore peace, stability and security in Liberia in accordance with the mandate given to it at the Abuja Summit. That mandate entailed the restoration of necessary conditions of peace and security and the proper environment that would conduce free, fair and democratic elections.

7. The Authority noted that the Committee of Five had held no fewer than four meetings in Yamoussoukro during 1991 and one meeting in Geneva in April, 1992. The Authority endorsed all the agreements reached at those meetings between the parties concerned, particularly the Accord of 30th October, 1991 and the clarifications made to it at the Geneva Meeting of 6th to 7th April, 1992. The Authority affirmed its strong conviction that the Accord offered the best possible framework for a peacelul and lasting settlement of the Liberian conflict.
8. The Authority also noted that the Yamoussoukro Accord had called on all the parties, in particular the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), to cooperate fully with ECOMOG to ensure the speedy, uninterrupted and effective implementation of the Accord. In this connection, the Authority noted that the Accord of 30th October, 1991 had provided, inter-alia, for the accomplishment of the following tasks before the holding of democratic elections

That all entry and exit points into and out of Liberia were to be secured by ECOMOG; that road-blocks on all highways were to be dismantled to allow for unfettered movement of persons; that a buffer zone along the Liberia-Sierra Leone border, secured by ECOMOG, was to be established; that all hostile foreign forces were to be withdrawn from the territory of Sierra Leone; that all combatants of the warring parties were to be encamped and disarmed by ECOMOG; and that an Interim Elections Commission and an *Ad-Hoc* Supreme Court were to be established.

9. In considering the extent to which these goals had been accomplished, the Authority noted that some progress had been made, including the

establishment of an Interim Elections Commission and an *Ad-Hoc* Supreme Court, the commencement of the deployment of ECOMOG troops throughout Liberia and the commencement of the insertion of the buffer zone along the Liberia - Sierra Leone border. However, the Authority believed that much more could have been achieved but for the lack of cooperation by the NPFL, which frustrated all attempts by ECOMOG to implement the terms of the Yamoussoukro Accords.

10. The Authority determined that the uncooperative conduct by the NPFL, especially with regard to the encampment and disarmament of its combatants and the insertion of a buffer zone along the Liberia - Sierra Leone border, continued to pose a serious threat to the peace, stability and security of the West African region. The Authority therefore decided that no effort should now be spared by all the Member States of ECOWAS and the rest of the international community to bring the situation in Liberia to an early end. Accordingly, the Authority has decided as follows:
 - (a) that the Field Commander of ECOMOG shall complete the implementation of the programme contained in the Yamoussoukro Accord of 30th October, 1991, clarified by the Geneva Meeting of the Committee of Five, not later than thirty (30) days from the conclusion of this Summit Meeting of the Authority;
 - (b) that unless Charles Taylor and the NPFL comply fully with the implementation of the said programme, the Authority, shall impose comprehensive sanctions against Charles Taylor and the NPFL-controlled areas of Liberia, and any other party that fails to comply with the implementation of the programme;
 - (c) that all the Member States of ECOWAS shall take all necessary measures to give full effect to this decision;
 - (d) that the Committee of Five, in consultation with the Standing Mediation Committee, shall seek the assistance of the Security Council of the United Nations to make whatever sanctions are imposed, effective and binding on all members of the international community in accordance

with the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

- 11. The Authority also decided to invite the Secretary-General of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to facilitate the verification and monitoring of the electoral process in Liberia by the United Nations. The Authority extended a similar invitation to the International Negotiation Network (INN) of President Jimmy Carter.
- 12. The Authority strongly condemned the cowardly murder of ECOMOG forces by Charles Taylor and the NPFL, and paid tribute to the courage and sense of sacrifice of all ECOMOG servicemen who have fallen in Liberia.
- 13. The Authority also paid tribute to the Member States of the Community Standing Mediation Committee and the Committee of Five for the sacrifices they are making on behalf of the Community, in human and material terms, in seeking the restoration of peace, stability and security to Liberia. The Authority called on the Member States which do not have contingents in ECOMOG to endeavour to send troops in order to enhance and strengthen ECOMOG's capacity. In this connection, it welcomed with appreciation the participation of Senegal which had sent troops to join ECOMOG.
- 14. The Authority once more called on the entire international community to provide every assistance to ECOWAS to ensure the success of its peace-keeping efforts in Liberia.

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN

- 15. The Authority elected the Republic of Benin as Chairman for the year 1992/1993.

DATE AND VENUE OF NEXT MEETING

- 16. The Authority accepted the kind invitation of the Government of the Republic of Benin to hold its 60th Ordinary Session in Cotonou in 1993.

VOTE OF THANKS

- 17. The Authority expressed its deep appreciation to His Excellency, Abdou DIOUF, President of the Republic of Senegal for the exemplary manner in which he directed the affairs of the Community during the year 1991/1992. The Heads of State and Government paid a glowing

tribute to President Diouf for the personal interest shown and the special effort he made during the year to generate increased momentum in the regional integration process. The Authority also expressed its sincere gratitude to President Diouf, the Government and people of Senegal for the very warm and fraternal welcome extended to all delegations and for the excellent facilities made available to ensure the success of the 1992 annual statutory meetings.

**DONE AT DAKAR,
THIS 29TH DAY OF JULY, 1992**

DECISION A/DEC. 8/7/92 RELATING TO SANCTIONS AGAINST CHARLES TAYLOR AND THE NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA

THE AUTHORITY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

MINDFUL of Article 5 of the ECOWAS Treaty establishing the Authority of Heads of State and Government and defining its composition and functions;

MINDFUL of the ECOWAS Protocol on Non-Aggression adopted in Dakar on 22nd April, 1978 and the Protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defence adopted in Freetown on 29th May, 1981;

MINDFUL of the Authority's Decisions A/DEC. 9/5/90 relating to the establishment of the Standing Mediation Committee and A/DEC.1/8/90 on the Cease-fire and establishment of an ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group for Liberia (ECOMOG);

MINDFUL of Decision A/DEC.1/11/90 relating to the

approval of the Decisions of the Community Standing Mediation Committee taken during its first session from 6th to 7th August, 1990 held in Banjul, Republic of The Gambia;

MINDFUL of Decision A/DEC. 2/11/90 relating to the adoption of an ECOWAS Peace Plan for Liberia;

MINDFUL of the Final Communiqué of the Authority adopted at its Fourteenth Session in Abuja on 7th July, 1991 which designated the Committee of Five as an adjunct to the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee.

RECALLING further the Meeting of the Standing Mediation Committee of 12th to 13th February, 1991 in Lomé at which the warring factions signed a Cease-fire Agreement;

CONVINCED that the provisions of the Yamoussoukro Accord as contained in the Final Communiqué issued in Yamoussoukro on 30th October, 1991 offers the best possible framework for resolving the Liberian crisis;

AWARE of the clarifications to the Programme of Implementation made by the Geneva Meeting of the Committee of Five;

CONVINCED that much more could have been achieved but for the lack of cooperation by the NPFL which frustrated all attempts by ECOMOG to implement the terms of the Yamoussoukro Accord;

NOTING that the uncooperative conduct of the NPFL, especially with regards to the encampment and disarmament of its combatants and the insertion of a buffer zone along the Liberia-Sierra Leone border, continued to pose a serious threat to the peace, stability and security of the West African region;

D E C I D E S

Article 1

The Community and its Member States shall spare no effort to bring the conflict situation in Liberia to an early end.

Article 2

The Field Commander of ECOMOG shall complete the implementation of the programme contained in the Yamoussoukro Accord of 30th October, 1991 clarified by the Geneva meeting of the Committee of Five not

later than 30 days from the conclusion of the Fifteenth Session of the Authority.

Article 3

Unless Charles Taylor and the NPFL comply fully with the implementation of the said programme, the Authority shall impose comprehensive sanctions against Charles Taylor and the NPFL controlled areas of Liberia, and any other party that fails to comply with the implementation of the programme.

Article 4

All the Member States of ECOWAS shall take all necessary measures to give full effect to this Decision.

Article 5

The Committee of Five, in consultation with the Standing Mediation Committee, shall seek the assistance of the Security Council of the United Nations to make whatever sanctions are imposed, effective and binding on all members of the international community in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

Article 6

1. The Authority hereby invites the Secretary-General of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to facilitate the verification and monitoring of the electoral process in Liberia by the United Nations.
2. The Authority extends a similar invitation to the International Negotiation Network (INN) of President Jimmy Carter.

Article 7

The Authority strongly condemns the murder of some ECOMOG forces by Charles Taylor and the NPFL, and pays tribute to the courage and sense of sacrifice of all ECOMOG servicemen who have fallen in Liberia.

Article 8

The Authority also pays tribute to the Member States of the Community Standing Mediation Committee and the Committee of Five for the sacrifices they are making on behalf of the Community in human and material terms in seeking the restoration of peace, stability and security to Liberia.

Article 9

The Authority calls on the Member States which do not have contingents in ECOMOG to endeavour to send troops in order to enhance and strengthen ECOMOG's capacity.

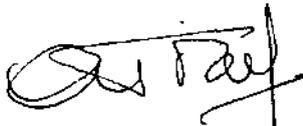
Article 10

The Authority once more calls on the entire international community to provide every assistance to ECOWAS to ensure the success of its peace-keeping efforts in Liberia.

Article 11

This Decision shall enter into force upon signature and shall be published in the Official Journal of the community and in the National Gazette of each Member State.

**DONE AT DAKAR,
THIS 29TH DAY OF JULY, 1992**



**HIS EXCELLENCY, ABDOU DIOUF,
CHAIRMAN, FOR THE AUTHORITY**

**FIRST JOINT MEETING OF THE ECOWAS STANDING
MEDIATION COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF
FIVE**

COTONOU, 20TH OCTOBER, 1992

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. Pursuant to the Decision taken on 29th July, 1992 in Dakar by the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) relating to sanctions against parties to the Liberian conflict which fail to comply with the implementation of the Yamoussoukro Accord of 30th October, 1991, the first Joint Summit meeting of the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee and the Committee of Five was held in Cotonou on 20th October, 1992 under the Chairmanship of His Excellency, Mr. Nicephoré Dieudonné Soglo, President of the Republic of Benin and current Chairman of the ECOWAS Authority.
2. Present at the Joint Summit were the following Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives :
 - His Excellency, Mr. Nicephoré Dieudonné SOGLO, President of the Republic of BENIN;
 - His Excellency, Mr. Felix Houphouët-Boigny, President of the Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE;
 - His Excellency, General Joan Bernardo VIERA, President of the Council of State of the Republic of GUINEA BISSAU;
 - His Excellency, General Gnassingbe EYADEMA, President of the TOGOLESE Republic;
 - His Excellency, Admiral Augustus AIKHOMU, Vice-President of the Federal Republic of NIGERIA representing the President and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
 - Lt-General Arnold QUAINOO, Member of the Provisional National Defence Council representing the Head of State of the Republic of GHANA;

- The Honourable Alhaji Lamin Kitti JABANG, Minister of Interior representing the President of the Republic of THE GAMBIA;
 - His Excellency, Mr. Aquebourou DIARRAH, Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Mali to Ghana representing the President of the Islamic Republic of MALI;
 - The Honourable Mr. Djibo KA, Minister of Foreign Affairs representing the President of the Republic of SENEGAL;
3. Attending the Joint Summit at the invitation of the two Committees were:
- His Excellency, Mr. Blaise COMPAORE, President of FASO Head of Government, BURKINA FASO;
 - The Honourable Mr. Alseyni Rene GOMEZ, Minister of Internal Affairs and Security representing the Head of State of the Republic of GUINEA;
 - The Honourable Mr. Gabriel BACCHUS-MATTHEWS, Minister of Foreign Affairs representing the President of the Interim Government of National Unity of LIBERIA;
4. Attending in an observer capacity were:
- The under Secretary-General of the United Nations, representing the Secretary-General of the United Nations;
 - The Assistant Secretary-General (EDECO) of the Organisation of African Unity, representing the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity;
 - The West African Regional Representative of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, representing the High Commissioner for Refugees.
5. The Joint Summit Meeting had been preceded by a meeting of Foreign Ministers of the members of the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee and Committee of Five in Cotonou on 19th October, 1992 which prepared the ground for the Joint Summit Meeting.

REVIEW OF THE LIBERIAN SITUATION

6. Heads of State and Government reviewed developments relating to the situation in Liberia since the last Summit of the Authority of Heads of State and Government held at Dakar from 27th to 29th July, 1992 in the light of the reports made by the Chairman of the Authority and the Field Commander of ECOMOG.
7. The Chairman informed the joint session about a number of measures he had taken since the July 1992 Dakar Summit to facilitate the application of the relevant Authority Decision on the Liberian crisis. He referred in particular to a meeting he convened in Cotonou in August to enable the various Liberian parties to consult with each other, but which was not realised due to problems of communication. He had therefore dispatched a mission including a special envoy of the Chairman of the Authority, which met with ULIMO and obtained its agreement to cooperate with ECOMOG to ensure the speedy implementation of the Yamoussoukro Accords.
8. The Meeting also received a report from the Field Commander of ECOMOG in which he reported that there had been no compliance with the Yamoussoukro Accords by the warring parties at the expiration of the deadline of thirty days stipulated by the July, 1992 Decision of the Authority. Instead of making progress towards the establishment of conditions conducive to the holding of free, fair and democratic elections in Liberia, the Meeting noted that the situation had deteriorated sharply in Monrovia and elsewhere in Liberia.
9. The Joint Session noted in particular the intensification of hostilities between ULIMO and NPFL, and the taking hostage by NPFL of over 500 ECOMOG troops deployed into NPFL-controlled territory as part of the disarmament and encampment exercise, and the unprovoked and premeditated armed attack by NPFL against ECOMOG forces. The Meeting was also informed about a letter written by former United States President Jimmy Carter to members of the Committee of Five, in which he had proposed, inter alia, that the size of ECOMOG forces should be reduced and a small UN unarmed observer group be sent into Liberia to monitor the neutrality of ECOMOG.

STATUS OF ECOMOG

10. In the circumstances, Heads of State and Government strongly reaffirmed their trust in ECOMOG and reiterated their confidence in its absolute neutrality in the performance of its functions in Liberia. They also reaffirmed the right of ECOMOG, as a peace-keeping force, to defend itself against armed attacks from any quarter.

CEASE-FIRE IN LIBERIA

11. The Joint Meeting stressed the necessity for an immediate cease-fire to be observed by the forces of ULIMO and NPFL. The Meeting, therefore, strongly urged all the warring parties to ensure the strict observance of a cease-fire throughout the territory of Liberia. In this connection, it accepted the declaration by ULIMO of its intention to abide by the terms and conditions of the Yamoussoukro Accords.
12. **The Meeting therefore decided as follows:**
- (i) That ULIMO and the NPFL shall declare an immediate cease-fire effective midnight on Wednesday 21st October, 1992;
 - (ii) ECOMOG shall be responsible for ensuring that the cease-fire is respected by the parties concerned;
 - (iii) A Monitoring Committee comprising Benin (Chairman) Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal and Togo is hereby established:
 - (a) to inform the warring parties concerned of the decisions of this meeting;
 - (b) to closely monitor the strict implementation by all parties concerned of the provisions of Yamoussoukro IV Accord which Accord must be fully implemented within 15 days from the declaration of the cease-fire;
 - (c) to meet five days before the deadline to assess the extent of implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord;
 - (iv) In the event that the Yamoussoukro IV

Accord is not implemented by the warring factions concerned at the expiration of the deadline, the Sanctions Decision A/DEC.1/10/92 adopted by the Meeting on 20th October, 1992 shall apply fully and automatically.

RETURN OF ECOMOG PROPERTY SEIZED BY NPFL

13. Heads of State and Government condemned the taking hostage by NPFL of ECOMOG troops deployed in its area. The Joint Meeting demanded the immediate return by NPFL of all items unlawfully seized from the ECOMOG forces concerned.

IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS

14. In the event of failure by the warring parties to comply fully with the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, Heads of State and Government determined that such action would constitute a serious threat to the peace and security of Liberia in particular and the West African region as a whole. Heads of State and Government, acting on behalf of the Authority of Heads of State and Government would impose sanctions against the warring parties entailing the blockade of all entry points into Liberia by land, air and sea in order to deny them access to the sinews of war and the export of any commodities or products originating from areas of Liberia controlled by them. In this connection, Heads of State and Government made a special appeal to the three neighbouring Member States of ECOWAS sharing land borders with Liberia for their cooperation to ensure the strictest application of the Sanctions Decision.
15. The Joint Meeting also decided to seek the assistance of the Security Council of the United Nations to endorse the Sanctions Decision and make it mandatory for the entire international community in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. In this regard, the Meeting mandated the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal and Togo, accompanied by the Executive Secretary, to proceed to New York to make the necessary representations to the Security Council.
16. The Sanctions Decision is annexed to this

Communique and shall form an integral part thereof.

ROLE OF THE UN OBSERVER GROUP

17. Heads of State and Government reaffirmed the Authority decision of July, 1992 requesting the presence of a UN observer group to facilitate the verification and monitoring of the electoral process in Liberia. Within the spirit of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, the UN Observers may wish to visit Liberia, during the period of encampment and disarmament, in order to reinforce the confidence of the warring parties.

VOTE OF THANKS

18. The Joint summit meeting of the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee and the Committee of Five expressed its appreciation to His Excellency, Nicephoré Dieudonné SOGLO, President of the Republic of Benin for the way in which he conducted the Meeting. The Heads of State and Government paid tribute to President Soglo for the personal interest shown and the special effort he had made since the Dakar ECOWAS Summit in July, 1992 to improve the situation in Liberia. The Joint Meeting also expressed its sincere gratitude to President Soglo, the Government and people of Benin for the very warm and fraternal welcome extended to all delegations and for the excellent facilities made available to ensure the success of this first Joint Summit Meeting of the Standing Mediation Committee and the Committee of Five.

**DONE AT COTONOU,
THIS 20TH DAY OF OCTOBER, 1992.**

DECISION A/DEC. 1/10/92 RELATING TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DECISION A/DEC. 8/7/92 ON SANCTIONS AGAINST PARTIES TO THE LIBERIAN CONFLICT WHICH FAIL TO COMPLY WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE YAMOUSSOUKRO ACCORD OF 30TH OCTOBER, 1991

HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ECOWAS STANDING MEDIATION COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF FIVE

MINDFUL of Article 5 of the ECOWAS Treaty establishing the Authority of Heads of State and Government, and defining its composition and functions;

ACTING on behalf of the Authority of Heads of State and Government;

REAFFIRMING the Final Communique of 30th October, 1991 adopted in Yamoussoukro by the ECOWAS Committee of Five (otherwise known as Yamoussoukro IV Accord);

RECALLING Decision A/DEC. 9/5/90 relating to the establishment of the Standing Mediation Committee;

RECALLING ALSO Decision A/DEC. /7/91 relating to the establishment of the Committee of Five;

FURTHER RECALLING Decision A/DEC. 8/7/92 of the fifteenth session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government held at Dakar on 29th July, 1992 relating to the imposition of sanctions against combatants in the Liberian crisis;

NOTING the Report of 6th October, 1992 by the Field Commander of ECOMOG on the Status of Implementation of the Yamoussoukro Accord of 30th October, 1991;

DEPLORING the fact that the NPFL has failed to cooperate with the Field Commander of ECOMOG in the implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, particularly with regard to

- the disarmament and encampment of combatants;
- the creation of a buffer zone along the Sierra Leone - Liberia border;
- the creation of the necessary conditions of peace and security conducive to the holding of free, fair and democratic elections in Liberia;

CONSIDERING that such action constitutes a serious threat to the peace and security of Liberia in particular and the West African region as a whole;

DETERMINED to secure the compliance of all combatants, including in particular the NPFL, with the provisions of the said Accord;

D E C I D E S

Article 1

Member States shall impose sanctions against any party to the Liberian conflict which fails to comply with the implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, and in particular against the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) led by Charles Taylor. Accordingly, Member States shall impose the sanctions set out below.

Article 2

Member States shall prevent

- a) The export from their territories to the territory of Liberia under NPFL control of weapons or any other military equipment whether or not originating in their territories as from the date of this Decision;
- b) The import into their territories of all commodities and products originating from the territory of Liberia under NPFL control and exported therefrom as from the date of this Decision;
- c) Any activities by their nationals or in their territories which would promote or are calculated to promote the export or trans-shipment of any commodities or products from the territory of Liberia under NPFL control or the import or trans-shipment of weapons or any other military equipment into the territory of Liberia under NPFL control.

Article 3

Member States shall not make available to the so called National Pathotic Reconstruction Assembly Government of Charles Taylor and the NPFL or to any commercial, industrial or public utility undertaking in areas under NPFL control, any funds or any other financial or economic resources and shall prevent their nationals and any persons within their territories from removing from their territories or otherwise making available to that

government or to any such undertaking any such funds or resources except payments exclusively for strictly medical or humanitarian purposes and, in humanitarian circumstances, foodstuff.

Article 4

Member States shall refrain from any action or dealing that might be construed as a recognition of the Authority and control of the so called National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government or the NPFL over any part of the territory of Liberia.

Article 5

All Member States sharing common borders with Liberia shall deny access to and from their territories to persons and vehicles coming from or going to the areas under NPFL control except for strictly humanitarian reasons.

Article 6

The Field Commander of ECOMOG shall take all necessary measures to ensure compliance with the provisions of this Decision within the territory of Liberia.

Article 7

This Decision shall be applied against any other warring party who, upon the report of the Field Commander of ECOMOG, is adjudged by the Committee of Five to have failed to comply with the implementation of the provisions of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord.

Article 8

The ECOWAS Committee of Five on Liberia, in consultation with the current Chairman of the Authority, and together with the representatives of the Republic of Guinea and the Republic of Sierra Leone shall undertake the following tasks and report on its work to the Authority of Heads of State and Government with its observations and recommendations

- a) To examine the reports on the progress of the implementation of this Decision submitted by the ECOMOG Field Commander through the Executive Secretary;
- b) To seek from all states further information regarding the action taken by them concerning the effective implementation of the provisions of this Decision.

Article 9

Member States shall cooperate fully with the ECOWAS Committee of Five on Liberia particularly by supplying such information as may be sought by the committee in the implementation of this Decision.

Article 10

The Executive Secretary shall provide all necessary assistance to the ECOWAS Committee of Five on Liberia and make all necessary arrangements in the Executive Secretariat for the purpose.

Article 11

The Committee of Five in consultation with the current Chairman of the Authority of Heads of State and Government, is hereby authorised to suspend the application of this Decision, or any part thereof, against any warring party in Liberia provided the Field Commander of ECOMOG has reported that he is satisfied beyond reasonable doubt that there has been full compliance by that warring party with the provisions of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord in a manner that would conduce the holding of free, fair and democratic elections in Liberia without undue delay.

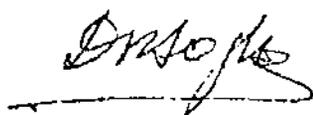
Article 12

The Committee of Five, in consultation with the Standing Mediation Committee, shall seek the assistance of the Security Council of the United Nations to make these sanctions effective and binding on all members of the international community in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

Article 13

This Decision shall enter into force upon signature and shall be published in the Official Journal of the Community and in the National Gazette of each Member State.

**DONE AT COTONOU,
THIS 20TH DAY OF OCTOBER, 1992**



**HIS EXCELLENCY,
NICEPHORE DIEUDONNE SOGLO,
CHAIRMAN, FOR THE MEETING.**

**THE FIRST MEETING OF THE ECOWAS
MONITORING COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE
LIBERIAN CRISIS**

ABUJA, 7TH NOVEMBER, 1992

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. In conformity with the Decision taken on 20th October, 1992 in Cotonou by the Joint Meeting of the Standing Mediation Committee and the Committee of Five, the first Summit Meeting of the Monitoring Committee of nine was held in the ECOWAS Headquarters Building at Abuja on 7th November, 1992 under the Chairmanship of His Excellency, Mr. Nicephoré Dieudonné SOGLO, President of the Republic of Benin and current Chairman of the ECOWAS Authority.
2. Present at the Summit were the following Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives:
 - His Excellency, Mr. Nicephoré Dieudonné SOGLO, President of the Republic of BENIN;
 - His Excellency, Mr. Blaise COMPAORE, President of Faso, Head of Government BURKINA FASO;
 - His Excellency, Mr. Felix HOUFHOÛT-BOIGNY, President of the Republic of COTED'IVOIRE;
 - His Excellency, Ft-Lt. (Rtd.) Jerry John RAWLINGS, President of the Republic of GHANA;
 - His Excellency, General Lansana CONTE, Chairman of the Military Committee for National Reconstruction, Head of State, President of the Republic of GUINEA;
 - His Excellency, General Ibrahim Badamasi BABANGIDA, President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
 - His Excellency, General Gnassingbe EYADEMA, President of the TOGOLESE Republic;
 - Honourable Alhaji Lamin Kitti JABANG, Minister of Interior, representing the President of the Republic of THE GAMBIA;

- Honourable Djibo KA Minister of Foreign Affairs, representing the President of the Republic of SENEGAL;
- 3 Attending the summit at the invitation of the Committee were:
- His Excellency, Captain Valentine E.M. STRASSER, Chairman of the Supreme Council of State of the National Provisional Ruling Council and Head of State of the Republic of SIERRA LEONE;
 - Honourable Gabriel BACCHUS-MATHEWS, Minister of Foreign Affairs representing the President of the Interim government of National Unity of LIBERIA.
- 4 Attending in an observer capacity was:
- The Under Secretary-General of the United Nations, representing the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

REVIEW OF THE LIBERIAN SITUATION

5. Heads of State and Government reviewed developments relating to the situation in Liberia since the Joint Summit of the Standing Mediation Committee and the Committee of five held at Cotonou on 20th October, 1992 in the light of the reports made by the Chairman of the Authority and the Field Commander of ECOMOG.
6. The Chairman stated that the purpose of the Meeting was to assess the extent of implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord. He said that following the Cotonou Meeting, he had written to all the interested parties to the Liberian conflict to convey to them the decisions of that Meeting. However, hostilities had continued, frustrating all efforts to restore peace and the normal rhythm of life in Monrovia and elsewhere in Liberia. There had also been heavy influx of displaced persons into Monrovia, in search of the relative safety provided by ECOMOG.
7. The Meeting also received a situation report from the Field Commander of ECOMOG in which he confirmed that none of the warring factions had heeded the call of the Cotonou Meeting for a cease-fire. The Field Commander stated that the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) was at the centre of the raging hostilities, on the one

hand, it was engaged in an armed struggle with the United Liberation Movement of Liberia (ULIMO) for territorial control, and, on the other hand, it had mounted a massive military offensive against ECOMOG forces.

REAFFIRMATION OF ECOWAS COMMITMENT TO PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

8. The Meeting reaffirmed the full commitment of ECOWAS to a peaceful resolution of the Liberian crisis by way of democratic elections which underpinned the ECOWAS Peace Plan and offered the best possible framework for restoring peace and stability to Liberia. The Meeting, therefore, reaffirmed the Yamoussoukro IV Accord and the decisions of the Cotonou Joint Summit Meeting of 20th October, 1992.

CONDEMNATION OF NPFL ATTACK AGAINST ECOMOG

9. Heads of State and Government unreservedly condemned the unprovoked and premeditated aggression by the NPFL against ECOMOG forces in Liberia, and expressed full support for the defensive action taken by ECOMOG. Heads of State and Government again reaffirmed the right of ECOMOG, as a peace-keeping force, to defend itself decisively against armed attacks from any quarter.
10. Heads of State and Government, in the face of mounting evidence of atrocities, warned all warring factions against the commission of war crimes and crimes against humanity in Liberia. The Meeting paid tribute to all who have perished in the senseless war being waged by Charles Taylor, including in particular the nuns who were recently killed by the NPFL, and expressed condolences to the bereaved families.

STRENGTHENING OF ECOMOG

11. Heads of State and Government reaffirmed the vitality and necessity of ECOMOG in Liberia and expressed their profound gratitude to the Member States which had contributed troops to ECOMOG. They agreed that all the other Member States of ECOWAS, especially those states in whom the NPFL had shown to have confidence, should contribute to ECOMOG in order to strengthen its capacity to discharge its peace-keeping mandate and also enhance trust and confidence among all the warring parties.

CEASE-FIRE IN LIBERIA

12. In renewing its call to all the warring parties to declare a cease-fire effective midnight 10th November, 1992, the Meeting directed ECOMOG to ensure not only respect for the cease-fire by all the warring parties, but also that the cease-fire is implemented concurrently with the encampment and disarmament of all combatants of the warring parties.
13. Heads of State and Government invited the Secretary-General of the United Nations to appoint a Special Representative to cooperate with ECOWAS in the implementation of the ECOWAS Peace Plan. Heads of State and Government equally requested the Secretary-General of the OAU to appoint an Eminent Person to collaborate with ECOWAS in the implementation of the ECOWAS Peace Plan.

HOLDING OF ELECTIONS IN LIBERIA

14. Heads of State and Government recommended and encouraged the Ad Hoc Elections Commission of Liberia to consider organising democratic Presidential and parliamentary elections as soon as conditions allow but in any event not later than three months from the installation of a cease-fire in Liberia.

APPLICATION OF SANCTIONS DECISION

15. Heads of State and Government stressed the need for full cooperation by all the parties concerned for the effective establishment of conditions that would conduce the holding of free, fair and democratic elections in Liberia. Consequently, Heads of State and Government reaffirmed their decision in Cotonou to impose sanctions against any warring faction that failed to comply with the provisions of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord and declared that in view of the failure of all the warring parties to implement the terms of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord at the expiration of the deadline of 5th November, 1992 as stipulated by the Cotonou Summit Meeting, the Sanctions Decision shall be deemed to have entered into force against all the warring parties as from 5th November, 1992.
16. Heads of State and Government reaffirmed their mandate to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine, accompanied by the Executive Secretary, to proceed to New York,

as soon as possible to make the necessary representations to the United Nations Security Council with a view to securing the council's endorsement of the ECOWAS Sanctions Decision and making it mandatory for the entire international community in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

VOTE OF THANKS

17. The Heads of State and Government expressed their appreciation to His Excellency, General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, President, Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Government and people of Nigeria for their exemplary role in ECOMOG and for the great contribution they were making to sustain the capability of ECOMOG to discharge its mandate in Liberia, for the very warm and fraternal welcome extended to them and their delegations, and for the excellent facilities made available to ensure the success of this first Summit Meeting of the Committee of Nine.

**DONE AT ABUJA,
THIS 7TH DAY OF NOVEMBER 1992.**

**THE SIXTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE
AUTHORITY OF HEADS OF STATE AND
GOVERNMENT OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF
WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)**

COTONOU, 22ND - 24TH JULY, 1993

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. The Sixteenth Ordinary Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was held in Cotonou, Republic of Benin, from 22nd to 24th July, 1993 under the Chairmanship of His Excellency, Nicephoré Dieudonné Soglo, President of the Republic of Benin.

2. Present at the session were the following Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives:

- His Excellency, Nicephoré Dieudonné SOGLO, President of the Republic of BENIN;
- His Excellency, Blaise COMPAORE, President of Faso, Head of Government BURKINA FASO;
- His Excellency, Alhaji Sir Dawda Kairaba JAWARA, President of the Republic of THE GAMBIA;
- His Excellency, Flt-Lt. Jerry John RAWLINGS, President of the Republic of GHANA;
- His Excellency, General Lansana CONTE, Head of State, President of the Republic of GUINEA;
- His Excellency, General Joao Bernardo VIEIRA, President of the Council of State of The Republic of GUINEA-BISSAU;
- His Excellency, Dr. Amos Claudius SAWYER, President of the Interim Government of National Unity of LIBERIA;
- His Excellency, Alpha Oumar KONARE, President of the Islamic Republic of MALI;
- His Excellency, Mahamane OUSMANE, President of the Republic of NIGER;

- His Excellency, General Ibrahim Badamasi BABANGIDA, President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of NIGERIA;

- His Excellency, Captain Valentine E.M. STRASSER, Chairman, Supreme Council of State of the National Provisional Ruling Council and Head of State of the Republic of SIERRA LEONE;

- The Honourable Carlos Wahanon de Carvalho VEIGA, Prime Minister of the Republic of CABO VERDE;

- The Honourable Alassane OUATTARA, Prime Minister of the Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE;

- The Honourable Ahmed Ould ZEIN, Secretary-General of the government of the Islamic Republic of MAURITANIA;

- The Honourable Habib THIAM, Prime Minister of the Republic of SENEGAL;

- The Honourable Fambare Ouattara NATCHABA, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the TOGOLESE Republic;

3. Attending the Session as Observers were:

- The Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA);
- The Under Secretary-General of the United Nations;
- The Secretary-General of the West African Economic Community (CEAO);
- The Governor of the BCEAO and Chairman of the Committee of Governors of Central Banks in West Africa;
- The Executive Secretary of the West African Clearing House (WACH);
- The President of the Federation of West African Chambers of Commerce (FWACC);
- The Secretary-General of the West African Women's Association (WAWA);

- The Executive Director of the West African Health Community (WAHC);
- The Vice-President of the African Development Bank (ADB);
- The Executive Director of the West African Rice Development Association (WARDA);
- The Representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP);
- The Representative of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO);
- The Representative of the Pan-African News Agency (PANA);
- The Representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR);
- The Representative of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD);
- The Representative of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO);
- The Representative of the West African Development Bank (BOAD);
- The Representative of ECOBANK Transnational Incorporated;
- And a large number of Ambassadors accredited to the Republic of Benin.

REVIEW OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

4. Heads of State and Government took note of the continued post Cold War changes in international relations, particularly the emergence of powerful economic blocs, and the inexorable pull of the former communist countries into the orbit of the free market system. Recognising the possible effects of these developments on the trade and development interests of Member States, the Authority directed the Executive Secretary to monitor the situation with a view to making proposals for protecting West African interests and also for taking advantage of any opportunities created by these changes in the international scene.
5. The Authority expressed its general satisfaction with the political evolution taking place in West Africa and particularly the democratisation programmes being implemented. Recalling its 1991 Abuja Declaration of Political Principles, the Authority called on all Member States to continue with their respective political reforms to ensure the full entrenchment of a democratic culture throughout the region.
6. In this connection, Heads of State and Government took note of and expressed their satisfaction at the enrichment of the democratic culture and the completion of the transition to democratic rule in a large number of Member States. Note was also taken of the democratisation programmes announced by the remaining Member States aimed at completing their transition processes by the end of 1994. The Authority recognised that transparency, public accountability, good governance, the rule of law, faithful observance of press freedom and freedom of association, and respect for human rights were all the characteristics of a democratic society, the enthronement of which would take time.

THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

7. In their assessment of the situation in Liberia, Heads of State and Government deplored the continued unstable socio-political climate in the region as a whole. They expressed particular concern over the breakdown of the cease-fire in Liberia and the consequent disruption of the implementation of the ECOWAS Peace Plan. The Authority expressed its gratitude to the officers and men of the ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and all Member States contributing troops, for making it possible to reduce the level of hostilities in Liberia and resume the peace negotiations.
8. Heads of State and Government took note of Resolutions 788 (1992) and 813 (1993) of the United Nations Security Council and Resolution CM/Res. 1449 of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) of June 1993, which commended the efforts of ECOWAS to restore peace in Liberia. They expressed gratitude to the UN and OAU for the assistance extended to the community which culminated in the convening of the recently concluded peace talks in Geneva in which the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), the National Patriotic Front of Liberia

(NPFL) and the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) participated.

9. The Authority welcomed the resumption of peace negotiations between the Interim Government of National Unity and the Liberian warring parties and congratulated them on the spirit of accommodation that had prevailed during the peace talks. Heads of State and Government took due note of the successful outcome of the peace negotiations, as will be reflected in the Liberia Peace Agreement to be signed by the parties in the presence of the Chairman of the Authority of Heads of State and Government. They urged all the parties to cooperate fully in the implementation of the Peace Agreement and endeavour to complete the electoral process within the stipulated time frame of seven months.
10. The Authority resolved to appeal to the United Nations to create a special Fund for Liberia to finance the implementation of the Cotonou Accord, and to the international community to generously contribute to the Special Fund.

THE SITUATION AT THE SIERRA LEONE-LIBERIA BORDER

11. Reaffirming provisions of the ECOWAS Protocol on Non-Aggression adopted on the 22nd April, 1978, the Authority called on all Member States, as a matter of the utmost urgency, to give special attention in their relations with other Member States of the Community, to the provisions of that Protocol under which they are obliged, *inter alia*, to refrain from committing, encouraging or condoning acts of subversion, hostility or aggression against the territorial integrity or political independence of other Member States. In this connection, Heads of State and Government condemned all acts of aggression perpetrated against the territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Sierra Leone and demanded that such acts be terminated immediately
12. At the request of Sierra Leone, the Authority directed the Field Commander of ECOMOG to deploy forces immediately along the Sierra Leone-Liberia border for the purpose of restoring security in the border areas, including the establishment of a buffer zone to prevent cross border military activity.

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN

13. The Heads of State and Government unanimously re-elected the Republic of Benin as Chairman of the Community for the 1993/94 period.

DATE AND VENUE OF NEXT SUMMIT

14. The Authority decided to hold its Seventeenth Ordinary Session at the Headquarters of the Executive Secretariat in Abuja at a date to be communicated later.

VOTE OF THANKS

15. Heads of State and Government paid a warm tribute to His Excellency, Nicephore Dieudonné Soglo, President of the Republic of Benin for the dedicated manner in which he directed the affairs of the community during his tenure of office. The Authority also expressed its sincere appreciation and gratitude to President Soglo, the Government and people of Benin for the genuine fraternal welcome extended to all delegations and for the excellent facilities made available to ensure the success of the 1993 Annual Statutory Meetings of the Community.

**DONE AT COTONOU,
THIS 24TH DAY OF JULY 1993.**

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE PEACE TALKS ON LIBERIA HELD AT GENEVA

10TH - 17TH JULY, 1993

Begins

At the invitation of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, on behalf of H.E. President Nicephore Soglo, current Chairman of ECOWAS, and Dr. Salim A. Salim, Secretary-General of OAU, the parties to the Liberian conflict met in Geneva, Switzerland from 10th to 17th July, 1993 to take part and fully participate in Liberia Peace Talks aimed at ending three (3) and a half years of civil war.

These talks were held under the co-chairmanship of Mr. Trevor Gordon-Somers, Special Representative of UN Secretary-General on Liberia, President Canaan Banana, Eminent Person, OAU and Dr. Abbas Bundu, Executive Secretary of ECOWAS.

This historical meeting provided a unique opportunity for the three parties to engage in a friendly and conciliatory dialogue among themselves with a view to advancing the search for a peaceful and lasting settlement of the Liberian crisis in accordance with ECOWAS Peace Plan and Yamoussoukro Accords.

The Parties adopted an Agreement containing decisions with respect to political, military, humanitarian and refugee repatriation issues. This Agreement will be signed by the leaders of the Parties during the ECOWAS Summit in Cotonou, Benin, on 24th July, 1993.

Political

The Agreement on political issues reaffirmed that the Yamoussoukro Accords provide the best framework for peace. It was agreed that Liberia would be unified under a civil Transitional Government to run for a period of seven months. Various proposals were made with respect to the Executive, Judiciary and Legislative branches of government, with decisions in some cases deferred for consultation among the leaders of the parties.

Military

The Agreement on military issues contained conditions for a cease-fire, the establishment of a supervisory and monitoring authority, bringing together representatives of the three parties, ECOMOG, and UN Observer Mission. Attention was given to monitoring of cease-fire violations and the process of disarmament, encampment

and demobilization consistent with the terms and conditions of the ECOWAS Peace Plan and the Yamoussoukro Accords.

Humanitarian Assistance

The Parties agreed that every effort should be made to deliver humanitarian assistance to all Liberians particularly children, who are malnourished and suffering from related diseases. Convoys of humanitarian assistance should travel to all areas of Liberia through the most direct routes.

Repatriation of Refugees

UNHCR presented to the Parties a summary of their plans for refugees repatriation and re-integration in the country. UNHCR called specific attention to the need for security and protection of United Nations staff working in the country. The Parties called upon the United Nations, particularly UNHCR, to carry out the necessary planning and resource mobilisation to facilitate a speedy return of refugees to Liberia.

Signed:

G. Baccus Matthews

Momolu Sirleaf

Athaji Kromah

THE SECOND MEETING OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

TUNIS, TUNISIA, 10TH JUNE, 1994

FINAL REPORT

I INTRODUCTION

1. The Second meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia, was held at the Palais des Congres, Tunis, Tunisia on 10th June, 1994.

The following Member States were present:

- Republic of BENIN;
- BURKINA FASO;
- Republic of COTE D'IVORIE;
- Republic of THE GAMBIA;
- Republic of GHANA;
- Republic of GUINEA;
- Islamic Republic of MALI;
- Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
- Republic of SENEGAL;
- Republic of SIERRA LEONE;
- The TOGOLESE Republic.

2. The Foreign Ministers of the following States also attended the meeting:

- Republic of LIBERIA;
- Republic of TANZANIA;
- Republic of UGANDA;

3. Present at the Meeting for consultations with Foreign Affairs Ministers were the following:

- Chief of Army Staff, Ghana;
- Chief of Army Staff, Nigeria;

- Chief of Army Staff, Tanzania; and
- The Field Commander of the ECOMOG Operations in Liberia.

4. Also present was the following Observer:

- The Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

II - OPENING SESSION

5. The Chairman of the Meeting, Honourable Robert Dossou, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Benin welcomed all present at the meeting. He extended special felicitations to the Honourable Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Republics of Tanzania and Uganda whose countries contributed troops for the Expanded ECOMOG and who were for the first time participating in an ECOWAS Ministerial Meeting on the Liberian crisis. Their presence demonstrated further their concern for the tragic situation in Liberia, and their determination to see the crisis brought to a quick end.

6. The Chairman also welcomed the Chiefs of Staff of ECOMOG-contributing Member States. Their advice, The Honourable Minister said, would assist the Meeting in arriving at pragmatic and feasible proposals for a quick resolution of the crisis.

7. Both the Chairman and the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, Mr. Edouard Benjamin, regretted their inability to convene at an earlier date, a meeting of the Committee of Nine on Liberia since the signing of the Cotonou Accord in July, 1993. They explained that the members of the Committee had not been able to agree on a date for the meeting. The presence of ECOWAS Foreign Ministers attending the 60th OAU Council of Ministers therefore afforded an opportunity for the meeting to hold and appraise the implementation of the Cotonou Accord.

8. The Chairman recalled some of the major steps taken towards the implementation of the Cotonou Accord. Although significant steps had been taken on the political front, he recounted regretfully that little had been achieved on the military aspects of the Accord.

9. He concluded his opening address by stressing the need for urgent action to be taken on Liberia. He asked the meeting to therefore make

proposals for an early resolution of the crisis.

III. AGENDA

10. The following Agenda was adopted by the meeting.

- i. Opening address by the Chairman, Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Benin;
- ii. Report of the situation in Liberia since the signing of the Cotonou Accord by the Field Commander of ECOMOG;
- iii. Financial and logistical problems of ECOMOG;
- iv. Any other matter.

IV. REPORT OF THE SITUATION IN LIBERIA SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE COTONOU ACCORD:

Report of the Field Commander

11. The Field Commander of the Expanded ECOMOG Operations in Liberia, Major General J.M. Inienger, gave a situation report. His report addressed both the political and the military situation on the ground since the signing of the Cotonou Accord by the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO) on 25th July, 1993.
12. He recalled the role assigned to ECOMOG by the Cotonou Accord as:
 - (a) the deployment of ECOMOG throughout Liberia;
 - (b) the sealing of all borders of Liberia;
 - (c) the manning of all entry points either by land, sea or air to ensure that no arms and ammunition are brought into Liberia.
13. The Field Commander recalled that by the terms of the Cotonou Accord and the Monrovia Agreement of 15th February, 1994 disarmament and demobilisation of the warring factions were to start concomitantly with the installation of the Transitional Government. The disarmament

process started on 8th March, 1994 based on the schedule drawn up by ECOMOG and UNOMIL in accordance with Section K Article 2 of the Cotonou Accord. Out of an estimated number of 60,000 combatants only 3,000 had been disarmed and demobilised. Generally, the disarmament process which had started on a note had virtually grounded to a halt.

14. The Field Commander gave the reason hampering the disarmament process as:

- (a) lack of good faith between the parties;
- (b) fighting between the LPC and the NPFL; and
- (c) rift in ULIMO.

He reported that, contrary to all expectations the Liberian warring factions were showing lack of good faith towards the peace process. There was also continuing deep mistrust among the parties and all of them were suspicious of ECOMOG.

15. He also informed the meeting of the various acts of aggression perpetuated by almost all the warring factions against ECOMOG, particularly against the Nigerian contingent. There was an orchestrated campaign of calumny against ECOMOG to discredit it, its neutrality and impartiality. These acts included threats and provocative intimidation, abduction, seizure of arms and equipment and commandeering of ECOMOG vehicles. ECOMOG was being described as an army of occupation and call had been made for the formation of a transitional national army. Since the signing of the Cotonou Accord, 14 ECOMOG soldiers had, at various times and by different factions, been abducted, humiliated and severely tortured. The moral of ECOMOG soldiers was very low due, inter alia, to these acts of aggression.

16. The Field Commander also reported on the emergence of a number of new warring factions, the most prominent of which is the Liberia Peace Council (LPC), which was presently fighting the NPFL on the South Eastern part of Liberia. Despite moves made by ECOMOG, in collaboration with UNOMIL to broker a cease-fire, create a buffer zone between the two factions in order to disarm and demobilise the

combatants, fighting still persisted between them. This had significantly contributed to the derailment of the disarmament.

7. The Field Commander briefed the meeting on the rift within the Leadership of ULIMO which had degenerated into tribal fights between the Krahns and Mandigos. This too, he said, had seriously affected the disarmament process as neither the Krahns nor the Mandigos would disarm for fear of being attacked by the other. To stem this unfortunate tide, ECOMOG successfully deployed its troops in areas held by both factions. This move, coupled with the reconciliatory efforts of the Sierra Leone Head of State, led to the signing of an agreement between Alhaji Kromah and General Roosevelt Johnson in Freetown on 1st April 1994. This truce was however, short-lived as heavy fighting resumed between the two groups on 21st April, 1994 and has since continued unabated.

8. The Field Commander went on to give a status report on the financial situation of the ECOMOG Operations. The situation was very precarious and so bad that ECOMOG could not even buy stationery. The last release of funds to ECOMOG from the ECOWAS Secretariat was about 18 months ago. Moreover, the logistical support for the contingent was diminished by the day due to the lack of spare parts, vehicles, communications equipment etc. He reminded the meeting that when the idea of an Expanded ECOMOG was mooted and accepted in Geneva, there were no plans made for its funding. Donations so far made to the UN Trust Fund for Liberia were applied solely for the funding of the additional troops from East Africa to the exclusion of the old ECOMOG.

9. To alleviate this unfortunate situation, appeals had been made by ECOMOG to the Government of the United States of America through the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General. The US Government had provided some vehicles and vehicle spares, communication equipment, petroleum, oil; Lubricants, drugs and medical supplies. However, these supplies would last only for a short time. There was therefore an urgent need for funds, not only for logistical support but for intelligence gathering which was essential to the disarmament process.

20. In order to arrest the poor financial position of ECOMOG, the Field Commander strongly suggested that the Community should prevail on the United Nations to fully fund the ECOMOG Operations as it is its moral responsibility to do so.

21. Another matter needing urgent attention was the need for the presence of a resident ECOWAS political officer in Monrovia. Previously, the Field Commander recalled, the Executive Secretary used to have a representative in Liberia. The absence of such an officer had exposed the Field Commander to cumbersome political issues. He stressed the need to have such an officer in Monrovia as soon as possible.

22. In conclusion, the Field Commander paid tribute to all ECOMOG-contributing countries, the Liberian Government and the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS and pledged, on behalf of all ECOMOG soldiers to continue with resolve and determination to carry out the mandate given to them.

V. DELIBERATIONS

23. The meeting thanked the Field Commander for his comprehensive report which covered both political and military issues. In appraising the report of the Field Commander, the meeting appreciated that although a lot had been achieved at the political front, very little had been done on the military aspects of the Cotonou Accord. It was noticed that the pledges made by the warring parties, under Section D Article 5 of the Cotonou Accord had all been broken by each of them. The acts of aggression perpetrated against ECOMOG troops were not new; they were reminiscent of those carried out in 1992, prior to Operation OCTOPUS. The meeting also noted the lack of political will on the part of the Liberian warring factions to end the violence. It was clear that unless all the Liberians showed a commitment to peace, there was little ECOMOG or the international Community could do.

24. Taking the floor, the Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tanzania thanked ECOWAS for inviting him to the meeting. He paid tribute to the ECOMOG and UNOMIL Operations in Liberia for the support and cooperation given to the Tanzanian

contingent. He also thanked the Liberian people for accepting the participation of his country in the peace process. He reminded the meeting that the participation of the Tanzanian contingent was for a six month period which would soon expire in the month of July, 1994.

25. The Honourable Minister of Tanzania gave a background account leading to the participation of his country's contingent in Liberia. Prior to agreeing to participate, it was understood that Tanzania would enter into written agreement with ECOWAS and UNOMIL. These two agreements were to be signed by all parties before the Tanzanian contingent was deployed. Due however to the urgency of the situation on the ground, this was not done before the arrival of the Tanzanian troops to Liberia. In the absence of these agreements and largely due to donor apathy, the Tanzanian contingent was not getting some of the amenities promised it. The Honourable Minister informed the meeting that the Tanzania Government might have to appraise the situation at the expiry of the six months period.
26. The Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uganda on his part, also thanked the Field Commander for his comprehensive report. He said that Uganda had agreed to participate in Liberia within the framework of the OAU Mechanism on conflict resolution in support of the ECOWAS initiative.
27. The Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria reiterated his country's resolve to see to a peaceful end to the Liberian crisis. He said that the Nigerian Government was conscious of its investment to peace in Liberia and had therefore decided to put, at the disposal of its troops, all that is necessary to conclude the implementation of the Cotonou Accord.
28. The Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sierra Leone emphasised that the key to lasting peace in Liberia was the disarmament process. Unless comprehensive disarmament was done as envisaged in the Cotonou Accord, whatever peace might appear to reign in Liberia was short-lived. Disarmament in Liberia was also crucial to the restoration of peace and stability in Sierra Leone into the territory which the Liberian war

had spilled over since March, 1991. The Foreign Affairs Minister also called for the immediate insertion of the buffer zone along the Liberia - Sierra Leone border.

29. The Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of Liberia, paid tribute to ECOWAS for coming to their aid at a time when Liberians were bent on destroying themselves. She reported that the Liberia National Transitional Government (LNTG) was firmly in place and was exerting all efforts on the warring factions to bring an end to the crisis. She said that the Liberian people are talking amongst themselves and are actively involved in the peace process.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

30. At the end of the deliberations, the meeting came to the following conclusions:
 - (a) The meeting reaffirmed its belief that the Cotonou Accord offered the best possible framework for achieving lasting peace in Liberia;
 - (b) The necessary environment conducive for the holding of free and fair elections was not existing. The Meeting reaffirmed that the process of peace-making in Liberia can only come to an end when a democratically elected government is installed;
 - (c) ECOMOG should be instructed to deploy its troops throughout the length and breadth of Liberia in accordance with the schedule drawn up by it and UNOMIL. All parties should respect the target date. Full disarmament and demobilisation must be completed before the holding of democratic elections;
 - (d) The Chiefs of the Expanded ECOMOG-contributing Member States should henceforth be invited to all meeting of the Committee of Nine on Liberia;
 - (e) The request made by the Field Commander for the presence of a representative of the Executive Secretary in Monrovia should be heeded to immediately;

- (f) The Field Commander should pursue every measure to ensure total adherence to the arms embargo. ECOMOG should also effectively secure all airports, seaports and create buffer zones along all Liberian borders to stem the influx of arms and ammunition into Liberia, as well as prevent cross-border infiltrations into Sierra Leone;
- (g) There was the need to give international credence to the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG). The OAU should give its support to the LNTG and should also call on all Liberians to give their support and cooperation to it. Its status, position and powers should also be enhanced;
- (h) On the show of apathy and fatigue by some Member States of ECOMOG due largely to the apparent reluctance of Liberians to end the conflict, the meeting called for patience and perseverance on their part;
- (i) The need to secure the voluntary and active participation of all the warring factions in the disarmament process should be addressed. The OAU should be involved in this efforts;
- (j) Whatever was done to help the Liberians, the primary responsibility rested with the Liberians themselves. ECOWAS and the UN can only facilitate the process. Liberians must demonstrate the political will to end the conflict. This political will had been embodied by the signature of the Cotonou Accord. There was an urgent need to reaffirm this before ECOWAS Heads of State and Government by all the warring factions. A meeting of Heads of States and Government of the Committee of Nine should be convened as soon as possible to address, inter alia, this issue;
- (k) On the issue of funding of the ECOMOG Operations, the meeting noted that there is an apparent reluctance on the part of the international Community to replenish the UN Trust Fund for Liberia. Here also the issue of good faith on the part of Liberians came up. Unless the Liberians showed good faith to the implementation of the Cotonou Accord, the international Community would hesitate in funding the operations;
- (l) The Cotonou Accord had been made on the basis of promises by the UN and the USA towards the funding of ECOMOG. Consequently, the meeting of Heads of State should see the need to persuade the UN and USA to assume their rightful roles in Liberia, by establishing a Ministerial Committee that would be charged with making appropriate representation in New York and Washington;
- (m) Lastly, the meeting proposed a draft Resolution for adoption by the 60th Session of the OAU Council of Ministers in which the OAU:
 - REAFFIRMS belief that the Cotonou Accord continues to offer the best possible framework for a peaceful settlement of the Liberian conflict;
 - and CALLS on all warring parties to respect and implement it;
 - WELCOMES the installation of the LNTG, gives it credence and ask all Liberian parties to support it and facilitate the rapid implementation of the Cotonou Accord, particularly the disarmament process;
 - CONGRATULATES all African countries that contributed troops to the Liberian peace mission;
 - SALUTES the courage of ECOMOG troops and exhort them to continue to pursue their peace mission despite all vexations they might face;
 - ASKS all parties to immediately put a stop to the importation of arms and call on the international Community and neighbouring countries to take all steps necessary to implement and observe the arms embargo;

- COMMENDS the UN for its support to the peace process and calls on it to increase its financial support to the peace-keeping mission;
- APPEALS to the USA, the European Union, Japan and the international Community to contribute generously to the UN Trust Fund for Liberia;
- EXHORTS ECOWAS and OAU to continue their efforts to bring peace in Liberia.

VII. ANY OTHER MATTERS

31. No issue was discussed under this Agenda item.

**DONE AT TUNIS, TUNISIA
THIS 10TH DAY OF JUNE, 1994.**



.....
**HONOURABLE ROBERT DOSSOU,
CHAIRMAN
FOR THE COUNCIL**

THE COTONOU AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY OF LIBERIA (IGNU); THE NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA (NPFL), AND THE UNITED LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF LIBERIA FOR DEMOCRACY (ULIMO)

COTONOU, 25TH JULY, 1993

THIS AGREEMENT is made this twenty-fifth day of July, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety-Three.

BETWEEN THE Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia (IGNU) of the first part and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) of the second part and the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) of the third part.

**PART 1
MILITARY ISSUES**

SECTION A

Article 1 : Declaration

1. The Parties to this Agreement hereby agree and declare a cease-fire and the cessation of hostilities - to become effective at the date and time and on the conditions stipulated in Article 2 and Section C below.
2. The Parties further declare that all parties or groups within and without the perimeter of Liberia shall refrain from act(s) or activity (ies) that may violate or facilitate the violation of the cease-fire.

Article 2 : Effective Date

The Parties also agree that the cease-fire stated herein above and the cessation of hostilities shall take effect seven days from the date of signing of This Agreement, commencing at 12.00 midnight.

SECTION B

Article 3 : Supervisory and Monitoring Authority

1. The ECOMOG and the UN observer Mission shall supervise and monitor the implementation of this Agreement. The Parties hereby expressly recognise the neutrality and authority of the ECOMOG and the UN observer Mission in respect of the foregoing. Accordingly, the ECOMOG and UN Observers shall enjoy

complete freedom of movement throughout Liberia.

- 2. By "ECOMOG" Peace-Keeping Force is meant an expanded ECOMOG which includes the forces of ECOWAS Member States and African troops from outside the West African region.
- 3. The Parties agree further that in order to monitor and ensure against any violation of the cease-fire between the period of the effective date of the cease-fire and the arrival of the ECOMOG and full contingent of the UN Observer Mission, a Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee is hereby established which shall have the Authority to monitor, investigate and report all cease-fire violations. The committee shall comprise an equal number of representatives from each of the parties hereto, ECOMOG and an advance team of the UN Observer Mission. Each group of the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee shall be chaired by the UN Observer in the group. It shall freely travel throughout the country. This Committee shall automatically be dissolved and deemed to be dissolved upon the arrival and deployment of the ECOMOG and the full contingent of the UN Observer Mission.

SECTION C

Article 4 : Terms and Conditions

The Parties hereby state further that they have agreed to the cease-fire stipulated above on the following terms and conditions

1. Prohibitions upon the parties

The Parties agree not to

- a) import any weapons and warlike materials by any means into Liberia;
- b) use the period of the cease-fire to engage in any military build-up whether in manpower or armaments; or
- c) engage in any other activity that would violate or result in the violation of the cease-fire.

2. Adherence to Stipulations on Military Embargo

The Parties recognise and accept that the

military embargo imposed on and upon all warring parties by ECOWAS and the United Nations Security Council shall remain in full force and effect.

3. Creation of Buffer Zones

The ECOMOG shall create buffer zones or otherwise seal the borders, whichever is militarily feasible, of Liberia-Guinea, Liberia - Sierra Leone and Liberia - Côte d'Ivoire to prevent cross-border attacks, infiltration or importation of arms. There shall be deployed UN Observers in all of such zones to monitor, verify and report on any and all of the foregoing and the implementation thereof.

4. Monitoring and Supervision of Entry Points

All points of entry including, sea ports, airfields and roads shall be monitored and supervised by the ECOMOG. There shall be deployed UN Observers to monitor, verify and report on the implementation of the foregoing activities.

5. Position of Warring Parties at Declaration of Cease-fire

The warring parties shall remain and maintain their positions held as at the effective date of this cease-fire, until the commencement of encampment.

SECTION D

Article 5 : Acts of Violation

- 1. The Parties hereto hereby agree to honour every and all provisions of this Agreement, and stipulate that any party committing any acts of violations shall be held liable for such violations.
- 2. The following acts shall constitute violation of the cease-fire
 - a) importation of arms and ammunition, incendiary devices and other war-related items;
 - b) changing or improvement of existing positions or fortification or alteration of existing positions;
 - c) attack (whether with conventional or unconventional weapons) against the

- position of any warring faction by another, or firing at an individual of a warring faction established to have been carried out at the instance of the Authority of the warring party to which he/she belongs;
- d) the systematic use of conventional or unconventional weapons (i.e knives, cutlasses, bows and arrows, etc);
- e) recruitment and training of combatants and /or groups of persons after the effective date of this Agreement;
- f) any proven use of communication devices, facilities or propaganda designed to incite or having the effect of inciting hostilities between any of the warring parties;
- g) planting of mines and incendiary devices subsequent to the effective date of the cease-fire; refusal to disclose the existence of or places where such devices or mines have been planted; and deliberate failure to cooperate or furnish maps (where available) where such devices have been planted;
- h) obstruction of the implementation of any of the provisions of the Agreement by any party or its authorized agent;
- i) harassments or attacks upon the ECOMOG, the UN Observer Mission or the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee;
- j) obstruction of the activities of the ECOMOG, UN Observers and the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee.

- 2. All weapons and warlike materials in the possession of the parties shall be given to the ECOMOG, monitored by UN Observers, upon appropriate recording and inventory, and placed in designated armouries,
- 3. Said armouries shall be secured by the ECOMOG, monitored and verified by UN Observers, upon proper documentation or inventory of all weapons and warlike materials received.
- 4. Each of the warring factions shall ensure that its combatants report all weapons and warlike materials to the ECOMOG, monitored and verified by UN Observers, upon proper inventory. Such weapons and warlike materials, upon inventory, shall be taken to the designated armouries by ECOMOG, under the monitoring and verification of UN Observers.
- 5. All non-combatants who are in possession of weapons and warlike materials shall also report and surrender same to the ECOMOG, monitored and verified by UN Observers. Such weapons and warlike materials shall be returned to the owners after due registration, licensing and certification by the governing authority after the elections.
- 6. The ECOMOG shall have the Authority to disarm any combatant or non-combatant in possession of weapons and warlike materials. The UN Observers shall monitor all such activities.
- 7. For the sole purpose of maintaining the cease-fire, the ECOMOG shall conduct any search to recover lost or hidden weapons, observed and monitored by the UN Observers.

SECTION E

Article 6 : Disarmament

Disarmament being the ultimate objective of the cease-fire, the parties hereto agree and express their intent and willingness to disarm under the supervision of the ECOMOG, monitored and verified by the UN Observer Mission. In conformity therewith, the parties agree that

- 1 All weapons and warlike materials collected shall be stored by the ECOMOG in armouries designated by ECOMOG, monitored and verified by UN Observers.

SECTION F

Article 7 : Encampment

- 1. **Purpose**
 - a) The Parties agree and fully commit themselves to the encampment of their combatants in encampment centres established by the ECOMOG, monitored and verified by UN Observers, the purpose of which shall be, in addition to the disarmament and demobilisation, to serve as a transit point for the further education, training and rehabilitation of said combatants; and

- b) Consistent with the above, the Parties agree to submit to the ECOMOG and the UN Observers, a complete listing of their combatants and weapons and warlike materials and their locations to the nearest encampment centres.

2. Commencement of Encampment

The Parties agree that encampment shall commence immediately upon the deployment of the ECOMOG and UN Observer Mission. Copies of the schedule of encampment shall be furnished to all the parties hereto.

3. Identification and Security of Encampment Sites

In consultation with the parties, the ECOMOG and the UN Observer Mission shall identify locations for encampment. Security of encampment sites shall be provided by the ECOMOG, monitored and verified by UN Observers.

SECTION G

Article 8 : Peace Enforcement Powers

- 1. It is also agreed upon that the ECOMOG shall have the right to self-defence where it has been physically attacked by any warring faction hereto.
- 2. There shall be established, upon deployment of the ECOMOG and the full contingent of the UN Observer Mission a Violation Committee consisting of one person from each of the parties hereto and the ECOMOG and UN Observer Mission, chaired by a member of the UN Observer Mission.
- 3. All violations of the cease-fire shall be reported to the UN Observer Mission/Observers who shall, immediately upon receipt of the information of violation, commence an investigation and make findings thereof. In the event the violations can be cured by the UN Observers, they shall pursue such a course. However, should such a course not be possible, the UN Observers shall submit their findings to the Violations Committee. The Violation Committee shall invite the violating party/(ies) for the purpose of having such party/(ies) take corrective measures to cure the violations within such time frame as may be stipulated by the Committee. Should the violating

party not take the required corrective measures, the ECOMOG shall be informed thereof and shall thereupon resort to the use of its peace enforcement powers against the violator.

SECTION H

Article 9 : Demobilisation

- 1. The Parties hereby agree that any warring faction or factions that may have non-Liberian fighters or mercenaries shall repatriate such persons, or when found, upon evidence, shall be expelled by the Government of the Republic of Liberia.
- 2. Further, the parties hereby call upon the United Nations, other international organisations and countries, to programme and finance the process of demobilization, re-training, rehabilitation and re-absorption of all former combatants to normal social and community life.
- 3. It is agreed by the Parties hereto that each party shall immediately commence a community information or educational programme, explaining to the public by means of communication devices or any form of media, the essence and purpose of cease-fire, encampment, disarmament and demobilization. Such programme shall include other social institutions.

SECTION I

Article 10 : Prisoners of War

The Parties hereby agree that upon signing of this Agreement all prisoners of war and detainees shall be immediately released to the Red Cross authority in an area where such prisoners or detainees are detained, for onward transmission to encampment sites or the Authority of the prisoner of war or detainee. Common criminals are not covered by this provision.

SECTION J

Article 11 : Submission by Parties to Authority of Transitional Government

Consistent with the provisions of paragraph (5) of Article 14 of this Agreement, all Parties agree to submit themselves to the Authority of the Transitional Government.

SECTION K

Article 12 : Schedule of Implementation

Schedules of implementation of this Agreement, including a schedule for disarmament, encampment and demobilization of combatants, shall be drawn by the ECOMOG and the UN Observers. This schedule of implementation shall be given to each of the warring parties prior to implementation. The Parties undertake that they will create no obstacles to the full implementation of any of the foregoing activities.

PART II

POLITICAL ISSUES

SECTION A

Article 13 : Review and Reaffirmation of the Yamoussoukro Accords

The Parties to this Agreement reaffirm that the Yamoussoukro Accords provide the best framework for peace in Liberia, noting the links between the ECOWAS Peace Plan and the Yamoussoukro Accords.

SECTION B

Article 14 : Structure of Government

1. The Parties observe that Liberia is a unitary state and as such agree to form a single transitional government, styled THE LIBERIA NATIONAL TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. The Authority of the transitional government shall extend throughout the territorial limits of the Republic of Liberia.
2. The mandate of the transitional government is to provide essential government services during the transitional period and to also hold and supervise general and Presidential elections in accordance with the ECOWAS Peace Plan. The Transitional Legislative Assembly or the Council of State shall have power to enact or cause to be enacted any rule(s), regulation(s) or laws or take any action(s) which may facilitate the holding of free and fair democratic elections.
3. Formal installation of the Council of State shall take place in Monrovia, the Capital City of the Republic of Liberia, and the Council of State shall also be permanently headquartered there.

4. The Parties further agree that the afore said transitional government shall be selected in accordance with the provisions listed below and installed in approximately thirty (30) days of the date of signature of this Agreement, concomitant with the commencement of the disarmament process. Upon the installation of the transitional government, both IGNU and NPRAG shall cease to exist and shall be deemed dissolved.
5. The Parties further agree that the transitional government shall operate as closely as practicable under the Constitution and laws of Liberia.
6. The Parties further agree, warrant and promise that from the date of signature of This Agreement, no loans shall be negotiated or contracted in the name of or on behalf of the Liberian Government except to ensure the carrying out of the operations and activities of governmental and other public services. All financial transactions entered into by the Transitional Government shall be formally submitted to the Transitional Legislative Assembly for ratification.
7. The Parties also agree that the transitional government shall have three branches Legislative, Executive and Judicial.

Executive

- i) The Parties further agree that during the transitional period, the executive powers of the Republic shall be vested in a five (5) member Council of State which is hereby established. Each of the Parties shall appoint one (1) member to the Council, whilst the remaining two (2) shall be selected in accordance with the following procedure.

Each of the Parties shall nominate three (3) eminent Liberians who together shall select two (2) of their member to be additional members of the Council.
- ii) Each party shall submit the name of its appointee to the Council and also the names of its three (3) nominees in accordance with the provisions of the preceding paragraph to the office of the current Chairman of ECOWAS within a period of 7 (seven) days from the date of

signature of this Agreement. Copies of the list of these names shall also be forwarded to each of the Parties.

- iii) The Parties shall, not later than 3 (three) days from submission of the afore said names, jointly and mutually determine the time and venue for the selection of the two (2) additional members of the Council. This entire selection process shall not exceed 10 (ten) days after the determination of the time and place of the Meeting. If at the appointed time and place, any of the nominees fail to appear, the nominating party shall forfeit its right to re-nominate any other person(s), and the selection process shall proceed.
- iv) Proof of the selection of the two additional council members shall be made by a written statement signed by all the nominees (excluding the two nominees selected) who participated in the selection process confirming same. The statement shall be forwarded to the current Chairman of ECOWAS with copy to each of the Parties.
- v) The Council shall select from amongst its members a Chairman and two (2) Vice-Chairmen.
- vi) The Council shall conduct and be responsible for the day-to-day operation of government. All decisions shall be made by consensus of all the members.
- vii) The Council shall also devise and implement appropriate procedural rules in respect of its operation.
- viii) The Parties shall, in consultation with each other, determine the allocation of cabinet posts.

Judicial

- 8. The Parties further agree that for purposes of continuity, there shall be no change in the existing structure of the Supreme Court. ULIMO shall have the right to nominate the fifth member of the Court to fill the vacancy which currently exists. The nominee by ULIMO to the Supreme

Court shall meet the established criteria and successfully undergo a screening by his or her peers in the Court.

Legislature

- 9. The Parties agree that the Transitional Legislative Assembly shall be a unicameral body composed of thirty five (35) members. Both IGNU and NPFL shall each be entitled to thirteen (13) members, and ULIMO, nine (9) members. The Parties agree that ULIMO shall have the right to nominate the Speaker from one of its members in the Assembly

SECTION C

Article 15 : Elections Modalities

- 1. The Parties agree that in order to enhance the inclusive nature of the transitional government, ULIMO shall have the right to nominate two members of the Elections Commission, thus expanding the existing Elections Commission to seven members. For the purpose of continuity the present structure shall remain the same.
- 2. **Supreme Court**
The Supreme Court shall adjudicate all matters arising out of the elections during the transition, in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the country;
- 3. **Voters Registration**
Voters Registration shall commence as soon as possible having due regard for the need to expedite repatriation;
- 4. **Observers and Monitors**
The transitional government and the Elections Commission will work out the modalities for the participation of Observers and Monitors in the electoral process.
- 5. **Financing**
Financing will be sought from the national and international communities.
- 6. The Parties agree that the elections to be conducted shall conform to the several United Nations and internationally accepted code of conduct and the Elections Commission shall, accordingly be guided thereby.

SECTION D

Article 16 : Tenure and Mandate for the Transitional Government

1. The transitional government shall be installed approximately one month after the signing of this Agreement, concomitant with the commencement of the disarmament process.
2. The transitional government shall have a life span of approximately six (6) months commencing from the date of its installation.
3. General and Presidential elections shall take place approximately seven (7) months from the signature of this Agreement.
4. Holders of positions of leadership within the Transitional Government (i.e Members of the Council of State, Supreme Court of Justices, Members of the Elections Commission, Cabinet Ministers, Members of the Transitional Legislative Assembly, Managing Directors or Heads of Public Corporations and Autonomous Agencies) shall be ineligible to contest the election provided for in paragraph 3 of this Article.

SECTION E

Article 17 : Humanitarian Assistance

The Parties agree that every effort should be made to deliver humanitarian assistance to all Liberians, particularly children, who are malnourished and suffering from related diseases. Convoys of humanitarian assistance should travel to all areas of Liberia through the most direct routes, under inspection to ensure compliance with the sanctions and embargo provisions of this Agreement.

SECTION F

Article 18 : Repatriation of Refugees

1. The Parties hereby commit themselves to immediately and permanently bring to an end any further external or internal displacement of Liberians and to create the conditions that will allow all refugees and displaced persons to, respectively, voluntarily repatriate and return to Liberia to their places of origin or habitual residence under conditions of safety and dignity.

2. The Parties further call upon Liberian refugees and displaced persons to return to Liberia and to their places of origin or habitual residence and declare that they shall not be jeopardised in any ethnic, political, religious, regional or geographical considerations.
3. The Parties also call upon the relevant organizations of the United Nations system, particularly the UNHCR and UNDP, other inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations, to implement programmes for the voluntary repatriation, return and re-integration of the Liberian refugees and internally displaced persons.
4. The Parties proclaim that they shall, jointly or individually, cooperate in all necessary ways with themselves and with the above-mentioned organizations in order to facilitate the repatriation, return and re-integration of the refugees and displaced persons. Amongst others, they agree to:
 - a) establish all necessary mechanisms or arrangements, such as joint repatriation committees, which would facilitate contacts, communications and work with the relevant organizations for purposes of implementing the repatriation, return and re-integration operation and to enable effective decision-making and implementation of the relevant activities;
 - b) facilitate access by UNHCR and other organizations to the refugees and displaced persons who have returned so as to deliver the necessary humanitarian assistance and programmes and monitor their situation;
 - c) guarantee and provide security to UNHCR and the other relevant organizations, their staff, vehicles, equipment and resources necessary to carry out their work;
 - d) provide all other necessary facilities and support that will be necessary to facilitate the implementation of the return, voluntary repatriation and re-integration of refugees and displaced persons.

SECTION G

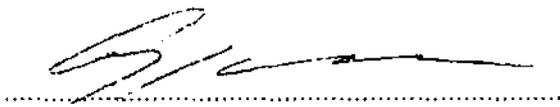
WITNESSED BY:

Article 19 : General Amnesty

The Parties hereby agree that upon the execution of this Agreement there shall be a general amnesty granted to all persons and parties involved in the Liberian civil conflict in the course of actual military engagements. Accordingly, acts committed by the parties or by their forces while in actual combat or on authority of any of the parties in the course of actual combat are hereby granted amnesty. Similarly, the Parties agree that business transactions legally carried out by any of the parties hereto with private business institutions in accordance with the laws of Liberia shall in like manner be covered by the amnesty herein granted.

**DONE AT COTONOU, REPUBLIC OF BENIN,
THIS 25TH DAY OF JULY, 1993**

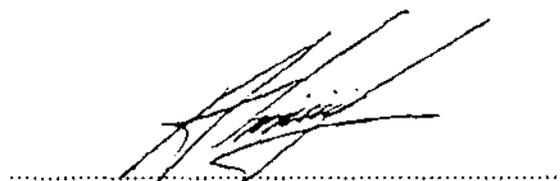
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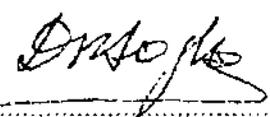
AMOS CLAUDIUS SAWYER,
President of the Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia for and on behalf of the Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia (IGNU)



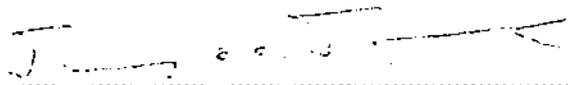
ENOCH DOGOLEA,
Vice-President of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia for and on behalf of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL/NPRAG).



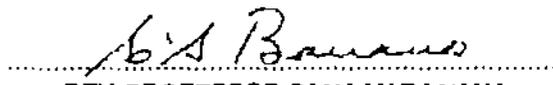
MAJOR-GENERAL ALHAJI G.V. KROMAH.
Leader of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy for and on behalf of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO).



HIS EXCELLENCY,
NICEPHORE DIEUDONNE SOGLO
President of the Republic of Benin and Current Chairman of ECOWAS



DR. JAMES O.C. JONAH
Under Secretary-General Department of Political Affairs, United Nations for and on behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations



REV. PROFESSOR CANAAN BANANA
OAU Eminent Person for Liberia for and on behalf of the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE 60TH SESSION OF THE OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

TUNIS, TUNISIA, 6TH-11TH JUNE, 1994

RESOLUTION ON LIBERIA

The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity meeting in its 60th Ordinary Session in Tunis, from 6th to 11th June, 1994;

HAVING CONSIDERED the Report of the Secretary General on the situation in Liberia as contained in document CM/1832 (LX);

RECALLING the meeting of Foreign Ministers of ECOWAS expanded Committee of Nine on Liberia held in Tunis, Tunisia on 10th June, 1994;

RECALLING further the Cotonou Accord signed on 25th July, 1993 by the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO) under the auspices of ECOWAS, the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations aimed at bringing about a peaceful end to the conflict;

NOTING with appreciation the progress that has been made in the implementation of the Cotonou Accord, particularly the installation of the Council of State, the Transitional Legislative Assembly, the Supreme Court, and the Elections Commission of the Liberia National Transitional Government and the commencement of the process of disarmament on 7th March, 1994;

EXPRESSING concern about the slow pace with which the process of disarmament is proceeding, leading to the recent upsurge in fighting among the various factions and the increase of new military groups in Liberia;

BEING AWARE that the slow pace of disarmament has directly or otherwise caused undue disruption of humanitarian relief supplies in other parts of Liberia;

CONSIDERING the invaluable contribution which the Economic Community of West African States, the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations have made towards the advancement of the peace-process in Liberia by providing ECOMOG troops, expanded troops from Uganda and Tanzania, and UN military observers;

OBSERVING with serious concerns that some of the parties to the Cotonou Accord are laying down pre-conditions not stated in the Accord for compliance;

NOTING that the slow pace of disarmament continues to have disastrous consequences on the people of Liberia and those of the neighbouring countries, thus posing a threat to the peace and stability of the ECOWAS region;

1. REAFFIRMS its belief that the Cotonou Accord continues to offer the best possible framework for peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict; and calls on all parties to respect and implement the Accord;
2. URGES all signatories to the Cotonou Accord to honour their signatures and commitments and to resolve their differences within the framework of the Liberian National Transitional Government and the Cotonou Accord;
3. CALLS ON the signatories to the Cotonou Accord to desist and refrain from raising issues that are not in the Cotonou Accord as pre-conditions for their full compliance, thereby further delaying the peace process;
4. WELCOMES the installation of the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG);
5. SUPPORTS and gives credence to the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG), and calls on all the Liberian parties to support the Government and facilitate the rapid implementation of the Accord, particularly the disarmament process;
6. CALLS ON the United Nations and all peace-loving Nations to cooperate with and give full faith and credence to the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) which is a composite of all the parties to the Cotonou Accord;
7. CONFIRMS that holding of Presidential and General Elections must be preceded by a comprehensive and total disarmament of all warring factions;
8. CALLS ON all parties to immediately put a stop to the importation of any weapon and war-like material by any means into Liberia, and appeals

- to the international Community, especially neighbouring countries to take all steps necessary to implement and observe the arms embargo;
9. **CALLS ON** all parties to adhere scrupulously to the terms of the cease-fire and to cooperate fully with the international relief efforts in order to facilitate unimpeded delivery of humanitarian aid; and appeals to the international Community to continue to extend humanitarian assistance to the Liberian people throughout the country and Liberian refugees residing in neighbouring countries;
 10. **COMMENDS** in particular the efforts of those ECOWAS countries; Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Sierra Leone, The Gambia and Mali which have contributed troops to the original ECOMOG contingent despite the enormous human and material costs to themselves, in order to assist in the search for peace in Liberia;
 11. **EXPRESSES** its appreciation and gratitude to the African countries outside the ECOWAS region, namely: Uganda and Tanzania which are contributing troops for the expanded ECOMOG, as well as to the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL), in support of the peace-process;
 12. **SALUTES** the courage of all contingents of ECOMOG troops and exhorts them to continue to pursue their peace mission;
 13. **APPEALS** to the United States of America, the European Union, Japan, the United Nations and the international community to contribute generously to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia;
 14. **CALLS ON** the United Nations Secretary General to continue to ensure that the Fund is used to assist all the contingents, including those under ECOMOG, in the Liberian peace-keeping operations;
 15. **FURTHER CALLS ON** the international Community, especially relevant United Nations Agencies and non-governmental international organisations, to give their full financial, material and technical support to the repatriation and resettlement of Liberian refugees and all internally displaced persons in the country, and to contribute positively towards moving the country generally from dependence on humanitarian assistance to laying the basis for self-reliance, national rehabilitation, reconstruction and development;
 16. **REQUESTS** the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity to follow closely developments of the situation in Liberia and report thereon to the next Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers.

THE OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

THE THIRD MEETING OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

ABUJA, 27TH - 28TH JULY, 1994

FINAL REPORT

1. INTRODUCTION

1. The Third meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Expanded Committee of Nine on Liberia was held at the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat in Abuja on 27th and 28th July, 1994.

2. The following Member States were represented:

- Republic of BENIN;
- BURKINA FASO;
- Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE;
- Republic of GHANA;
- Republic of GUINEA;
- Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
- Republic of SENEGAL;
- Republic of SIERRA LEONE;
- The TOGOLESE Republic.

3. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Liberia was also present at the meeting.

4. The following personalities were invited to the meeting:

- His Excellency, Reverend Canaan Banana, OAU Eminent Personality;
- Mr. Trevor Gordon-Sommers, Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General to Liberia;
- General Daniel Opande, Chief, Military Observer Mission of the United Nations;
- Colonel Basile Dadele and Mr. Koffi Randolph, Special Chief of Staff, and diplomatic adviser respectively to His

Excellency, Nicephore Dieudonne Soglo, President of the Republic of Benin and current Chairman of ECOWAS.

5. Present at the meeting for consultations with Foreign Affairs Ministers were the following:

- Chief of Army Staff, Ghana;
- Chief of Defence Staff, Nigeria;
- Chief of Army Staff, Sierra Leone;
- Chief of Army Staff, Uganda;
- Field Commander of the ECOMOG operations in Liberia.

6. Honourable Robert Dossou, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Benin and Chairman of the Third meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the expanded Committee of Nine proposed the following agenda which was adopted by the meeting:

- i. Speech by the Executive Secretary;
- ii. Speech by the Chairman of the meeting;
- iii. Presentation of the Report of the ninth meeting of Chiefs of Staff of ECOMOG-contributing countries;
- iv. Speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Liberia;
- v. Deliberations;
- vi. Any Other Business.

II OPENING SESSION

7. In a brief speech, the ECOWAS Executive Secretary, Mr. Edouard Benjamin reminded participants of the main conclusions arrived at during the second meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine held in Tunis on 10th June 1994, as part of the meeting of the OAU Council of Ministers. He informed the Ministers that the ninth meeting of the Chiefs of Staff of ECOMOG-contributing countries had taken place the previous day. He also briefed the meeting on the action he had been directed to take by the current ECOWAS Chairman with a view to organising the ministerial meeting of the Committee of Nine.

- 8. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Benin thanked the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria for its unflinching support for peace in the region. He recalled the various transitional bodies that had been constituted, put in place and which have started functioning in Liberia. He added that the issue of the allocation of ministerial portfolios among the various factions had been resolved.
- 9. Honourable Robert Dossou indicated that the disarmament process which commenced on 8 March 1994, had been stalled due to the tensions created by the new factions which emerged after the signing of the Cotonou Accord, and especially due to lack of logistic and financial support.
- 10. The Chairman renewed the appeals made to Liberians by the second meeting of the Committee in Tunis. He reminded the meeting of the OAU Resolution requesting Member States to support the Liberian National Transitional Government, (LNTG). He observed that the issue of the rehabilitation of combatants needed to be addressed as a matter of urgency and suggested that the LNTG formulate a plan encompassing a programme that would win the trust of every combatant. He stated that President Soglo had invited Presidents Mugabe and Nujoma to share with ECOWAS Heads of States their experiences on matters relating to disarmament and rehabilitation of ex-combatants. He added that it was only through concerted efforts that ECOWAS Member States would be able to restore peace to Liberia. Mr. Robert Dossou wished participants fruitful deliberations.

III PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT OF THE NINTH MEETING OF ECOMOG CHIEFS OF STAFF

- 11. Colonel Kellie Hassan Conteh, Chief of Army Staff of Sierra Leone, Chairman of the ninth meeting of Chiefs of Staff of ECOMOG-contributing countries presented the report of the meeting. He said that the meeting drew attention to the enormous resource requirements for financing ECOMOG operations in Liberia and went on to say that this was taking a heavy toll on the weak economies of most ECOMOG-contributing member States.
- 12. He stated that the Chiefs of Staff of ECOMOG-contributing countries were also worried by the

- increase in the number of factions and by the renewed fighting in Liberia.
- 13. Colonel Conteh informed the meeting that the Chiefs of Staff discussed and found appropriate answers to the following questions:
 - were these offshoot factions using the fact that they are not signatories to the Cotonou Accord to say that they are not bound by its terms?
 - given the little progress that had been made with regard to disarmament, would elections still take place and, if so, when?
 - on which force could the government emerging from these elections rely?
 - could the fighters have legitimate fears and aspirations. If so, what are these?
 - has proper and sufficient attention been paid to these legitimate fears and aspirations with a view to avoiding frustrations that could turn the fighters into easy victims of manipulation?
 - what can be done to encourage the development of a national identity?
 - what might be the advantages and disadvantages of creating the nucleus of an army that could become the national army in the future and in which all the factions would be represented?
- 14. Colonel Conteh then presented the conclusions of the ninth meeting of Chiefs of Staff of ECOMOG-contributing countries which were that:
 - The countries participating in ECOMOG are beginning to resent the lack of goodwill being manifested by the Liberian factions.
 - No new faction should seek to impose any amendments to the Cotonou Accord.
 - ECOMOG-contributing Member States should avoid the temptation to withdraw their peace-keeping troops since this would be to the advantage of some of the factions.

- It has become imperative to fix a deadline by which all the Liberian factions must observe an irrevocable, immediate and compulsory cease-fire.
- ECOMOG should be provided with logistic support to enable it execute its assignments effectively.
- an urgent appeal should be made to the United Nations and donor agencies to contribute to the financing of ECOMOG.
- Dialogue should be re-established among Liberians; Liberian elders and interest groups in the country should be involved in the quest for an internal solution to the crisis.

15. Finally, Colonel Conteh, informed the meeting that the Chiefs of Staff had agreed to reflect on the following issues.

- mapping out a strategy for the formation of a national army;
- provision of incentives to accompany disarmament.
- the attacks on ECOMOG and measures to be adopted if the factions fail to obey its orders;
- Member States should support and show firm commitment to the peace process.

IV STATEMENT BY THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF LIBERIA

16. Mrs. Dorothy Musuleng Cooper, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Liberia, commended the Ministers of Foreign Affairs members of the Committee of Nine for their interest and continued support for the Liberian cause. She stated that an end would soon be put to the Liberian crisis.

17. She recalled the efforts made by the Mediation Committee, the various national conferences in Liberia as well as the Yamoussoukro, Geneva and Cotonou meetings. She informed the Ministers that an important meeting would be held shortly between the civilian population and the warring parties. She declared that she placed much hope in the meeting which should

culminate in the restoration of lasting peace in Liberia.

18. Mrs. Cooper expressed the hope that financial assistance from the international community would be used for ECOMOG Operations, as well as for the rehabilitation of combatants and reconstruction of Liberia. She urged all ECOWAS Member States to support the National Transitional Government. She implored ECOWAS to call upon all Governments, particularly the Government of the United States of America, to lend the same support to Liberia.

19. The Foreign Minister appealed to all ECOWAS Member States to recommit themselves to the Liberian peace process based on the Cotonou Accord. She stressed, in particular, the need for Liberia's neighbours to intensify and reinforce the implementation of the arms embargo, in order to prevent the importation of arms and weaponry into Liberia and the exploration of Liberia's natural resources by the warring factions. The Honourable Minister called for the immediate creation by ECOMOG of buffer zones along Liberia's borders. She also called for the strengthening of the national security force, possibly with the assistance of ECOMOG. In this regard, she made particular mention of the need to define and facilitate, through a Status of Force Agreement, the working relations between LNTG and ECOMOG.

20. The Honourable Minister suggested that the factions be given a deadline beginning from the date of termination of the Summit of Heads of State and Government, within which to lay down their arms. She supported that pressure be brought to bear on any faction which might refuse to disarm. Mrs. Cooper affirmed that a meeting of the UN, OAU and ECOWAS on total cessation of hostilities between the factions, including the new ones, was necessary.

V OUTCOME OF DELIBERATIONS

21. The meeting unanimously agreed that lasting peace could not be imposed from without and expressed the view that it was up to the Liberians themselves to aspire to peace with the assistance of the Community and other partners. It was observed that, unlike earlier accords, the Cotonou Accord was the only one that was formulated by Liberians for Liberia and, therefore, its implementation should not encounter any

- obstacles. The Ministers stated that an appeal should be made to the international community to lend support to the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG). According to the Ministers, disarmament was central to the peace process. They expressed concern at the humiliating treatment meted out to some members of ECOMOG and UNOMIL.
22. After a fruitful exchange of views, the Committee made the following recommendations:
- (i) The Cotonou Accord of 25th July, 1993 constitutes the only framework for the resolution of the Liberian crisis.
 - (ii) The Economic Community of West African States should reaffirm explicitly, its unstinted support for the Liberian National Transitional Government.
 - (iii) ECOWAS should make an appeal to all the factions which are still engaged in fighting to stop hostilities immediately.
 - (iv) The Community should reaffirm the need for the international community and donor agencies to finance the disarmament and reconstruction processes, which are key elements in the restoration of peace in Liberia. The Executive Secretariat should prepare a half-yearly budget in this connection.
 - (v) The Liberian National Transitional Government should be called upon.
 - (a) to seek appropriate ways of restoring trust among the Liberian people.
 - (b) to prepare, with the assistance of ECOWAS, the United Nations, the OAU, and all other bilateral and multilateral partners, a rehabilitation scheme and a list of priority requirements.
 - (c) to strengthen the national security force, if necessary with assistance from ECOMOG, pending the formation of a national army.
 - (d) take necessary measures to stop the attacks against ECOMOG and UNOMIL.
 - (vi) ECOWAS should reaffirm its appeal to all member States to respect fully the arms embargo against the warring parties in Liberia, deny the establishment of factional offices, and discourage any recruitment within their territories for service in the armies of the warring factions.
 - (vii) ECOWAS should take all necessary measures to create buffer zones in border areas where they are needed, particularly along the border with Sierra Leone.
 - (viii) The Executive Secretary should appoint a representative in Liberia as soon as possible. Towards this end, a special levy payable within two weeks should be imposed on Member States at the Seventeenth Summit of the Authority to meet the cost of maintaining such a representative for six months.
 - (ix) ECOWAS should appoint a delegation of Foreign Ministers of the Committee of Nine to visit capitals of some donor countries including Washington D.C., New York, Brussels, Ottawa and Tokyo in order to convey in the strongest possible terms, the collective expectation of ECOWAS Member States, that resources should be made available through the UN Trust Fund for Liberia to facilitate the restoration of peace in Liberia.
 - (x) ECOWAS should call upon all the warring parties to cease and desist forthwith from attacking ECOMOG and UNOMIL.
23. The meeting agreed to propose a resolution that would take account of all the concerns expressed above and to submit in her report the adoption to the seventeenth session of the Summit of Heads of State and Government.
24. The meeting reiterated its encouragement to ECOMOG in its difficult mission.
25. The meeting thanked all African countries which have shown solidarity with the Liberian people by accepting to participate in maintaining peace in that country.
- VI ANY OTHER BUSINESS**
26. The meeting recalled the prevailing situation in

Rwanda and The Gambia and reflected on the possibility of the adoption of an ECOWAS resolution on these issues. The meeting decided to refer the matter to the Authority for consideration.

VII ADOPTION OF THE REPORT

27. The report was adopted after amendments.

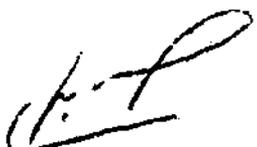
VIII CLOSING SESSION

28. The Chairman of the meeting, Honourable Robert Dossou expressed his appreciation for the contributions of all the delegates and his entire satisfaction with the outcome of the deliberations. He exhorted the Liberian interest groups, particularly the warring factions, to show a spirit of accommodation and reconciliation necessary for the restoration of lasting peace in Liberia. The Chairman recalled the concern shown by His Excellency, President Nicephore Dieudonne Soglo, the Chairman of the Authority and the efforts being made by the Community to facilitate the Liberian peace process. Finally, he expressed the wish that the international community would give the required support to the ECOWAS peace initiative.

IX VOTE OF THANKS

29. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine on Liberia holding its third meeting in the ECOWAS Secretariat Headquarters Complex in Abuja on 27th and 28th July, 1994 wish to expressed their sincere gratitude to His Excellency, General Sani Abacha, Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and to the Government and people of Nigeria for the warm welcome and hospitality extended to all delegations, and for the excellent facilities placed at their disposal which ensured the success of their deliberations.

**DONE AT ABUJA,
THIS 28TH DAY OF JULY, 1994**



**ROBERT DOSSOU,
CHAIRMAN, FOR THE MEETING.**

**THE SEVENTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE
AUTHORITY OF HEADS OF STATE AND
GOVERNMENT OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF
WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)**

ABUJA, 5TH - 7TH AUGUST, 1994

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. The Seventeenth Ordinary Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was held in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, on 5th to 7th August, 1994 under the Chairmanship of His Excellency, Nicephoré Dieudonné Soglo, President of the Republic of Benin.

2. Present at the session were the following Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives:

- His Excellency, Nicephoré Dieudonné SOGLO, President of the Republic of BENIN;
- His Excellency, Fit-Lt. Jerry John RAWLINGS, President of the Republic of GHANA;
- His Excellency, General Lansana CONTE, Head of state, President of the Republic of GUINEA;
- His Excellency, David KPOMAKPOR, Chairman of the LIBERIA National Transitional Government;
- His Excellency, Mahamane OUSMANE, President of the Republic of NIGER;
- His Excellency, General Sani ABACHA, Head of state, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
- His Excellency, Captain Valentine E.M. STRASSER, Chairman, Supreme Council of State of the National Provisional Ruling Council and Head of state of the Republic of SIERRA LEONE;
- The Honourable Edem KODJO, Prime Minister of the TOGOLESE Republic;

- Honourable Lieutenant Sana B. SABALLY, Vice Chairman of the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council representing the Chairman of the AFRC and Head of state of the Republic of THE GAMBIA;
 - The Honourable Hermann YAMEOGO, Minister of state, Minister of African Integration and Solidarity representing the President of BURKINA FASO;
 - The Honourable Joao Higino do Rosario SILVA, Minister of Tourism, Industry and Trade representing the Prime Minister of CABO VERDE;
 - The Honourable Amara ESSY, Minister of Foreign Affairs representing the President of the Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE;
 - The Honourable Sy Kadiatou SOW, Minister of Foreign Affairs, of Malians Resident Abroad and of African Integration representing the President of the Islamic Republic of MALI;
 - The Honourable Ahmed Ould ZEIN, Secretary-General of the government representing the President of the Islamic Republic of MAURITANIA;
 - The Honourable Magatte THIAM, Minister of African Economic Integration representing the President of the Republic of SENEGAL.
3. Attending the session as Observers were:
- The Representative of the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU);
 - The Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations for Liberia;
 - The Representative of the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA);
 - The Representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP);
 - The Representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees;
 - The Representative of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO);
 - The Representative of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO);
 - The Representative of the World Bank;
 - The President of the Economic and Social Development and International Research Centre on Democracy and Development (GERDDES);
 - And a large number of High Commissioners and Ambassadors accredited to the Federal Republic of Nigeria.
- TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF PRESIDENT HOUPHOUËT-BOIGNY**
4. The Authority observed a minute's silence in memory of His Excellency, Late President Felix Houphouët-Boigny of Côte d'Ivoire, a founding father of the Community and doyen of the African political leadership. Heads of State and Government paid a glowing tribute to this revered son of Africa for his immense contribution to the emancipation and development of Africa.
- REVIEW OF THE LIBERIAN CRISIS**
5. The Heads of State and Government reaffirmed that the Cotonou Accord constituted the only framework for a peaceful and lasting solution to the Liberian crisis. They welcomed the installation of the Liberia National Transitional Government and praised its efforts to impose its authority over the entire Liberian territory. The new government was urged to find appropriate means of restoring confidence among the Liberian people and to bring about genuine national reconciliation. They praised efforts being made in this direction by the civilian population and called on the government to organise a national consultation. ECOWAS Member States and the whole of the international community were called upon to recognise the Liberia National Transitional Government and accord it all necessary support and assistance.

6. Heads of State and Government strongly condemned the emergence of new factions and the fighting being carried out by them. They issued an ultimatum to the factions to observe an immediate and definite cease-fire or face automatic application of the decision on sanctions. ECOMOG was directed to initiate necessary measures to create buffer zones where necessary along all borders, most especially along the Liberia-Sierra Leone border.
 7. The Authority appealed to all Liberian parties to resume the process of troops disarmament and encampment envisaged in the Cotonou Accord. The Heads of State and Government reiterated the need for Member States to respect the arms embargo against all the warring parties. The Authority appealed to Member States to deny the establishment of factional offices and discourage any recruitment by warring parties within their territories.
 8. Heads of State and Government unequivocally condemned the campaign of calumny, the threats and provocation as well as the acts of aggression perpetrated against ECOMOG and UNOMIL. They urged members of these forces to pursue their mission with courage and determination and paid tribute to the memory of all those who lost their lives on the field. The Authority reiterated the right of ECOMOG as an intervention force to defend itself against aggression from any source.
 9. Heads of State and Government also condemned the continued seizure of ECOMOG arms and equipment by the factions and demanded that these be returned immediately to the peace-keeping force.
 10. Heads of State and Government called on the National Transitional Government to formulate, with assistance from ECOWAS, the United Nations, the OAU and all other bilateral and/or multilateral partners, a rehabilitation scheme for ex-combatants and returning refugees and also to prioritise its requirements. The Authority appealed urgently to all donors and the international community, particularly the United States of America, to contribute generously to finance the disarmament and reconstruction processes which are the key elements for the restoration of peace in Liberia. Heads of State and Government mandated the Chairman of the Authority to dispatch a mission composed of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of selected Member States, accompanied by the ECOWAS Executive Secretary, to a number of donor countries to convey the collective expectation of ECOWAS Member States that resources shall be made available through the United Nations Special Fund for Liberia to facilitate the restoration of peace in Liberia.
 11. Heads of State and Government directed the executive secretariat to sensitise all shapers of public opinion, particularly the government and private media, on the need to give more extensive publicity to conflict resolution efforts and humanitarian actions being undertaken by African countries in Liberia, Angola and Rwanda, in order to mobilise greater financial and material support for such efforts.
 12. The Authority directed the Executive Secretary to draw up a new time table for free and fair elections in Liberia, in collaboration with the United Nations, the OAU and the National Transitional Government. The Executive Secretary was further directed to ensure prompt implementation of Decision A/DEC.3/11/90 relating to the conclusion of an accord between the Community and the Liberia National Transitional Government, establishing the status of ECOMOG. The Authority reiterated its appeal to all Member States to participate effectively in the strengthening of ECOMOG or, to contribute financially to the maintenance of troops on the ground. ECOMOG-contributing states were urged to maintain their men in Liberia until elections were held in that country.
 13. Heads of State and Government expressed their gratitude to all African countries, particularly Uganda and Tanzania, which have provided troops to reinforce ECOMOG.
- ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN**
14. Heads of State and Government unanimously elected the Republic of Ghana as Chairman of the Community for the 1994/1995 period.
- DATE AND VENUE OF NEXT SUMMIT**
15. At the invitation of the President of the Republic of Ghana, the Authority decided to hold its

Eighteenth Ordinary Session in Accra in July, 1995. The exact date will be communicated later.

VOTE OF THANKS

16. Heads of State and Government paid a warm tribute to His Excellency, Nicephore Dieudonné Soglo, President of the Republic of Benin for the dedicated manner in which he directed the affairs of the community during the two years of his tenure of office. The Authority also expressed its sincere appreciation and gratitude to His Excellency, General Sani Abacha, Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the government and people of Nigeria for the genuine fraternal welcome extended to all delegations and for the excellent facilities made available to ensure the success of the 1994 Annual Statutory Meetings of the Community.

**DONE AT ABUJA,
THIS 7TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1994.**

THE SEVENTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE AUTHORITY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)

ABUJA, 5TH TO 7TH AUGUST, 1994

RESOLUTION A/RES.6/7/94 ON LIBERIA

THE AUTHORITY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

MINDFUL of Article 5 of the ECOWAS Treaty establishing the Authority of Heads of State and Government and defining its composition and functions;

CONVINCED that any threat to peace in any Member State endangers the peace and security of the entire community;

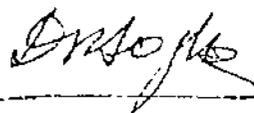
DEPLORING the virtual breakdown of the disarmament process and the continued intransigence of the warring factions despite efforts made by the Community, the Organisation of African Unity, OAU and the United Nations;

CONDEMNING the emergence of new warring factions in Liberia which is further jeopardising the peace process;

1. REAFFIRMS that the Cotonou Accord of 25th July, 1993 constitutes the only framework for the durable settlement of the Liberian crisis;
2. NOTES WITH SATISFACTION the significant progress made with regard to the implementation of the political aspects of the Cotonou Accord;
3. WELCOMES the installation of the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG);
4. EXPRESSES its full support for the Transitional Government and all institutions established under the terms of the Cotonou Accord;
5. CALLS on the entire Liberian people and the international community to lend every support and assistance to the Liberian National Transitional Government;
6. STRONGLY APPEALS to all armed factions to stop hostilities immediately, observe an immediate cease-fire and continue the disarmament process;

7. **CALLS** on all warring parties to desist forthwith from attacking ECOMOG and UNOMIL;
8. **CALLS** on the Liberian National Transitional Government:
- to seek appropriate ways of restoring confidence among the Liberian people and bringing about genuine national reconciliation by strengthening the on-going collaboration between the government, the civilian population and the factions;
 - to prepare, with the assistance of ECOWAS, the OAU, the UN and all other bilateral and multilateral partners, a rehabilitation scheme and a list of priority requirements;
 - to take necessary measures with the assistance of ECOWAS, OAU and UN to stop the periodic attacks against ECOMOG and UNOMIL;
 - to evolve a social rehabilitation scheme for those disarmed and those returning from exile;
 - to strengthen the national security forces, if necessary with assistance from ECOMOG, pending the formation of a national army;
9. **REAFFIRMS** its appeal to all Member States to respect fully the arms embargo against the warring parties in Liberia, deny the establishment of factional offices and discourage any recruitment within their territories for service in the armies of the warring factions;
10. **URGES** Member States that share borders with Liberia to increase their vigilance and effectively stop arms meant for the warring factions from passing through their countries;
11. **DIRECTS** ECOMOG to take all necessary measures to create buffer zones along Liberian border areas where they are needed, particularly along the Liberia-Sierra Leone border;
12. **REAFFIRMS** the need for the international community and donor agencies to finance the disarmament and reconstruction processes which are the key elements for the restoration of peace in Liberia. The Executive Secretary shall, in consultation with the Liberian National Transitional Government and the United Nations, prepare a half-yearly budget in this regard;
13. **CLEARLY CONVEYS** the collective expectation of ECOWAS Member States that resources shall be made available by the United States, the European Union, Canada, Japan, the United Nations and the international community through the UN Trust Fund for Liberia to facilitate the restoration of peace in Liberia;
14. **EXPRESSES** its gratitude to Tanzania and Uganda for their reinforcement of ECOMOG troops;
15. **DIRECTS** the Executive Secretary to appoint a representative in Liberia. Towards this end, a special levy is established payable within two weeks by Member States to meet the costs of maintaining such a representative.

**DONE AT ABUJA,
THIS 6TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1994**



.....
**H.E. NICEPHORE DIEUDONNE SOGLO,
CHAIRMAN
FOR THE AUTHORITY.**

THE FOURTH MEETING OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

ACCRA, 22ND - 24TH NOVEMBER, 1994

FINAL REPORT

INTRODUCTION

1. The fourth meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia was held in Accra, Ghana from 22nd to 24th November, 1994. This meeting was preceded by the meetings of the warring factions and other interested parties which started on 21st November, 1994 and ran side by side with the Ministerial Meeting until 24th November, 1994.
2. The following Members of the Committee of Nine were represented:
 - Republic of BENIN, Mr Robert M. DOSSOU, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation;
 - Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE, H.E. Ambassador Amadou TRAORE, Director for Africa, Asia and Middle East, Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
 - Republic of GHANA, Dr Obed Y. ASAMOAH, Minister of Foreign Affairs;
 - Republic of GUINEA, Mr Kozo ZOUMANIGUI, Minister of Foreign Affairs;
 - Republic of GAMBIA, Mr J. BOJANG, Minister of Trade;
 - Federal Republic of NIGERIA, Chief A. ANI, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs;
 - Republic of SENEGAL, Mr Magatte THIAM, Minister for African Economic Integration;
 - Republic of SIERRA LEONE, Dr Abass BUNDU, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation;
 - Republic of TOGO, Mr Boumbera ALASSOUNOUMA, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation.
3. Burkina Faso and the Islamic Republic of Mali and Uganda were represented respectively by:
 - Mr Salif DIALLO, Minister of State in the Presidency responsible for Missions, Burkina Faso;
 - Mr Aguibou DIARRAH, Ambassador of Mali to Ghana;
 - Hon. Amama MBABAZI, Minister of State for Defence, Mali;
 - The Republic of Tanzania even though invited, was unable to participate.
4. The Republic of Liberia was represented by Mr Sylvester M. GRISBY, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.
5. The following personalities were invited to the meeting:
 - Reverend Canaan Banana, OAU Eminent Person;
 - Mr Lansana KOUYATE, UN Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs and Leader of the fact finding mission to Ghana;
 - Mr Trevor GORDON-SOMERS, Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General to Liberia;
6. Members of the Ghanaian delegation present at the meeting for consultations with Foreign Affairs Minister were the following:
 - Captain K. TSIKATA (Rtd), Member of Council of State, Ghana;
 - Hon. Alhaji Mahama IDDRISU, Minister of Defence of Ghana;
 - Hon. Dr. Mohamed Ibn CHAMBAS, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ghana;
 - Brig. F.A. AGYEMFRA, Chief of Staff, General Headquarters, Ghana;
7. The ECOWAS Executive Secretariat and the ECOMOG were respectively represented by H.E. Mr Edouard Benjamin, Executive Secretary and Major-General John Inienger, Field Commander.

II OPENING SESSION

8. Dr Obed Y. ASAMOAH, Foreign Minister of Ghana and Chairman of the meeting respectively invited H.E. Fit. Lt. Jerry John RAWLINGS, President of the Republic of Ghana and current Chairman of ECOWAS, to formally open the meeting.

9. In his speech, President Rawlings, on behalf of the Government and people of Ghana and on his own behalf, welcomed all present to the fourth meeting of the ECOWAS Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine. Continuing, he gave a graphic description of the conditions which existed on the ground at the time ECOWAS despatched its mercy mission to Liberia and recounted the growth sense of frustration which, over the years, had developed after agreements had been reached only to be broken.

10. The Akosombo Conference of the Liberian Warring Parties, President Rawlings explained, had been held with a view to breaking the impasse in the implementation of the Cotonou Accord and give a new lease of life to the peace process as enunciated in that Accord. While re-confirming that the Akosombo Agreement was premised on the belief that the Cotonou Accord remained the best framework for peace in Liberia, President Rawlings indicated that, the Cotonou Accord had been revisited on account of the difficulties that had besieged its implementation and stalled the peace process. The difficulties related especially to the exercise of the power of recall by the warring parties over their representatives on the Council of State and the Liberian National Transitional Government; the requirement that the Council of State should take decisions by consensus; the reluctance to disarm; resumption of hostilities on an even wider scale; and the proliferation of new warring parties and the splintering of already existing ones.

11. Chairman Rawlings decried the fact that the implementation of the Akosombo Agreement, just like the 29 odd documents signed by warring parties in the past, had suffered the same fate and had run into a maelstrom of operation, forcing the ECOWAS Chairman to engage in consultations with the Governments of the Committee of Nine as well as with a wide spectrum of armed and non-armed Liberians.

12. Following a two-week round of All-Liberia

consultations in Ghana, a set of compromise proposals embodying all concerns which emerged from those consultations had been prepared and submitted to Liberians for further study.

13. A copy of these proposals is attached to this report.

14. President Rawlings, after stressing the very costly nature of the exercise ECOMOG had been engaged in, with very little outside financial and logistical support, stated clearly that "should our current efforts not yield the desired results, we may be compelled to consider the other alternative of possibly calling back home our troops." He ended by appealing to the Committee of Nine to fashion out a compromise solution that could bring durable peace to Liberia.

15. In his contribution, Dr Asamoah highlighted the following as some of the difficulties that emerged from the Cotonou Accord and, therefore, required corrective measures.

i) The schedule of implementation of the process of encampment, disarmament and demobilisation was not made co-terminous with the mandate of the LNTG. By the time that the LNTG's mandate was supposed to have ended on 7th September, 1994 no substantial encampment, disarmament and demobilisation had taken place.

ii) After their nomination, some representatives of the warring factions on the LNTG broke away from their initial sponsors and subsequently resisted attempts by such warring factions to exercise the right of recall of the recalcitrant appointees.

iii) LNTG was perceived to be dominated by former IGNU officials. Indeed, it was felt that IGNU had resurfaced as LNTG, contrary to the understanding that IGNU as the then Government in Monrovia and its rival setup in NPFL controlled areas, would both be dissolved to give way to the formation of the LNTG.

iv) For the peace process to be successful, encampment, disarmament and demobilisation had to take place. But these

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 - iii) LNTG was perceived to be dominated by former IGNU officials. Indeed, it was felt that IGNU had resurfaced as LNTG, contrary to the understanding that IGNU as the then Government in Monrovia and its rival setup in NPFL controlled areas, would both be dissolved to give way to the formation of the LNTG.
 - iv) For the peace process to be successful, encampment, disarmament and demobilisation had to take place. But these

events did not take place. Charles Taylor was perceived as the main obstacle and while some of the old warring factions wanted to deal militarily with him, new warring factions sprang up. As a result of these developments, Charles Taylor refused to disarm.

- v) The 6-month time frame provided under the Cotonou Accord for the entire peace process from encampment, disarmament and demobilisation, to the conduct of elections, was most unrealistic. A new time frame was therefore required.
 - vi) In Monrovia, the non-implementation of provisions of the Cotonou Accord compelled the unarmed civilians and the politicians to organise the Liberian National Conference.
16. Dr. Asamoah then spoke about some of the criticisms levelled against the Akosombo Agreement and sought to offer insight into why the provisions had been so fashioned.
- i) On why the AFL should sign the Akosombo Agreement thereby creating the impression that it had been transformed into a warring faction, Dr. Asamoah declared that this was not the first time an arrangement of that kind had been devised, adding that even though it was IGNU that signed the Cotonou Accord, no one had implied subsequently, that IGNU had been transformed into a warring faction.
 - ii) In pursuit of the objectives of disarmament, one had to deal with armed groups, including the AFL, which had men under arms and also enjoyed the confidence of both ULIMO-J and LPC which were Krahn dominated and which traced their ancestry to the AFL.
 - iii) Concerning the nice legal argument as to whether AFL's signature made it a successor to IGNU, Dr Asamoah stressed that legalities and sophistry should be set aside so that emphasis could be placed on the political issues involved.
 - iv) On the military Junta issue, Dr Asamoah repeated the fact that nowhere in the Akosombo Agreement is it specifically

mentioned that the members to serve on the Council of State should be military personnel. He added that claim was politically motivated to cause hysteria.

- v) There was no justification in the criticism that the Council of State did not cater for the interest of the LPC which could be considered as the largest non-signatory warring faction. Although the LPC was invited, it pleaded for a two-week postponement of the conference to enable it defeat Charles Taylor militarily before it participated in the meeting. Its absence however did not imply that its interests were not catered for, since, as indicated earlier, these interests were largely similar to those of the AFL.
- vi) Since ECOMOG was not operating under the authority of the host country, there was the need to enter into a clearly defined Status of Forces Agreement.

17. Dr. Asamoah informed the meeting that intensive consultations had taken place between President Rawlings and his colleagues in Nigeria and Guinea, and that other Ghanaian delegations headed by special envoys had also been despatched to consult Governments of the Committee of Nine to exchange views on how the peace process should be advanced within the framework of the Akosombo Agreement. However, as current Chairman of ECOWAS, it was felt that Ghana should not be seen to be competing with the warring factions which had also decided to send rival delegations to selected ECOWAS capitals to campaign against the implementation of the Agreement. Accordingly, it was decided that the Chairman of ECOWAS should exercise his right to convene a meeting of the Committee of Nine in order to provide an appropriate forum for discussions.
18. Following some two weeks of consultations with all parties in Accra, a set of compromise proposals were formulated and given to the Liberian participants to take back to their various constituencies for discussion.
19. This Fourth Ministerial meeting of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine had therefore been convened to assess the Liberian situation in the light of the foregoing developments, Minister Asamoah added. He stated in this connection that the

following positions had been taken by the various parties vis-a-vis the Akosombo agreement.

- i) **NPFL, ULIMO K and AFL:**
Expressed unreserved support for the Akosombo Agreement in its current form and saw no need whatsoever to amend it.
- ii) **ULIMO J:**
Also supported the Akosombo Agreement subject to certain modifications.
- iii) **LPC:**
While its Chairman Dr Boley was against the Akosombo Agreement, the Secretary General led another faction which supported the Akosombo Agreement.
- iv) **LDF:**
Wanted the Akosombo Agreement revised.
- v) **LNTG and LNC:**
Had no strong views for or against the Akosombo Agreement.

20. The Minister of State for Defence of the Republic of Uganda expressed his country's willingness to continue to support ECOWAS in its quest for peace in Liberia. He declared that the Ugandan troops in Liberia would continue to stay as long as there were positive signs of peace. The Honourable Minister welcomed the Akosombo Agreement. On disarmament, the Ugandan Minister cautioned that achieving a hundred percent disarmament as envisaged by the Cotonou Accord was not realistic. The Akosombo Agreement had to address, meaningfully, the fears of the warlords and their combatants on this issue and make provision for, first, a cease-fire, then encampment and finally recruitment into a national security force. The Ugandan Minister advised that the Akosombo Agreement should provide for the creation of a national defence force, which would be constituted by an agreed number of soldiers from each faction. Those combatants not absorbed into the national defence force should be the only ones to be disarmed and demobilised.

21. Developing his ideas further, the Honourable Minister pointed out that the Cotonou accord established a decision-making organ that did not have enforcement powers. To correct this, there

was the need for the Akosombo Agreement to allow factional leaders to sit on the Council of State in person. Both armed and unarmed Liberians should be allowed to participate in the transitional government, he stressed. The warlords should also be allowed to fully participate and contest in any subsequent democratic electoral process.

22. In his contribution, Ambassador Kouyate, the UN Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs conveyed warm felicitations of the UN Secretary-General, Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to the meeting. He stressed the fact that the United Nations was most concerned by the breach of the arms embargo imposed on Liberia at the instance of both ECOWAS and the OAU and called on ECOWAS Member States to scrupulously observe the embargo.

23. He reiterated the need for strict monitoring of the movement of arms in and out of Liberia in order to forestall the threat to the security of the entire sub-region. Ambassador Kouyate also informed the meeting of the problems the UN was having in securing funds for the peace process in Liberia. He advised ECOWAS to exhaust all avenues for cooperation with the UN and its institutions as provided for under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. ECOWAS should also meet and get the firm support of the American Black Congressional Caucus which could form a pressure group on the US Government to effectively finance the Liberian peace process.

24. Finally, Ambassador Kouyate, while expressing the willingness of the United Nations to continue to support ECOWAS in its search for lasting peace in Liberia, hinted that if the meeting in Accra were to conclude on a positive note, it would send to the United Nations the signal it was looking for in order to rekindle its interest in Liberia.

IV. OUTCOME OF DELIBERATIONS

25. After an exhaustive exchange of views, the meeting endorsed the proposals presented by the Government of Ghana to the Liberians. The meeting also fully endorsed the initiatives and efforts made so far by the current Chairman of ECOWAS, President Jerry Rawlings. It called

on the warring factions to stop the wanton killings of fellow Liberians, bury their differences and work actively to achieve durable and lasting peace.

26. The meeting, being fully aware of the total and unreserved right of Liberians to self-determination, and acting solely as facilitators of the peace process, addressed the leadership of the Liberian factions on the following ideas that were floated at the meeting for possible inclusion, alongside the circulated proposals, in a new peace agreement:

- a) That the warlords themselves should consider sitting on the Council of State in order to avoid exercising the powers to recall.
- b) That the scope and functions of the Interim Council of State be explicitly stated. There is also the need, as borne out by past experience, to set up commissions to address specific subjects like disarmament, elections etc.
- c) The interim government to be established must have total and exclusive control over the economic resources of the country. Contracts entered into by warring factions in respect of resources under their respective controls should be abrogated.
- d) The parties should put together an incentive package to facilitate disarmament, encampment and demobilisation.
- e) To forestall any avenue for disputation, the peace Agreement should also define, in very clear terms, schedule of implementation of all processes, be they military or political. There should, in addition to having a timetable for disarmament, be a timetables for implementation of all the political processes and both of them should be synchronised. No warring faction should take its seat on the Council unless it is certified by ECOMOG to have substantially fulfilled its obligation to disarm.

f) Buffer zones be reintroduced and set up along the entire borders of Liberia with her neighbours.

g) Sanctions be applied against any faction that does not comply with the terms of the new peace agreement.

VOTE OF THANKS

27. The Ministers Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine on Liberia holding their fourth meeting at the Accra International Conference Centre from 22nd to 24th November, 1994 with, in attendance, Ministers representing other troops contributing and neighbouring countries, wish to express their sincere gratitude to His Excellency, Fit. Lt. J.J. Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana, and the Government and people of Ghana, for the warm welcome and hospitality extended to all delegations, and for the excellent facilities placed at their disposal which ensured the success of their deliberations.

**DONE AT ACCRA,
THIS 24TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1994**

THE COUNCIL.

PROPOSALS FOR CLARIFICATION OF THE AKOSOMBO AGREEMENT

ACCRA, GHANA, 21ST DECEMBER, 1994

A. COUNCIL OF STATE

1. Composition

NPFL	1
ULIMO	1
AFL and Coalition	1
LNC	1

Chairman to be elected by electoral college of 3 representatives of each of the above factions/organisations. Each faction/organisation is to nominate 1 candidate for election as Chairman. A candidate must receive at least a simple majority to be successful. If none of the nominees of the factions/organisations secures a simple majority after 3 ballots, the electoral college is free to consider any other Liberian for election as Chairman.

Vice Chairman to be elected by the members of the Council of State including the Chairman.

Leaders of factions may serve on the Council of State or must attend meetings at least once a month in accordance with a schedule to be worked out by the Council. This would not disqualify them from being candidates for the election to be held at the end of the interim period.

2. Decision-making process.

By consensus or by majority where there is no consensus but, including the vote of the Chairman.

3. Status of Chairman

a. To be Head of State and of Government. Except in respect of implementation of this Agreement, Chairman to have executive powers.

b. Appointment of Ministers

By Council of State on personal merit, but taking into account equitable geographic distribution and representation of all warring factions.

c. Right to Recall

To be abolished. Changes in ministerial appointments to be by normal constitutional practice.

d. Safe Haven

Monrovia, Gbarnga, Buchanan, Totota, Turbmanburg, Harper, Voinjama, Greenville and Zwedru to be recognised with immediate effect as safe havens. All parties agree to withdraw their forces from these places and their environs and on roads leading thereto. ECOMOG shall deploy forces in the safe havens and will be at liberty to defend them by force.

e. Time to Seat Council of State

10 days after UNOMIL and ECOMOG certify that all safe havens have been established.

f. Status of Current LNTG

To be recognised as Government of Liberia until new Council of State is seated.

g. Encampment and disarmament

Encampment to be linked to creation of security agencies; Army, Police and Immigration.

AFL to be restructured to include elements of all warring factions, so that no warring faction is preponderant. The numbers from warring factions will be half the total number of a given security agency. The other half will be recruited without reference to political or military affiliations.

The Council of State in consultation with ECOMOG and UNOMIL will set up a Five-member team of military experts to screen applicants for inclusion in security agencies.

The Committee of Military experts will comprise, 2(two) ECOMOG, 2(two) UNOMIL, 1(one) nominee of Council of State.

The Military Committee of experts will determine the total strength of security agencies.

Combatants not included or not willing to be included in security agencies will be disarmed and provided with other incentives such as opportunity of schooling, money and tools of trade.

h. Cease-fire

Effective upon signature of Agreement.

i. Cease-fire Monitoring Committee

To comprise 1(one) representative of NPFL, ULIMO, LPC, SDF, CRC/NPFL, LNTG; 3(three) ECOMOG representatives.

Committee to monitor, investigate and report violations.

Meetings to be chaired by ECOMOG representative.

j. Cotonou Accord

To be reaffirmed subject to change herein.

k. Reservations

The signature of Agreement not to imply recognition by one group or another whose separate existence it disputes.

COMMUNIQUE OF THE FOURTH MEETING OF THE ECOWAS FOREIGN MINISTERS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

ACCRA, GHANA, 22ND TO 24TH NOVEMBER, 1994

The Foreign Ministers of the Committee of Nine as well as other troop contributing and neighbouring countries held a conference from 22nd to 24th November, 1994 to assess the Liberian situation. The Ministers unreservedly endorsed the initiatives Ghana has been taking as the current Chairman of ECOWAS to resolve the Liberian crisis. They were particularly appreciative of the personal involvement of President Rawlings.

After an exhaustive discussion of the possible options for moving the peace process forward, they endorsed the proposals presented to the warring factions and other concerned Liberian groups as a basis for discussion within the context of the principle of self-determination. The Ministers enriched the document by suggesting additional issues for the parties to consider for inclusion in a new peace agreement.

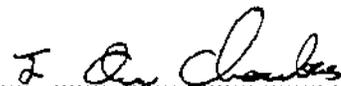
The Decisions of the Ministers were conveyed to the leaders of the Liberian delegations at a joint meeting with the Ministers. A strong appeal was made to them to make the concessions necessary to end the suffering of the Liberian people. The Ministers then adjourned giving the Liberian delegations time for deliberations.

On the last day of the Ministerial meeting, it became evident that more time was needed by the Liberian parties to conclude their deliberations. The warring factions and interested groups have therefore been given more time to resolve their differences under the good offices of a select team of facilitators led by the OAU Eminent Person, President Canaan Banana.

The Ministers appealed to the International Community to continue to support the efforts of ECOWAS to find a lasting solution to the Liberian problem.

The Ministers expressed their deep appreciation to the President, the Government and the people of Ghana for their hospitality and the excellent facilities placed at their disposal.

**DONE AT ACCRA,
THIS 24TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1994**



.....
**DR MOHAMED IBN CHAMBAS,
DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.**

THE FIFTH MEETING OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

ABUJA, 15TH - 16TH MAY, 1995

FINAL REPORT

INTRODUCTION

1. The Fifth meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia took place on 15th and 16th May, 1995 at the Congress Centre of Nicon Noga Hilton Hotel in Abuja, Nigeria.
2. The following Members of the Committee of Nine were represented
 - Republic of BENIN;
 - BURKINA FASO;
 - Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE;
 - Republic of THE GAMBIA;
 - Republic of GHANA;
 - Republic of GUINEA;
 - Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
 - Republic of SENEGAL;
 - TOGOLESE Republic.
3. The representatives of the following Member States were also present at the Meeting by invitation:
 - Republic of LIBERIA;
 - Islamic Republic of MALI;
 - Republic of SIERRA LEONE.
4. Following invitations extended to them, the Meeting was also attended by:
 - Republic of UGANDA;
 - His Excellency, Reverend Canaan Banana, Eminent Person of the OAU;

- Mr. Anthony B. Nyakyi, Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General for Liberia;
- His Excellency, Mr. Dane Smith Jr., Special Envoy of the President of the United States for Liberia.

5. Also present as consultant was the Field Commander of ECOMOG, Major-General John Mark Inienger.

6. The fifth meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Committee of Nine was chaired by the Honourable Foreign Minister of the Republic of Ghana, Dr. Obed Asamoah.

II ADOPTION OF AGENDA

7. After its presentation by the Chairman, the following agenda was adopted by the Meeting
 - i. Welcome Address by the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.
 - ii. Opening Speech by the Chairman of the Meeting.
 - iii. Presentation of the Report of the ECOMOG Field Commander.
 - iv. Statement by the Liberian Foreign Minister.
 - v. Discussions.
 - vi. Consideration of the Draft Agenda for the third meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine.
 - vii. Any Other Matters.
 - viii. Adoption of report.

II - OPENING SESSION

8. The Chairman of the Meeting called upon the Honourable Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Chief Tom Ikimi, to present his welcome address.
9. In his address, the Hon. Minister welcomed all delegates to Abuja and urged them to make themselves at home.
10. The Honourable Minister stated that Nigeria

accepted to provide facilities for the Meeting, when asked in order to underscore its concern over the Liberian situation. He made reference to the senseless destruction of human lives and the extensive damage to property, as well as the social and economic consequences of the Liberian war.

11. The Honourable Foreign Minister of Nigeria expressed the view that it was the Liberian people who should decide their future, even though his country and many others, playing the role of facilitators, had put in tremendous efforts in order to assist the Liberian people to overcome their present difficulties, and to prevent the spread of the conflict to the rest of the sub-region. Chief Ikimi then expressed the hope that despite their differences the Liberian factions would be able to find appropriate solutions to their problems during this meeting, in the interest of Liberia and the entire African continent.
12. Thereafter, the Chairman took the floor to present a detailed report of all the measures taken by Ghana, since its accession to the Chairmanship of ECOWAS, to advance the peace process in Liberia. The Honourable Minister informed the Meeting that eleven meetings on Liberia had been initiated and hosted by Ghana, resulting in three agreements which were signed by the warring factions.
13. Dr. Asamoah listed the agreements as follows;
 - the Akosombo Agreement, signed on 12th September, 1994 by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), ULIMO and the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL);
 - the Accra Agreement signed on 21st December, 1994 by the NPFL, ULIMO and AFL, clarifying the Akosombo Agreement;
 - and the Acceptance and Accession Agreement signed in Accra on 21st December, 1994 by ULIMO, the LDF, LPC, NPFL (CRC) and LNC.
14. The Honourable Minister then proceeded to enumerate some of the obstacles which had been preventing the full implementation of the Cotonou Accord, and thereby stalling the peace process. He pointed out that as at 7th September, 1994 when the mandate of the Liberian National Transitional Government

(LNTG) expired, very little progress had been made with regard to the disarmament, demobilisation and encampment process. Moreover, the proliferation of new warring factions and the breakaway elements of the old factions made it difficult to apply the terms of the Cotonou Accord to its signatories alone. The LNTG was paralysed by dissent and division. Some representatives of factions no longer recognised the Authority of their mandators, and resisted every attempt to bring them back to the fold. The issue of the legitimacy of the LNTG arose because it was not supposed to exceed a 6-month life span.

15. The Chairman stated that the 6-month time frame provided for by the Cotonou Accord for the completion of the entire peace process, from encampment, through demobilisation to the organisation of elections had proved to be unrealistic, and it was therefore found necessary to work out a new time frame. In some Liberian quarters, it was believed that the LNTG was dominated by members of the former Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU). Furthermore, the incentives which were supposed to bring about the disarmament of the combatants were inadequate. The Minister added that, in response to the delays in the implementation of the Cotonou Accord, the population and politicians of Liberia organised a Liberian National Conference.
16. Under these circumstances, according to Dr. Asamoah, it became a matter of priority to remove the obstacles to the implementation of the Cotonou Accord, and revitalise the peace process through the signing of the Akosombo Agreement.
17. In his statement, Dr. Asamoah addressed some of the criticisms levelled at the Akosombo Agreement. He explained for instance, the failure of some of the factions to sign that Agreement as being due to their absence from the Meeting, even though they had been invited to attend. However, he informed the Meeting that the factions that were not party to the Akosombo Agreement did sign the Acceptance and Accession Agreement in Accra on 21st December, 1994.
18. On the issue of the reasons for the failure of the peace process to take off following the signing of the Akosombo and Accra Agreements, the

Minister expressed the belief that this was mainly due to the difficulty in setting up a Council of State. He then proceeded to enumerate the major issues still to be resolved

- i) the composition of the Council of State;
- ii) the chairmanship of the Council;
- iii) the vice-Chairmanship of the Council;
- iv) decision-making process in the Council of State;
- v) representation of the coalition factions on the Council of State;
- vi) the sharing of Ministerial portfolios and other posts in view of the proliferation of factions and the desire of each faction for equitable representation both within the government and on statutory and other bodies outside government;
- vii) safe havens
- viii) Enforcement of cease-fire
- ix) control of the inflow of arms into Liberia in view of the growing conviction that some of those supplying arms to the factions are ECOWAS Member States;
- x) compelling recalcitrant factions to conform to ECOWAS decisions;
- xi) calendar for seating Council of State to be linked with process of disarmament;
- xii) Post-sharing arrangement between the ULIMO factions

- a Citizens Consultative Meeting in Gbamga (15th to 20th August, 1994);
- a Liberian National Conference by the Citizens Consultative Meeting (29th August to 30th October, 1994);
- the Akosombo Agreement of 12th September, 1994;
- the Accra Clarification and Accession Agreement to the Akosombo Agreement (21st December, 1994);
- the 9th March, 1995 sit-at-home protest organised by the Inter-Faith Mediation Committee; and
- the reconvened Liberian National Conference (17th March to 29th April, 1995).

20. The Field Commander reported that there were major cease-fire violations, and due to the lack of cooperation from the warring factions, the Cease-fire Violation Committee had been unable to function effectively. He put particular emphasis on the problem posed by the use of personnel and anti-vehicle land mines by the warring factions to create obstacles on some roads.

21. The report gave an account of an upsurge in fighting for purposes of territorial claims by the warring factions, in anticipation of these Abuja meetings. An account was also given of a series of attacks on both ECOMOG and UNOMIL, as well as on relief agencies by the warring factions, particularly the NPFL and the two ULIMO factions. The Field Commander commented on the 14th September, 1994 attempted coup of the USA-based New Horizon which ECOMOG foiled. A report was also made of the 15th December, 1994 massacre of about 48 persons on Duport Road, suspected to have been perpetrated by NPFL and some AFL collaborators.

22. While the report indicated that some 100,000 refugees had returned to Liberia, it stated that the continued fighting among the warring factions had caused a large influx of displaced persons to areas under ECOMOG control. The report emphasised that the process of encampment, disarmament and demobilisation had been stalled, and only a thousand fighters had surrendered voluntarily to ECOMOG since

Item 3 : Presentation of the Report of the ECOMOG Field Commander

19. The ECOMOG Field Commander, Major-General J.M. Inienger presented a report which covered the period from the last summit of the Committee of Nine (August, 1994) to the present. In a brief reference to political developments during the period, the report mentioned the efforts to resolve the stalemate reached on the issue of governance, namely

August, 1994. On the other hand, ECOMOG had been able to extend the area under its control and create new safe havens. This had enabled the LNTG, for example, to establish civil administration in Bomi and Grand Cape Counties.

23. The report drew attention to the worsening logistics positions of ECOMOG and the reduction of its troops from 10,000 to 8,443. In this regard, it was indicated that Tanzania had withdrawn its troops and Uganda might follow suit. The Field Commander stated that, while the optimum force level required for ECOMOG operations in Liberia was 18,000, he was pleading for a force strength of only 12,000, the required minimum. He therefore requested for reinforcement, appropriate logistics and other resources in order to fulfil creditably the remaining part of the ECOMOG mandate.

Item 4 : Statement by the Liberian Foreign Minister

24. The Foreign Minister of Liberia, Mrs. D. Musuleng Cooper, informed the Meeting that, apart from following the laudable efforts being made by the outside world, particularly the Chairman of the ECOWAS Authority to assist in finding a peaceful solution to the Liberian crisis, the Liberian National Transitional Government, (LNTG) has also been interested in what the Liberian people themselves had been contributing to the peace process. This had led a Select Cabinet Committee on the Peace process of the LNTG to adopt a paper on 11th May, 1995 as its contribution to this Abuja meeting.
25. The LNTG paper stressed the importance of identifying the principal elements of the peace process and ensuring their systematic implementation. In this regard, the paper listed a series of distinct activities to be implemented sequentially some of which are as follows
- a. Declaration and maintenance of a permanent cease-fire;
 - b. Deployment of ECOMOG and UNOMIL establishment and manning of checkpoints by ECOMOG, Liberian national security units and UNOMIL;
 - c. Creation of safe havens;

- d. Seating of the Executive Branch of Government;
- e. Establishment of buffer zones and enforcement of the arms embargo;
- f. Implementation of planned encampment, disarmament and demobilisation.

26. The paper indicated that an essential element of the peace process was the establishment of a credible system of governance. A proposal was contained in the paper for the setting up of a governing body for a period of 12 to 15 months to direct the transitional programme. The proposals covered the Executive, the Electoral Commission, the Legislature and the Judiciary.

III - OUTCOME OF DELIBERATIONS

Item 5 : Discussions

27. After extensive discussion, the Meeting agreed to make the following recommendations to the Summit
- i) On the controversy among the Liberian parties relating to the structure of the Council of State, the Meeting reaffirmed the decision of the mini-Summit of the Committee of Nine held in Accra in January, 1995 for the Council of State to be constituted by six members.
 - ii) The Meeting reaffirmed the decision of the Accra mini-Summit that Chief Tamba Taylor be made the Chairman of the Council of State.
 - iii) With regard to the designation of Vice-Chairmen, the Meeting failed to reach a consensus. Some delegations were of the opinion that members of the Council should all be of equal status, while others believed a hierarchy to be necessary. The Meeting agreed to refer the issue to the Summit for the resolution of the matter.
 - iv) As regards the inner functioning of the Council of State, it was recommended that the Council draw up its own Rules of Procedure;
 - v) On the issue of the representation of the

coalition factions on the Council of State, the Meeting recommended that decision be left to the Coalition to determine;

- v) On the issue of equitable distribution of Ministerial and other public offices, it was recommended that the issue be settled by the Council of State;
- vii) With regard to safe havens, the Meeting recommended that these be established in accordance with the terms of the Accra Agreement clarifying the Akosombo Accord and in collaboration with local authorities;
- viii) On the imposition of a cease-fire, the Meeting was of the opinion that the Council of State could not be set up unless the factions showed a greater degree of commitment to observance of the cease-fire and disarmament of combatants. It endorsed the schedule of implementation annexed to the Accra Agreement. The Meeting also renewed its appeal to ECOWAS Member States, the OAU, the United Nations and all friends of the sub-region to contribute troops, material and money substantially to ECOMOG and thereby ensure the success of the disarmament exercise in Liberia;
- ix) On the issue of Ministerial and other public posts allotted to ULIMO being equitably distributed between ULIMO(K) and ULIMO(J) factions, it was recommended that the issue be settled by the factions themselves with the assistance of ECOWAS if necessary.
- x) With regard to arms control, the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General informed the Meeting of the concern of the international community over the flow of arms into Liberia. He stated that it was the wish of the United Nations to see its arms embargo effectively enforced. The Special Representative also expressed the wish that Member States would bring all instances of violation of the arms embargo before the United Nations Commission on Sanctions.

The Meeting launched an appeal to the international community and in particular to the United States of America, to assist ECOWAS in the provision of logistics to facilitate effective patrolling of the land and sea borders of Liberia in order to stem the flow of arms into that country. The Meeting also requested the Field Commander of ECOMOG and the UNOMIL Representative to fine-tune the monitoring mechanism established earlier by ECOWAS, taking due account of all facets of the problem.

- xi) On the question of compelling armed factions to conform to ECOWAS decisions, the Meeting noted that this was linked to the provision of adequate resources for ECOMOG.
 - xii) With regard to linking the seating of the Council of State to disarmament, it was agreed that the full implementation of the schedule attached to the Accra Agreement would substantially bring about the desired objective.
28. The Meeting commended the troop contributing countries on the enormous physical and material sacrifices they had made so far in pursuance of the objectives of ECOWAS in Liberia.
 29. The Meeting also considered how the budget of ECOMOG was to be met and the concern of the UN that ECOWAS should indicate what portion it would meet and what is to be expected of the international community. The Meeting thought that at least the stipend for the soldiers could be provided by all ECOWAS Member States. The rest of the international community could take on the additional resources required to meet the budget.
 30. Other suggestions for meeting the ECOWAS Peace Plan included asking the factions to contribute to the ECOWAS Special Fund for Liberia and ensuring that Member States paid their assessed contributions to ECOWAS regularly. The Meeting felt that external assistance should be extended to ECOMOG as a whole.

Item 6 : Consideration of the Draft Agenda for the Third Meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine

31. The Meeting, after a brief discussion, proposed a Draft Agenda for the consideration of the Heads of State and Government.

Item 7 : Any Other Matters

32. No issue was raised under this item of the Agenda.

Item 8 : Adoption of Report

33. This report was adopted.

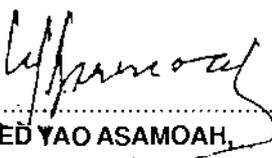
CLOSING SESSION

34. The Chairman commended his colleagues on the level of debate, and expressed his thanks for their contributions to the Meeting.

VOTE OF THANKS

35. The Foreign Ministers of the Committee of Nine on Liberia meeting at the Congress Hall of the Hilton Hotel, Abuja, on 15th and 16th May, 1995 wish to express their deepest appreciation to His Excellency, General Sani Abacha, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, and President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and to the Government and people of Nigeria, for the truly African hospitality extended to them, and the excellent facilities placed at their disposal to ensure the success of their deliberations.

**DONE AT ABUJA,
THIS 16TH DAY OF MAY, 1995**


.....
**DR. OBÉD YAO ASAMOAH,
CHAIRMAN
FOR THE MEETING**

THE AKOSOMBO AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA (NPFL); THE UNITED LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF LIBERIA FOR DEMOCRACY (ULIMO); AND THE ARMED FORCES OF LIBERIA, (AFL)

(Supplements and amends the Cotonou Agreement)

ACCRA, REPUBLIC OF GHANA

12TH SEPTEMBER, 1994

This Agreement, which supplements and amends the Cotonou Agreement, is made and entered into on this 12th day of September, AD 1994 by and between the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) represented by and through its leader Charles G. Taylor (hereinafter referred to as THE PARTY OF THE FIRST PART), the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy, (ULIMO) represented by and through its leader Lt. Gen. Alhaji G. Y. Kromah, (hereinafter referred to as THE PARTY OF THE SECOND PART), and the Armed Forces of Liberia, (AFL) represented by and through its Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. J. Hezekiah Bowen (hereinafter referred to as THE PARTY OF THE THIRD PART), hereby

WITNESS:

PREAMBLE

NPFL, ULIMO and AFL reaffirm their acceptance of the Cotonou Agreement as the framework for peace in Liberia. However, having realized the slow pace in the full implementation of the Cotonou Agreement, resulting from the failure of disarmament and the inability of the Liberia National Transitional Government (LNTG) to achieve the objective of its mandate within a six-month period as set forth under Section B Article 14 (2) of the said Cotonou Agreement and

HAVING NOTED with grave concern the protracted human suffering and the undue hardships to which the people of Liberia (inside and outside the country) have been overly subjected as a result of the senseless Liberian civil crisis and

HAVING REALISED the urgent need to bring this ugly civil crisis to an immediate and lasting end

Do hereby agree to the following:

**PART 1
MILITARY ISSUES**

Declaration**SECTION A****Article 1**

Count 1 is amended to read as follows:

The Parties to this Agreement hereby agree and declare a cease-fire and the cessation of hostilities effective as of the signing of this amendment.

SECTION B**Article 3 : Supervisory and Monitoring Authority**

Count 1 is amended to read:

That the LNTG, ECOMOG and UNOMIL in collaboration shall supervise and monitor the implementation of this Agreement.

These parties hereby expressly recognize the neutrality and authority of ECOMOG and UNOMIL in respect of the foregoing.

Accordingly, the LNTG shall ensure that ECOMOG and UNOMIL shall enjoy complete freedom of movement throughout Liberia.

SECTION C**Article 4 : Terms and Conditions**

Count 4 is amended to read:

The LNTG, in collaboration with ECOMOG and UNOMIL, shall ensure that all points of entry including sea ports, airfields and roads shall be monitored and supervised.

Count 5 is amended to read:

The warring parties shall undertake to disengage and move to designated assembly point within the time frame in the schedule to be attached to this document.

Count 6:

That the LNTG shall enter into a Status of Forces Agreement with ECOWAS within 30 days from the signing of this Agreement.

Count 7:

That the existing Status of Mission Agreement already executed with United Nations (UNOMIL) is herein incorporated by reference and is applicable.

SECTION D**Article 5 : Acts of Violation**

Count 2 is amended to read :

The following acts shall constitute violations of the Agreement

Sub-Section (b)

Any change or improvement of existing positions aimed at acquiring territory.

Sub-Section (c)

Any deliberate discharge (whether with conventional or unconventional weapons) against the position of any warring party by another, or firing at any individual or property or any seizure or abduction of individuals and properties.

Sub-Section (f)

While the right to communication shall not be abridged, any proven use of communication devices, facilities or propaganda designed to incite or having the effect of inciting hostilities between any of the warring parties.

Sub-Section (h)

Obstruction of the implementation of any of the provisions of the Agreement by any party and/or individual.

Sub-Section (i)

Harassments, intimidations, or attacks upon any official of the LNTG, relief organizations, ECOMOG, UNOMIL, Cease-fire Violations Committee as well as individuals.

Sub-Section (j)

Obstruction of the activities of the LNTG, ECOMOG, UNOMIL and the Cease-fire Violation Committee.

Sub-Section (k)

The facilitation or creation of new or splinter armed groups. To this end, any individual or group of individuals suspected of creating or assisting to create any new armed or splinter group or facilitating existing splinter group(s) (directly or indirectly) shall:

1. Not be recognized under the Cotonou Agreement;
2. Shall be *disarmed* and disbanded by ECOMOG in collaboration with LNTG verified by UNOMIL;
3. Thereafter be prosecuted under the laws of Liberia;

SECTION E

Article 6 : Disarmament

The introductory paragraph is hereby amended to read:
 the ultimate objective of disarmament under the Cotonou Agreement being primarily to create a conducive security environment for absolute peace in order to have free and fair elections in the country, NPFL, ULIMO and AFL, hereby agree to disarm to ECOMOG with the cooperation of the LNTG and monitored and verified by the UNOMIL in accordance with the schedule to be attached to this Agreement. The Parties further mandate the LNTG to begin the formation of appropriate national security structures to facilitate the disarmament process. Accordingly, appropriate measures shall be undertaken to enable the AFL to assume its character as a national army. Until such measures are completed the AFL like all other parties and warring groups shall be completely disarmed in accordance with the Cotonou Agreement. In order to ensure a secure environment for the proper functioning of the unified government in Monrovia the LNTG in collaboration with ECOMOG shall ensure that no group or individuals bear arms in the perimeter of the Capital. However, the personnel security of the leaders of the warring parties shall be reflected in the Status of Forces Agreement.

Count 4 is amended to read:

Each of the warring parties shall ensure that its combatants report all weapons and warlike materials to ECOMOG which would be inventoried by ECOMOG, monitored and verified by LNTG and UNOMIL. Upon proper inventory, such weapons and warlike materials, shall be taken by ECOMOG to the designated armouries, monitored and verified by UNOMIL and LNTG.

Count 5 is amended to read:

All non-combatant who are in possession of

weapons and warlike materials shall also report and surrender same to ECOMOG, monitored and verified by LNTG and UNOMIL. Such weapons and warlike materials shall be returned to the owners after due registration, licensing and certification by the governing authority after elections.

Count 7 is amended to read:

For the sole purpose of maintaining the cease-fire, ECOMOG shall conduct any search to recover lost or hidden weapons, observed and monitored by UNOMIL and LNTG.

SECTION F

Article 7 : Encampment

Count 1 is amended to read:

The Parties agree and fully commit themselves to the encampment of their combatants, and maintenance of command and control in encampment centres, established by ECOMOG, UNOMIL and LNTG in collaboration with the parties. The encampment centres shall, in addition to disarmament and demobilization, serve as transit points for the further education, training and rehabilitation of the said combatants.

SECTION G

Article 8 : Peace Enforcement Powers

The following amendments are hereby made to wit:

1. That in the event any party, new armed group or splinter group and/or individuals refuse to desist from acts of violation of the Agreement, the LNTG, in collaboration with ECOMOG shall have the power to use the necessary force available to enforce compliance.
2. All violations of the cease-fire shall be reported to UNOMIL who shall, on immediate receipt of the information or violation, commence an investigation and make findings thereof. In the event the violation can be cured by the party, UNOMIL shall pursue such a course. However, should such a course not be possible, UNOMIL shall submit their findings to the Cease-fire Violations Committee. The Violation Committee shall invite the violating party (ies) for the purpose of having such party/(ies) take corrective measures to cure violations within such time

frame as may be stipulated by the Committee. Should the violating party not take the required corrective measures, the use of peace enforcement powers are recommended against the violator. The LNTG in collaboration with ECOMOG shall thereupon take the necessary action.

SECTION H

Article 9 : Demobilization

Count 2 is amended to read Further, the parties hereby call upon the LNTG, UN, OAU, ECOWAS and other international organizations and countries, to design a programme which recognises the peculiarities of the parties and finance the process of demobilization, retraining, rehabilitation and re-integration of all former combatants to normal social and community life.

Count 3 is amended to read: It is agreed that the LNTG, in collaboration with the parties shall immediately commence a community information or educational programme, explaining to the public by means of communication devices or any form of media, the essence and purpose of cease-fire, encampment, disarmament and demobilization. Such programme shall include other social institutions.

Count 4 : Internal security arrangements including police, customs and immigration will be put in place immediately. Planning for restructuring and training of the AFL will be the responsibility of the LNTG, with the assistance of ECOWAS, United Nations and friendly Governments.

SECTION K

Article 12 : Schedule of Implementation

This Article is amended to read: The attached schedule of implementation to be attached to this Agreement, including disarmament, encampment and demobilization of combatants, preparation of a Status of Forces Agreement, restructuring of AFL and dissolution of the parties drawn up by ECOMOG and UNOMIL in collaboration with the parties, shall be given to each of the parties prior to implementation. The Parties undertake that they

will create no obstacles to the full implementation of any of the foregoing activities.

PART II

POLITICAL ISSUES

SECTION A

Section B Article 14 (7) is hereby amended to read thus

EXECUTIVE

- (i) The Parties further agree that during the transitional period leading up to inauguration of all elected government, the executive powers of the Republic shall be vested in a five member Council of State which is hereby established. Each of the Parties (AFL, NPFL and ULIMO) shall appoint one member to the Council and the remaining two, representing unarmed Liberians, shall be chosen from among prominent Liberians, one appointed by the Liberian National Conference recently convened in Monrovia and the other, by NPFL and ULIMO. The designation of Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen shall be determined through a process of elections to be carried out within 7 days of the signing of this Agreement. The new Council of State will be inducted under the auspices of the Chairman of ECOWAS or his representative within 14 days of the signing of this Agreement.
- (ii) The Council of State shall conduct and be responsible for the day to day operations of government. All decisions shall be made on the basis of a simple majority.
- (iii) The Council shall also devise and implement appropriate rules of procedure in respect of its operations, to be signed by all members on the occasion of their induction into office.
- (iv) The Parties hereby agree that the allocation of Ministries, Public Corporations and Autonomous Agencies as agreed by the Parties in Cotonou, Benin in November 3-5, 1993 shall be maintained, taking into account existing factions in respect of existing vacancies. All boards of Public

Corporations shall be constituted in accordance with the Acts creating said Corporations.

- (v) In the case where the executive post is allocated to the party the two deputy posts shall be allocated to the two other parties. In the case where there are more than two deputy posts in a given Ministry, Public Corporation or Autonomous Agency, the Council of State, shall appoint qualified Liberian citizens to occupy the third and or remaining deputy posts.

A subordinate Presidential appointed posts in government as may be provided by law in consultation with the parties.

Each of the parties shall have the right to review the status of its appointees in the LNTG through the Council of State and any change in appointment by the Council of State, should follow as closely as possible the constitutional procedures. Once appointments have been made to the Council of State changes can only be effected for cause and then consistent with existing laws.

LEGISLATURE

SECTION B

Article 14

Is amended to read:

- (i) That the parties agree that the Transitional Legislative Assembly (TLA) shall be a unicameral body composed of members. The TLA is expanded by 13 eminent citizens through the Ministry of Internal Affairs from each of the 13 counties, and appointed by the Council of State.
- (ii) The Parties further agree that the TLA shall give consideration to providing appropriate benefits for the heads of warring parties.

Article 16 (1) is hereby amended to read :

2 *Is hereby amended to read :*

That the transitional government shall have a lite span of approximately 16 months commencing from the date of installation of the five member Council of State.

3 *Is hereby amended to read:*

That General and Presidential Elections shall take place on 10th October, 1995 and the newly elected Government shall be installed on the first Monday of 1996.

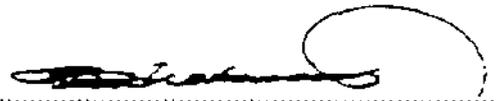
SECTION H

Article 20

The Parties agree that all provisions of the Cotonou Agreement not amended here are herein incorporated by reference and the same are hereby applicable and remain in full force and effect except for the provisions listed below:

- (1) Part I, Section A Art. 2,
- (2) Part I, Section B Art. 3, Count 3,
- (3) Section D Art. 5 (d)
- (4) Part II Section A Art. 13.
- (5) Part 2, Section 3 Art. 1 : 4,6,7 i,ii,iii,iv.

**DONE AT AKOSOMBO REPUBLIC OF GHANA
THIS 12 DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1994**



CHARLES G. TAYLOR
Leader, National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL)

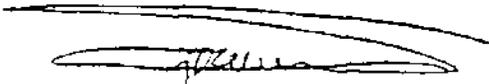


LT. GEN. ALHAJI G.V. KROMAH
National Chairman, United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO)

AGREEMENT ON THE CLARIFICATION OF THE AKOSOMBO AGREEMENT

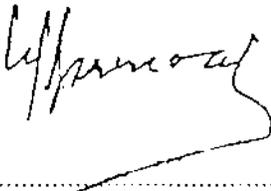
REPUBLIC OF GHANA, ACCRA

21ST DECEMBER, 1994

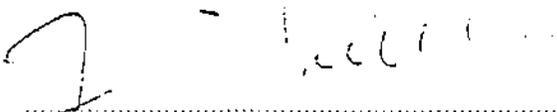


LT. GEN. J. HEZEKIAH BOWEN
Chief of Staff, Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL)

WITNESSED BY:



for.....
HIS EXCELLENCY, FLT. LT. J.J. RAWLINGS
*President of the Republic of Ghana and
Current Chairman of ECOWAS*



AMBASSADOR TREVOR GORDON-SOMERS
*Special Representative of the
United Nations Secretary General in Liberia.*

This Agreement on the clarification of the Akosombo Agreement made this 21st day of December, A.D. 1994 is intended to clarify and expand pertinent provisions of the said Akosombo Agreement.

SECTION A

Article 1 : Cease-fire

The Parties to this Agreement hereby declare a Cease-fire and the cessation of hostilities effective as of 23.59 hours on the 28th day of December, 1994.

SECTION C

**Article 4 : Terms and Conditions
(Safe Havens and Buffer Zones)**

Consistent with Section C Article 4 count 5 of the Akosombo Agreement, the parties agree to facilitate the establishment of Safe Havens and Buffer Zones throughout Liberia in accordance with a plan to be drawn up by the LNTG in collaboration with UNOMIL and ECOMOG in consultation with the parties. In this connection, the deployment of ECOMOG and UNOMIL, the establishment of Buffer Zones, Safe Havens and other measures necessary to restore normalcy throughout the territory of Liberia, shall be undertaken in accordance with the Cotonou and Akosombo Agreements.

In keeping with Section C Article 4 count 6, the LNTG shall enter into a Status of Forces Agreement with ECOWAS within seven (7) days as of the seating of the Council of State established under this Agreement.

SECTION H

Article 9 : Demobilisation

Consistent with Section H Article 9 count 4 of the Akosombo Agreement it is agreed by the parties that in the reorganisation of the Armed Forces of Liberia, the Police, Immigration and other Security Agencies, the combatants and non-combatants who satisfy conditions for recruitment shall be considered for inclusion. In this connection, the Council of State established under the

Akosombo Agreement clarified by this Agreement shall establish appropriate committees which will be charged with determining the criteria for recruitment, taking advantage of the relevant expertise of ECOMOG and UNOMIL.

SECTION K

Article 12 : Schedule of Implementation

The Parties hereby agree to abide by the schedule of implementation hereto attached and incorporated herein by reference.

**PART II
POLITICAL ISSUES**

SECTION A

(EXECUTIVE)

Consistent with Part II Section A (i), of the Akosombo Agreement the provision for the function and structure of the Five-Member Council of State provided for the Cotonou and Akosombo Agreements are hereby re-confirmed.

The procedure for the appointment of the relevant officials of government as enshrined in the Akosombo Agreement is hereby reaffirmed. Such officials shall be appointed based on merit.

The Parties agree that a five-member Council of State shall be established.

The first four members of the new Council of State shall be appointed as follows:

NPFL	-	1
ULIMO	-	1
AFL/COALITION	-	1
LNC	-	1

The fifth member of the Council of State shall be a traditional chief selected by the NPFL & ULIMO in person of Honourable Tamba Tailor in accordance with Part II section A (i) of the Akosombo Agreement and agreed by the parties.

Consistent with Part II Section A (i) of the Akosombo Agreement, induction of the Council of State shall take place in the City of Monrovia under the auspices of the Chairman of ECOWAS or his designee within fourteen (14) days as of the cease-fire date.

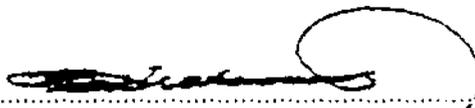
SECTION H

Article 20

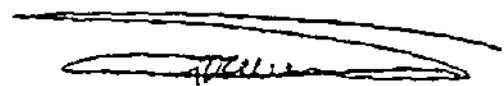
Consistent with Section H Article 20 of the Akosombo Agreement, the parties reaffirm the acceptance of the ECOWAS Peace Plan including the Cotonou and Akosombo Agreements as the best framework for peace in Liberia.

All Provisions of the Akosombo agreement not herein clarified remain in full force and effect.

**DONE AT ACCRA, REPUBLIC OF GHANA,
THIS 21ST DAY OF DECEMBER, A.D. 1994**


.....
CHARLES G. TAYLOR
Leader, National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL)


.....
LT. GEN. ALHAJI G.V. KROMAH
National Chairman, United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO)


.....
LT. GEN. J. HEZEKIAH BOWEN
Chief of Staff, Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL)

Attested to:


.....
H.E., LT. JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS
President of the Republic of Ghana and Current Chairman of ECOWAS

**SCHEDULE OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AKOSOMBO AGREEMENT
FROM CEASEFIRE TO ELECTION
28TH DECEMBER, 1994 - 14TH NOVEMBER, 1995**

SRL	WKS	PERIOD													
		DEO 94	JAN 95	FEB 95	MAR 95	APR 95	MAY 95	JUN 95	JUL 95	AUG 95	SEP 95	OCT 95	NOV 95	DEC 95	
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	
1	2	28 ---	--- 11	Factions inform combatants of Ceasefire											
2	3	12 ---	--- 4	Factions disengage from check points / Present combat positions to areas under own arrangements											
3	3	12 ---	--- 4	Verification by ECOMOG/UNOMIL/LNTG/Warring Factions											
4	2	21 ---	--- 7	Rece mission / built-up of logistics ECOMOG / UNOMIL / LNTG											
5	10	8 ---	--- 21	Deployment of ECOMOG/UNOMIL to Safe Havens throughout counties											
6	4	13 ---	--- 13	Completion/Preparation for new Assembly/Encampment Sites											
7	4	1 ---	--- 30	Combatants in Assembly/Encampment Sites											
8	8	--- 1	--- 30	Disarmament/Demobilisation											
9	9	--- 1	--- 7	Resettlement/Repatriation											
19		Preparation for Elections --- 8													
11		Election Day --- 14													

- NOTES:**
1. Ceasefire --- 23:59 hours 28th December, 1994 (Midnight 28th/29th December, 1994)
 2. Installation of new Council of State ---
 3. Election Day --- 14th November, 1995
 4. Inauguration of new Government --- 1st January, 1996

THE ACCEPTANCE AND ACCESSION BY THE LOFA DEFENCE FORCE (LDF); THE LIBERIA PEACE COUNCIL (LPC); THE CENTRAL REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (CRC-NPFL); THE UNITED LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF LIBERIA FOR DEMOCRACY, (ULIMO); AND THE LIBERIA NATIONAL CONFERENCE (LNC)

ACCRA, REPUBLIC OF GHANA,

21ST DECEMBER, 1994

This ACCEPTANCE and ACCESSION undertaking made and entered into this 21st day of December, A.D. 1994 by the Lofa Defence Force (LDF), represented by Mr. Francois Massaquoi; the Liberia Peace Council (LPC), represented by Dr. G.E. Saigbe Boley Sr; the Central Revolutionary Council (CRC-NPFL), represented by J. Thomas Woewiyu; United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy, (ULIMO), represented by Major-General Roosevelt Johnson, the Liberia National Conference (LNC), represented by Counsellor J.D. Bayogar Junius, all of them hereinafter collectively referred to as the NON-SIGNATORIES to the Akosombo Agreement, hereby :-

WITNESSETH

WHEREAS, an agreement, referred to as the "Akosombo Agreement" was made and entered into on the 12th day of September, by and between the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL); the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) and the United Liberation Movement (ULIMO), in an effort to establish a cease-fire, facilitate disarmament, encampment, demobilization, and to pave the way for a free and fair election; and

WHEREAS, the NON-SIGNATORIES TO THE AKOSOMBO AGREEMENT did not participate in the discussions leading to the Akosombo Agreement; and

WHEREAS, a need arose for further discussions between the Signatories to Akosombo for clarification and expansion of the provisions therein with the view of

facilitating the acceptance and the implementation of the Agreement, which said discussions the NON-SIGNATORIES fully participated; and

WHEREAS, after intense discussions and negotiations between the parties to the Akosombo Agreement and the NON-SIGNATORIES thereto, the NON-SIGNATORIES have agreed to accept the terms and conditions of the Akosombo Agreement with the clarifications thereto to set forth and contained in the Agreement on the clarification of the said Akosombo Agreement.

NOW THEREFORE, THE NON-SIGNATORIES TO THE AKOSOMBO AGREEMENT, in consideration of their participation in the discussions on the clarifications of the Akosombo Agreement, and in further consideration of the political arrangements agreed upon and accepted by them, agree as follows to wit

1. That the Lofa Defence Force (LDF), the Liberia Peace Council (LPC), and the Central Revolutionary Council (CRC-NPFL) in their individual capacities; the LNC, and ULIMO agree to accept and to accede to, and by this document hereby accept, and accede to the Akosombo Agreement the agreement on clarification of the aforesaid Akosombo agreement.
2. That the non-signatories commit themselves individually and collectively to the terms and conditions of the Akosombo agreement and the Agreement on Clarification of the said Agreement, and undertake to fully implement and discharge all the tasks and the responsibilities, and to abide by all the terms and conditions as set forth and contained under the said Akosombo agreement, and the Agreement on clarification of the said Akosombo agreement, as if they were signatories thereto and/or specifically named therein.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, THE PARTIES HERETO Have here unto set their hands and affixed their signatures

**THIS 21ST DAY OF DECEMBER, A.D. 1994
IN THE CITY OF ACCRA, REPUBLIC OF GHANA:**

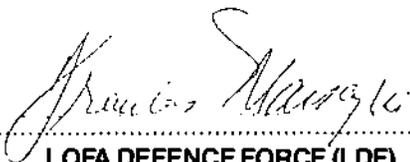


UNITED LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF LIBERIA
FOR DEMOCRACY, (ULIMO)
*Represented by and through its Chairman,
Major General Roosevelt Johnson*



LIBERIA NATIONAL CONFERENCE (LNC)
*Represented by and through its Chairman,
Counsellor J.D. Bayogar Junius*

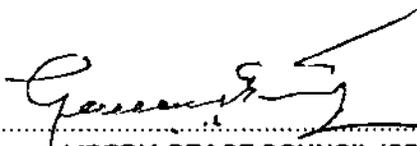
Attested to:



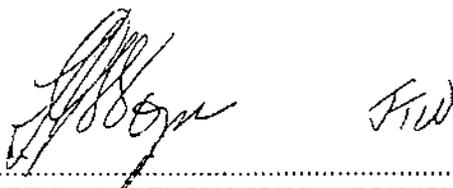
LOFA DEFENCE FORCE (LDF)
*Represented by and through its Leader,
Francois Massaquoi*



HIS EXCELLENCY,
FLT. LT. JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS
*President of the Republic of Ghana
and Current Chairman of ECOWAS*



LIBERIA PEACE COUNCIL (CPC)
*Represented by and through its Chairman,
Dr. G. E. Saigbe Boley Sr.*



THE CENTRAL REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (CRC-
NPFL), *Represented by and through its Chairman,
Jucontee Thomas Woewiyu*

THE THIRD MEETING OF ECOWAS AUTHORITY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

ABUJA, 17TH - 21ST MAY, 1996

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. The Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia held its Third Session at the ECOWAS Secretariat in Abuja, Federal Capital of Nigeria, from 17th to 21st May, 1995 under the Chairmanship of His Excellency, Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana and Chairman of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS. The Heads of State and Government deliberated on the measures for putting back on track and accelerating the Liberian peace process.
2. Present at the session were the following Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives
 - His Excellency, Konan BEDIE, President of COTE D'IVOIRE;
 - His Excellency, Captain Yahya A.J.J. JAMMEH, Chairman of the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council and Head of State of the Republic of THE GAMBIA;
 - His Excellency, Flt. Lt. Jerry John RAWLINGS, President of the Republic of GHANA;
 - His Excellency, David KPOMAKPOR, Chairman of Council of State of LIBERIA;
 - His Excellency, Alpha Oumar KONARE, President of the Republic of MALI;
 - His Excellency, General Sani ABACHA, Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
 - His Excellency, Captain Valentine E.M. STRASSER, Chairman. Supreme Council of State of the National Provisional Ruling Council and Head of State of the Republic of SIERRA LEONE;
- His Excellency, General Gnassingbe EYADEMA, President of the TOGOLESE Republic;
- Hon. Désiré VIEYRA, Senior Minister at the Presidency, responsible for Governmental Affairs and National Defence, representing the President of the Republic of BENIN;
- Hon. Ablasse OUEDRAOGO Minister of Foreign Affairs, representing the Head of State of FASO;
- Hon. Kozo ZOUMANIGUI Minister of Foreign Affairs, representing the President of the Republic of GUINEA;
- Hon. Massokhna Kane Minister of African Economic Integration Representing the President of the Republic of SENEGAL;
3. Also in attendance were:
 - The Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General;
 - The Eminent Person of the OAU for Liberia;
 - The US Special Envoy for Liberia.
4. The Heads of State and Government reviewed developments concerning the Liberian crisis since their last meeting in August, 1994. The Heads of State and Government commended the President of Ghana and current Chairman of ECOWAS, His Excellency, Flt.-Lt Jerry John Rawlings for the efforts he has relentlessly made since the signing of the Akosombo and Accra Agreements, to resolve the Liberian crisis in concert with all the key players.
5. The Heads of State and Government deliberated on the sensitive issues that militated against the restoration of permanent and durable peace in Liberia. They identified and examined all facets of the problems relating to these issues particularly the composition of the Council of State, its Chairmanship, the designation of its officers, and the permanent and temporary succession to the Chairmanship of the Council.
6. The Heads of State and Government welcomed the spirit of accommodation demonstrated by all the Liberian parties. They also congratulated

them for their disposition to substantially advance the peace process as demonstrated in their representations of the Heads of State and Government. The Heads of State and Government observed that, building on the gains made at the Accra Summit in January 1995, a substantial measure of agreement had emerged among the parties on nearly all the issues that had remained unresolved.

They emphasized the need to preserve and consolidate these gains and requested the leaders of the Liberian parties to engage their principals and constituencies in consultations on this last phase towards final resolution. The Liberian parties were informed to hold themselves in readiness to reconvene within a short period to sign a supplementary agreement on all the remaining issues involved.

With regard to arms control, the Heads of State and Government noted with concern the continued flow of arms into Liberia. In this connection, they recalled the ECOWAS decision and the UN Security Council Resolution 788 (1992) which placed embargo on all deliveries of arms, ammunition and military equipment to Liberia. They stressed that all ECOWAS Member States and the rest of the international community were under obligation to abide strictly by the embargo. They also expressed the wish that Member States would bring all instances of violation of the arms embargo before the United Nations Commission on Sanctions.

The Heads of State and Government launched an appeal to the international community and in particular to the United States of America, to assist ECOWAS in the provision of logistics to facilitate the effective patrolling of the land and sea borders of Liberia in order to stem the flow of arms into that country. They requested the Field Commander of ECOMOG and the UNOMIL Representative to reactivate and improve the monitoring mechanism established earlier by ECOWAS.

0. On the imposition of a cease-fire, the Heads of State and Government stressed that the Council of State could not be set up unless the factions showed a greater degree of commitment to the observance of the cease-fire and disarmament of combatants. They endorsed the schedule of implementation annexed to the Accra Agreement, and renewed the appeal to

ECOWAS Member States, the OAU, the United Nations and all friends of the West African region to contribute troops, material and money substantially to ECOMOG and thereby ensure the success of the disarmament exercise in Liberia. They stressed that the provision of adequate resources for ECOMOG would enhance its capacity to compel the armed factions to conform to ECOWAS decisions.

11. The Heads of State and Government commended the troop-contributing countries on the enormous physical and material sacrifices they had made so far in pursuance of the objectives of ECOWAS in Liberia.

They expressed their gratitude to the OAU and the UN for their role in the search for peace in Liberia.

12. At the end of their deliberations, the Heads of State and Government, expressed their sincere appreciation and gratitude to His Excellency, General Sani Abacha, Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to the Government and people of Nigeria for the warm hospitality extended to them during their stay in Abuja.

**DONE AT ABUJA,
THIS 21ST DAY OF MAY, 1995.**

THE EIGHTEENTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE AUTHORITY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)

ACCRA, 28TH - 29TH JULY, 1995

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. The Eighteenth Ordinary Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), was held in Accra, Republic of Ghana, on 28th and 29th July, 1995 under the Chairmanship of His Excellency Flight-Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana.
 - Honourable Hermann YAMEOGO, Senior Minister, Minister of Integration and African Solidarity representing the President of BURKINA FASO;
 - Captain Edward David SINGHATEY, Vice-Chairman of the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council and Minister of Defence of the Republic of The Gambia, representing the President of the Republic of THE GAMBIA;
 - Honourable Traoré DIONCOUNDA, Senior Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malians Resident Abroad and of African Integration, representing the President of the Republic of MALI;
 - Honourable Ahmed Ould MINIH, Minister, Secretary-General, Office of the President, representing the President of the Islamic Republic of MAURITANIA;
 - Lieutenant-General Oladipo DIYA, Chief of General Staff, Office of the President, representing the Head of State of the Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
 - Honourable Moustapha NIASSE, Senior Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Senegalese Resident Abroad, representing the President of the Republic of SENEGAL;
 - Honourable Dr. Alusine FOFANAH, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, representing the President of the Republic of SIERRA LEONE;
 - Honourable Elom K. DADZIE, Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance, representing the President of the TOGOLESE Republic;
2. Present at the session were the following Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives:
 - His Excellency, Nicéphore Dieudonné SOGLO, President of the Republic of BENIN;
 - His Excellency, Henri Konan BEDIE, President of the Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE;
 - His Excellency, Flt. Lt. Jerry John RAWLINGS, President of the Republic of GHANA;
 - His Excellency, General Lansana CONTE, President of the Republic of GUINEA;
 - His Excellency, David KPOMAKPOR, Chairman of the LIBERIA National Transitional Government;
 - His Excellency, Mahamane OUSMANE, President of the Republic of NIGER;
 - Honourable Carlos Alberto Wahanon de Carvalho VEIGA, Prime Minister and Head of Government of the Republic of CAPE VERDE;
 - Honourable Manuel Saturnino COSTA, Prime Minister and Head of Government of the Republic of GUINEA BISSAU;
3. Attending the Session as Observers were:
 - The Executive Secretary of the West African Clearing House (WACH);
 - The President of the Federation of West African Chambers of Commerce (FWACC);

- The Secretary-General of the West African Women's Association (WAWA);
- The Executive Director of the West African Health Community (WAHC);
- The representative of the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA);
- The United Nations Secretary-General's Special Representative to Liberia;
- The Governor of the BCEAO and Chairman of the Committee of Governors of Central Banks in West Africa;
- The representative of the African Development Bank (ADB);
- The representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP);
- The representative of the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO);
- The representative of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO);
- The representative of the United Nations Fund for Women in Development (UNIFEM);
- The representative of the Pan-African News Agency (PANA);
- The representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR);
- The representative of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD);
- The representative of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO);
- The representative of the West African Development Bank (BOAD);
- The representative of ECOBANK Transnational Incorporated;
- and a large number of High Commissioners and Ambassadors accredited to the Republic of Ghana.

REGIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

4. The Heads of State and Government expressed their disappointment that, in spite of the high hopes entertained over the signing of the Cotonou Accord, the Liberian parties failed to abide by its provisions. The Authority lauded the persistence of its Chairman with respect to the efforts he made during the year to secure a workable agreement among the parties to the Liberian conflict. It was noted, in particular, that both the Akosombo and Accra Accords were within the framework of the Cotonou Accord and should have facilitated the implementation of the ECOWAS Peace Plan for Liberia.
5. Heads of State and Government observed that, due to the general lack of cooperation from the warring factions, very little progress has been made with respect to the vital issues of encampment, disarmament, demobilisation and rehabilitation. It was regretted that, instead of getting less, the problem of armed conflict had grown more intractable with the emergence of new warring factions and dissensions within the old ones. The Authority noted that the continued fighting had aggravated the problem of refugees and displaced persons.
6. The Authority praised the selfless sacrifice being made by the troop contributing Member States in their continued support of the ECOMOG peace-keeping mission. Particular mention was made of the safe havens that ECOMOG forces had managed to create in five of the thirteen counties of Liberia and exhorted the ECOMOG Field Commander and his forces to persevere in their humanitarian mission. The Authority noted with regret the withdrawal of the troops from Tanzania and Uganda for lack of support from the international community. In this regard, a strong appeal was once more made by the Heads of State and Government for substantial support of the ECOWAS peace initiative in Liberia. A special appeal was made to the United Nations not to withdraw its Observer Mission in

Liberia (**UNOMIL**), since it was playing a very vital role in the Liberia peace process.

7. Heads of State and Government noted with concern that dissensions within the warring factions had hampered the functioning of the Liberia National Transitional Government (**LNTG**) and retarded the peace process. It was also observed that the current impasse that was being faced related to the formation of a new interim government. The Authority made a strong appeal to the Liberian leaders to rise above their personal interests and show the statesmanship needed to reach a workable compromise, particularly as the issues over which there were disagreements did not appear to be vital. Indeed, Heads of State and Government warned the Liberian leadership that the patience of the outside world was wearing out, and the persistent intransigence was destroying the very foundation of that nation.
8. The Authority requested its Chairman to continue to mediate in the Liberian crisis. All Member States were called upon to see the civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone as problems of regional peace and security, and to facilitate the **ECOWAS** search for lasting solutions.
9. Concerning the merchant ship, **MV Sea Rose**, in the custody of **ECOMOG**, the Authority directed the Executive Secretary to study the issues involved and make appropriate proposals on its disposal. In the meantime, it was decided that the ship should remain in **ECOMOG** custody.

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN

10. Heads of State and Government unanimously elected the Republic of Ghana as Chairman of the Community for 1995/1996.

DATE AND VENUE OF NEXT SUMMIT

11. At the invitation of the President of the Republic of Ghana, the Authority decided to hold its Nineteenth Session in Accra, at a date to be determined later.

VOTE OF THANKS

12. Heads of State and Government paid glowing tribute to His Excellency, Flight-Lieutenant Jerry

John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana, for the diligence and dedication with which he directed the affairs of the Community during the past twelve months. The Authority was particularly appreciative of the untiring efforts of its Chairman to secure peace in Liberia. Heads of State and Government further expressed gratitude to President Rawlings, his government and the people of Ghana for the genuine fraternal welcome extended to all delegations and for the excellent facilities made available to ensure the success of the 1995 Annual Statutory Meetings of the Community.

**DONE AT ACCRA,
THIS 29TH DAY OF JULY, 1995.**

RESOLUTION A/RES.6/7/95 CALLING ON THE UNITED NATIONS TO MAINTAIN ITS PRESENCE IN AND SUPPORT TO LIBERIA

THE AUTHORITY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

MINDFUL of Article 5 of the ECOWAS Treaty establishing the Authority of Heads of State and Government and defining its composition and functions;

TAKING note of Resolution 1001 (1995) of 29th June, 1995 by which the United Nations Security Council has decided to extend the mandate of UNOMIL to 15th September, 1995 subject to the installation of the Council of State, re-establishment of a global and effective cease-fire, creation of an agreed timetable and schedule for the implementation of all aspects of the accords, particularly the disarmament process;

CONSIDERING that, under Chapter 8 of the United Nations Charter, primary responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and security devolves upon the United Nations;

CONSIDERING that, by participating through ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in the search for a peace full settlement of the Liberian crisis and making considerable efforts for the purpose, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was merely assisting the United Nations;

CONSIDERING that, because the Economic Community of West African States has, on several occasions, solicited assistance from the international community in its efforts to bring the warring factions to accept a cease-fire to provide appropriate incentives for their troops once disarmed;

CONSIDERING that, in view of the inability of ECOWAS to obtain the assistance it was entitled to, the prospect of peace returning to Liberia has become more elusive;

CONSIDERING that the signing of the Akosombo and Accra Agreements have infused new life into the process and injected a spirit of compromise into the warring factions;

CONSIDERING that, although the factions' new attitude is expected to accelerate the peace process, the 15th September, 1995 deadline set by the Security Council is too short to permit successful execution of the tasks assigned;

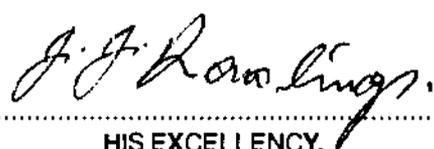
CONVINCED that withdrawal of the United Nations military Observer Mission (UNOMIL) from Liberia at this stage would irreparably compromise all the efforts made so far by ECOMOG and would be catastrophic for all Member States of the sub-region;

APPEALS to the United Nations Security Council to reconsider the situation in Liberia, taking into account recent initiatives and on-going actions;

CALLS on the Security Council to review its Decision 1001 (1995) dated 29th June, 1995 irrespective of the stage the Liberian peace process has reached by 15th September, 1995;

REVIEWS its appeal to the international Community to provide adequate financial resources to ECOWAS and logistic support to ECOMOG for the restoration of peace to Liberia.

**DONE AT ACCRA
THIS 29TH DAY OF JUNE, 1995**



.....
**HIS EXCELLENCY,
FLT. LT. JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS
CHAIRMAN FOR THE AUTHORITY.**

THE SIXTH MEETING OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE LIBERIAN CRISIS
(CONSULTATIVE MEETING ON THE LIBERIAN PEACE PROCESS)

ABUJA, 16TH - 19TH AUGUST, 1995

FINAL REPORT

INTRODUCTION

1. In its continued bid to find a lasting solution to the Liberian crisis, ECOWAS, under the Chairmanship of His Excellency, Flt-Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana, convened a meeting of the Liberian factions in Abuja on the 16th and 17th of August, 1995.

2. The meeting held under the Chairmanship of Captain Kojo Tsikata (Rtd.) was a continuation of consultations between the factions earlier held in May 1995, in Abuja and later in July 1995, in Monrovia.

3. Present at the meeting were the leaders and representatives of the following factions:

- Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL);
- Lofa Defence Force (LDF);
- Liberia National Conference (LNC);
- Liberia Peace Council (LPC);
- National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL);
- National Patriotic Front of Liberia-Central Revolutionary Council (NPFL-CRC);
- United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO);
- United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) Gen. Johnson's faction).

4. Also present by invitation, were the following:

- Representatives of the Republic of Ghana;

— Representatives of the Federal Republic of Nigeria;

— Rev. Canaan Banana, OAU Eminent Person to Liberia;

— Ambassador Anthony B. Nyakyi, Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General;

— Representatives of the ECOWAS Secretariat;

— Major General John Mark Inienger, Field Commander, ECOMOG;

— Representatives of the UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL);

— Representative of the Carter Centre, Atlanta, U.S.A.;

— Chief Tamba Tailor, Liberian Traditional Leader;

— Representatives of the Inter-Faith Mediation Committee;

— Representatives of the Women Groups of Liberia.

II. OPENING SESSION

5. The Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Chief Tom Ikimi welcomed all delegates and facilitators back to Abuja. He expressed his pleasure at seeing all factions and most of their leaders present at the meeting. Nigeria, he said, had put all adequate facilities for successful deliberations at the disposal of the meeting. He noted that the meeting was a continuation of previous efforts aimed at resolving the lingering Liberian crisis. He hoped that this time around, the Liberian factions would be sincere and truthful and would be willing to show the spirit of give and take.

6. The factions should be aware, he said, that one faction could not have all that it desired. He advised them to negotiate as brothers and find workable solutions to all outstanding issues of contention.

7. In his opening statement, the Special

Representative of the ECOWAS Chairman, Captain Kojo Tsikata, Member of the Council of State of the Republic of Ghana conveyed the greetings of the expectant peoples of the ECOWAS sub-region to the meeting. He reminded the factions that the meeting was being held to break, once and for all, the crippling impasse that had held back the progress made towards lasting peace in Liberia during various conferences and meetings held since last year. He said that one of the most visible signs of success of these consultations had been the largely partial upholding of the cease-fire declared by all the factions in Accra last year.

8. Captain Tsikata informed the meeting that, as part of the continuing efforts of ECOWAS, a meeting of the warring factions and some interested parties was held in Monrovia under the auspices of the ECOWAS Chairman in July 1995. Captain Tsikata highlighted some of the conclusions of the Monrovia meeting for consideration of those who were not present there. These included the following:

(a) *Conduct of the meeting of the Council of State.*

The Monrovia meeting agreed that the new Council of State should establish its own rules of procedure and also decide on the quorum for its meetings.

(b) On whether the Chairman of the Council of State should have any voting rights, the participants at the Monrovia meeting suggested that the Chairman should vote at all times and should cast a second vote where there is a tie.

(c) *Date and place of inauguration of the Council of State*

There was the general opinion that as agreed under the Akosombo Agreement, the Council of State should be inaugurated in Monrovia by the ECOWAS Chairman within fourteen (14) days of the signing of the new agreement.

(d) *Cease-fire and disarmament*

Parties at the Monrovia meeting stressed

that the new cease-fire should not only be all-encompassing, but also, the period between the announcement of the cease-fire and the disengagement process should be as short as possible.

9. The parties reaffirmed their commitment to disarmament, creation of safe havens, buffer zones, opening of roads, seaports and airports as laid down in the Schedule of Implementation attached to the Akosombo Agreement and the Accra Clarification Agreement, with the appropriate adjustment made in furtherance of the disarmament process.

10. The Monrovia meeting also suggested that the Liberian government should make some contributions to induce disarmament through a policy that would give cash in return for guns, create peace villages, provide money to set up some enterprises and institute community-based educational campaigns for ex-combatants.

(e) *Enforcement of Agreements*

The Monrovia meeting agreed on the need for a strict compliance with Agreements, entered into. In this connection, it adopted a proposal to impose sanctions which would link violations of agreements with loss of political rights. This would include loss of voting rights in the Council of State during the period of violation of the Agreements.

The participants at the Monrovia meeting went further to suggest that where any violation should require comprehensive peace enforcement, there should be a suspension of the guilty party's entire representation in the government.

(f) *Allocation of political posts.*

As regards the allocation of Ministries, public corporations and autonomous agencies, the parties at the Monrovia meeting, reaffirmed their commitment to Part II Section IV of the Akosombo Agreement and as reaffirmed in the Accra Clarification Agreement.

(g) *Split within ULIMO*

The Monrovia meeting could not resolve

the difficulties that continue to split ULIMO into two opposing camps.

11. Captain Tsikata concluded his briefing on the outcome of the Monrovia meeting by reporting that the AFL, LDF, LNC, LPC, NPFL-CRC and ULIMO signed the report adopted by the meeting. The ULIMO "J" faction did not sign the report while the NPFL was absent.
12. Continuing his opening speech, Captain Tsikata noted that the obstacles that prevented a return to durable and permanent peace to Liberia, were surmountable. The removal of these obstacles would call for supreme sacrifices on the part of all Liberians. He pleaded with them to bury their personal ambitions for the general good of their country. The rest of the world which stood ready to come to their aid to help rebuild the Liberian society and help reconstruct the country's shattered economy needed positive signals from Liberians in order to intervene. He called on the warring leaders to stop displaying mistrust and suspicion of one another. The costing of the disarmament programme for the demobilised fighters had been carried out by UNOMIL and ECOMOG. Potential donors who had been sounded out had given positive responses, but would not act until the correct signals had been received from the parties. He also reminded them of the recent UN Security Council's Resolution to have the United Nations terminate its operations in Liberia by September 15th, 1995, if certain measures were not implemented by Liberians themselves before that date.
13. A successful outcome of this meeting he said could signal to the UN Security Council and the International Community to suspend any cutback it had in the offing. He advised the Liberians to be relentless in their pursuit for peace as they had been in their prosecution of the unfortunate civil war. He entreated them to be serious in their deliberations and to endeavour to come up with a win solution that would signal to the world, that they had broken the jinx and taken the giant step forward for peace. *"We need peace in Liberia, we need peace in the sub-region and we demand peace from you"*, Captain Tsikata added.
14. Concluding his opening remarks, Captain Tsikata thanked, on behalf of all present, the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Federal Government and the people of Nigeria for the excellent facilities placed at the disposal of the meeting.
15. Finally, he wished the meeting a successful outcome of its deliberations.
16. Taking the floor, the OAU Eminent Person to Liberia, Rev. Canaan Banana reminded the Liberian parties that the eyes of the sub-region, Africa and indeed the International Community were all fixed on Abuja and the outcome of their meeting. Waiting eagerly for the results of the meeting were also the Liberian children, women and men who are yearning for peace. He advised all Liberians to go back to Liberia with a sense of achievement and honour. He pleaded with them to put the tragic chapter of Liberia behind, by extending to one another a spirit of give and take, as not everybody or faction could be a leader at the same time. The greatest leaders, he told the factions, were those who were able to make the greatest sacrifices for the sake of peace. He wished the meeting every success.
17. The Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General to Liberia, Ambassador Anthony Nyakyi also made a brief remark to the meeting. He joined previous speakers in pleading with the factions to summon courage to bring to an end the Liberian misery.
18. He reminded them of the decision of the Security Council not to renew the mandate of UNOMIL unless substantial progress was made in certain aspects of the peace process. For the UN to withdraw its threat of withdrawal, it needed to be convinced of the seriousness of the Liberians to end the crisis.
19. Taking the floor, General Hezekiah Bowen, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) expressed gratitude to the Government and people of Nigeria and to the facilitators. He affirmed the commitment of the Armed Forces of Liberia to cooperate with other parties in order to end the crisis. He reported to the meeting that AFL wholeheartedly supported the outcome of the Monrovia meeting to which the AFL was a signatory.
20. Counsellor Chea Cheapoo, speaking on behalf of the Liberian National Conference (LNC) also expressed gratitude to the facilitators, the Government and people of Nigeria for their help, indulgence and patience. He told the meeting

that the deliberations of the Monrovia meeting were acceptable to the LNC.

- 21. General Isaac S. Quawah, one of the delegates of the United Liberia Movement for Democracy (ULIMO) also expressed the commitment of his faction to the peace process. He informed the meeting that the faction leader, Alhaji Kromah who was absent at the opening session was on his way to the meeting.

III. CLOSED DOOR DELIBERATIONS

A. Agenda

- 22. At the start of its closed-door deliberations, the meeting was addressed by Mr. Charles Taylor, leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). Mr. Taylor thanked the people and Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria for hosting the meeting and for its kindness, friendliness and fraternity shown to him and his delegation, during all his three visits to Nigeria. He expressed his delight and his delegation's happiness at being in Nigeria.
- 23. Mr. Taylor affirmed to the meeting, the willingness and the sincerity of his delegation to discuss and reach conclusions on all aspects of the peace process.
- 24. Contributing to the issue of an agenda for the meeting, Mr. Taylor pointed out that as far as he was concerned, the only issues outstanding with regards to the peace process were the composition and the Chairmanship of the Council of State.
- 25. He expressed his reservations about the ECOWAS established principle of seeking consensus of all the Liberian factions on every issue relating to the peace process. This, he said, had been one of the impediments to the peace process, and the ECOWAS leadership should bear part of the blame for this.
- 26. Since the factions were not all equal he said, ECOWAS should use its discretion in getting all factions to tow the line of either the majority or agree to the position that ECOWAS, in its wisdom may consider as the best option for the peace process.
- 27. Taking the floor, the Nigerian Minister of Foreign Affairs, agreed with the suggestion that the

meeting should have an agenda. He suggested in this regard that due consideration be given to the need for the setting up of not any Council, but one that would be effective with a strong leadership. The Council, Mr. tkimi advised, should, in its composition and leadership, be able to have effective control over the whole territory of Liberia as well as be capable of preparing the country for proper elections.

- 28. In his contribution to the discussion on the agenda for the meeting, Counsellor Chea Cheapoo of the LNC expressed his support for the formulation of an agenda that would focus on the unresolved issues. The most pressing issue for the civilian population of Liberia which the LNC represents, was that of greater observance of the cease-fire and disarmament. The LNC he said, believed that there should be total and comprehensive cease-fire and commencement of disarmament before the seating of the Council of State.
- 29. General Roosevelt Johnson of ULIMO "J", while supporting views on the need to have an agenda, suggested that the meeting should focus on those issues that remained unsolved from the Monrovia meeting. The issues, he said, were those relating to the Vice Chairmanship of the Council and the ULIMO factional split.
- 30. Concluding discussions on the agenda for the meeting, the Chairman, Captain Kojo Tsikata, outlined the agenda as follows:
 - (i) Governance and Related issues: Council of State, Composition, succession.
 - (ii) Cease-fire, disarmament etc...
 - (iii) Schedule of Implementation.
 - (iv) The ULIMO issue.

IV THE SIXTH MEETING OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON LIBERIAN CRISIS

- 31. The following members of the Committee of Nine were represented:
 - Republic of BENIN;
 - BURKINA FASO;

- Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE;
- Republic of GHANA;
- Republic of GUINEA;
- Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
- Republic of SENEGAL;
- TOGOLESE Republic.

32. The Foreign Ministers of the Republics of Sierra Leone and Liberia were also present at the meeting by invitation.

V. OUTCOME OF DELIBERATIONS

33. Following consultations between the Liberian parties, the facilitators, and the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine, a number of proposals were tabled for consideration by the Liberian parties.

- (a) It was proposed that the membership of the Council of State should be six with the following composition:
 - (i) NPFL: 1
 - (ii) ULIMO: 1
 - (iii) COALITION: 1
 - (iv) LNC: 1 representing civilians in Monrovia
 - (v) Chief Tamba Tailor representing civilians in areas controlled by the warring factions
 - (vi) Mr. Milton Sankawalo
- (b) It was further proposed that Mr. Milton Sankawalo should be the Chairman of the Council. Giving his background, it was explained that he was a Kpelle by tribe, 55 years old from the Bong County with a Masters degree in English and a wide ranging experience in State affairs.
- (c) Three factions, namely the NPFL, ULIMO and LPC were identified as the most important groups in terms of their relative

fire-power, and it was proposed that the Leader of the LPC should be the one to represent the Coalition. It was furthermore proposed that these three named factions should nominate the Chairman of the Council of State.

- (d) It was stressed that none of the leaders of the warring factions should act as Chairman of the Council of State. Apart from the Chairman, all members of the Council would be Vice Chairmen of equal status.
- (e) Members of the Council of State who were interested in contesting for political position would have to withdraw their membership from the Council as from the time the electoral process got under way as specified under the schedule of implementation of the Agreement on the peace process. Upon withdrawal from the Council, such members would be replaced by new nominated members.
- (f) It was proposed that the Chairman of the Council of State would not be eligible to contest in the first presidential and parliamentary elections to be organised by the Council.
- (g) With regard to the sharing of ministerial and other statutory posts, it was proposed that these be shared among the parties on the basis of equity and in consultation with the Committee of Nine and that the allotment be completed during these consultations.
- (h) Certain specified positions were offered to the ULIMO-J faction.
- (i) Lt.-Gen. Hezekiah Bowen of the AFL was proposed for a ministerial appointment together with Messrs. L. Supuwood, T. Woewiyu, S. Dokie, and Francois Massaquoi.
- (j) It was noted that a cease-fire had already been declared in implementation of previous Accords. However, since these cease-fires had not been holding as expected, it was proposed that the new

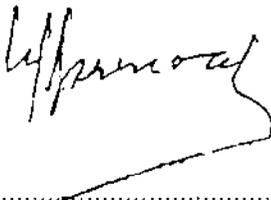
cease-fire and the cessation of hostilities should be implemented by midnight of 26th August, 1995.

- (k) As regards the seating of the Council, it was proposed that this should take place within 14 days of the signing of the Agreement.
- 34. An Agreement based on the foregoing proposals was signed by the parties on 19th August, 1995. A copy of this Agreement is attached to this report.

VOTE OF THANKS

- 35. The Ministers of foreign Affairs of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia and the Liberian parties, meeting in Abuja, Nigeria, from 16 to 19 August, 1995, as part of the continued efforts aimed at finding a lasting and durable solution to the Liberian crisis, wish to express their sincere gratitude to His Excellency, General Sani Abacha, Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and the Government and People of Nigeria for the genuinely African hospitality extended to them as well as for the excellent facilities made available to ensure the success of their deliberations.

**DONE AT ABUJA,
THIS 19TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1995**



DR. OBED YAO ASAMOAH
CHAIRMAN FOR THE MEETING

ABUJA PEACE AGREEMENT TO SUPPLEMENT THE COTONOU AND AKOSOMBO AGREEMENTS AS SUBSEQUENTLY CLARIFIED BY THE ACCRA AGREEMENT

This Agreement amends and supplements the Cotonou Accord, the Akosombo Agreement and its Accra Clarification.

SECTION A

Article 1 : Cease-fire

The Parties to this Agreement hereby declare a cease-fire and the cessation of hostilities effective at 12 o'clock midnight August 26th, 1995.

SECTION K

Article 12 : Schedule of Implementation

The Parties hereby agree to abide by the schedule of implementation attached to the Agreement on the Clarification of the Akosombo Agreement with such modifications in terms of dates as are required by virtue of the delay in the implementation of the said Agreement.

**PART 11
POLITICAL ISSUES**

SECTION A

EXECUTIVE

- i. The Parties agree that during the transitional period leading to the inauguration of an elected government, the executive powers of the Republic of Liberia shall be vested in a six-member Council of State to be composed as follows
 - a. **NPFL**
Mr. Charles Ghankay Taylor
 - b. **ULIMO**
LTG. Alhaji G.V. Kromah
 - c. **COALITION**
Dr. George E.S. Boley Sr.
 - d. **LNC**
Oscar Jaryee Quiah

- e Chief Tamba Tailor
- f. Mr. Wilton Sankawolo
- ii. The Chairman of the council shall be Mr. Wilton Sankawolo. All other members of the Council shall be Vice-Chairmen of equal status. In case of permanent incapacitation a new Chairman shall be appointed within the ECOWAS framework.
- iii. The Parties hereby agree that the allocation of ministries, Public Corporations and Autonomous Agencies agreed by the parties in Cotonou, Republic of Benin on the 3rd to 5th November, 1993 shall be maintained. The Parties however, agree that the allocations for the erstwhile IGNU shall revert to LPC/COALITION. LTG Hezekiah Bowen, Francois Massaquoi, Thomas Woewiyu, Laveli Supuwood and Samuel Dokie shall be given Ministerial or other senior Government positions.

ULIMO-J shall occupy the following positions
MINISTRIES

- 1. MINISTER OF STATE FOR PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS
- 2. MINISTER OF TRANSPORT
- 3. MINISTER OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT
- 4. MINISTER OF STATE WITHOUT PORTFOLIO

PUBLIC CORPORATIONS/AUTONOMOUS AGENCIES

- 1. NATIONAL BANK
- 2. CORPORATION DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES (CDA)
- 3. AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIAL TRAINING BOARD (AIIB)
- 4. FORESTRY DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (FDA)

DEPUTY MINISTERS

- 1. MINISTRY OF POST & TELECOMMUNICATION
- 2. MINISTRY OF JUSTICE

- 3. MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
- 4. MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

DEPUTY MANAGING DIRECTORS/DEPUTY DIRECTORS GENERAL

- 1. NATIONAL INSURANCE CORP. OF LIBERIA (NICOL)
- 2. NATIONAL HOUSING AUTHORITY (NHA)
- 3. LIBERIA WATER AND SEWAGE CORP. (LWSC)
- 4. NATIONAL HOUSING AND SAVINGS BANK (NHSB)
- 5. FIRE SERVICE (FS)
- 6. GENERAL AUDITING (GA)
- 7. INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC MINISTRATION (IPA)
- 8. NATIONAL FOOD ASSISTANCE AGENCY (NFAA)

SECTION C

Article 15 : Elections Modalities

- 1. The operations of the Elections Commission shall be monitored by ECOWAS, OAU and the UN.

SECTION D

Article 16 : Tenure and Mandate of the Transitional Government

- 1. The Transitional Government hereby established shall be installed within 14 days after the signing of this Agreement.
- 2. The Transitional Government shall have a life span of approximately twelve (12) months commencing from the date of its installation.
- 3. Holders of positions within the Transitional Government as defined by the Cotonou Accord who wish to contest the election provided for under the Schedule of Implementation shall vacate office 3 months before the date of elections. They shall be replaced by their

nominees or by persons nominated by the parties represented in the Council of State.

- 4. The Chairman of the Council of State shall be ineligible to contest the first Presidential and parliamentary elections to be held pursuant to this Agreement.

SECTION G

Article 8 : Peace and Enforcement Powers

- 1 Enforcement of violations of cease-fire shall be in accordance with the terms of the Cotonou Accord.

All provisions of the Cotonou and Akosombo Agreements as clarified by the Accra Agreement not herein amended shall remain in full force and effect.

**DONE AT ABUJA,
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA,**

THIS 19TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1995.

Signed:

LT. GEN. HEZEKIAH BOWEN
Armed Forces of Liberia

MAJOR-GENERAL ROOSEVELT JOHNSON
United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO - J)

FRANCOI MASSAQUOI LOFA
Defence Force (LDF)

CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR
Leader, National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL)

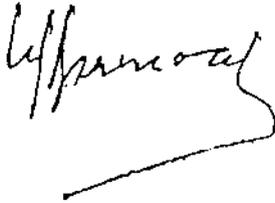
JUCONTEE THOMAS WOEWIYU
National Patriotic Front of Liberia - Central Revolutionary Council (NPFL-CRC)

LT. GEN. ALHAJI G.V. KROMAH
National Chairman, United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO)

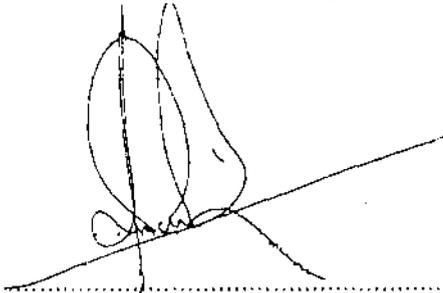
CHEA CHEAPOO
Liberia National Conference (LNC)

DR. G.E SAIGBE BOLEY SR
Leader, Liberia Peace Council (LPC)

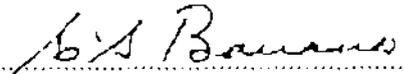
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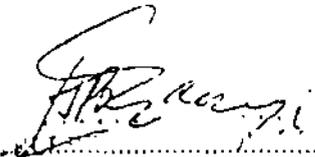
.....
DR. OBED ASAMOAH *For and on behalf of*
HIS EXCELLENCY, FLT-LT. JERRY J. RAWLINGS,
President of the Republic of Ghana and Chairman
ECOWAS



.....
CHIEF TOM IKIMI *For and on behalf of*
HIS EXCELLENCY, GENERAL SANI ABACHA,
Head of State, Commander-In-Chief of the Nigerian
Armed Forces



.....
HIS EXCELLENCY,
PRESIDENT CANAAN BANANA
O.A.U Eminent Person in Liberia



.....
HIS EXCELLENCY, ANTHONY B. NYAKYI
U.N Secretary General's Special Representative to
Liberia

SCHEDULE OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT FROM CEASE-FIRE TO ELECTION — AUGUST 1995 — AUGUST 1996															
SRL	WKS	PERIOD													
		AUG 96	SEP 95	OCT 95	NOV 95	DEC 95	JAN 96	FEB 96	MAR 96	APR 96	MAY 96	JUNE 96	JUL 96	AUG 96	
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	
1	2	26 ---	... 4	Factions inform combatants of Cease-fire											
2	3		5-28	Factions disengage from check points / Present combat positions to areas under own arr.											
3	3		5-26	Verification by ECOMOG/UNOMIL/LNTG/Warring Factions											
4	2		15-30	Recece mission / built-up of logistics ECOMOD / UNOMIL / LNTG											
5	10			2 ----	-----	---- 14	Deployment of ECOMOG/UNOMIL to safe havens throughout countries								
6	4			8 ----	-----	8	Completion/Preparation for new Assembly/Encampment sites								
7	4			9 ----	---- 31	Combatants in Assembly/Encampment sites									
8	8				1 ----	---- 39	Disarmament/Demobilisation								
9	9				1 ----	---- 2	Resettlement/Repatriation								
10					Preparation for Elections		1 ---	----	----	----	----	----	----	12	
11												Election Day	----	20	

- NOTES:**
1. Cease-fire — 23.59 hours 26th August, 1995 (Midnight 26th and 27th August, 1995)
 2. Installation of new Council of State — by 2nd September, 1995
 3. Election Day — 20th August, 1996
 4. Inauguration of new Government — 30th September, 1996

THE SEVENTH MEETING OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE CENTRE

ACCRA, 7TH MAY, 1996

FINAL REPORT

INTRODUCTION

1. The seventh meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine was held on 7th May, 1996 at the Accra International Conference Centre, Accra, Republic of Ghana.
2. The following members of the Committee were represented:
 - Republic of BENIN;
 - BURKINA FASO;
 - Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE;
 - Republic of THE GAMBIA;
 - Republic of GHANA;
 - Republic of GUINEA;
 - Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
 - Republic of SENEGAL;
 - TOGOLESE Republic.
3. The representatives of the following Member States who were invited to the Meeting were also present:
 - Republic of MALI;
 - Republic of LIBERIA;
 - Republic of NIGER;
 - Republic of SIERRA LEONE.
4. Following invitations extended to them, the Meeting was also attended by:

- Dr. Ahmed Salim Ahmed, Secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity;
 - Special Representative of the ECOWAS Chairman in Liberia;
 - Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations;
 - Special Envoy to the Secretary-General of the United Nations;
 - Special Envoy of the President of the United States of America.
5. The Field Commander of ECOMOG, Major-General John Mark Inienger also attended the Meeting.
 6. The Meeting was chaired by the Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Ghana, Dr. Obed Asamoah.

II. ADOPTION OF AGENDA/WORK PROGRAMME

7. The following Agenda/Work Programme, as proposed by the Chairman, was adopted by the Meeting
 - Opening of meeting by H.E. Dr. Obed Asamoah, Minister of Foreign Affairs;
 - Address by H.E. Mr. Edouard Benjamin, Executive Secretary of ECOWAS;
 - Report by Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the U.N.;
 - Report by Major-General J.M. Inienger, ECOMOG Field Commander;
 - Discussions;
 - Adoption of draft Report.
- III. OPENING SESSION**
8. Opening the session, the Chairman for the Meeting, Dr. Obed Asamoah, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ghana presented the ECOWAS Chairman's report on the Liberian crisis to the Meeting.
 9. He recalled that on assuming office as Chairmar

of ECOWAS, Ghana lost no time in making an energetic search for peace in Liberia. Following the conclusion of a number of Agreements, the Abuja Agreement to supplement the Cotonou Accord and Akosombo Agreement, as subsequently clarified by the Accra Agreement, was signed at Abuja on 19th August, 1995 by all Liberian parties, both military and civilian.

10. The Honourable Minister stated that it had come to the attention of the ECOWAS Chairman that soon after installation of the Council of State, the three faction leaders argued not only that the Council of State was a Collective Presidency, but also insisted that all Vice Chairmen were equal in status to the Chairman, who should act no more than the designated signatory of correspondence emanating from the Council. They also interpreted the Agreement as creating a Council whose members were individually to be regarded as Presidents of Liberia in their own right. This claim appeared to have provided the basis that had enabled the Vice Chairmen to resort to the use of all the trappings of Presidential protocol. In the view of the ECOWAS Chairman, these developments are in gross violation of the Abuja Agreement.
11. Other problems that had arisen since Abuja related to the Status of Forces Agreement and the attempt to subject ECOMOG to the LNTG through the insistence that its National Disarmament and Demobilisation Commission should have the responsibility to disarm the fighters and also that the deployment plans of ECOMOG should have the prior approvals of the Council of State.
12. Another recent development which had provoked a crisis on Liberia's political landscape and which had caused a lot of grief to the ECOWAS Chairman concerns General Roosevelt Johnson, in respect of whom the Council of State had issued directives calling for the suspension of his Ministerial appointment, dismissal from office and subsequent arrest.
13. The Honourable Minister explained that the Abuja Agreement was meant to supplement the Cotonou and Akosombo Agreements as subsequently clarified by the Accra Agreements and therefore does not recapitulate in full all the preceding provisions on various issues. Accordingly, for details on the role of ECOMOG, one had to turn to the Cotonou/Akosombo Agreements.
14. Dr. Obed Asamoah further stated that following the outbreak of heavy fighting in Monrovia pitching the "Government forces" against pro-Johnson forces, the Chairman of ECOWAS took certain urgent measures to contain the situation and bring the peace process back on track. As part of these measures, Personal Envoys were dispatched for urgent consultations with key ECOWAS partners on the developments in Monrovia. Envoys were also sent to Monrovia itself.
15. He indicated that it was the view of the ECOWAS Chairman that the Tubmanburg and Monrovia crises had underscored the urgent need for ECOWAS to fully assess the machinery of ECOMOG and the political and military roles it is called upon to play in the continued search for peace in Liberia.
16. Three scenarios could be envisaged in this context. The present arrangement of pursuing an "elusive" peace could be continued. The second scenario would call for the creation of a more credible force, capable of pursuing a peace enforcement mandate. The pursuit of the third option would imply an admission of failure and the need to halt throwing good money after bad. Contingency plans would have to be prepared for withdrawing the troops from Liberia back to their respective countries. The ECOWAS Chairman's priority scenario was the one which favoured the creation of a credible and overwhelming force. Accordingly, the Chairman welcomed the recent activities that had taken place within the international community and which tended to lend diplomatic, political, military and other forms of assistance and support to ECOMOG.
17. The Honourable Minister recalled in this connection, that an International Contact Group on Liberia (ICGL) met in Geneva on 26th April, 1996. Discussions focused on assessing recent political, diplomatic, security/military and humanitarian developments in Liberia and identifying how the international community could respond to these developments in a way which would positively influence the Liberian peace process.
18. Dr. Asamoah disclosed that the Contact Group identified three issues critical to the cause of

peace in Liberia restoring security to Monrovia; reinforcing ECOMOG; and encouraging faction leaders to return to the Abuja peace process.

19. In addition to the offer of support received from the ICGL, two Western countries, namely Belgium and Denmark had offered to sponsor troops of one battalion-size each from Burkina Faso and from Ghana to participate in the ECOMOG effort. The American Government had also served notice that it was prepared to make available 30 million US dollars in additional assistance to ECOMOG in the form of equipment support for the demilitarisation and demobilisation exercises, provided ECOMOG demonstrated a renewed capacity to "play a neutral and effective peace-keeping role".
20. The Chairman proposed that the Meeting should focus its attention on discussing the following issues :

Political Matters

- i. The non-recognition by ECOMOG of any Liberian government which would come about through the use of force or violence, in violation of the Abuja Agreement.
- ii. The issue of Collective Presidency vis-a-vis the Abuja concept of the Executive.
- iii. ECOMOG/COS Political Cooperation within the framework of the status of Forces Agreement.
- iv. General Johnson's position vis-a-vis the Transitional Government
- v. Specific political concerns of the BTC residents.
- vi. Revised schedule of implementation of the Abuja Agreement.
- vii. ICGL and related offers of assistance to ECOMOG.
- viii. Retrieval of looted assets belonging to the International Community and to ECOMOG.

Military Matters

- i. Cease-fire and reactivation of Cease-fire Violations Monitoring Committee (CVMC)

and resolution of the immediate threat to the peace and security of Monrovia.

- ii. Restoration of safe-haven status to Monrovia.
- iii. New disarmament schedule to replace the Abuja Schedule of Implementation which has been rendered inoperable.
- iv. Training of a new national army to replace the AFL; including consideration of the British offer to train the trainers.

IV. REPORT BY THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF ECOWAS

21. Taking the floor, the ECOWAS Executive Secretary, Mr Edouard Benjamin, in turn welcomed the Honourable Ministers and thanked the Ghanaian government for the fraternal hospitality which they had once again extended to participants.
22. He praised the initiatives and actions taken by His Excellency, Flight-Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana and current Chairman of ECOWAS, which recently saved the beleaguered Liberian population from further unnecessary tragedy.
23. The ECOWAS Executive Secretary deployed the continuing civil war in Liberia. He recalled that numerous Peace Plans had been fashioned, several peace agreements signed while one had lost track of innumerable cease-fire agreements concluded. Mr. Benjamin observed that, at the very moment that Ministers were meeting, Liberians, including adolescents, had again taken up arms, plunging families into grief and condemning their countrymen to exile and misery. He noted sadly that most Liberians were being ravaged by hunger and epidemic.
24. The ECOWAS Executive Secretary condemned the various forms of humiliation to which ECOMOG had been subjected to with impunity, particularly the seizure of its arms and equipment, the frequent attacks against its soldiers who were also constantly taken hostage by the different factions. He indicated that these criminal acts continued to be carried out despite repeated condemnations, warnings and threats of reprisals by ECOMOG. Mr. Benjamin also regretted that dissensions within the Council of

Slate had paralysed the Council and had brought about the installation of a collective presidency as conceived by the Liberian authorities.

25. Mr. Benjamin stated his conviction that it was in the interest of our sub-region to continue to show solidarity with our Liberian brothers. Consequently, it would be necessary to revise the schedule of implementation of the Abuja Agreement which, according to him, remained the most appropriate framework for the resolution of the Liberian conflict. The Executive Secretary called for a substantial re-enforcement of the operational capacities of ECOMOG by increasing the number of troops and by improving the quality and quantity of logistics support. He thanked those Member States of ECOWAS which had indicated their willingness to contribute troops to ECOMOG once the necessary logistics support and resources were put in place.

26. Mr. Edouard Benjamin informed the Meeting that the ECOWAS executive secretariat had now finalised, together with the Liberian authorities, the draft agreement defining the status of ECOMOG. He asked the Ministers to forward to him any observations and comments on the draft document. He expressed the hope that once the Agreement on the Status of ECOMOG was signed, the peace process would proceed smoothly.

V. STATEMENT BY THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

27. In his presentation, Ambassador Anthony Nyakyi, Special Representative of the U.N Secretary-General in Liberia, commended the Chairman of ECOWAS for the timely interventions he had made to address the obstacles that had beset the Liberian peace process and, in particular, the tragedy that had engulfed Liberia over the past four weeks.
28. He noted that the outbreak of the crisis in Liberia had derailed the promising Abuja peace process in which the United Nations, ECOMOG, ECOWAS and other members of the international community interested in Liberia had invested vast amounts of time and resources. For its part, UNOMIL had also started deploying to its Disarmament and Demobilisation Centres in various parts of the country where ECOMOG

was deployed. UNOMIL had also, jointly with ECOMOG, invested a lot of effort and resources in carrying out reconnaissance missions for Assembly sites. He noted that all the efforts and resources invested by ECOMOG, UNOMIL, ECOWAS and other members of the international community for the last eight months in implementing the Abuja Agreement had been lost as a result of the 6th April tragedy. In addition, expensive equipment including vehicles, generators, computers and communication equipment which had been brought into the country to facilitate the work of the international community, were systematically looted or destroyed by both sides involved in the recent fighting. The most tragic part was that the greatest losses had fallen once again on the Liberian civilian population. The recent events in Monrovia had resulted in massive displacement of the civilian population, major food shortages as well as the breakdown of most of the health, water and sanitation facilities. Moreover, the indiscriminate and massive looting and destruction of the infrastructure, private and public properties, had paralysed the social and economic activities and increased the humanitarian needs of Liberians.

29. Ambassador Nyakyi stated that the existence of a secure environment remained a prerequisite for the continuation of humanitarian relief and developmental activities in Liberia. In this connection, it was essential that in the effort to salvage the peace process, significant confidence building measures be taken by ECOWAS and the Liberian parties to encourage the donor countries and the non-governmental implementing organisations to gradually restore their activities in Liberia.
30. He stressed that despite the serious blow it had suffered from the current crisis, the Abuja Accord remained the best framework for peace in Liberia, to which ECOWAS, the United Nations and other members of the international community were committed. The message of the United Nations to the Liberian leaders, therefore, was that they should demonstrate their sincerity to save their country from total destruction. In this connection, the Liberian leaders should bear in mind that it would be a serious mistake on their part to assume that the international community would remain in

Liberia if they did not take concrete steps to achieve, at the minimum, the following requirements

- to restore the cease-fire,
- withdraw their fighters from Monrovia
- return to UNOMIL, the United Nations agencies and NGOs the equipment looted over the past few weeks
- respect the safety and security of international personnel and property, and
- demonstrate the political will necessary to return to the peace process.

31. The Liberian community should also bear in mind that the continued involvement of the international community would depend on the actions they would take before 31st May, 1996, when UNOMIL's mandate was due to expire.

32. The Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General further noted that the present crisis in Liberia, and the Tubmanburg incidents before it, had clearly demonstrated that without the requisite manpower and logistics, ECOMOG would not be in a position to successfully shoulder its peace-keeping responsibilities. He noted that the call for the necessary support to ECOMOG had been made on numerous occasions by the Chairman of ECOWAS, and by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. He stressed that the stage had been reached where the situation had become so critical that it brooked no further delays.

33. Finally, he appealed to the Liberian leaders to work in the spirit of cooperation and reconciliation and to utilise the opportunity they had been given to save their country from total destruction.

VI. STATEMENT BY THE LIBERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

34. In his statement, the Foreign Minister of Liberia, Honourable Momolu Sirleaf expressed his appreciation to the Foreign Minister of Ghana, the Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary-General and the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS for the comprehensive statements that

they presented to the Meeting. He agreed with most of the issues raised in their statements.

35. The Foreign Minister then asserted that the current situation in Liberia was beyond the Government of Liberia. He added that in spite of the unfavourable situation in which Liberia found itself, some forces were urging the western world to re-colonise Liberia. He therefore requested the Meeting to be just and fair in dealing with the Liberian crisis.

36. Making reference to the Chairman's statement on the Revised Draft Agreement relating to the Status of ECOMOG in Liberia, which had been drafted by both ECOWAS and the Republic of Liberia, the Liberian Foreign Minister stated that it was unfortunate for anyone to think that the Agreement was a ploy by the Liberian Government to put ECOMOG under its control. He then requested ECOWAS to delete any provision of the agreement that had the tendency of subjecting ECOMOG to the control and authority of the Government of Liberia.

37. With respect to the New Protocols for Communicating with the executive branch of the Liberian National Transitional Government, Mr. Momolu Sirleaf disclosed that the New Protocols were signed by all members of the Council of State of the Republic of Liberia. In his estimation, the Protocols did not constitute a violation of the Abuja Agreement.

38. Finally, Honourable Momolu Sirleaf, commended ECOWAS and ECOMOG for making tremendous sacrifices towards peace in Liberia.

VII. PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT OF THE ECOMOG FIELD COMMANDER

39. The ECOMOG Field Commander, Maj Gen. J.M. Inienger, presented his report which dealt primarily with the recent conflict. He recalled that the recent outbreak of hostilities started with the overthrow of Major-General Roosevelt Johnson as the leader of the ULIMO-"J" faction, and the subsequent temporary recognition by the LNTG-II of Brigadier W. Karyee as the new faction leader.

40. The conflict escalated when the Council of State issued an order of arrest on the deposed ULIMO-J leader for murder. Loyalists of General Johnson

resisted the arrest by concentrating in numbers on his premises, and surrounding areas.

41. In an effort to break this resistance to General Johnsons' arrest, the Council of State formed a combined team of the NPFL and ULIMO fighters, tagged the "Government forces" and against the advice of ECOMOG, launched an attack on the premises of General Johnson in the early hours of 6th April, 1996.
42. Although ECOMOG had provided security to certain strategic places in the vicinity of Johnson's house, it had to be tactically withdrawn due to increased fighting between Johnson's fighters and the "Government forces".
43. Violence eventually spread throughout the city of Monrovia, causing damage and destruction of property. Most worrisome was the massive looting of shops, offices and residences. Over 70% of the city of Monrovia had been looted. Properties and buildings belonging to embassies, UNOMIL, UNDP, UNHCR and other non-Governmental agencies were systematically looted. Hundreds of UN vehicles were looted and taken to Gbarnga or Voinjama by the "Government forces".
44. The Field Commander went on to report that the recent factional fighting in Monrovia had more or less metamorphosed into an ethnic conflict. The Barclay Training Centre (BTC) barracks was used as a tribal coalition operational base by the Krahn ethnic group. The supporters of ULIMO-J, prominent Krahn elders, and the Krahn AFL disarmed soldiers formed a coalition force within the Barracks, initially holding hostage ECOMOG soldiers and thousands of civilians of various nationalities and using them as human shield against massive attack and shelling by the "Government forces".
45. The ECOMOG soldiers and civilians were eventually released following consistent negotiations by a delegation of the ECOWAS Chairman, UN Secretary-General and members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Liberia.
46. As a result of escalation in the crisis and its spread to the centre of the city of Monrovia, ECOMOG had to make some adjustments in its operations by deploying its troops stationed outside Monrovia into the city itself. This was done in order to contain the violent situation as well as carry out other related functions such as rescue missions and answering distress calls. It was also done to secure the ECOMOG base as a safe haven which sheltered some members of the Council of State and other prominent Liberians who had sought refuge there. ECOMOG also performed escort duties by offering protection to U.N. staff, international NGOs and members of the diplomatic corps.
47. In addition, the Field Commander reported that ECOMOG was carrying out the following activities:
 - a) Establishing checkpoints to effect the following:
 - i) check the movement of arms and ammunition by vehicles and individuals,
 - ii) control vehicular and pedestrian traffic for the arrest of suspects (should the need arise),
 - b) Cordon and search suspected locations for arms and ammunition;
 - c) Conduct mobile and foot patrols to build confidence in the public;
 - d) Establish roof-top operators (where necessary) to spot possible flash points or potential danger;
 - e) Protect vulnerable points, key points, lives and property;
 - f) Secure main streets for easy movement of traffic;
 - g) Escort Very Important Personalities (VIPs) and humanitarian relief materials from place to place.
48. With regard to securing a cease-fire from the factions, the Field Commander reported on the initiatives undertaken by the Members of the diplomatic corps in Liberia and the delegation sent by the ECOWAS Chairman headed by Captain (rtd.) Kojo Tsikata, as well as a delegation of the United States Government. The Chairman's delegation was able to exert pressure on the faction leaders which enabled ECOMOG to redeploy within the city.

- 49. The Field Commander also informed the Meeting of the outcome of the discussions between the ECOMOG High Command and the United States delegation.
- 50. In conclusion, Major-General J. Inienger stated that the outbreak of fighting in Monrovia had undoubtedly punctured the Abuja Accord.
- 51. He once again reminded the Meeting of the inadequacies of ECOMOG in its manpower and logistic capabilities. A new problem facing ECOMOG was the constant intervention and obstruction of its activities by members of the Council of State. The Field Commander also stressed the urgent need for leaders of the warring factions to withdraw all their fighters out of Monrovia.
- 52. Finally, he advised the Meeting to consider the withdrawal of ECOMOG if its logistical and manpower requirements were not improved.

VIII. OUTCOME OF DELIBERATIONS

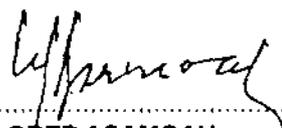
- 53. After extensive deliberations, the Ministers arrived at the following conclusions.
- 54. It was decided that ECOWAS would not recognise any Liberian government which might come into office through the use of force or violence in violation of the Abuja Agreement.
- 55. The Meeting discussed the New Protocols for communicating with the Executive Branch of the Liberian National Transitional Government as stipulated by the latter in a letter dated 14th April, 1996 to Diplomatic Missions in Liberia. It was indicated that contrary to Article 14 paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Cotonou Accord which had remained unchanged in both the Akosombo and Abuja Agreements, the New Protocols changed the designation of the Liberian National Transitional Government to the Government of Liberia (GOL). The New Protocols also gave the Council of State of the Republic of Liberia a new designation of Collective Presidency. The New Protocols were unacceptable to the Meeting because they were external to the Abuja Agreement. It was however, stressed that the LNTG had the right to promulgate laws and regulations for the good governance of Liberia provided that they were within the framework of the ECOWAS peace agreement.

- 56. The initialled Revised Draft of the Agreement relating to the Status of ECOMOG in Liberia drawn up by both ECOWAS and the Republic of Liberia was recommended for approval of the ECOWAS Council of Ministers. It was stressed that the cooperation between ECOMOG and the Council of State of the Republic of Liberia under the Status of Forces Agreement was symbiotic in nature and under no circumstance shall the agreement be interpreted to mean that the operations of ECOMOG, the Special Representative, the Field Commander or any member of ECOMOG shall be under the control of the Government of Liberia.
- 57. Events which triggered off the recent crisis in Monrovia and which revolved around General Roosevelt D. Johnson were given critical consideration. After extensive deliberation, the ECOWAS Committee of Nine Ministerial Meeting recommended that the Chiefs of Staff (COS) should reinstate General Roosevelt D. Johnson in accordance with the Abuja Agreement.
- 58. It was suggested that the Rapid Response Unit (RRU) established by the Government of Liberia should either be disbanded, or confined to its role of collaborating with ECOMOG to curb armed robbery activities. It was further recommended that the numerical strength of the RRU should be reduced and its arms kept in an armoury controlled by ECOMOG and issued as and when required.
- 59. It was noted that the task of ensuring international peace and security was primarily the responsibility of the United Nations Security Council and the entire international community. The sub-regional efforts undertaken by ECOWAS was to assist the United Nations. The Meeting therefore called on the international community to assume its rightfully duty to Liberia and assist ECOMOG accordingly. Liberia should be given the same assistance and attention as is accorded other conflict situations in the world.
- 60. It was stressed that any assistance to ECOMOG by the international community should be given without conditionalities. To ensure adequate use of facilities and to forestall the creation of disaffection among the ECOMOG troop contributing countries, it was agreed that all assistance to the Liberian peace process should be made after consultation with ECOWAS authorities.

- 61. The Meeting noted the initiatives taken by the United States of America in establishing the International Contact Group of Liberia (ICGL). It called for the intensification of contact between the Group and ECOWAS, and the acceleration of the much needed assistance to ECOMOG.
- 62. One of the most salient points that re-echoed throughout the Meeting was the need to strengthen ECOMOG by increasing its manpower and providing it with the needed logistics that could make it a potent force and a threat to recalcitrant parties. ECOMOG should have the capability of not only enforcing the peace but also the means necessary to impose necessary sanctions on any party in accordance with the provisions of the Abuja Agreement.
- 63. The Meeting called for the imposition of sanctions on recalcitrant faction leaders by ECOWAS, African countries and the international community.
- 64. It was noted that the crisis in Liberia had been fuelled by the massive inflow of arms and ammunition in violation of existing United Nations Security Council Resolution 788 of 1992. The Meeting therefore called for the reinforcement by Member States and the international community of the arms embargo on the warring factions.
- 65. It was agreed by the Meeting that the Abuja Agreement was the best framework for peace in Liberia and should be considered also as the last framework for achieving peace in Liberia.
- 66. It was decided that ECOMOG should continue its efforts towards restoring peace to Liberia.
- 67. The Meeting also emphasised the fact that the ultimate responsibility for peace in Liberia rested with the Liberian themselves, especially with the leadership and government of Liberia. The Meeting called on them to show, in specific terms their commitment to implementing the Abuja Agreement thereby bringing the peace process back on track. To this end, the Meeting established a mechanism which, if implemented by the LNTG between now and the next ordinary session of the Heads of State and Government in early August 1996, would show their commitment to the peace process.

The document titled "Mechanism for Returning Liberia to the Abuja Agreement" is attached to this report.

**DONE AT ACCRA,
THIS 8TH DAY OF MAY, 1996**



DR OBED ASAMOAH
CHAIRMAN

Annex:

MECHANISM FOR RETURNING LIBERIA TO THE ABUJA AGREEMENT

Following the consensus reached by the Ministerial meeting of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine of Liberia that the only workable solution to the present crisis in Liberia is to return the country to the implementation of the Abuja Peace Plan, the Meeting requests all parties to immediately implement the following mechanism for reinstating the peace process in Liberia

A. MONROVIA

- 1. All parties must ensure the strict observance by their armed fighters of the cease-fire demanded by the Chairman of ECOWAS throughout Liberia
- 2. The immediate withdrawal of armed fighters from Monrovia simultaneously with the completion of the deployment of ECOMOG throughout the city.
- 3. The removal of all arms and ammunition from Monrovia, to be verified by ECOMOG and UNOMIL, and the reinstatement of Monrovia to the status of a Safe Haven.
- 4. Return of properties to their rightful owners and ensuring the freedom of all citizens from arbitrary arrests and abduction by armed elements.

5. Return of all arms seized from ECOMOG troops during the attack on them in Tubmanburg, Bomi County, in December, 1995.

6. Return of vehicles and equipment seized or looted from UNOMIL, United Nations and other Humanitarian Agencies in Liberia.

7. The employment of the Cease-fire Violations Monitoring Committee to oversee the observance of the cease-fire.

B. THE JOHNSON ISSUE

1. Re-establish the Authority and cohesiveness of the Council of State of Liberia in particular and the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) in general as outlined in the Abuja Agreement and the other Agreements preceding it.

2. Ensure reconciliation in and inclusiveness of Government throughout the transitional period

3. Ensure the respect and equal treatment of all ethnic groups in Liberia.

4. Issue of an appropriate statement by General Roosevelt Johnson indicating his satisfaction with and preparedness to work along the lines of the present mechanism for peace and stability in Liberia.

5. The provision of safe conduct out of the Barclay Training Centre (BTC) of armed elements of ULIMO-J and LPC to agreed areas outside Monrovia and the immediate disarming of armed AFL soldiers at the BTC.

C. DISARMAMENT, DEMOBILISATION, AND RE-INTEGRATION

1. Re-vitalisation of plans for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Re-integration.

2. Immediate implementation of proportional disarmament among the various factions to correspond with the number of troops disarmed at the BTC.

3. Verifiable disarmament by all factions along with the creation of a new Armed Forces of Liberia on a non-tribal basis and with contribution of personnel from all factions.

4. Training of trainers of the new Armed Forces of Liberia.

5. Implementation of Plans for re-integrating former armed fighters into Liberian society.

D. DEMOCRATISATION

1. Create the necessary atmosphere for the restoration of democracy in the country by ensuring the re-opening of newspapers and radio stations

2. Necessary constitutional changes to allow for proportional representation in the formation of national government.

3. Arrange for the early return to their homes or counties of refugees and internally displaced persons.

4. Resumption of political campaigns throughout the country in preparation for elections

5. Ensure necessary institutional preparations for the holding and monitoring of free and fair elections throughout Liberia.

The mechanism outlined above for implementation by the government and people of Liberia will be closely monitored by the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia to assess the commitment of Liberians to the peace process and to also determine, at the next ECOWAS Summit Meeting the continuation or otherwise of the involvement of ECOWAS in the Liberian peace process.

**THE THIRTY-NINTH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF
MINISTERS OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF
WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)**

ABUJA, 22ND - 25TH JULY, 1996

FINAL REPORT

1. INTRODUCTION

1. The Thirty-ninth Session of the ECOWAS Council of Ministers was held at the ECOWAS Secretariat, Abuja, from 22nd to 25th July, 1996.

2. The following Member States were represented at the Meeting:

- Republic of BENIN;
- BURKINA FASO;
- Republic of CABO VERDE;
- Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE;
- Republic of THE GAMBIA;
- Republic of GHANA;
- Republic of GUINEA;
- Republic of GUINEA-BISSAU;
- Republic of LIBERIA;
- Islamic Republic of MALI;
- Islamic Republic of MAURITANIA;
- Republic of NIGER;
- Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
- Republic of SENEGAL;
- Republic of SIERRA LEONE;
- TOGOLESE Republic.

3. The following organisations, institutions and personalities attended the Meeting as Observers:

- West African Women's Association (WAWA);
- West African Monetary Agency (WAMA);
- Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (BCEAO);
- Comite Inter-Etats de Lutte contre la Secheresse en Afrique de l'Ouest (CILSS);
- Organisation of African Unity (OAU);
- African Development Bank (ADB);
- United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO);
- United Nations Secretary-General's Special Envoy to Liberia United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL);
- Special Representative of the United States President to Liberia.

II. TRIBUTE TO DR. ABOUBAKAR DIABY-OUATTARA

4. The Council paid tribute to the memory of Dr. Aboubakar Diaby-Ouattara, first Executive Secretary of ECOWAS who died on 23rd May, 1996, and observed a minute silence in his honour.

Consideration of the Draft Agreement on the Status of ECOMOG Forces in Liberia

5. **THE DRAFT AGREEMENT** on the status of ECOMOG forces in Liberia seeks to define the privileges and immunities accorded by the Liberian Government to the ECOMOG forces;

PROVIDE an appropriate framework to take due account of the international composition of the ECOMOG troops; and

GRANT ECOMOG forces adequate protection and guarantee their freedom which is indispensable for the execution of their mandate.

6. HAVING DISCUSSED the draft agreement. Council authorised the Executive Secretariat to sign the document on behalf of ECOWAS, in accordance with the provisions of Decision A/DEC 3/11/90 dated 28th November, 1990 of the Authority of Heads of State and Government.
7. COUNCIL REQUESTED that the French version of the agreement be properly aligned with the English version.
8. However, the Senegalese delegation made the following observations with regard to the form of the draft document, the delegation requested that the provisions of the decision establishing ECOMOG and of the protocols on non-aggression and mutual assistance in defence matters be included in the preamble of the draft agreement; with regard to the content of the document, the delegation expressed concern at the absence of provisions relating to the right of self defence within the draft agreement. The delegation expressed the wish that the state of origin of the ECOMOG soldier in question should, like the ECOMOG Field Commander, have the Authority to consider the possibility of having the accused judged in his country of origin.
- Ambassador Anthony NYAKYI, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General to Liberia;
 - Mr Edouard BENJAMIN, ECOWAS Executive Secretary;
 - the outgoing ECOMOG Field Commander, Major-General John M. INIENGER;
 - The incoming ECOMOG Field Commander, Major-General Victor MALU; and
 - The United States Special Envoy on Liberia, H.E. Mr. Howard JETER.
11. Reports were received from the following:
- H.E. Ambassador Victor Gbeho, the ECOWAS Chairman's special representative to Liberia,
 - Major-General John M. Inienger, the outgoing ECOMOG Field Commander,
 - Ambassador Anthony Nyakyi, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General to Liberia
 - and Mr. Edouard Benjamin, the ECOWAS Executive Secretary.

Item 18 : Other Matters

III. THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

9. The Liberian situation was discussed at a special session of the Council. The session was presided over by H.E. Dr. Obed Asamoah, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Ghana.
10. Present at the session were:
- Reverend Canaan BANANA, the OAU Eminent Person on Liberia;
 - Captain Kojo TSIKATA, member of the Council of State, Ghana;
 - Dr. James JONAH, United Nations Special Envoy to Liberia;
 - Ambassador J. Victor GBEHO, Special Representative of the ECOWAS Chairman to Liberia;
12. Opening speeches were delivered by H.E. Chief Tom Ikimi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Federal republic of Nigeria and H.E. Dr. Obed Asamoah, Chairman of the Meeting and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Republic of Ghana.
13. After extensive deliberation of the reports presented, the Meeting arrived at the following conclusions :
- (a) The Abuja Agreement remains the only workable framework for restoring peace in Liberia.
 - (b) The Accra Mechanism aimed at returning Liberia to the Abuja Agreement was accepted and it was further decided to accept the content of the negotiated draft Status of Forces Agreement. The signing of the Agreement was however deferred

until the issue of the composition of the Council of State had been resolved.

- (c) The decision was taken that the ECOWAS Committee of Nine should be convened not later than 18th August, 1996, to take up all outstanding issues on the Liberian Peace Process before the Abuja Accord expires on the 18th August, 1996.
- (d) The Meeting also agreed that elections would be the final step in returning Liberia to democratic governance. ECOWAS must therefore work in collaboration with the U.N. to achieve this objective.
- (e) A regime of sanctions should be considered by the ECOWAS Committee of Nine as a means of putting pressure on the Liberian factional leaders, their families, supporters and sympathisers to sue for peace.
14. Having accepted the foregoing broad principles, the Meeting decided that the next ECOWAS Committee of Nine meeting should examine the specifics in detail.
15. The United Nations declared that it would support elections in Liberia only if the Authorities in Liberia so wished and also if they provided an even playing field. In this regard, the United Nations requested for the establishment of an independent and credible Elections Commission.

Item 19 : Adoption of Report

16. This report was adopted.

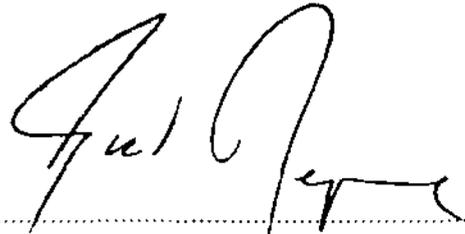
Item 20 : Closing Session

17. The Chairman of Council, Hon. Kwame Peprah, expressed his gratitude to the Honourable delegates for the quality of the deliberations. He stressed the fact that there could be no salvation for West Africa except through regional integration. He thus called on Member States to show greater political commitment in order to advance the cause of regional integration in West Africa. He also appealed to Member States to pay their financial contributions to the budgets of the institutions more regularly and to implement the Community acts and decisions.

Item 21 : Vote of Thanks

18. The Council of Ministers, meeting in its thirty-ninth session from 22nd to 25th July, 1996 in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, wishes to express its sincere appreciation and deep gratitude to His Excellency, General SANI ABACHA, Head of state, Commander-in-Chief of the Nigeria Armed Forces and to the Government and people of Nigeria for the warm, brotherly welcome extended to all delegations and for the facilities made available to ensure the success of their meeting.

DONE AT ABUJA,
THIS 25TH DAY OF JULY, 1996.



MR. KWAME PEPAH,
CHAIRMAN FOR THE COUNCIL.

SIXTY-FOURTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

YAOUNDE, CAMEROON

1ST - 5TH JULY, 1996.

RESOLUTION ON LIBERIA *CM/Res 1650 (LXIV)*

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity meeting in its Sixty-Fourth (64th) Ordinary Session in Yaounde, Cameroon from 1st to 5th July, 1996.

HAVING CONSIDERED the report of the Secretary General on the situation in Liberia as contained in Document CM/1943 (LXIV),

HAVING HEARD the statement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Liberia.

RECALLING resolution CM/Res. 1621 (LXIII) adopted at its Sixty-Third Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, as well as other previous OAU resolutions on the Liberian crisis,

NOTING WITH REGRET the tragedy that has engulfed Liberia and the serious threat posed to the Abuja Agreement by the recent outbreak of heavy fighting in Monrovia, resulting in unnecessary loss of lives, destruction of property and looting of properties of international organizations, including the UNOMIL and other UN Agencies, NGOs and humanitarian organizations;

DEEPLY CONCERNED by the tragic humanitarian consequences arising from the new breakdown in the cease-fire, compelling thousands of civilians to flee their country under very precarious conditions.

NOTING WITH APPRECIATION the initiatives and actions taken by the Current Chairman of ECOWAS and President of the Republic of Ghana, H.E. Flight-Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, the Committee of ECOWAS Ambassadors in Liberia and the United States Government which secured a cease-fire in the fighting in Monrovia and saved the beleaguered Liberian nation as well as offered the parties to the Liberian conflict the renewed opportunity to implement the provisions of the Abuja Agreement.

NOTING FURTHER WITH APPRECIATION the

recommendations made and the mechanism drawn up by the seventh meeting of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia at Accra, on 7th May, 1996.

WELCOMING the initiatives taken by the United State Government in setting up the International Contact Group on Liberia and hoping that the relations between ECOWAS and the Contact Group will be strengthened in the interests of the Liberian people.

BEARING IN MIND the relentless efforts deployed by ECOWAS and its Current Chairman, H.E. Flight Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana, towards the implementation, as quickly as possible, of the Abuja Agreement, as well as the enormous sacrifices made by the countries of the West African Sub-region,

CONSCIOUS of the fact that these efforts would be made conclusive with the international community fully assuming its responsibility of providing ECOWAS with the necessary financial and material assistance without any special conditionality,

ALSO CONSCIOUS of the fact that the restoration of peace in Liberia is the primary responsibility of Liberians themselves, especially the leaders of the warring factions who should place the interest of their people and country above their personal ambitions

1. WELCOMES the initiatives of the current Chairman of ECOWAS and the Leaders in the Sub-Region, as well as the efforts of the United States of America, which secured a cease-fire in the heavy fighting in Monrovia, and re-established the status of Monrovia as a safe haven;
2. FULLY ENDORSES the decisions taken by the 7th Ministerial Meeting of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia, including the actions the warring factions should take between now and the next ECOWAS summit in order to put back on track the peace process as recommended by the Abuja Agreement;
3. REITERATES ITS CONVICTION that the Abuja Agreement, remaining the best framework for the restoration of peace and stability in Liberia, and REAFFIRMS the need for the scrupulous implementation by the warring factions of all the provisions of the Agreement relating to the nature of the Council of State, the appellation of the Transitional Government or the role of ECOMOG;

4. **WELCOMES AND SUPPORTS ECOWAS** decision not to recognise any Liberian Government which comes into office through the use of force or violence in violation of the Abuja Agreement;
5. **URGES** all Liberian warring factions and the Liberia National Transitional Government (LNTG) to cooperate fully with ECOMOG and scrupulously respect the mandate assigned to it with the aim of infusing a new breath into the disarmament, demobilisation and fighters' Re-integration operations as set out in the Abuja Agreement;
6. **COMMENDS** the countries of the region, especially those cooperating with ECOMOG, for the sacrifices made in the search for a definitive solution to the Liberian conflict and **URGES** them to persevere in that direction despite the difficulties;
7. **FURTHER COMMENDS** the OAU Secretary-General for providing assistance to ECOWAS;
8. **UNDERSCORES** the urgent need for the international Community to honour the pledges made at the UN sponsored Pledging Conference on Liberia held in New York, 27th October, 1995;
9. **REITERATES THE URGENT NEED** for the International Community to scrupulously comply with the arms embargo imposed on the warring factions by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 788;
10. **EXPRESSES ITS PROFOUND GRATITUDE** to the Government of Ghana for its extreme generosity by providing asylum to thousands of Liberians, mostly women and children, who fled their country by boat following the recent fighting in MONROVIA;
11. **URGES** the International Community to provide increased material and financial assistance to the countries of the sub-region hosting Liberian refugees and **CALLS ON** African humanitarian NGOs to get actively involved in the assistance operations, thereby demonstrating more vividly the solidarity of the continent and its population with the people of Liberia;
12. **WARNS** the Liberian warring factions leaders

that should the ECOWAS assessment of the Liberian peace process during its next Summit meeting turns out to be negative, the OAU will help sponsor a draft resolution in the UN Security Council for the imposition of severe sanctions on them including the possibility of the setting up of a war crime tribunal to try the leadership of the Liberian warring factions on the gross violation of the human rights of Liberians;

13. **REITERATES THE CALL** on the Liberian warring factions by the ECOWAS and the international community to return all items looted from Monrovia during the recent round of fighting in April, 1996 to their rightful owners especially the UNOMIL, NGOs and other international organizations or make full restitution to them;
14. **APPEALS** to the NGOs which have temporarily withdrawn their personnel from Liberia or maintain only a skeletal staff in the field in Liberia since the latest fighting in Monrovia in April, 1996 to resume full-scale operations in Liberia to end the hardship brought upon the innocent Liberian civilians by their action.
15. **REQUESTS** the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, (OAU) to continue to monitor developments of the situation in Liberia and submit a report there on to the next Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers.

THE OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

**THE NINETEENTH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE
AUTHORITY OF HEADS OF STATE AND
GOVERNMENT OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF
WEST AFRICAN STATES**

ABUJA, 26TH - 27TH JULY, 1996

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. The Nineteenth Ordinary Session of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was held in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, on 26th and 27th July, 1996 under the Chairmanship of His Excellency, Flight-Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana.
2. Present at the session were the following Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives:
 - His Excellency, Mathieu KERÉKOU, President of the Republic of BENIN, Head of State, and Head of Government;
 - His Excellency, Blaise CAMPAORE, President of BURKINA FASO, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Republic of BURKINA FASO;
 - His Excellency, Henri Konan BÉDIÉ, President of the Republic of CÔTE D'IVOIRE;
 - His Excellency, Captain Yahya A.J.J. JAMMEH, Chairman of the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC), and Head of State of the Republic of The GAMBIA;
 - His Excellency, Flt.-Lt. Jerry John RAWLINGS, President of the Republic of GHANA;
 - His Excellency, Professor Wilton SANKAWULO, Chairman of the Council of State of the LIBERIA National Transitional Government, LNTG;
 - His Excellency, Alpha Oumar KONARÉ, President, Head of State of the Islamic Republic of MALI;
 - His Excellency, Ibrahim Mainassara BARÉ, President of the Republic of NIGER;
 - His Excellency, General Sani ABACHA, Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
 - His Excellency, Alhaji Ahmad Tejan KABBAH, President of the Republic of SIERRA LEONE;
 - His Excellency, Gnassingbe EYADEMA, President of the TOGOLESE Republic;
 - Honourable Carlos Alberto Wahanon de Carvalho VEIGA, Prime Minister and Head of Government of the Republic of CABO VERDE;
 - Honourable Sidaya TOURÉ, Prime Minister, Minister of Economy, Finance and Planning of The Republic of Guinea, representing the President of The Republic of GUINEA;
 - Honourable Luis Oliveira SANCA, Minister of Trade of the Republic of Guinea Bissau, representing the President of the Republic of GUINEA BISSAU;
 - Honourable Ahmed Ould MINIH, Minister, Secretary-General, Office of the President representing the President of the Islamic Republic of MAURITANIA;
 - Honourable Massokhna KANE, Minister of African Economic Integration Head of the Senegalese Delegation representing the President of the Republic of SENEGAL.
3. Attending the Session as Observers were:
 - The Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU);
 - The Secretary-General of the World Meteorological Organisation (WMO);
 - The United Nations Secretary-General's Special Envoy on Liberia;
 - The Vice-President of the African Development Bank (ADB);

- The Assistant Director-General, Regional Representative for Africa of the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO);
- The Deputy Secretary-General of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC);
- The Director-General of the West African Monetary Agency (WAMA);
- The President of the Federation of West African Chambers of Commerce (FWACC);
- The President of the West African Road Transporters Union (UTRAO);
- The Secretary-General of the West African Women's Association (WAWA);
- The Executive Director of the West African Health Community (WAHC);
- The Representative of the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA);
- The Representative of the Governor of BCEAO;
- The Representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP);
- The Representative of the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO);
- The Representative of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO);
- The Representative of the United Nations Fund for Women in Development (UNIFEM);
- The Representative of the Pan-African News Agency (PANA);
- The Representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR);
- The Representative of the West African Development Bank (BOAD);

- The Representative of ECOBANK Transnational Incorporated;
- and a large number of High Commissioners and Ambassadors accredited to the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

REGIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

4. The Heads of State and Government reviewed the Liberian crisis within the context of regional peace and security. The Authority lauded the patient and persistent efforts of its Chairman and the ECOWAS Committee of Nine at the implementation of the ECOWAS Peace Plan for Liberia. Heads of State and Government expressed regrets that the hopes raised by the Abuja Agreement in August 1995, were dashed through the failure of the leaders of the Liberian warring factions to honour their pledge to submit their troops to disarmament and demobilisation.
5. The Authority condemned the outbreak in April, 1996 of hostilities in Monrovia, which involved all the warring factions, thus ending the cease-fire and depriving the city of Monrovia of its safe haven status. Heads of State and Government deplored the loss of lives and property, the reign of terror while the fighting lasted, and above all the severe blow to the peace process. The Authority praised the ECOMOG Field Commander and his forces for ending the mayhem and re-establishing Monrovia as a safe haven and relative calm to Liberia. Particular mention was made of the Accra Mechanism which seeks a return to the implementation of the Abuja Agreement.
6. Heads of State and Government authorised the Executive Secretary to sign the status of ECOMOG forces agreement between ECOWAS and the government of Liberia, once the Council of State has been restructured.
7. Heads of State and Government took note of the increased interest that the international community has been taking in recent months in the Liberian civil war. The Authority noted the establishment of the Contact Group on Liberia at the initiative of the United States government. The Authority expressed its appreciation for the pledges so far made by Western governments on support of ECOMOG operations and

humanitarian aspects of the Liberian peace process and urged the redemption of the pledges.

8. Heads of State and Government requested that a meeting of the Committee of Nine should be convened by the new Chairman of the Authority not later than 18th August, 1996 to consider the various issues on the Liberian peace process as contained in the Abuja Agreement.

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN

9. Heads of State and Government unanimously elected the Federal Republic of Nigeria as Chairman of the Community for 1996/97.

DATE AND VENUE OF NEXT SUMMIT

10. At the invitation of the Head of State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Authority decided to hold its twentieth session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria at a date to be determined later.

VOTE OF THANKS

11. The Heads of State and Government paid glowing tributes to His Excellency, Flight-Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana, for the diligence and dedication with which he directed the affairs of the community during the past two years. The Authority was particularly appreciative of the untiring efforts of its out-going Chairman to secure peace in Liberia.
12. Heads of State and Government further expressed gratitude to His Excellency, General Sani Abacha, Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, his government and the people of Nigeria for the genuine fraternal welcome extended to all delegations and for the excellent facilities made available to ensure the success of the 1996 Annual Statutory Meetings of the Community.

**DONE AT ABUJA
THIS 27TH DAY OF JULY, 1996**

THE EIGHTH MEETING OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

ABUJA, 15TH - 17TH AUGUST, 1996

FINAL REPORT

INTRODUCTION

1. The eighth meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia was held from 15th to 17th August, 1996, at the ECOWAS Secretariat, Conference Centre, Abuja.
2. The following members of the Committee were present:
 - Republic of BENIN;
 - BURKINA FASO;
 - Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE;
 - Republic of THE GAMBIA;
 - Republic of GHANA;
 - Republic of GUINEA;
 - Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
 - Republic of SENEGAL;
 - TOGOLESE Republic.
3. Representatives of the following Member States who were invited to the Meeting were also present:
 - Republic of LIBERIA;
 - Republic of NIGER;
 - Republic of SIERRA LEONE.
4. Following invitations extended to them, the Meeting was also attended by the following:
 - OAU Eminent persons, Rev. Canaan Banana;
 - Special Envoy of the Secretary-General of the United Nations;

- Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations;
 - Special Envoy of the former ECOWAS Chairman to Liberia.
5. The Field Commander of ECOMOG, Major-General Victor S. Malu also attended the Meeting.
6. The Meeting was chaired by the Honourable Chief Tom Ikimi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

II ADOPTION OF AGENDA

7. The following agenda was adopted:
- a. Welcome Address by H. E. Chief Tom Ikimi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria;
 - b. Remarks by H.E. Mr. Edouard Benjamin, ECOWAS Executive Secretary;
 - c. Report by the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations, H.E. Ambassador Anthony Nyakyi;
 - d. Report by the ECOMOG Field Commander, Major-General Victor S. Malu;
 - e. Other Reports and Speeches;
 - f. Deliberations;
 - g. Consideration of the Draft Agenda of the Fourth Meeting of Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia.
 - h. Any Other Matters.
 - i. Adoption of Report
 - j. Closing Session

III OPENING SESSION

8. Opening the session, the Chairman of the Meeting, Hon. Chief Tom Ikimi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria expressed appreciation and gratitude to the

eminem personalities and to the institutions which have contributed in various ways to the search for a lasting and durable peace in Liberia.

9. Chief Tom Ikimi recalled that the Authority had decided, at its July, 1996 session, to convene a meeting of the Committee of Nine before the Abuja Peace Plan expired on 20th August, 1996, of which the best option for relaunching the Liberian Peace Process would be considered. This eighth meeting was therefore expected to examine the activities of the Liberian factions and to take a decision on how best to sustain the Abuja Peace Plan. Having drawn up such a plan, Chief Ikimi suggested that the Meeting should discuss a new reasonable time frame within which a revised Abuja Peace Plan can be implemented. This, in his view, should be backed by the introduction of a set of guarantees that would ensure strict compliance with the new schedule of implementation and other relevant aspects of a revised Peace Plan.
10. To this end, the Honourable Minister noted that the Meeting should explore ways of ensuring full commitment to the Abuja Peace Plan and its faithful implementation by all parties to the Liberian conflict, based on an agreed revised time frame. There was also a prime need to examine the means of strengthening ECOMOG so that it could effectively discharge its peace-keeping responsibility. Chief Ikimi felt that it was time for the international community to give some assurance that it intended to fulfil its pledges of support to ECOWAS by providing logistic and financial aid to ECOMOG and to other needy areas in Liberia.
11. He emphasised that since the pursuit of peace in Liberia over the past six years had been a collective effort, it was important that all assistance offered to ECOMOG should be channelled centrally through ECOWAS, without encumbrances, and without prejudice to the sovereign rights of states within the ECOWAS sub-region to receive bilateral assistance from nations in the international system.
12. In view of the lack of firm commitment to the faithful implementation of the terms of successive agreements signed by the warring factions over the years, Chief Ikimi urged that serious consideration should be given to adopting a set of measures that might be invoked should any party or individual fail to comply with the revised

peace agreement. In this connection, it would be necessary to put in place a monitoring mechanism that would carry out a periodic assessment of compliance with the plan.

13. Finally, Hon. Chief Ikimi expressed the hope that the Liberian people particularly, would now work towards genuine reconciliation among themselves and embrace the prospects of peace in the country.
14. The ECOWAS Executive Secretary, Mr. Edouard Benjamin stated that the Abuja Agreement had heralded much hope and expectations because the signatories gave assurances that they alone could disarm their combatants and restore peace to their country, as they were the only ones who had the necessary influence over their armed fighters. On the contrary, events since then had led to serious doubts about the avowed willingness of the Liberian faction leaders to find a peaceful resolution to the crisis tearing their country apart in the supreme interest of the ECOWAS sub-region in particular and African solidarity in general.
15. The Executive Secretary noted that, ever since the Community declared its firm resolve not to recognise any factional leader who took over power by force, there had been outpourings of empty promises from some of these leaders. The fact remained however, that the Liberian factions and the Council of State must comply with the provisions of the Abuja Agreement if a solution to this six-year old crisis was not to become a mirage.
16. The Executive Secretary said that the meeting would provide all Liberians with fresh grounds for hope for peace and reconciliation.
17. In his statement, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Liberia, Mr Momolu Sirleaf stated that the Abuja Agreement had not only accommodated, to the greatest extent possible, the interests of all the contending parties to the conflict but had also brought together the key players in a partnership with each other and with ECOMOG in the search for peace.
18. In order to reinforce that partnership for peace, Mr Momolu Sirleaf said there was need to intensify efforts in securing the commitment of the international community to provide increased assistance to ECOMOG. At the same time, it should assume its legal and moral obligation to demonstrate similar interest in Liberia and the ECOWAS sub-region as they do for other parts of the world in conflict situations.
19. The Foreign Minister said that it has become crucial to sustain the current positive momentum in the peace process by strengthening ECOMOG to enable it expand its capacity to deploy throughout the country during the transitional period. In this connection, he appealed to ECOWAS Member States that had not yet done so to commit troops or other equally vital resources to ECOMOG in the supreme interest of the ECOWAS sub-region in particular and African solidarity in general.
20. The newly appointed ECOMOG Field Commander, Major-General Victor S. Malu presented an up-to-date report on the military and security situation in Liberia. He said that while ECOMOG has successfully completed the task of restoring Monrovia to its safe haven status, there was a worrisome development of harassment, abductions and assassinations of civilians belonging to rival factions or ethnic groups. Another potential source of escalating tension and insecurity was the division of the city along factional lines. In order to address the acts of violence, ECOMOG continued to show presence in the city and its environs, to instil confidence and a sense of security in the citizenry.
21. In his report, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General, Ambassador Anthony Nyaki, stated that the primary incentives for the factions to disarm their fighters ought to be the desire to achieve peace and to end the suffering in the country. Yet, the factions have continued to be uncooperative. Efforts by the humanitarian community to secure safe passage for the delivery of relief assistance has failed. These factions were beginning to raise doubts in many quarters of the international community as to whether there had truly been a change of attitude on the part of the faction leaders.
22. Ambassador Nyakyi observed that, given the faction leaders track record of consistent failure to implement past agreements, it would be very difficult to convince the international community of their sincerity to honour any new promises they make, unless the faction leaders took concrete action to begin the process of

implementing the measures as a demonstration of their renewed commitment.

23. He outlined several conditions which had to be met by the faction leaders as proof of their sincerity before the international community could be encouraged to provide assistance for the revived peace process. Ambassador Nyakyi attributed the inadequate response of the donor countries to redeem their pledges of assistance to the uncooperative attitude of the faction leaders.

IV. OUTCOME OF DELIBERATIONS

24. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs centred their discussions on the following issues :
- i. Assessment of the implementation of the Accra Mechanism;
 - ii. Extension of the Abuja Peace Agreement of August, 1995;
 - iii. Schedule of implementation of the Abuja Peace Agreement;
 - iv. Explore methods to ensure compliance by the Liberian parties with the Abuja Peace Plan;
 - v. Assessment of the performance of the Council of State;
 - vi. Status of Monrovia;
 - vii. Elections in Liberia;
 - viii. Redeeming pledges from the international community;
 - ix. Strengthening ECOMOG;
 - x. Restructuring the Armed Forces, the Police and other security institutions;
 - xi. Return of arms seized from ECOMOG;
 - xii. Return of assets looted from the UN and international NGOs;
 - xiii. Humanitarian assistance in Liberia.

Assessment of the implementation of the Accra mechanism

25. Following the April 1996 crisis that stripped the city of Monrovia of its safe haven status, the Ministers, at their meeting in Accra, established a set of mechanisms for implementation by the government and people of Liberia.
26. Conclusions adduced from reports of the situation on the ground showed that:
- contrary to the unilateral undertaking of the Council Members and despite the fact that all members were physically present in Monrovia, the Council had not yet sat and had consequently not returned to its role of governance over the territory of Liberia since April 1996;
 - there was a general feeling of insecurity within the city following recent cases of harassment, abductions and killings of civilians;
 - there was a continued violation of the Cease-fire as fighting was still going on in certain parts of Liberia;
 - the city of Monrovia was itself invisibly divided along factional and ethnic lines.
 - although there was initial resistance by faction leaders to implement the withdrawal of armed fighters and their weapons from the city, a substantial withdrawal of armed fighters had been achieved.
 - once the withdrawal of the forces had been substantially achieved, ECOMOG was able to effectively deploy its troops throughout Monrovia.
 - there was a studied reluctance on the part of the armed factions to disarm.
 - the weapons seized from ECOMOG in December 1995 by the ULIMO-J faction in Tubmanburg had not been returned.
27. Despite the fact that certain critical measures for peace remained largely un-implemented, the Meeting noted that some progress had indeed been made in returning peace and stability to the city of Monrovia. The lack of full

implementation of the mechanism meant that some form of pressure had to be exerted on the faction leaders to ensure compliance.

Extension of the Abuja Agreement of August, 1995

28. The Abuja Agreement was designed to usher in peace and lead to the holding of free and fair elections on 20th August, 1995. After reviewing developments in Liberia since the signing of the Agreement, the Meeting agreed that no progress had been made towards achieving that objective.
29. It was reaffirmed that the Abuja Agreement remained the best and last framework for finding durable peace in Liberia and should thus be retained in its entirety. Consequently, it was suggested that the validity of the Abuja Agreement be extended for another nine months from 20th August, 1996 to 15th June, 1997. However, elections would be held on or about 31st May, 1997.

Schedule of Implementation of the Abuja Peace Agreement

30. The Proposal to extend the validity of the Abuja Agreement would make it imperative to draw up a new schedule of implementation. The proposed revised schedule of implementation covering the nine-month period from 20th August, 1996 to 15th June, 1997 has been divided into five stages with an inbuilt monitoring mechanism that was designed to ensure strict compliance with the Peace Plan.
31. At every stage of the implementation schedule, appraisal meetings would be held and visits would be undertaken to Liberia in order to verify that the activities are executed according to some objectives and within the time frame contained in the schedule. The Meeting felt the appraisal teams would need to be given a clear mandate to enable them make recommendations for sanctions to be imposed on any person(s) or group(s) found guilty of acts capable of obstructing or derailing the implementation process.

Exploring methods to ensure compliance by the Liberian parties with the Peace Plan

32. The Meeting noted that the Liberian crisis had persisted this long because the success of

earlier Peace Plans had over depended on the goodwill of the Liberian parties.

33. Since the requisite goodwill had been lacking, it was strongly felt that ECOWAS needed to put in place adequate measures that would ensure compliance by all the parties. Such measures which would be invoked against any defaulting party may include:
- travel and residence restriction;
 - freezing of business activities and assets in Member States;
 - exclusion from participation in the electoral process;
 - restrictions on the use of the airspace and territorial waters of Member States;
 - expulsion of members of the families of the Liberian leaders and their associates from the territories of Member States;
 - request for the UN Security Council to impose visa restrictions;
 - restrictions on imports from Liberia;
 - invoke the OAU 1996 Summit Resolution which calls for the establishment of a war crimes tribunal to try all human rights offences against Liberians.
34. Considering the fact that a new schedule of implementation would eventually be adopted by the parties, the Meeting felt that the above measures should not be implemented immediately; but rather should be imposed against those who would impede the implementation of the new schedule.
35. Measures that could immediately be put in place would include non-recognition of any government that might come to power by force of arms, ensuring compliance with the arms embargo and mandating ECOMOG to deal decisively with any recalcitrant faction.
36. To ensure observance of the arms embargo, countries bordering Liberia were urged to adopt all measures necessary to stop the flow of arms from their territories into Liberia. In this regard,

the Meeting noted with appreciation the steps taken by the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire.

37. To stop the airlift of arms into Liberia, the Meeting considered it necessary that ECOMOG should ensure that only airports under its control were operational.
38. In order to maintain constant pressure on the Liberian leaders, the Ministers suggested that the ECOWAS Chairman should set up an independent monitoring committee.

Assessment of the performance of the Council of State

39. The Meeting assessed the performance of the six-man Liberian Council of State from the date of its installation and reached the consensus that the Council had performed well below expectation. It was also felt that a stronger and more purposeful leadership of the Council could have enable it perform better and also achieve cohesiveness within the Council in particular and the LNTG in general.
40. The Meeting agreed to the appointment of MRS. RUTH PERRY, a former Senator of the Republic of Liberia as the new Chairman of the Council of State. However, if in future, any Council member is found wanting, the Committee of Nine should be empowered to effect a change either in accordance with the original procedure or through other methods as the Committee may consider appropriate.
41. In addition, the Ministers suggested the immediate imposition of a code of conduct to which Council members and the LNTG would be subjected to and this could be used as a yardstick for assessing their performance individually and collectively. Any breaches in the observance of the code would attract appropriate sanctions by the Ministerial Committee of Nine on Liberia.

Status of Monrovia

42. The Meeting recalled that the safe haven status of Monrovia had been dealt a serious blow by the wave of widespread violence that engulfed Monrovia in April and May 1996. Renewed fighting in the city, accompanied by widespread looting and destruction of property compelled the

Committee of Nine to mandate ECOMOG to restore Monrovia to its original safe haven status. Although ECOMOG had successfully achieved this objective, the Meeting expressed grave concern over the recent developments characterised by incidents of harassment, abductions and assassinations of civilians belonging to rival factions or ethnic groups. The Meeting also deplored the emerging trend of partitioning the city along factional lines, given its attendant potential for tension and insecurity.

43. The Meeting expressed satisfaction with the steps taken by ECOMOG to secure a state of relative calm in Monrovia and further advised that ECOMOG intensify its operations by enforcing such measures as cordon and search, determining the limits of convoys and security guards, compelling government officials to use official residences and any other measures that would guarantee the true status of a safe haven for Monrovia and its environs.

Elections in Liberia

44. The Meeting observed that all the Peace Plans articulated in the past six years were structured to terminate with elections. The Meeting further observed that elections were never conducted because all the Peace Plans were aborted. However, considering the widespread interest expressed by all sides in the holding of elections soon, it was proposed that arrangements be initiated for the holding of elections. The modalities of the elections would be worked out later taking into consideration the existing electoral laws of Liberia.
45. In the proposed revised schedule of implementation adopted by the Meeting, elections have been slated for 31st May, 1997 or thereabout.
46. The elected government would be installed on 15th June, 1997.
47. The Ministers recommended that ECOWAS should seek UN assistance for the conduct of elections in Liberia. The meeting advised that the procedures to seek such assistance be set in motion immediately in order to respect the deadline within the time frame of the overall plan.

Redeeming pledges from the International Community

48. The Ministers were informed that although several countries made pledges during the New York pledging conference for Liberia most of which were for humanitarian assistance, and all such donations were alleged to have gone directly to the humanitarian agencies on the ground in Liberia. In addition, most of the donor countries had made bilateral arrangements to assist some Member States. Consequently, nothing had been received by the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat.
49. The ECOWAS Executive Secretary was mandated to enquire from the donors the amounts they had contributed towards the peace process in Liberia either bilaterally or directly to other agencies for the information of the Committee of Nine. Once again, it was emphasised that all contributions for the peace process should be communicated to ECOWAS for its information and record purposes.

Strengthening ECOMOG

50. The Meeting unanimously agreed that strengthening ECOMOG in terms of manpower and logistics was crucial to the effective discharge of its peace-keeping responsibilities.
51. It was noted that the projected manpower requirements that would constitute an overwhelming presence to hold elections in Liberia stood at 18,000 troops. The Ministers noted with satisfaction that some ECOWAS Members had indicated their willingness to contribute troops to boost the strength of ECOMOG. Provided that enough logistic support was available, contributions could be expected as follows:

Ghana	- 1 battalion of 750 men;
Niger	- between a company and a battalion;
Burkina Faso	- a reduced battalion;
The Gambia	- a limited company;
Cote d'Ivoire	- 50 medical and para-medical personnel.

The level of troops from the Republic of Benin and Togolese Republic would be determined in due course.

52. The Meeting proposed that the arrival of troops and delivery of logistics supplies be linked to other activities in the proposed revised schedule of implementation.
53. The Ministers expressed appreciation to the US Government for its \$30m assistance package to ECOMOG. An American-based company, Pacific Architects Engineering (PAE), was already fully established in Monrovia to execute and oversee all the US Government support to ECOMOG.

Restructuring the Armed Forces, the Police and other security institutions

54. The Meeting expressed grave concern that security agencies in Liberia have deep factional affiliations and in particular, the Police had been infected with fighters and unqualified personnel at the highest possible level. This state of affairs had eroded the confidence and sense of security in the citizenry.
55. With a view to establishing a credible security apparatus for post-election Liberia, the Meeting endorsed the proposal to restructure the armed forces, the police and other security institutions to reflect geographical and ethnic balance.
56. To this end, the Meeting advised that the offer of the British Government to sponsor the "Train the Trainers" programme should therefore be taken up. Alternatively, ECOWAS should look into the possibility of obtaining the required assistance from countries in the sub-region.

Return of Arms seized from ECOMOG

57. The Meeting noted with dismay that the ULIMO-"J" faction headed by General Roosevelt Johnson had not returned the arms seized from ECOMOG during the attack on the latter in Tubmanburg, Bomi County, in December 1995.
58. The Meeting once again called for the immediate and unconditional return of these weapons to ECOMOG. Severe sanctions should be applied against the ULIMO-"J" faction and its leader if

the arms were not returned within a time frame to be stipulated by the Heads of State.

Return of assets looted from the UN and International Non-governmental Organisations

- 59. The Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General in Liberia, Ambassador Anthony Nyakyi, informed the Meeting that almost 500 vehicles were looted by the Liberia factions from the UN and its agencies and from the international NGOs during the April 1996 crisis in Monrovia.
- 60. These vehicles and other looted equipment had still not been returned to their rightful owners despite repeated appeals to the factions and their leaders.
- 61. The Meeting called for an immediate release of all looted items and suggested that faction leaders should be held responsible for any vehicles or equipment looted by their men. The assistance of neighbouring countries and any other country to which any of such looted vehicles may have been driven was sought in identifying, confiscating and returning them to their rightful owners.

Humanitarian situation in Liberia

- 62. The Ministers were informed by Ambassador Anthony Nyakyi that humanitarian assistance to some parts of Liberia was being constrained by insecurity, violence and continued harassment of staff of humanitarian agencies. Humanitarian agencies had therefore adopted measures limiting their operations to a large part of Liberia.
- 63. In order to forestall future acts of looting and vandalism, the Meeting advised that the United Nations should assist ECOMOG to ensure adequate security on the ground in Liberia. Meanwhile, the Meeting directed all warring factions to guarantee unconditionally :
 - i. the right of civilians to move freely to seek safety and assistance, and their right to receive assistance free from reprisals or retribution;
 - ii. to commit themselves to upholding the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, in

particular those aspects relating to child soldiers, children affected by the conflict, and the right of children not to be forcibly separated from their parents;

- iii. to adhere to and demonstrate their support and commitment to the Geneva Convention and Protocols, and international humanitarian laws;
- iv. to support and make a commitment to the Principles and Protocols for humanitarian operations. Action in this respect must include facilities for relief organisations and protection of relief personnel.

V. CONSIDERATION OF THE DRAFT AGENDA OF THE FOURTH MEETING OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON LIBERIA

- 64. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia proposed that the following draft agenda be adopted for the Fourth Meeting of Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia.
 - i. Opening Ceremony;
 - ii. Welcome Address by His Excellency, General Sani Abacha, Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and current Chairman of ECOWAS;
 - Speeches by Heads of State and Government/Heads of Delegations;
 - iii. Adoption of the Agenda;
 - iv. Presentation of the report of the eight meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia by H.E., Chief Tom Ikimi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria;
 - v. Presentation of the report of the thirteenth meeting of Chiefs of Staff of ECOWAS Member States by H.E. General Abdulsalam Abubakar, Chief of Defence Staff of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

- vi. Consideration of the Reports;
- vii. Any Other Matters;
- viii. Final Communique;
- ix. Closing Ceremony.

VI OTHER MATTERS

- 65. No other matter was raised under this item.

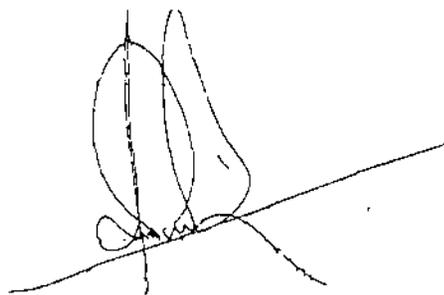
VII ADOPTION OF REPORT

- 66. The Report was adopted after amendment.

VIII CLOSING SESSION

- 67. In his closing remarks, the Chairman expressed gratitude to all participants for having spent valuable time to contribute to the fruitful deliberations that have resulted in such excellent work.

**DONE AT ABUJA,
THIS 17TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1996**



**H.E. CHIEF TOM IKIMI,
CHAIRMAN,
FOR THE COUNCIL**

SUPPLEMENT TO THE ABUJA AGREEMENT

ABUJA, 17TH AUGUST, 1996

WHEREAS the Abuja Agreement has been endorsed by the OAU and the United Nations as the best framework for peace in Liberia; and

WHEREAS the ECOWAS Authority has reaffirmed the Abuja Agreement as the only viable means to its determination to achieve a peaceful resolution of the Liberian civil war and has reiterated its determination to fully implement the said Agreement; and

DESIRING to effect a change in the leadership of the Council of State in order to enable it perform more efficiently and creditably;

PURSUANT to Section K, Article 12, and Section D, Article 16 of the Abuja Agreement, the Schedule of Implementation should have been implemented within the twelve-month life-span of the Liberia National Transitional Government; and

WHEREAS the parties agreed to abide by the schedule of implementation attached to the Abuja Agreement, with such modifications in terms of dates as are required by virtue of any delay in the implementation of said agreement; and

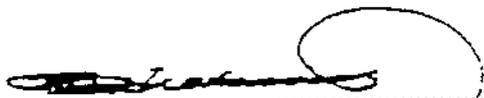
WHEREAS the Abuja Agreement needs to be revised in line with the issues raised above.

NOW THEREFORE THE PARTIES HEREBY AGREE

1. Part II titled "Political Issues", Section A, paragraph (ii) is hereby amended and shall read as follows:
 - "(ii) The Chairman of the Council shall be **MRS. RUTH PERRY**. All other members shall be Vice-Chairmen of equal status. In case of permanent incapacitation a new Chairman shall be appointed within the ECOWAS framework."
2. To abide by the revised Schedule of Implementation attached hereto.
3. To extend the life of the transitional government in accordance with the revised Schedule of Implementation.

DONE AT ABUJA,

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA,
THIS 17TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1996



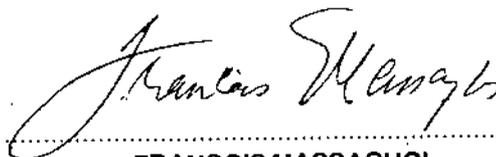
CHARLES GHANKAY TAYLOR,
Leader, National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL)



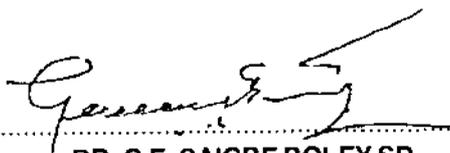
MAJOR-GENERAL ROOSEVELT JOHNSON,
United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO-J)



LT. GEN. ALHAJI G.V. KROMAH,
National Chairman, United Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO)



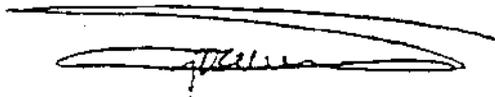
FRANCOIS MASSAQUOI,
LOFA Defence Force (LDF)



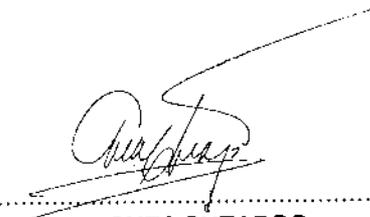
DR. G.E. SAIGBE BOLEY SR.,
Leader, Liberia Peace Council (LPC)



JUCONTEE THOMAS WOEWYU,
*National Patriotic Front of Liberia
Central Revolutionary Council (NPFL-CRC)*

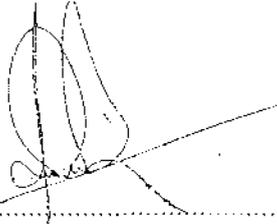


LT. GEN. J. HEZEKIAH BOWEN
Armed Forces of Liberia, (AFL)

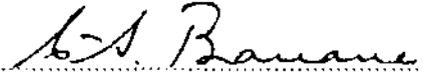


CHEA CHEAPOO
Liberia National Conference (LNG)

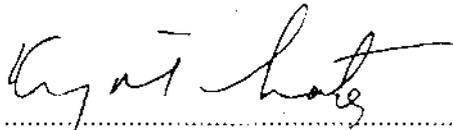
WITNESSED BY:



.....
CHIEF TOM IKIMI *For and on behalf of*
HIS EXCELLENCY, GENERAL SANI ABACHA
Head of State, Commander-In-Chief of the Nigerian
Armed Forces and current ECOWAS Chairman.



.....
HIS EXCELLENCY,
PRESIDENT CANAAN BANANA
O.A.U. Eminent Persons in Liberia



.....
CAPT. (RTD) KOJO TSIKATA
Member of the Council of State, for and on behalf of
HIS EXCELLENCY, FLT LT. JERRY JOHN
RAWLINGS, *President of the Republic of Ghana*



.....
HIS EXCELLENCY ANTHONY B. NYAKYI
U.N. Secretary-General's Special
Representative to Liberia

**REVISED SCHEDULE OF IMPLEMENTATION OF
THE ABUJA AGREEMENT FROM CEASE-FIRE TO ELECTION
AUGUST 1996 - MAY 1997**

20th to 31st August, 1996	A Cease-fire, Disengagement of Factions from check points and present combat positions
1st September - 30th November, 1996	Delivery of logistic supplies by the international/donor community to ECOMOG
20th August, 1996 - 31st January, 1997	Verification of cease-fire and disengagement by ECOMOG, UNOMIL and LNTG
3rd - 10th October, 1996	Assessment meeting in Liberia by Chairman's Special Envoy with ECOMOG, UNOMIL, Representatives of donor community and LNTG
12th October, 1996 - 31st January, 1997	B Reece Mission by ECOMOG and UNOMIL of arms collection centres
4th - 8th November, 1996	C Committee of Nine Meeting (Ministerial) in Monrovia
7th November, 1996 - 31st January, 1997	Deployment of ECOMOG to Agreed Safe Havens by Committee of Nine
22nd November, 1996 - 31st January, 1997	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Repatriation
6th - 13th January, 1997	Verification visit to Liberia by Chairman's Special Envoy with ECOMOG, UNOMIL, Representatives of donor community and LNTG
20th January - 15th April, 1997	D Preparation for Elections
10th - 15th March, 1997	Committee of Nine meeting, Monrovia
17th - 24th April, 1997	Assessment visit to Liberia by Chairman's Special Envoy with ECOMOG, UNOMIL, Representatives of donor community and LNTG
30th May, 1997	E Election Day
NOTES	
(1) Dissolution of all factions	- 31st January, 1997
(2) Registration of Council members and other public office holders wishing to run for elective office	- 28th February, 1997
(3) Election Day	- 30th May, 1997
(4) Inauguration of New Government	- 15th June, 1997

THE FOURTH MEETING OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

ABUJA, 17TH AUGUST, 1996

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. The Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia held their fourth meeting at the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat in Abuja on 17th August, 1996, under the Chairmanship of His Excellency, General Sani Abacha, Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and current Chairman of the ECOWAS Authority. The Heads of State and Government reviewed the situation in Liberia and considered ways to put the Liberian peace process back on course, in conformity with the Abuja Accord.
2. The following Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives were present at the Meeting:
 - His Excellency, Matthieu KERÉKOU, President of the Republic of BENIN;
 - His Excellency, Blaise COMPAORE, President of BURKINA FASO;
 - His Excellency, Flight-Lieutenant Jerry John RAWLINGS, President of the Republic of GHANA;
 - His Excellency, General Sani ABACHA, Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
 - His Excellency, Captain Edward SINGHATAY, Vice-President and Minister of Defence of The Gambia, representing the President of the Republic of THE GAMBIA;
 - Honourable Barry Moussa BARQUE, Minister of State, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Togolese Republic, representing the President of the TOGOLESE Republic;
 - Honourable Amara ESSAY, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire, representing the President of Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE;
 - Honourable Lamine CAMARA, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guinea, representing the President of the Republic of GUINEA;
 - Honourable Massokhna KANE, Minister of African Economic Integration of the Republic of Senegal, representing the President of the Republic of SENEGAL.
3. The following guests were also present at the session:
 - His Excellency, Professor Wilton SANKAWULO, President of the Council of State of the LIBERIA National Transitional Government (LNTG);
 - His Excellency, Alpha Oumar KONARE, President and Head of State of the Islamic Republic of MALI;
 - His Excellency, Ibrahim MAINASSARA BARE, President of the Republic of NIGER;
 - His Excellency, Alhaji Ahmad Tejan KABBAH, President of the Republic of SIERRA LEONE.
4. The following were invited as Observers:
 - OAU Eminent Person to Liberia;
 - Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to Liberia.
5. The following persons also attended the Meeting in an advisory capacity:
 - Mr. Edouard BENJAMIN, ECOWAS Executive Secretary;
 - Major-General Victor S. MALU, ECOMOG Field Commander.
6. The fourth meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine was preceded by a meeting of Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces of ECOWAS Member States and a meeting of ECOWAS Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine on Liberia.

7. The Heads of State and Government reviewed the situation in Liberia as presented in the report of the thirteenth meeting of Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces of ECOWAS Member States and the report of the eighth meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine on Liberia. They considered ways to bring up the following issues:

- (i) Assessment of the implementation of the Accra Mechanism;
- (ii) Extension of the Abuja Peace Agreement of August 1995 and review of its schedule of implementation;
- (iii) Measures to ensure compliance with the Abuja Peace Plan by the Liberian parties;
- (iv) Performance of the Council of State;
- (v) Status of Monrovia;
- (vi) Elections in Liberia;
- (vii) Strengthening of ECOMOG;
- (viii) Restructuring the Armed Forces, Police and other security agents;
- (ix) Return of Arms seized from ECOMOG and property looted from the UN and other agencies;
- (x) Humanitarian assistance to Liberia.

ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACCRA MECHANISM

8. The Heads of State and Government noted the non-observance of several important obligations inherent in the mechanism put in place by the seventh meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine with the aim of re-launching the peace process.

EXTENSION OF THE ABUJA AGREEMENT OF 19TH AUGUST, 1995 AND REVIEW OF ITS IMPLEMENTATION SCHEDULE

9. Heads of State and Government reaffirmed that the Abuja Agreement which was designed to usher in peace and lead to the organisation of free and democratic elections on 20th August, 1996 remained the most appropriate legal

framework for finding a peaceful settlement to the Liberian crisis. They therefore decided that it should be retained in its entirety. However, given that very little process had been made in its application, it had not been possible to adhere to its implementation schedule.

10. Consequently, the Heads of State and Government approved that the validity of the Abuja Agreement be extended for another nine months from 21st August, 1996 to 15th June, 1997. The following revised schedule of implementation shall be undertaken before the holding of free, fair and democratic elections on or about 31st May, 1997.

20th to 31st August, 1996
Cease-fire, Disengagement of Factions from check points and present combat positions

1st September to 30th November, 1996
Delivery of logistic supplies by the international/ donor community to ECOMOG

20th August, 1996 to 31st January, 1997
Verification of cease-fire and disengagement by ECOMOG, UNOMIL and LNTG

3rd to 10th October, 1996
Assessment meeting in Liberia by Chairman's Special Envoy with ECOMOG, UNOMIL, Representatives of donor community and LNTG.

12th October, 1996 to 31st January, 1997
Recce Mission by ECOMOG and UNOMIL of arms collection centres

4th to 8th November, 1996
ECOWAS Committee of Nine meeting (Ministerial) in Monrovia.

7th November, 1996 to 31st January, 1997
Deployment of ECOMOG to Agreed Safe Haven by Committee of Nine.

22nd November, 1996 to 31st January, 1997
Disarmament, Demobilisation and Repatriation.

6th to 13th January, 1997
Verification visit to Liberia by ECOWAS Chairman's Special Envoy with ECOMOG, UNOMIL, Representatives of donor community and LNTG.

20th January to 15th April, 1997
Preparation for Elections.

10th to 15th March, 1997
ECOWAS Committee of Nine meeting, Monrovia.

17th to 24th April, 1997
Assessment visit to Liberia by ECOWAS Chairman's Special Envoy with ECOMOG, UNOMIL, Representatives of donor community and LNTG.

30th May, 1997
Election Day.

11. The new schedule of implementation of the Abuja Agreement also provides for the dissolution of all factions by 31st January, 1997, resignation by 28th February, 1997 of the members of the Council of State and public office holders who wish to run for election. The new government is expected to be sworn in on 15th June, 1997.
12. The Heads of State and Government adopted a mechanism designed to ensure strict compliance with the Abuja Peace Plan by all Liberian parties.

MEASURES TO ENSURE COMPLIANCE WITH THE ABUJA PEACE PLAN

13. The Heads of State and Government deplored the lack of sincerity and commitment shown by the Liberian factions to the peace process. They adopted a decision envisaging sanctions that might be invoked against any person found guilty of acts capable of obstructing the Abuja Peace Plan concluded by the signatories to the Abuja Agreement. Such sanctions which would be invoked against any defaulting party would include:

- travel and residence restrictions;
- freezing of business activities and assets in Member States;
- exclusion from participation in the electoral process;
- restrictions on the use of the airspace and territorial waters of Member States;
- expulsion of members of the families of the Liberian leaders and their associates from the territories of Member States;

- request for the UN Security Council to impose visa restrictions;
- restrictions on imports from Liberia;
- invoke the OAU 1996 Summit Resolution which calls for the establishment of a war crimes tribunal to try all human rights offences against Liberians.

14. The Heads of State and Government reaffirmed the need for Member States to observe the arms embargo declared against the warring factions and therefore adopted a Decision designed to ensure strict compliance therewith. They urged Member States, particularly countries bordering Liberia to adopt all measures to stop the flow of arms from their territories into that country and noted with appreciation the measures taken by the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire in this connection. They recognised the right of ECOMOG to carry out a search on anyone including members of the Liberia National Transitional Government (LNTG) and any other government officials on the territory of Liberia.
15. ECOMOG was directed to ensure that only airports under its control were operational. The Heads of State and Government decided to set up a committee to monitor the implementation of the Peace Plan. This committee may prescribe sanctions to be taken by Member States against persons who obstruct implementation of the Peace Plan. The Heads of State and Government reaffirmed their resolve not to recognise any government which comes to power by force of arms.

PERFORMANCE OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE

16. The Heads of State and Government were concerned about the performance of the Council of State and felt that a change in the leadership of the Council would improve upon its effectiveness and cohesive.
17. Heads of State and Government, therefore, agreed to the appointment, by the signatories to the Abuja Agreement, of Mrs. Ruth Perry, a former Senator of the Republic of Liberia, as the new Chairman of the Council of State. The Heads of State expressed their appreciation to the out-going Chairman, Professor Wilton SANKAWULO for his services rendered under rather difficult circumstances.

18. They also stressed that, if in future, any Council member was found wanting would be replaced.
19. The Heads of State and Government adopted a code of conduct for observance by members of the Council of State and other public office holders in implementing the Abuja Agreement and these would be used as a yardstick for assessing their performance, individually and collectively.

STATUS OF MONROVIA

20. Heads of State and Government expressed satisfaction at the measures taken by ECOMOG to restore relative calm to Monrovia. They however expressed concern at the recent incidents of harassment, abduction and assassination of civilian members of rival faction or other ethnic groups. They strongly condemned the growing tendency to partition the city of Monrovia along factional lines and mandated ECOMOG to intensify its efforts to restore Monrovia and environs to its original safe haven status.

ELECTIONS IN LIBERIA

21. Heads of State and Government noted that, because of the failure of successive Peace Plans, it had been impossible to organise free, fair and democratic elections. They directed that the process should be set in motion for the holding of elections in Liberia on or about 30th May, 1997. To this end, they recommended that modalities for the organisation of elections be formulated, taking into account the electoral laws of Liberia.
22. They appealed to the United Nations, donors and non-governmental organisations for support and ensuring that the elections are successfully organised.

STRENGTHENING OF ECOMOG

23. Heads of State and Government took note of the information that successful implementation of the Peace Plan would require deployment of 18,000 troops to Liberia. They commended the efforts of those Member States of ECOWAS which had promised to contribute troops once adequate logistics support was provided.
24. Heads of State and Government expressed

gratitude to the Government of the United States of America which has embarked on its second assistance package involving provision of logistics and communication equipment.

RESTRUCTURING THE ARMED FORCES, POLICE AND OTHER SECURITY FORCES

25. The Heads of State and Government expressed grave concern over the fact that security agencies have deep affiliations with the factions and condemned the control wielded over the Police by fighters and non-qualified personnel.
26. They endorsed the proposal to restructure the armed forces, the police and other security forces to reflect geographical and ethnic balance. They noted the offer by the British Government to sponsor the "Train the Trainers" programme. ECOWAS should look into the possibility of obtaining the required assistance from countries within the region.

RETURN OF ARMS SEIZED FROM ECOMOG AND PROPERTY LOOTED FROM THE UN AND OTHER AGENCIES

27. Heads of State and Government strongly condemned the seizure of ECOMOG arms and ammunition by fighters belonging to the armed factions. They also condemned the looting of vehicles and other assets from the United Nations and non-governmental agencies. Heads of State and Government directed the Liberian faction leaders to return the arms and ammunition seized from ECOMOG and to release to the UN and other organisations the vehicles and other property looted from them. They called on the authorities of countries bordering Liberia to assist in identifying, confiscating and returning such property on their territory to their rightful owners.

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO LIBERIA

28. Heads of State and Government firmly condemned the crimes, atrocities and other acts by the Liberian fighters which violate the rules of armed warfare. They issue a fresh warning to the factions to desist from such acts which are offensive to the international community. Heads of State and Government directed the faction leaders and their fighters to undertake to abide by the terms of the Geneva Convention of 12th August, 1994 and the annexed Protocols as well as the United Nations Convention on the Rights

of the Child. They called on the faction leaders to guarantee the safety of relief personnel in Liberia, to enable them to resume their operations.

29. Heads of State and Government expressed gratitude to the OAU and to the United Nations, for their constant support in the quest for peace in Liberia.
30. At the end of their deliberations, Heads of State and Government expressed their sincere gratitude and deep appreciation to His Excellency, General Sani ABACHA and to the Government and people of Nigeria for the warm, brotherly hospitality extended to them during their stay in Abuja.
31. Heads of State and Government also seized the opportunity to warmly congratulate the Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, His Excellency, General Sani Abacha, current Chairman of ECOWAS for the magnificent victory of the Nigerian U-23 "dream-team" at the Football Tournament of the 26th Olympiad in Atlanta, Georgia, USA.
32. Heads of State and Government, while sharing the glory and joy of the Head of State, the government and people of Nigeria, considered the "golden" triumph as a regional and continental victory which has rekindled the spirit of unity and friendship and strengthened the solidarity between the peoples and countries of the ECOWAS region.

**DONE AT ABUJA,
THIS 17TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1996.**

**THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT
OF THE ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE.**

DECISION HSGC9-1/8/96 RELATING TO SANCTIONS AGAINST PERSONS WHO VIOLATE THE ECOWAS PEACE PLAN FOR LIBERIA

MEMBERS OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF NINE ON LIBERIA,

MINDFUL of Article 7 of the Revised ECOWAS Treaty establishing the Authority of Heads of State and Government and defining its composition and functions;

ACTING on behalf of the Authority of Heads of State and Government;

MINDFUL of the ECOWAS Protocol on Non-Aggression adopted in Dakar on 22nd April, 1978 and the Protocol on Mutual Assistance in Defence Matters adopted in Freetown on 29th May, 1981;

MINDFUL of the decision taken in Cotonou on 20th October, 1992 by the Standing Mediation Committee and the Committee of Five relating to the establishment of a Monitoring Committee known as the Committee of Nine on Liberia;

MINDFUL of the Final Communique of the Authority of Heads of State and Government adopted at its nineteenth session held in Abuja on 26th and 27th July, 1996 in which the Heads of State and Government requested that the Chairman of the Authority convene a meeting before 18th August, 1996 to examine various issues pertaining to the peace process in Liberia, in keeping with the provisions of the Abuja Agreement;

BEARING IN MIND the various Cease-fire Agreements and other Liberian Peace Plans, in particular the Yamoussoukro, Cotonou, Akosombo and Accra Accords and the Abuja Agreement;

CONVINCED that the maintenance of peace in the Community is indispensable for economic cooperation and integration in the region;

NOTING that the negative attitude of the Liberian faction leaders, their fighters and sympathisers show a lack of commitment to abide by the measures adopted for peace contained in the Abuja Agreement and in the mechanism established in Accra on 8th May, 1996;

DEEPLY concerned by repeated cease-fire violations and the renewed upsurge of violence in several parts of the Liberian territory;

CONSIDERING that this attitude poses a serious threat to peace and security in Liberia and in the West Africa region;

CONVINCED that adoption of a package of appropriate sanctions which would be imposed on any party, faction or individual would greatly advance the peace process;

CONVINCED also, that the Abuja Agreement remains the best possible framework for achieving peace in Liberia;

CONSIDERING the supplement to the Abuja Agreement which contains a new schedule of implementation of the Peace Plan;

ON THE RECOMMENDATION of the eighth meeting of ECOWAS Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia, held in Abuja on 15th and 16th August, 1996.

DECIDES

Article 1

For the purposes of ensuring strict compliance with the ECOWAS Peace Plan for Liberia, the following sanctions are hereby adopted:

1. Non-recognition of any government that might come to power by force of arms;
2. Mandating ECOMOG to deal decisively with any recalcitrant party;
3. Travel and residence restrictions;
4. Freezing of business activities and assets in Member States;
5. Exclusion from participation in the electoral process;
6. Restrictions on the use of the airspace and territorial waters of Member States;
7. Expulsion of members of the families of the Liberian leaders and their associates from the territories of Member States;
8. Request for the UN Security Council to impose visa restrictions;
9. Restrictions on imports from Liberia;
10. Invoke the OAU 1996 Summit Resolution which calls for the establishment of a war crimes tribunal to try all human rights offences against Liberians.

Article 2

1. At every stage of the Implementation Schedule attached to the supplement to the Abuja Agreement, appraisal meetings shall be held and visits undertaken by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine to Liberia in order to verify that the activities are executed according to set objectives and within the time frame contained in the said Implementation Schedule.
2. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs appraisal teams and the independent monitoring committee established by the ECOWAS Chairman shall make recommendations for any of the sanctions enumerated in Article 1 above to be involved against any defaulting party or persons found guilty of acts capable of obstructing or derailing the implementation of the peace process.
3. Such recommendations shall be made to the Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine on Liberia through the Chairman of ECOWAS. The Chairman of ECOWAS shall invoke appropriate sanctions, after consultations with other Heads of State on the Committee of Nine.

Article 3

This Decision shall enter into force upon signature and shall be published by the Executive Secretariat in the Official Journal of the Community within thirty days of signature by the Chairman of Authority.

It shall also be published in the National Gazette of each Member State within the same time frame.

**DONE AT ABUJA,
THIS 17TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1996**



**H.E. GENERAL SANI ABACHA,
CHAIRMAN,
FOR COMMITTEE OF NINE ON LIBERIA.**

DECISION HSGC9-2/8/96 RELATING TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARMS EMBARGO IN LIBERIA

THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF NINE ON LIBERIA,

MINDFUL of Article 7 of the Revised Treaty establishing the Authority of Heads of State and Government and defining its composition and functions;

ACTING on behalf of the Authority of Heads of State and Government;

MINDFUL of Decision A/DEC 8/7/92 and A/DEC 1/10/92 of the Authority of Heads of State and Government calling for the imposition and implementation of sanctions against parties to the Liberian conflict who fail to comply with the ECOWAS Peace Plan;

MINDFUL of Resolutions S/RES/788 (1992) and S/RES/813 (1993) of the United Nations Security Council imposing a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia;

MINDFUL of the Decision taken in Cotonou on 20th October, 1992 by the Standing Mediation Committee and the Committee of Five relating to the establishment of a Monitoring Committee known as the Committee of Nine on Liberia;

MINDFUL of the various Peace Agreements on the Liberian crisis in particular, the Yamoussoukro, Cotonou, Akosombo and Accra Accords and the Abuja Agreement;

NOTING that the crisis in Liberia had been fuelled by the massive inflow of arms and ammunition in violation of existing ECOWAS and United Nations resolutions;

RECOGNISING that the intransigence and uncooperative attitude of the Liberian factions is the main stumbling block to the Peace Process;

WISHING to consolidate the progress achieved by ECOWAS in its efforts to reach a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict;

CONVINCED that a strict implementation of the arms embargo on Liberia will further the Peace Process;

ON THE RECOMMENDATION of the thirteenth meeting of Chiefs of Staff and eighth meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine on Liberia held

in Abuja on 13th and 14th August, and 15th to 17th August, 1996, respectively.

DECIDES

Article 1

All persons in Liberia including members of the Council of State, the Liberian National Transitional Government and all other government officials shall be subject to search by ECOMOG to prevent smuggling of arms and ammunition into the country.

Article 2

Member States shall do everything possible to ensure strict observance of the arms embargo.

Articles 3

Member States sharing a common border with Liberia shall adopt necessary measures to guarantee constant surveillance of their borders, including the closure of such borders to stop the flow of arms to and from their territories.

Article 4

1. The ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) shall ensure the strict surveillance of the coastal areas of Liberia and is hereby authorised to arrest, seize and confiscate any vessel contravening the arms embargo;
2. ECOMOG shall ensure that only the airport which it can effectively control are operational.

Article 5

Member States shall, in collaboration with the Executive Secretariat assist in identifying the suppliers of arms and ammunition to Liberia and report them to the United Nations Sanctions Committee for appropriate action.

Article 6

All Member States, the Executive Secretary and the ECOMOG field Commander shall take all measures necessary to render this Decision fully effective.

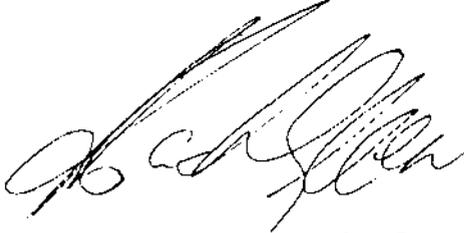
Article 7

This Decision shall enter into force upon signature and shall be published by the Executive Secretariat in the

Official Journal of the Community within thirty days of its signature by the Chairman of Authority.

It shall also be published in the National Gazette of each member State within the same time frame.

**DONE AT ABUJA,
THIS 17TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1996**



**H.E. GENERAL SANI ABACHA,
CHAIRMAN,
FOR COMMITTEE OF NINE ON LIBERIA.**

Republic of Liberia and to ensure that their actions and behaviour conform to the letter and spirit of the Abuja Agreement.

3. The Council of State, under the Abuja Agreement is presently constituted as follows:

- Mrs. Ruth Sando PERRY, *Chairman*
- Chief Tamba TAILOR, *Member*
- Mr. Charles TAYLOR, *Member*
- Alhaji G. V. KROMAH, *Member*
- Dr. George S. E. BOLEY, *Member*
- Mr. Oscar J. QUIAH, *Member*

Accordingly, the Council of State includes a Chairman (Chairperson), and five Vice Chairmen of equal status, one of whom may act, when necessary, on behalf of the Chairman.

4. The provisions of this Code of Conduct shall be binding on all members of the Council. Non-compliance shall be considered as an act designed to place an impediment on the smooth implementation of the revised schedule of implementation, and capable of derailing the Abuja Peace Agreement. Such act and conduct may consequently attract any of the penalty prescribed by ECOWAS. Accordingly, members of the Council are expected to uphold the required level of behaviour in the conduct of their public office.

CODE OF CONDUCT FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA

1. In order to ensure good governance during the implementation of the Abuja Agreement, the Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia has adopted a Code of Conduct for the observance by members of the Council of State (the Council) and other public office holders. The Chairman of ECOWAS, General Sani ABACHA, on behalf of the Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine on Liberia hereby conveys same to the members of the Council of State of the Republic of Liberia.
2. The aims and objectives of this Code of Conduct shall be to establish and maintain a high standard of morality and accountability in the conduct of the members of the Council of State of the

CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE

5. The Chairman is expected to be the embodiment of public trust and probity, thereby ensuring the cohesiveness of the Council and Government. It is in this regard, that the Chairman is expected to
 - (i) implement sincerely and assiduously, the terms of the Abuja Peace Agreement, and all other Agreements and Decisions concluded under the aegis of ECOWAS for bringing peace back to Liberia;
 - (ii) exhibit the highest level of tolerance, impartiality and fairness in all dealings with other members of the Council;

- (iii) consult and cooperate with other Council members in all matters of State;
- (iv) provide leadership, by ensuring that all decisions of the Council are in the best interest of the Liberian State and people and accord with the letter and spirit of the Abuja Agreement; and
- (v) ensure the efficient management of public finances in the overall interest of the Liberian State;
- (iv) make such additional recommendation(s) or proposal(s) on any matter of state concern, as may be necessary for the smooth function and accomplishment of her responsibilities as Chairman.

The Chairman, in the final analysis will personify and embody the Liberian State and will be the focal point of contact with this country. Consequently, the Chairman should be accorded that status and respect by all Liberians, including members of the Council of State.

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE

- 6. For the other Members of the Council, they shall be expected to
 - i. assist the Chairman of the Council to implement, sincerely and assiduously, the terms of the Abuja Peace Agreement and all other Agreements and Decisions concluded under the aegis of ECOWAS, for bringing peace back to Liberia;
 - ii. behave with dignity and decorum on all occasions and accord one another all the courtesies and respect due to members of the highest organ of State;
 - iii. respect the basic rights of all citizens of Liberia and desist from ordering the arbitrary arrest and harassment of citizens and political opponents;
 - iv. refrain from using the title "collective Presidency" in reference to themselves. As a Body, the Council of State should provide leadership on all matters of State

- and accord the Chairman of the Council the status and respect befitting her appointment as aforementioned;
- v. reflect good faith and commitment in advancing the peace process in the country;
- vi. representatives in matters of restoring peace and democratic government to the country;
- vii. refrain from making unilateral appointments that are clearly against the agreed formula for the distribution of offices. Furthermore, positions shall be subject to Council's decisions;
- viii. ensure that Council members and all other public office holders refrain from all acts that will endanger public safety;
- ix. be transparent and accountable in all official actions and undertakings, especially those dealing with financial matters;
- x. cooperate fully with ECOMOG in creating the necessary security environment for the maintenance of peace and just order in the country;
- xi. adhere to all security arrangements made by ECOMOG for the protection of members of the Council, public office holders and other entitled persons;
- xii. refrain from all actions and act that will encourage the creation and maintenance of private armies or security outfits throughout Liberia;
- xiii. desist forthwith from the importation of arms and ammunition into the country in compliance with UN Resolution on arms embargo;
- xiv. accord full respect for judicial processes and the Rule of Law;
- xv. ensure maximum and harmonious cooperation with the Executive, Judiciary and Legislative branches of Government.

Thus the Council, by adhering to this Code

would enjoy the support, confidence and respect of Liberians and the international community.

MEASURES IN RESPONSE TO THE VIOLATION OR BREACH OF THE CODE OF CONDUCT

7. Where a member or members of the Council are adjudged to be in breach of the provisions of the Code of Conduct for members of the Liberian National Transitional Government, (LNTG) and in particular any act which impedes the implementation of the Abuja Agreement, appropriate steps shall be taken by the Chairman of ECOWAS to invoke any or all of the following measures against such individuals or group of persons
 - i. travel and residence restrictions;
 - ii. freezing of business activities and assets in Member States;
 - iii. exclusion from participation in the electoral process;
 - iv. restrictions on the use of the airspace and territorial waters of Member States;
 - v. expulsion of members of the families of the Liberian leaders and their associates from the territories of Member States;
 - vi. request for the UN Security Council to impose visa restrictions;
 - vii. restrictions on imports from Liberia;
 - viii. invoke the OAU 1996 Summit Resolution which calls for the establishment of a war crimes tribunal to try all human rights offences against Liberians.
 - ix. any other measures as may be deemed necessary and approved by the Chairman of ECOWAS.
8. The aforementioned measures are similarly applicable to the non-Council members and to individuals or groups of persons who may be found liable for acts capable of impeding or derailing the peace process.

THE NINTH MEETING OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

MONROVIA, 8TH - 9TH NOVEMBER, 1996

FINAL REPORT

INTRODUCTION

1. The Ninth meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine was held from 7th to 9th November, 1996 at the Unity Conference Centre, Virginia, Monrovia.
2. The following members of the Committee were present:
 - Republic of BENIN;
 - BURKINA FASO;
 - Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE;
 - Republic of THE GAMBIA;
 - Republic of GHANA;
 - Republic of GUINEA;
 - Islamic Republic of MALI;
 - Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
 - Republic of SENEGAL.
3. Representatives of the following Member States who were invited to the Meeting were also present
 - LIBERIA;
 - NIGER;
 - SIERRA LEONE.
4. Following invitations extended to them, the Meeting was attended by the following:
 - OAU Eminent Person, Rev. Canaan BANANA;
 - The Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General in Liberia, Mr. Anthony NYAKYI;

- The ECOWAS Executive Secretary, Mr. Edouard BENJAMIN;
- The ECOMOG Force Commander, Major-General Victor S. MALU;
- The Representative of the Carter Centre.

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Chief Tom Ikimi.

III - OPENING SESSION

7. Addressing the opening session, the Chairperson of the Council of State, Her Excellency, Mrs. Ruth Rando Perry welcomed all delegates to the historic meeting which afforded members of the Committee of Nine the opportunity to visit Monrovia and its environs and to exchange ideas with a wider group of both active and passive actors to the peace process. She remarked that it was also critical because it immediately followed the extension of the validity of the Abuja Agreement and the revised schedule of implementation. She therefore assured the Meeting that the entire Council of State and the people of Liberia maintained a strong conviction that the Abuja Peace Agreement provided the best framework for the resolution of the Liberian conflict. She admitted that some level of success had been achieved while certain difficulties will remain in the implementation of the revised schedule of the Abuja Agreement.

8. On the forthcoming elections, Mrs. Ruth Perry, while underscoring the impracticability of holding free and fair elections in the midst of general insecurity and fear, stated that disarmament was a priority precondition for elections and subsequent restoration of durable peace. She further stated that the transparency of national institutions responsible for the execution of the elections remained a crucial element of ensuring the credibility of the process and acceptability of the results.

9. The Chairperson of the Council of State reported that during her visit to the UN Headquarters in New York, she had held discussions with the UN Secretary-General and several other groups within and outside the United Nations system including Liberians residing in the United States on developments in Liberia especially on the Abuja Agreement and the implications of the revised schedule on the peace process. As a result there was a renewed hope for peace and promise of support as long as Liberian leaders pronouncements are translated into positive action. Mrs. Perry said it was clear to her that as much as the international community was willing to assist, the restoration of peace was entirely in the hands of Liberians. She recalled

II - ADOPTION OF AGENDA

5. The following agenda was approved:

1. Opening Session

- Statement by H. E., Mrs. Ruth Sando PERRY, Chairperson of the Council of State;
- Opening remarks by His Excellency, Chief Tom IKIMI, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria;
- Address by His Excellency, Mr. Edouard BENJAMIN, Executive Secretary;
- Report on the activities of ECOMOG and the Fourteenth Meeting of the Chiefs of Staff of ECOWAS Member States by the Force Commander;
- Statement by the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, His Excellency, Ambassador Anthony Nyakyi;
- General remarks.

2. Closed Session

- Consideration of the Reports and assessment of the situation in Liberia;
- Timetable and preparation for Elections in Liberia;
- Adoption of Report.

3. Open Session

4. Closing Session

6. The meeting was chaired by the Honourable

- that ECOWAS leaders have been sounding the same warning that for as much as countries of the West African region continue to sacrifice lives and meagre resources in support of the peace process in Liberia, all Liberians should seriously commit themselves to peace. She reassured that Liberian people had accepted this challenge.
10. The Chairperson of the Council of State mentioned the launching of a peace crusade at all levels of the citizenry in order to drive home the message that the achievement of peace was everyone's business.
 11. Finally, Mrs. Ruth Perry expressed sincere gratitude to General Sani Abacha, Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Chairman of ECOWAS as well as other West African leaders, particularly those of the ECOMOG troop-contributing countries for their relentless efforts towards the continuing search for peace in Liberia.
 12. In his opening speech, Chief Tom Ikimi drew attention to the difficult terrain and circumstance of holding a meeting of this nature in Monrovia at this time and the first to be held in the war-ravaged country since the beginning of the crisis. He stated that the convening of the Meeting underscored the determination of the leadership of ECOWAS to focus the attention of the international community on Liberia. He also stated that the Meeting was a continuation of the first in a series of meetings and events planned for Liberia within the remaining period of the revised schedule of implementation of the Abuja Agreement.
 13. On disarmament of the warring factions, he noted that, without prompting, the faction leaders had pledged to commence voluntary disarmament with effect from 1st August to be concluded by the end of September, 1996. He observed that the pledge and commitment undertaken by the faction leaders was yet to be fully realised.
 14. On the disengagement of factions from check points and present combat positions, Chief Ikimi observed that the cease-fire which came into effect on August 21st is substantially holding but noted some violations. In Monrovia and other areas outside it, Chief Ikimi reported that the cease-fire continues to hold firm, following the withdrawal of all armed fighters and the full deployment of ECOMOG force throughout the city and that there is evidence that a large number of the civilian population had returned to the city. In the hinterland, the Minister confirmed that the cease-fire was essentially holding, except in the west and southeast where some skirmishes had been reported. The various violations, he said, were being investigated.
 15. On the delivery of logistics supplies, the Minister informed the Meeting that success in the implementation of the current schedule would depend almost exclusively on the presence of ECOMOG forces. He called on ECOWAS Member States to redeem their pledges to contribute additional troops.
 16. Hon. Chief Ikimi reiterated the importance of disarmament in the peace process and recalled that previous peace efforts in Liberia had tended to collapse when it came to the implementation of the disarmament phase.
 17. Chief Ikimi also drew attention to the establishment and maintenance of a secure and stable environment to ensure a credible, patriotic and de-factionalised armed forces, police and other security agencies as the existing armed forces and security agencies were highly factionalised.
 18. The Minister observed with concern some disturbing developments which had occurred in the peace process recently. In this regard, he condemned the assassination attempt on the life of Mr. Charles Taylor and stated that the attack was a most serious violation of the peace process which had the potential of derailing the entire Peace Plan. He therefore called on the Committee of Nine to give its full weight and support to the thorough and speedy investigation of the matter. He called for a decisive response to be taken, not only to ensure law, order and justice but also to serve as a deterrent to those who might have similar plans in future.
 19. He conveyed the condolence of the Head of State and ECOWAS Chairman, General Sani Abacha, to both Mr. Taylor and the families of his close aides who lost their lives in the attack.
 20. The Minister identified information dissemination as one of the crucial issues to be addressed in Liberia. He noted that faction leaders had great

difficulties in conveying information promptly to the grassroots and to their men in the field, who claimed ignorance of the decisions agreed to. He further noted that the attendant breach in communication was also evident in the inability of the LNTG to reach out to the hinterland. He therefore called for the establishment of a credible national broadcasting system in Liberia.

21. On elections, Chief Ikimi restated the need for a significant level of peace and stability to be attained so as to guarantee the conduct of free and fair elections in Liberia. He therefore underscored the need for disarmament in ensuring that this atmosphere prevailed. He further noted the importance of working out the modalities of an election process suitable to the peculiar circumstances of Liberia. He stated that at the appropriate time, contact would be established by ECOWAS with UN and LNTG to work out these modalities, including the establishment of an independent Elections Commission.
22. Chief Ikimi announced the appointment of H. E. Ambassador Balarabe Tafawa Balewa as ECOWAS Chairman's Special Envoy to Liberia.
23. In conclusion, he paid tribute to the efforts of the Force Commander of ECOMOG, Major-General Victor Malu, for his sterling performance in the discharge of his duties since assuming command of the peace-keeping force in Liberia.
24. The ECOWAS Executive Secretary, Mr. Edouard Benjamin equally acknowledged the historic and critical perspectives of the Meeting in Monrovia. He said it was a timely occasion to hold consultations with the principal actors in the peace process in order to determine whether the useful recommendations submitted to the Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine last August and the decisions that arose therefrom were being faithfully implemented by all the parties concerned.
25. The Executive Secretary then went on to enumerate several instances of eruptions of violence and skirmishes in and around a few of the counties that constituted violations contrary to the spirit and letter of the Abuja Agreement and were potentially dangerous to the peace process. He noted that against such background, it had become extremely important to state unequivocally that claims to territorial control could not in anyway translate into electoral advantage. He emphasized that territorial control under force of arms added up to violations of the peace process. He called on the Committee of Nine to examine the various reports on incidents of violations and to consider the imposition of appropriate sanctions after all the due process of investigations and confirmation of proven guilt had been established. He was convinced that this would go a long way in demonstrating to the international community the resolve of ECOWAS to be in firm control of the situation.
26. The Executive Secretary lamented the widening of the communication gap between the leadership of the factions and their fighters leading to a loss of followership because of their failure to adequately inform and sufficiently educate their fighters about their obligations under the various agreements signed by them. He said the faction leaders themselves had become adept in deliberate mis-interpretation of provisions in the agreements to serve selfish individual and factional interests.
27. The Executive Secretary informed the Meeting of the efforts being made by the Executive Secretariat to secure necessary funding for the required logistic support from donor countries to accelerate the rapid deployment of troops before the commencement of the disarmament exercise. He promised to furnish the detailed requirements of troop-contributing countries at the forthcoming meeting in Brussels this month to discuss the prospects for assistance to the peace process in Liberia by the European Union.
28. On the preparations for the holding of elections in Liberia, the Executive Secretary also informed the Meeting that a three-man team from the Executive Secretariat had visited Monrovia to consult with a cross-section of Liberians on the various issues pertaining to the holding of elections. He undertook to submit the results of these consultations and other memoranda to enable the Committee of Nine reflect more deeply on a viable electoral process under the prevailing circumstances in Liberia.
29. The ECOMOG Force Commander, Major-General Victor Malu presented a report on ECOMOG Operations in Liberia covering the period from 17th August to date.

30. The Force Commander pointed out that Monrovia being the main focus for the redeployment of troops, he had redeployed eight Battalions within Monrovia up to Camp Schefflin and Kakafa. He emphasised that deployment into the hinterland would only be undertaken upon the arrival of additional troops.

He said he had been reassured by the Chiefs of Staff that their countries were firmly committed to redeem their pledges for promised troops. He appealed to the Executive Secretariat to speed up the collection of data on the nature and logistic assistance for onward transmission to donor countries.

31. He reported on several verification of cease-fire visits and confidence-building patrols across the country by the Joint Disarmament and Cease-fire Committee made up of representatives from ECOMOG, UNOMIL, LNTG, and warring factions, the US Embassy in Liberia and the UN Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Office. This had resulted in the opening up of previously inaccessible areas for the delivery of relief assistance as well as complete cease-fire and disengagement of forces in those areas.

32. In spite of the delay in the arrival of additional troops, the Force Commander reported the deployment of a Battalion Group at Greenville. He informed the Meeting that the Battalion had already begun patrolling the Greenville-Zwedru highway with a view to opening up the area and creating confidence and a sense of security among Liberians in the South-Eastern part of the country.

33. The Force Commander also reported that Alhaji G. V. Kromah had voluntarily begun disarming of some of his ULIMO fighters ahead of the period prescribed in the schedule of implementation. The ULIMO faction leader had hinted subsequent disarmament of his forces depending on the extent of ECOMOG deployment. The Force Commander recommended this unilateral course of action as a positive example for other faction leaders to follow.

34. Also in his report, Major-General Malu gave details of the logistics support comprising mainly vehicles and communications equipment received from the international community. He further disclosed that these have arrived in Monrovia and ECOMOG had already started to

make use of them and the remainder would be assigned when the additional troops arrived.

35. In conclusion, the Force Commander noted that the period under review had been characterised by positive developments towards a successful implementation of the Abuja Agreement. He urged Member States not to allow the momentum of the peace process to slow down.

36. The ECOMOG Force Commander also presented the report of the Fourteenth Meeting of the Chiefs of Staff of ECOWAS Member States. He highlighted the outcome of their deliberations as follows

i) All Member States present who had pledged to contribute troops to ECOMOG reaffirmed their pledges.

A total of 2,249 men were promised to ECOMOG from Member States and would be deployed as soon as the required logistics were supplied.

The following Member States reaffirmed their pledges as follows:

- Benin - promised, but had not yet signified its contribution;
- Burkina Faso - 320 soldiers;
- Cote d'Ivoire - 50-man team of medical and para-medical personnel;
- The Gambia - 67 soldiers;
- Ghana - 750 soldiers;
- Mali - 612 soldiers;
- Niger - 500 soldiers;
- Guinea - to seal its borders during the disarmament exercise.

37.

i) The Meeting called on the United Nations, the ECOWAS Secretariat and the Foreign Ministers to take all measures necessary to bring in the required troops in time for the disarmament process scheduled from November 1996 to January 1997.

- ii) In as much as the Chiefs of Staff appreciated the need to involve an agency as the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) in the peace process in order to allow Liberians, as citizens, to partake in the affairs of their country and also to prepare for a smooth transition at the end of the exercise, there was a danger in allowing the involvement of an unbalanced force in such a sensitive operation. In this vein the Meeting noted its recommendation at its 13th meeting in which it proposed a restructuring of the AFL, the police and para-military forces to reflect geographical and ethnic balance. The Armed Forces of Liberia should therefore, re-examine their functions as well as commit their loyalty to the Government of Liberia. In addition, the Chief of Staff of Liberia should submit a proposal for the reorganisation of the forces and their involvement in the peace process.
- iii) The Chiefs of Staff expressed their deep disappointment with the constant violations of the cease-fire and human rights abuses and suggested that the faction leaders should be held responsible for these violations. The Chiefs of Staff proposed the imposition of appropriate sanctions after all the due processes of investigations and confirmation of proven guilt had been established. This would undoubtedly reassure the international community of ECOWAS' resolve to put things under control as well as serve as a deterrent to other recalcitrant factions. They called on the Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs to seriously consider this issue and come up with appropriate recommendations for the Chairman of the Authority.
- iv) The Ministers of Foreign Affairs should address the issue of commitment of the Liberian faction leaders to the full implementation of the Peace Plan.
- v) The Chiefs of Staff expressed their deep disappointment with the non-return of looted equipment and vehicles despite persistent pleas from all quarters. Faction leaders should be made accountable and should be asked to ensure that the items were returned.
- vi) The Meeting noted the need to urgently repair and reconstruct damaged and destroyed bridges in order to allow the movement of troops into the hinterland to carry out their mission.
- vii) The disarmament exercise should be done as speedily as possible to stem the illegal movement of arms to other theatres of war. ECOMOG should continue to patrol strategic positions along the borders with neighbouring states, pending the full deployment of troops along the Liberian borders.
- viii) Peace should be restored to Liberia without further delay so that the various troops could return to their various States.
- ix) The Executive Secretariat should secure the necessary funds from its regular budget and provide medals to decorate those on Operation Liberty in recognition of their selfless service to the peace process in Liberia and humanity in general.
- x) The Chief of Staff condemned the continued abuse, harassment and restriction on the freedom of movement of the civilian population and the humanitarian organizations by armed fighters. They also requested that the faction leaders should be reminded of the previous recommendation made by the 13th meeting of the Chiefs of Staff that they should allow unhindered passage for relief personnel and supplies destined for the needy population, and they should unconditionally guarantee their adherence and commitment to the Geneva Conventions and Protocols, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the principles and protocols governing humanitarian operations.

TRIBUTE TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL SETH OBENG

38. The Chief of Staff of ECOWAS Member States congratulated Brigadier-General Seth Obeng on his appointment as Chief of Staff of the Ghana Armed Forces.
39. Until his appointment, Brigadier-General Seth Obeng was Deputy Force Commander 1 of ECOMOG. Throughout his tour of duty, Brigadier-

General Seth Obeng gave his best as a professional soldier and a fine gentleman. Brigadier-General Seth Obeng was wished every success in his new assignment.

40. In his report, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General in Liberia, Ambassador Anthony Nyakyi, noted that significant steps had been taken by ECOMOG, UNOMIL and the mediating team to advance the peace process and to ensure full compliance with the revised schedule of implementation of the Abuja Agreement by the factions. He said that although the Force Commander had shown a determination to consolidate the security situation in Monrovia, deep suspicion persisted among faction leaders in the Council of State despite the efforts being made by the Chairman of Council to ensure cohesiveness among the Council Members.

41. Ambassador Nyakyi referred to the shooting incident at the Executive Mansion believe to have been an assassination attempt on the life of Mr. Charles Taylor. He said the incident had nearly plunged Monrovia into hostilities that could have upset the entire peace process had it not been for the swift response by ECOMOG. He added that the situation had also been contained by the mature and statesman-like reaction by Mr. Charles Taylor who had ordered his fighters to exercise restraint.

42. Ambassador Nyakyi mentioned the agreements signed between ULIMO and ULIMO-J which resulted in opening up previously inaccessible areas facilitating the delivery of humanitarian assistance and in the cessation of hostilities between their fighters. Though the agreements were being honoured he stated that the confidence-building patrols and joint cease-fire violations verification mission had determined that the disengagement of the factions fighters in the interior had been patchy. He ascribed this to the inability of the factions to disseminate vital information about the provisions of the Abuja Agreement and about the peace process generally to their fighters. He said it was unfortunate that faction fighters across the country had no access to any kind of media through which they can get information about the peace process. He called on ECOWAS and the international community to seriously consider assistance for an effective countryside public information programme for Liberia.

43. Ambassador Nyakyi also disclosed that ECOMOG and UNOMIL were finalising the disarmament concept while the UN Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Office was working out with other partners to develop the demobilization and Re-integration programmes. However, he pointed out that the disarmament and demobilisation of fighters to be carried out at the respective collection centres would not be possible if ECOMOG did not receive the required additional troops to deploy into the hinterland.

44. Ambassador Nyakyi informed the Meeting that the UN Secretary-General was giving urgent attention to the request made by the Chairman of the Council of State to send a technical team to Monrovia to assist and advise the LNTG in addressing the many unresolved issues pertaining to elections. At the same time the Chairman of the Council of State had set up a Liberian Committee to address key issues relating to the electoral process.

45. In conclusion, Ambassador Anthony Nyakyi enumerated the major obstacles that ECOMOG, UNOMIL and the mediating team had encountered in their efforts to facilitate and monitor the implementation of the revised schedule. He expressed the hope that the Meeting would proffer solutions for the removal of the obstacles in order to advance the peace process.

III - OUTCOME OF DELIBERATIONS

CONSIDERATION OF THE REPORTS AND ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION

46. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs considered the various reports submitted to them and summarised the various issues raised therein as follows:

- assessment of implementation of the Peace Plan;
- redeeming pledges made by some Member States to contribute troops to ECOMOG;
- violations of the Abuja Agreement;
- timetable and preparations for elections;
- Code of Conduct for members of the Council of State;

- guarantee of access for humanitarian relief assistance.

ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ABUJA AGREEMENT

- 47. The Meeting discussed developments in Liberia since the signing of the Supplement to the Abuja Agreement on 17 August, 1996 and considered the level of implementation of the revised schedule attached to the said Agreement. The Ministers noted, with satisfaction, that the implementation of the said schedule was on course.
- 48. The Meeting noted, in particular, the progress made with regards to preparations for disarmament and the pronouncements by the faction leaders of their willingness to disarm their fighters with effect from 22nd November, 1996 as provided by the revised schedule attached to the Abuja Agreement.
- 49. They urged the Force Commander to put in place a feasible plan for the disarmament process taking into account the level of logistics and manpower on the ground. They also advised that the disarmament exercise should go hand in hand with reconstruction of facilities in order to create jobs for demobilized fighters.

REDEEMING PLEDGES MADE BY SOME MEMBER STATES TO CONTRIBUTE TROOPS TO ECOMOG

- 50. The Meeting noted that a total of 2,249 men were pledged by Burkina Faso, The Gambia, Ghana, Mali and Niger to augment the manpower needs of ECOMOG. In addition, Cote d'Ivoire had promised to send a 50-man medical and paramedical personnel while Guinea will continue to seal its borders during the disarmament exercise.
- 51. The Ministers also noted the steps so far taken by the international community under the aegis of the United States Government to provide the necessary assistance to airlift and maintain these additional troops in Liberia.
- 52. The Meeting also noted that the presence of these additional troops is necessary and crucial for the commencement of the disarmament exercise.
- 53. The Meeting urged the Member States providing

the troops, the ECOMOG High Command, the Executive Secretariat, and the donor countries and agencies to do all that is necessary to secure the presence of these additional troops in Liberia in time for the commencement of the disarmament process.

- 54. The Ministers pleaded with the Republic of Benin and Togo who had also made pledges but had not signified their modes and levels of participation to do so as soon as possible.

VIOLATIONS OF THE ABUJA AGREEMENT

- 55. The Meeting took note of the positive developments in the implementation of the peace process, since 17th August, 1996. It also observed that the cease-fire had, to a large extent been maintained by the factions who had also shown some measures of cooperation with ECOMOG and UNOMIL.
- 56. The above observations notwithstanding, the Meeting considered the reports of the following violations made by the ECOMOG Force Commander and the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General to Liberia.
 - gruesome killing of twenty-two (22) people in Sinje;
 - the abduction and brutalizing of members of the Joint Cease-fire and Disarmament Committee at Zwedru on 17th September, 1996;
 - the shooting incident at the Executive mansion on 31st October, 1996 when an assassination attempt was made on the life of Council Man Charles Taylor, leader of the NPFL;
 - the continued refusal, of the factions, to return despite pleas from all quarters, the assets looted from the UN and relief organisations during the 6th April, 1996 crisis in Monrovia;
 - fighting in the South east, in particular, in Greenville.
- 57. The Ministers condemned these acts of violations and called on all the factions to abide strictly by the terms of the Abuja Agreement. They also

decided to take the following steps in respect of each of the violations:

- a) The reports of the investigations conducted by the Cease-fire Violations Committee on the Sinje, Zwedru and Greenville incidents should be forwarded to the Chairman of the Authority for action in accordance with Decision HSG C9-1/8/96 of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine on Liberia relating to sanctions against persons who violate the ECOWAS Peace Plan for Liberia.
- b) With regards to the shooting incident at the Executive Mansion, the Ministers strongly condemned the act and noted that investigations into the incident have been instituted. They asked that the investigations should be thorough and should apportion blames as well as identify those responsible. The Ministers unanimously undertook to recommend the imposition of appropriate sanctions on any part or person adjudged to be guilty by the investigating panel.
- c) The Ministers once more demanded for the unconditional and immediate return of all looted assets seized from the UN and humanitarian agencies and non-governmental organisations. In the same vein, they demanded the return of the remaining equipment seized from ECOMOG in Tubmanburg last year.

ELECTIONS

58. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs considered the issue of elections in Liberia scheduled for 30th May, 1997 as provided by the revised schedule of implementation of the Abuja Agreement.
59. The Meeting took note of the Final Communiqué of the fourth meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine on Liberia which recommended that modalities for the organisation of elections in Liberia be formulated taking into account the electoral laws of Liberia.
60. The Minister agreed that a strict adherence to the schedule of implementation of the Abuja Agreement would provide a conducive atmosphere for the holding of free and fair elections. Disarmament, they reasoned was the

key to a secure, peaceful and free environment that would guarantee the effective and unfettered participation of the Liberian population in the electoral process. They agreed therefore that in order to draw up appropriate and workable modalities for the elections, some degree of disarmament should have been achieved.

61. The Ministers agreed to recommend to the Chairman of the Authority, the establishment of a four member sub-committee of the Committee of Nine of Foreign Ministers. The sub-committee would work between now and the March, 1997 meeting of the Committee of Nine of Foreign Affairs Ministers, and would invite Liberia to its meetings as a concerned country. The sub-committee would examine progress and reversals made in the Liberia peace process in accordance with the Abuja Agreement including reports on violations, reports of the assessment group and proposals for the adoption of the appropriate electoral process for Liberia. The report of the sub-committee would be submitted for the consideration of the Committee of Nine Ministerial meeting in March, 1997.
62. The above notwithstanding, the Ministers expressed the following ideas:
 - Some Member States that harbour substantial numbers of Liberian refugees in their States expressed their reservations and fears in allowing Liberian refugees to vote within their States. Ministers therefore stressed the need for a substantial degree of disarmament to encourage repatriation of refugees back into Liberia to vote.
 - The elections in Liberia must be seen as a continuation of the peace process initiated by ECOWAS. And ECOWAS should therefore, as usual, take the lead and see the elections to a final conclusion. In this connection, ECOWAS should liaise with the LNTG, UN, the international community and other relevant agencies.

CODE OF CONDUCT

63. The Chairman, Chief Tom Ikimi read out to the Meeting the Code of Conduct for the members of the Council of State of the Republic of Liberia adopted by the Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine at their last meeting held in Abuja on 17th August, 1996.

- 64. The Code is attached as an annex to this report. Its aims and objectives are "to establish and maintain a high degree of morality and accountability in the conduct of the members of the Council of State and to ensure that their actions and behaviours conform to the letter and spirit of the Abuja Agreement". The Code also incorporated the sanctions adopted by the Heads of State in Decision HSG C9-1/8/96 dated 17th August, 1996.
- 65. The Code of Conduct would be delivered to each Member of the Council for strict adherence, and would be used as a basis for their collective and individual performance.

ACCESS FOR HUMANITARIAN RELIEF ASSISTANCE

- 66. The Ministers expressed their appreciation for the assistance being provided by the humanitarian organisations to alleviate the plight of the civilian population in Liberia, which constitutes a significant contribution to the efforts aimed at restoring peace in Liberia.
- 67. The Ministers condemned the abuses, harassment and atrocities inflicted on the civilian population, in particular, the cold blooded massacre of civilians in Sinje on 28th September, 1996 which constituted a gross violation of human rights, as well as forced labour and holding of civilians against their will.
- 68. The Ministers further condemned the abuse, harassment and restrictions on the freedom of movement of relief workers, in particular a recent threat by a faction to hold relief workers hostage.
- 69. The Ministers demanded all faction leaders to comply with obligations to allow unhindered passage for relief workers and supplies destined for the needy Liberian population and to unconditionally guarantee their adherence and commitment to the Geneva Conventions and Protocols, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the principles and protocols governing humanitarian operations.

DATE AND VENUE OF THE NEXT MEETING

- 70. The next meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine on Liberia would be held from the 10th to 15th March, 1997 in Monrovia as provided for in the Revised Schedule of Implementation of the Abuja Agreement.

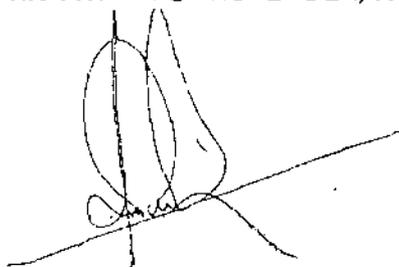
Adoption of Report

- 71. This report was adopted.

Closing Session

- 72. Presenting his closing remarks, His Excellency, Chief Tom Ikimi, Chairman of the Meeting expressed his profound gratitude to all Honourable Ministers of the Committee of Nine for the professional and cordial manner they discussed the issues before them. Likewise, he thanked the Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of Liberia, Mr. Monie Captan, for the matured way he contributed to their discussions and the excellent facilities provided by the Government of Liberia for the Meeting.
- 73. Chief Tom Ikimi conveyed the best wishes of the Meeting to all Members of the Council of State. He expressed the Meeting's concern about the non-cohesiveness of the Council and also regretted the absence of some Council Members at the opening session of the Meeting, to which they were all invited.
- 74. The presence of all Council Members would have afforded the Honourable Ministers the opportunity to meet with them and discuss issues germane to the peace and progress of Liberia in general, and, in particular, through collective wisdom, find ways and means of getting Council Members to work together harmoniously.
- 75. Finally, Chief Tom Ikimi expressed the desire of Ministers to visit other parts of Liberia during their next meeting.

**DONE IN MONROVIA
THIS 9TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1996**



**HON. CHIEF TOM IKIMI,
CHAIRMAN,
FOR ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE**

THE TENTH MEETING OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

MONROVIA, 13TH - 14TH FEBRUARY, 1997

FINAL REPORT

INTRODUCTION

1. The Tenth meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia was held on 13th and 14th February, 1997 at the Unity Conference Centre, Virginia, Monrovia. The meeting was chaired by the Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Chief Tom Ikimi.

2. The following members of the Committee were present:

- Republic of BENIN;
- BURKINA FASO;
- Republic of COTE D'IVORIE;
- Republic of THE GAMBIA;
- Republic of GHANA;
- Republic of GUINEA;
- Islamic Republic of MALI;
- Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
- Republic of SENEGAL.

3. Representatives of the following Member States who were invited to the meeting were also present:

- LIBERIA;
- NIGER;
- SIERRA LEONE.

4. Following invitations extended to them, the meeting was attended by the following:

- OAU Eminent Person, Rev. Canaan BANANA;

- The Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General to Liberia, Ambassador Anthony NYAKYI;
- The ECOWAS Executive Secretary, Mr. Edouard BENJAMIN;
- The ECOMOG Force Commander, Major-General Victor S. MALU;
- The U.S. Special Envoy to Liberia, Ambassador Howard JETER.

II - ADOPTION OF AGENDA

5. The following agenda was adopted:

5.1. Opening Session:

- Statement by H.E. Mrs. Ruth Sando PERRY, Chairperson of the Council of State;
- Opening remarks by His Excellency, Chief Tom Ikimi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria;
- Address by His Excellency, Mr. Edouard Benjamin, Executive Secretary of ECOWAS;
- Report on the activities of ECOMOG and the fifteenth meeting of Chiefs of Staff of ECOWAS Member States by the Force Commander;
- Statement by the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, His Excellency, Ambassador Anthony NYAKYI;
- General statements by delegates.

5.2. Closed Session

- Proposals by the Chairman of the Ministerial meeting on outstanding matters under the Abuja Agreement;
- Consideration of reports and assessment of the situation in Liberia;
- Adoption of Report.

III - OPENING SESSION

6. Delivering her address, Her Excellency, Mrs. Sando Ruth Perry, Chairperson of the Council of State welcomed delegates on behalf of the Liberian people and the Liberian Council of State.
7. She recalled the last meeting of the ministerial Committee of Nine held in Monrovia in November 1996 at which she had reiterated the conviction of Liberians that the Abuja Agreement constitutes the ideal framework for peace in Liberia. She had also, on that occasion, underlined the need for security as a prerequisite for free, fair and therefore credible elections. This present meeting was being held to assess the success of disarmament and to explore modalities for the holding of elections. Since the last meeting, Mrs. Perry stated, significant results had been recorded which portend well for the rest of the peace process. The disarmament exercise had been successfully carried out, security had improve appreciably and there was now greater freedom of movement in the country. She called on Liberians to show further good faith by implementing the subsequent phases of the process.
8. Mrs. Perry announced that, through the commendable efforts of Major-General Malu, cordial relations had been restored within the Council of State following the 31st October, 1996 shoot-out at the Executive Mansion. The Force Commander was to be commended for his role in this connection, and for the reconciliatory meeting organised between Council-men Charles Taylor and Dr. George Boley at the ECOMOG Base.
9. According to the Chairperson, attention must henceforth focus on the electoral process and the structure of related national institutions. The Council of State had deliberated extensively on these issues and had resolved unanimously that the ad hoc Elections Commission should be restructured into a seven-member body. Moreover, in keeping with the strong desire of the Liberian people, the bicameral system provided for in the 1986 Constitution would be maintained. With regard to the electoral system to be adopted, given the peculiar situation in Liberia, Mrs. Perry expressed the hope that the meeting would take a decision on this and other electoral issues. Adequate attention must also be given to the establishment of a repatriation programme to afford Liberian citizens everywhere a chance to determine the future leadership of their country.
10. Mrs. Perry issued a special appeal to the international community for continued support at this most crucial point, in order that the benefits of past accomplishments and successes might not be negated by lack of resources. She called on the Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS to support the peace initiative to the very end.
11. In conclusion, the Chairman of the Council of State expressed gratitude to Ghana and Mali, which had honoured their promise to send additional troops to ECOMOG and urged other countries in the region to do likewise. Liberians, she stated, remained staunchly committed to peace and confident of the ability of ECOWAS to bring the peace process to successful completion.
12. The Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Ministers of the Committee of Nine reported extensively on the outcome of the visit which he had undertaken to Monrovia from 14th to 17th January, 1997 to assess the disarmament exercise. He stated that the positive developments which he had noted in Liberia during that visit had prompted him to convene the current meeting earlier than scheduled, to provide a forum for formulating ways of proceeding with the peace process. The Minister also recalled issues which had been discussed at the last ministerial meeting of the Committee of Nine and gave a situation report on action taken with regard to these issues.
13. Chief Ikimi stated that, during his visit, he had held constructive discussions with the key figures in the disarmament exercise, including the ECOMOG High Command, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, members of the Council of State and various sections of Liberian society.
14. On the disarmament exercise itself, the Minister noted that once the factors which prompted a temporary loss of momentum had been effectively addressed and it was made clear that the deadline would remain firm, the exercise

continued to a successful end. Chief Ikimi was pleased to report that his conclusion by the end of his visit was that the peace process was very much on track. The cease-fire was holding firm throughout the country and ECOMOG was acquitting itself admirably in spite of the non-arrival of additional troops and logistic support.

15. With respect to the forthcoming elections which marks the culmination of the on-going peace process, the Minister recalled that the 1996 Summit had appealed to the UN, donors and NGOs for help in ensuring that the exercise would be carried out successfully. He informed the meeting that, even though ECOWAS had not made a formal request to the UN, an electoral team from that organisation had visited Monrovia in December, 1996. The team concluded that the peculiar situation of Liberia at present made the current electoral system and its legal framework impracticable and proposed a set of recommendations on a framework for the holding of elections in Liberia. Chief Ikimi suggested these recommendations for consideration by the meeting. The Ministers would also have to deliberate on the ramifications of the Liberian Constitution of 1986, bearing in mind that it had been designed to operate in peace time. Moreover, Liberia's security agencies, the Army and the Police would need to be restructured to enable them, ultimately, to take over responsibility for security from ECOMOG. The Minister reiterated the need for additional resources for ECOMOG as it prepared to assume even greater duties during the elections.
16. In conclusion, Chief Ikimi underlined the enormity of the work which remained to be accomplished, as all participants braced themselves to tackle the formidable task of organising elections. He urged all concerned to continue to show firm determination, resolve and solidarity so that this last hurdle in the quest for peace, security and development in Liberia could be successfully overcome.
17. In his speech, the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, Mr Edouard Benjamin, welcomed participants to the tenth meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine. He expressed gratitude to the Council of State and to the people of Liberia for the fraternal hospitality extended to the participants.

18. The Executive Secretary was optimistic that peace would soon return to Liberia, given the peaceful atmosphere prevailing in most parts of the country and the dissolution of the factions. Other grounds for optimism included the undertaking given by some of the former faction leaders to stand for office in the presidential elections when the time came, and the appreciable progress achieved in the disarmament process. He observed however that there could be no hope for lasting peace unless the elections which constitute the next phase of the ECOWAS peace plan were conducted successfully.
19. Mr. Benjamin stated that the elections would entail additional responsibilities for Member States and ECOMOG. The latter would need to continue the disarmament process, protect the population, ensure that the elections are free and fair, and maintain peace at all times. The repatriation and resettlement of displaced persons would also constitute a difficult task necessitating ECOMOG assistance. ECOMOG must therefore remain vigilant, the fact that it had succeeded in restoring peace to most parts of the country notwithstanding. In any event, the Executive Secretary added, ECOMOG's capabilities would have to be strengthened. He was thus pleased to note that Member States which had promised to contribute forces to ECOMOG have formally confirmed their willingness to do so.
20. Mr. Benjamin expressed regret that, because of limited financial resources, the Executive Secretariat had been unable to assist Member States wishing to contribute forces to ECOMOG. He informed the meeting that his efforts to obtain financial assistance for such Member States had proved unsuccessful.
21. He therefore urged the meeting to carefully consider the financial implications for sending troops to strengthen those already on the ground, and take an appropriate decision on the matter.
22. Mr. Edouard Benjamin further observed that the struggle for political power in Liberia was likely to be extremely fierce. It would therefore be necessary to find effective means of curtailing or tempering excesses that might degenerate into violence and trouble the peace. Under such

circumstances, he added, the elections must be prepared very meticulously. Consequently, he had requested the necessary technical, logistic, and financial support from the United Nations and friendly countries with proven expertise in the organisation of elections.

23. The Executive Secretary noted that urgent solutions also needed to be found to other, equally weighty issues on which the opposing factions held fundamentally divergent views. Among these are the electoral law, the electoral body to organise the elections, the Liberian authorities that would be involved in the elections, and the role of the Liberian police force and other security agencies in the electoral process. Others concern the mode of election, the electoral constituencies, financing of the elections, the role of the international community and international organisations, and the nature, structure and duration of the term of office of the elected government.
24. He appealed to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs to examine these controversial issues carefully. He also stressed the need for Liberians on their part, to strive to reach a consensus and thus pave the way forward.
25. Finally, the Executive Secretary expressed the hope that the meeting would find solutions to these difficult problems which would be acceptable to the majority of Liberians.
26. The ECOMOG Force Commander, Major-General Victor Malu presented a situation report on ECOMOG operations in Liberia since the last meeting in November, 1996.
27. The report focused extensively on the conduct of the disarmament and demobilisation phase of the revised implementation schedule of the Abuja Agreement. It also analysed the political situation, the post-disarmament activities of ECOMOG and the Force's current logistic situation.
28. According to the Force Commander, preparations for disarmament had included weekly meetings of the Disarmament Committee composed of ECOMOG and representatives of LNTG (NDDC), UNOMIL, UN-HACO) and the warring factions to finalise plans and procedures for disarmament, ECOMOG also met with UNOMIL and UN-HACO to assess their ability to handle disarmament, demobilisation and re-integration and conduct reconnaissance missions to selected disarmament centres. Several arms collection centres were also designated in Monrovia.
29. The Force Commander stated that the disarmament exercise began as scheduled on Friday 27th November, 1996 in most centres. Although a large number of arms and ammunition were surrendered during the first couple of weeks when about 4,600 fighters were disarmed, there was a sudden lull in the exercise thereafter, due to certain factors which were swiftly addressed by ECOMOG. This, coupled with the stern warning issued by the Force Commander that he would deal severely with armed elements after the disarmament deadline, prompted a massive turnout of fighters at disarmament centres. In the end, the ECOMOG High Command had to extend the exercise scheduled to end on 31st January, 1997 by one week to enable the great number of fighters willing to disarm to do so.
30. The Force Commander gave the total number of combatants disarmed between March 1994 and 7th February, 1997 as 30,058, which represents 91.08%. The exercise could therefore be said to have been a huge success, the objective of this phase of the Abuja Agreement having been largely accomplished. ECOMOG would now proceed on military search operations for hidden arms, now that the deadline for voluntary disarmament was over.
31. With regard to the security situation in Liberia, the Force Commander stated that ECOMOG would continue to deploy strategically and tactically across the country to build confidence among the populace. Regular patrols would be maintained to contain any threats to security, particularly in Monrovia which was currently witnessing an upsurge in cases of armed robbery. All troops had received orders on how to deal with any situation likely to disrupt peace in the city.
32. Major-General Malu also reported on the logistics situation of ECOMOG. The Force's mobility and communication capabilities had been considerably strengthened with the delivery of

logistics supplies, uniforms, and essential military equipment by the USA and other international donors. Necessary provisions had been made for incoming additional troops and he expressed the hope that these troops would actually arrive before ECOMOG left Liberia.

v) The Executive Secretariat and ECOMOG should coordinate their activities more effectively.

vi) The Chiefs of Staff acknowledged the need to channel assistance to the Liberian peace process through the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat. This would prevent certain countries being portrayed as lacking the political will to contribute troops. Also, it would be easier to distribute such assistance to benefit all countries wishing to contribute troops. The Chiefs of Staff therefore appealed to donors wishing to support the peace process, to provide assistance to ECOMOG rather than granting bilateral aid to support the Liberian peace process. Member States were requested to inform the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat of any assistance received. The Executive Secretariat should play the role of centre for coordination of ECOMOG activities.

3. Concluding, the Force Commander stated that the review period had marked a significant milestone in the peace process. With disarmament successfully completed, and Liberians free to move about their country, the security situation was not conducive to the conduct of nationwide elections. He urged that no stone be left unturned to ensure that the peace process was pursued to its logical end. The Liberian people should be allowed to grasp this golden opportunity offered to them.

14. The ECOMOG Force Commander also presented the report of the fifteenth meeting of the Chiefs of Staff of ECOWAS Member States. He highlighted the following conclusions and recommendations adopted by the Service Chiefs:

vii) The Chiefs of Staff recognised the urgent need to restructure the Armed Forces of Liberia.

viii) The Chiefs of Staff called on all concerned to return looted property to their rightful owners.

ix) The Chiefs of Staff called on the Foreign Affairs Ministers to take appropriate action to obtain adequate logistic and financial support for ECOMOG.

x) The Chiefs of Staff considered that it was time for the United Nations to be more involved in the Liberian peace process by providing full financial, logistic and material support for ECOWAS and for ECOMOG operations.

i) Although much progress has been made, ECOMOG should continue the disarmament process as it would still be called upon to carry out other assignments which would require enhancing its operational capacity. Member States which have promised to send troops to reinforce ECOMOG should, therefore, do everything possible to do so.

ii) The ECOWAS Executive Secretariat should be directed to initiate and monitor closely negotiations with donors with a view to obtaining assistance required for sending additional troops to ECOMOG.

iii) The Chairman of the meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine, accompanied by the Executive Secretary and a representative of ECOMOG, should, if occasion demands, visit Member States concerned to prevail on political leaders to make necessary efforts to contribute troops to Liberia.

iv) In the same vein, the Executive Secretariat would be directed to initiate contact with the Foreign Affairs Ministers of Member States concerned.

35. In his address, Ambassador Anthony Nyakyi, Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General in Liberia gave an account of the intense consultations and coordination which had preceded the disarmament exercise. He commended the Force Commander, and the Chief Military Officer, UNOMIL who skilfully managed the scanty resources at their disposal. He gave reasons for the paucity of resources

available to the UN at the commencement of the disarmament exercise. Despite these constraints, a total of 21,051 fighters were demobilised by UN-HACO at official disarmament sites.

36. Reporting on the post-disarmament activities of the UN, Ambassador Nyakyi stated that the UN, in conjunction with the European Union and NGOs, had been carrying out bridging activities, essentially civil works, bushing and agriculture programmes designed to absorb ex-fighters awaiting re-integration. Many other organisations such as UNICEF, ILO, UNOPS and others were also involved in various such projects.
37. The UNSpecial Representative declared that the vast improvement in the security situation in Monrovia and in the hinterland was ample proof of the success of the disarmament exercise. He however sounded a note of caution, stating that the apparent security was extremely fragile, given the large quantities of arms that had not yet been relinquished. He called on the international community not to lose sight of its responsibility for returning peace to Liberia and expressed the United Nations' hope that adequate resources would continue to be made available to implement the vital re-integration programmes.
38. Ambassador Nyakyi stated that the United Nations was satisfied that the electoral process could now be embarked upon, given the current satisfactory level of disarmament. Pursuant to a request submitted to the UN by the Council of State in October, 1996, for assistance in formulating an appropriate framework for elections in Liberia, a UN technical survey team had visited that country. The team identified three essential factors for the successful conduct of elections. These are, a fair and credible political framework, an efficient and well planned electoral operation and adequate support from the international community. The UN had thus prepared recommendations in this regard which had been officially communicated to the current Chairman of ECOWAS and which were now being submitted to this ministerial meeting of the Committee of Nine.
39. Ambassador Nyakyi concluded his address by wishing the meeting successful deliberations.

IV - OUTCOME OF DELIBERATIONS

40. The meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs continued behind closed doors.
41. The Chairman, Honourable Chief Tom Ikimi, reviewed the issues raised in the reports presented and in the speeches read during the opening ceremony. He said that the meeting had gone into close door session in order to give the Ministers an opportunity to discuss the various issues extensively and agree appropriate measures regarding the remaining phases of the revised implementation schedule of the Abuja Agreement.
42. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs held frank and constructive discussions with members of the Liberian Council of State to seek a consensus on issues relative to the implementation of the remaining stages of the revised Abuja Agreement. At the end of these consultations, the Ministers adopted a position in respect of the following issues raised in the said reports and speeches:
- possibility or otherwise of organising elections, against the background of progress achieved in the disarmament process;
 - date of the elections;
 - participation of refugees in the elections;
 - electoral commission;
 - mode of election;
 - electoral complaints;
 - role of Supreme Court;
 - security problems before, during and after the elections;
 - logistic support for the elections.
43. The results of the Ministers' deliberations are summarised below.

POSSIBILITY OF ORGANISING ELECTIONS, GIVEN THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN THE DISARMAMENT PROCESS

44. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs took due note of

the reports presented by the ECOMOG Force Commander and the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General. They agreed that since considerable progress had been made in the disarmament process, it was now possible to organise elections that would be acceptable to Liberians and recognised by the international community.

DATE OF THE ELECTIONS

45. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs recalled that it was stipulated in both the revised implementation schedule of the Abuja Agreement contained in the supplementary provisions to the Agreement, and the Final Communiqué of the 4th meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine held in Abuja in August 1996, that elections would be held on 30th May, 1997. The Ministers agreed to propose to the Heads of State and Government that elections be held on 30th May, 1997 as scheduled, to reassure Liberians and the international community alike and to give Liberians confidence and hope in the peace process.

PARTICIPATION OF REFUGEES IN THE ELECTIONS

46. The meeting was of the view that as many Liberians as possible should be allowed to vote, pointing out that, out of an estimate total population of two million three hundred thousand (2,300,000), eight hundred thousand (800,000) were refugees. In that connection, the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General informed the Ministers that it would be technically possible for Liberian refugees to take part in the elections, if they were allowed to vote in their respective countries of residence, as had been done during elections in Nicaragua, Cambodia, and Eritrea. The Ministers were convinced however, that in view of the limited time available, it would be impossible to organise a census of the refugees, ascertain Liberian nationality, and issue them with voters' cards in their various host countries. The Ministers also shared the view of Cote d'Ivoire and Guinea (400,000 and 300,000 refugees respectively), that it would be difficult to organise free and fair elections for refugees in those countries since many refugees belong to the same ethnic groups as Ivorian and Guinean nationals. The Ministers also expressed fears about potential security

problems should elections be held in the neighbouring countries.

INDEPENDENT ELECTIONS COMMISSION

47. The Ministers recognised the need to have an Independent Elections Commission that would command respect within and outside Liberia. They observed that the Council of State already had plans to restructure the existing Election Commission, to make it a competent and credible body. It was also noted that the report of the United Nations team had stated that the neutrality of the existing Commission could not be guaranteed. The meeting accepted proposals made by the Council of State on the composition of the Independent Elections Commission. The Commission would be made of seven (7) members, three (3) appointed by the former factions and the other four (4) chosen from representatives of the civil society (the labour unions, political parties, women organisations, youth organisations). Members of the Elections Commission must be Liberians of good moral standing, 35 years and above, able to vote and be voted for. They must also not have been convicted of any criminal offence or electoral malpractices.
48. The Chairman of the Independent Elections Commission shall be appointed by the Council of State in consultation with ECOWAS. Expert from ECOWAS, the OAU and United Nations will be members in an advisory capacity, without voting rights.

ELECTORAL LAW

49. The Ministers noted that United Nations experts had stated that it would be difficult to apply the 1986 Constitution of Liberia in the organisation of elections. This constitution had been designed to operate in peace time and had therefore never been put to test.
50. It was therefore decided that it would be necessary for the elections Commission to elaborate an electoral package setting out the mode of election. Its provision would be examined by the Council of State before adoption by ECOWAS and subsequent dissemination to the public through enlightenment campaigns organised for the purpose. The elections Commission could seek legal expertise from

ECOWAS, OAU and the United Nations in this regard.

51. The meeting accepted proposals by United Nations experts to adopt the principle of proportional representation for elections into the Legislative Assembly which, according to the Liberian Constitution, should be bicameral. It also adopted the Council of State's recommendation that the elected President should be free to choose members of his government and ensure that the government is acceptable to all Liberians. However, the Ministers and Council of State agreed that, in order to preserve national unity and facilitate reconciliation among Liberians, the elected government should not consist solely of members of the winning party but should be a government of national unity.

ELECTIONS ADJUDICATING AUTHORITY

52. The meeting recommended that the Council of State look into the possibility of establishing a body to resolve disputes or other problems which might arise in connection with the elections. Due note was taken of the desire expressed by the Council of State that this responsibility be undertaken by Liberians alone. The meeting also took note of the Council of State's wish that Liberian lawyers be entrusted with the drafting of proposals in this connection.

SUPREME COURT

53. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs welcomed the decision of the Council of State to elect new members to the Supreme Court with a view to ensuring that the institution is given the respect it merits as well as to ensure equity, as requested by ECOWAS and the international community.

SECURITY MATTERS

54. The meeting assured the Council of State that ECOMOG would withdraw from Liberia as soon as it completed its assignment, in accordance with the Abuja Agreement. Until then, it would carry out its mission to provide security for the proper and peaceful conduct of elections and maintain the public peace after elections and during announcement of results.
55. The Ministers agreed that ECOMOG would assist

in restructuring the Liberian armed forces and other security agencies to enable them take over from ECOMOG. To that end, the ECOMOG Force Commander, Major-General Victor Malu, was requested to brief the meeting about the measures being taken by ECOMOG in this regard. The Force Commander announced that ECOMOG would help to train one (1) brigade.

56. Major-General Malu informed the meeting that a report was being prepared on all these issues. Another report was being prepared on the restructuring of the Police Force and other security agencies. The meeting requested General Malu to complete these reports quickly and forward them to the competent decision-making authorities.

LOGISTIC SUPPORT FOR THE ELECTIONS

57. The Chairman said that the exact nature of the logistic support required would be determined after the Independent Elections Commission prepares its budget. He however promised to table the matter during the meeting of the Contact Group on Liberia to be held in New York on 20th February, 1997 since the success of the remaining phases of the revised implementation schedule of the Abuja Agreement depended there-on.

V - CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

58. At the end of their discussions, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs recommended as follows:
- i) Elections shall be held in Liberia on 30th May, 1997 and in strict accordance with the provisions of the Revised Schedule of Implementation of the Abuja Agreement.
 - ii) Elections shall be held on Liberian territory. The United Nations and, in particular, the High Commission for Refugees and the non-governmental organisations concerned were requested to provide the necessary facilities for repatriation of refugees wishing to return to Liberia to vote.
 - iii) Elections shall be organised and conducted by an Independent Elections Commission made up of seven members who shall all be Liberians, three of the members shall be appointed by the former warring factions while the other four shall

be chosen from the civil society, one each from the Trade and Labour Unions, the coalition of political parties outside any of the parties that may be floated by erstwhile faction leaders, women organisations and youth organisations.

The Chairman of the Elections Commission shall be appointed from among the seven members after due consultation with ECOWAS. The Commission shall be assisted by a Committee of Technical Advisers, comprising three representatives, one each from ECOWAS, the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The Technical Advisers shall participate in all the deliberations of the Commission but shall have no voting rights. The team of International Advisers shall be led by ECOWAS.

- iv) The mode of elections shall be by proportional representation and the legislature shall, in accordance with the Liberian Constitution, comprise the Senate with a membership of 26, and the House or Representatives with a membership of 64, the numbers retained in the 1985 elections. The elected President shall be free to choose members of his government. The government shall be a government of National Unity.
- v) The Independent Elections Commission comprising seven Liberians and the three International Advisers, shall be responsible for drawing up and formulating an acceptable electoral package and regulations for the up-coming elections.
- vi) Dispute arising from the elections shall be resolved by a restructured Supreme Court. The restructuring exercise shall be undertaken by the Council of State, in consultation with the Liberian Judiciary and the Liberian National Bar Association, to ensure non-factionalisation of the Judiciary and whose adjudication shall be acceptable to all Liberians and to the International community.
- vii) New members of the Supreme Court shall be appointed before the elections.

- viii) ECOWAS, the OAU and the United Nations shall send observers to Liberia to monitor the election process.
- ix) The Liberian Armed Forces, the Police and other security agencies should be restructured as quickly as possible. ECOWAS should assist in training them. In that regard, ECOMOG shall train an army of Brigade strength for the new Armed Forces of Liberia before its departure. The re-training and restructuring programmes for the Police and other security agencies will be produced in due course.
- x) The Council of State and the Liberia National Transition Government should ensure that major administrative structures are put in place throughout Liberia in order to facilitate the elections.
- xi) ECOMOG shall be totally in charge of and responsible for all security arrangements for the elections.

VI - ADOPTION OF THE REPORT

- 59. This report was approved by the Chairman of the meeting on behalf of all the participants.

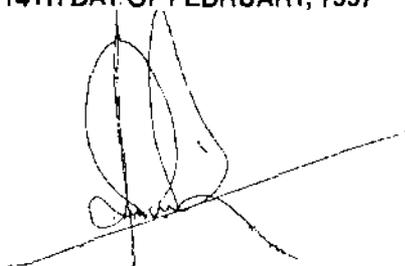
VII - CLOSING SESSION

- 60. In his closing address, Chief Tom Ikimi reviewed the outcome of deliberations at the tenth meeting of the Committee of Nine.
- 61. The Minister confirmed that the peace plan was proceeding smoothly and reiterated the determination of all concerned to pursue the remaining phases to completion.
- 62. He enumerated the decisions taken after long consultations with the Council of State on major issues pertaining to the composition of the new Elections Commission, the mode of election, voting by refugees as well as the crucial matter of the adjudicating authority to handle electoral complaints. Chief Ikimi stated that all these recommendations would be reported to the Chairman of ECOWAS who would issue necessary directives after consultations with his peers.

63. The Chairman thanked the Press, and through them, the government and people of Liberia. He noted again the return of peace and stability to the country and expressed hope for a bright future which would see the installation of a democratic government in Liberia.

64. Chief Ikimi again expressed appreciation to his colleagues for having attended the meeting. He wished participants a safe journey back to their countries and declared closed the tenth meeting of Foreign Affairs Ministers of the Committee of Nine on Liberia.

**DONE AT MONROVIA
THIS 14TH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1997**



**CHIEF TOM IKIMI
CHAIRMAN,
FOR THE COMMITTEE OF NINE ON LIBERIA.**

THE ELEVENTH MEETING OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

ABUJA, 19TH - 20TH MAY, 1997

FINAL REPORT

1. The Eleventh meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia was held from 19th to 20th May, 1997 at the ECOWAS Secretariat, Abuja. The meeting was chaired by the Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Chief Tom Ikimi.
2. The following members of the Committee were present:
 - Republic of BENIN;
 - BURKINA FASO;
 - Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE;
 - Republic of THE GAMBIA;
 - Republic of GHANA;
 - Republic of GUINEA;
 - Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
 - Republic of SENEGAL;
 - TOGOLESE Republic.
3. Representatives of the following Member States who were invited to the meeting were also present:
 - Republic of LIBERIA;
 - Islamic Republic of MALI;
 - Republic of NIGER;
 - Republic of SIERRA LEONE.
4. Following invitations extended to them, the meeting was attended by the following:
 - The Special Representative of the United

Nations Secretary-General to Liberia, Ambassador Tuliameni Kalomoh;

- The ECOMOG Force Commander, Major-General Victor S. Malu;
- Representative of the OAU Eminent Person, Ambassador KI DOULAYE Corentin;
- The U.S. Special Envoy to Liberia, Ambassador Howard Jeter;

Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine for the first time.

II - ADOPTION OF AGENDA

5. The following agenda was adopted:

5.1. Opening Session

- Opening remarks by the Deputy Executive Secretary, Acting for the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS;
- Welcome statement by the Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, His Excellency, Chief Tom Ikimi;
- General Statements.

5.2. Closed Session

- Fixing of date for elections in Liberia;
- Any other Business.

III - OPENING SESSION

6. The Deputy Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, Mr. Mahamadou Ouhoumoudou, on behalf of the Executive Secretary, welcomed the Ministers of Foreign Affairs to the Executive Secretariat Headquarters in Abuja.
7. He reiterated his gratitude to the people and Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria for the fraternal hospitality extended to participants and for the excellent facilities provided.
8. He welcomed Ambassador Kalomoh, Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, who was recently appointed to Liberia and was attending the meeting of Ministers of

9. The Deputy Executive Secretary, representing the Executive Secretary expressed the hope that this meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs would be the last on Liberia. He pointed out that there were indications that it was possible to hold elections in Liberia whose results would be acceptable to the Liberian people and the international community. To this end, he recalled that progress had been made in the implementation of the recommendations made at the tenth meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, namely, appointment of members of the Independent Elections Commission, appointment and induction of its Chairman, restructuring of the Supreme Court and appointment of its members.

10. Mr. Ouhoumoudou informed the meeting that the Independent Elections Commission had prepared an electoral package with the assistance of its international members from ECOWAS, the OAU and the United Nations. He stated that the Ministers would review the package comprising a draft electoral law, a draft code of conduct to be observed by the political parties, their officials, members and supporters, the Commission's work programme and budget.

11. The Deputy Executive Secretary also recalled that peace had returned to Liberia and expressed satisfaction with the initiatives taken by Member States to strengthen the operational capacity of ECOMOG. He reiterated the Community's appreciation to all the Member States that had contributed troops to ECOMOG and thanked the governments of those friendly countries which had provided logistic, material and financial support to a number of ECOMOG-contributing Member States.

12. Mr. Ouhoumoudou recalled the reasons that led to the choice of 30th May, 1997 for the organisation of elections. Thereafter, he recommended that the proposals made by the Independent Elections Commission be considered at the meeting. He observed that the time frames for the execution of the assignments and stages specified in the electoral package were irreducible and should, therefore, be taken into account. He added that the forthcoming elections in Liberia constituted a further test of the maturity of the Community

and of Africa as a whole and at the same time an important challenge to be met with determination by the Liberian people. The choice they made would determine the future of their country.

13. Mr. Ouhoumoudou pointed out that if the date of the elections were to be changed, the meeting would have to extend the term of the validity of the Abuja Agreement and adopt a new timetable for its implementation. In order to ensure the continued operation of the institutions of the Liberian state, therefore, the tenure of the National Transition Government would have to be extended up to the date of investiture of the new government to be elected. He stressed that the fixing of a new date should not give rise to renegotiations on the peace agreements concluded, or to the installation of an open-ended transition government in Liberia.
14. The Deputy Executive Secretary recalled the decision of Heads of State and Government dated 7th August, 1990 relating to the establishment of an ECOWAS Observer Group for Elections in Liberia to be funded by the Special Emergency Fund for Liberia. He informed the meeting that there were no funds available in the Special Emergency Fund to implement the decision. He stated further that the ECOWAS Observer Group was the ideal medium that would enable the Community to express its own views on the way the Liberian elections should be conducted. For this reason, Mr. Ouhoumoudou expressed the need for an alternative solution to be found to enable the community which has won the confidence of the Liberian people to have its own observer group in Liberia as do the United Nations and the OAU.
15. In conclusion, Mr. Ouhoumoudou expressed satisfaction that the meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs offered them an opportunity to recommend to the Heads of State and Government, measures that would prepare Liberia for elections that would be the pride of every African.
16. In his welcome address, the Chairman of the Ministerial Committee of Nine on Liberia, Chief Tom Ikimi welcomed delegates to this extraordinary meeting prompted by his findings during his recent and final assessment visit to Liberia from 25th to 27th April, 1997. Chief Ikimi thanked the Foreign Affairs Ministers of Guinea and Ghana who had graciously accepted his invitation to accompany him on the said visit and seized the opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Victor Gbeho on his appointment as Deputy Foreign Minister of Ghana. He then reported extensively on the current situation as revealed by his recent assessment visit to Liberia to review preparations for the 30th May, 1997 elections in Liberia.
17. The Minister recalled the issues discussed at the Committee's last meeting in Monrovia namely the possibility of organising elections; the date of elections, and participation of refugees. Other matter discussed at that meeting were the composition of the Elections Independent Commission; role of the Supreme Court and security and logistic support for the elections. He recalled that it had been concluded that the desired level of disarmament had been met, the security situation was satisfactory and elections could therefore proceed as planned on 30th May, 1997. It had also been decided that, in order to ensure credible, transparent, democratic elections, an Independent Elections Commission should be established and the judiciary reconstituted.
18. The three main issues that required attention immediately after the Monrovia meeting were: resignation of members of the Council of State wishing to contest elections, establishment of an Independent Elections Commission (IECOM) to supervise elections and the restructuring of the judiciary particularly the composition of the Supreme Court. All these had been completed.
19. Chief Ikimi announced the successful induction of IECOM members on 2nd April, 1997. He stated that the assessment team had held a meeting with the Force Commander, Major-General Victor Malu who had informed them that ECOMOG had deployed in 42 locations and was monitoring movements. ECOMOG had received additional troops and was successfully carrying out arms retrieval exercise throughout the country. Chief Ikimi praised ECOMOG for efforts made by its troops to provide a peaceful and secure environment for the conduct of elections.
20. The Minister dwelt at length on the meetings between the assessment team and IECOM. He stated that IECOM had presented an electoral package for the conduct of the 1997 elections

as requested by the Committee of Nine. This Electoral Package dealt with the Budget, Special Election Laws, Special Elections Code of Conduct and Operational Work Plan for the elections. The assessment team had found IECOM's initial budget of \$2.1m for personnel costs and over \$7.8m for technical support and assistance much too high, particularly as many of their material needs could be provided by ECOWAS rather than the international donor community. IECOM thereafter reviewed these estimates downwards at the insistence of the assessment team and the definitive figures were \$700,000 for personnel costs and just over \$4.0m for technical support.

21. IECOM had now made known its requirements which ECOWAS had endorsed. Chief Ikimi called on the international community to channel aid to IECOM through ECOWAS and urged ECOWAS to explore the possibility of providing facilities from within the sub-region as this might accelerate the electoral process.
22. With regard to the date for the elections, the initial time frame of 79 days given by IECOM for the activities outlined in the work plan had to be reduced to 56 days by a Committee of the assessment team. This new time frame will need to be approved by the Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine. The Chairman of IECOM had also proposed that the countdown date should be from the date of approval of the Electoral package. In addition, the Elections Law and Code of Conduct prepared by IECOM, though largely satisfactory, would require minor adjustments before they could be recommended for approval.
23. Reporting on the meetings held with the 16 political parties registered to participate in the elections, Chief Ikimi disclosed that discussions had centred on the timing of elections, security and an even playing field. Appropriate arrangements have been made with regard to all three issues. The parties were assured of fair access to information and necessary security measures had been put in place to enable campaigning to take place in any part of the country.
24. The assessment team had met with the Council of State and had reminded the Council of its obligation to demonstrate full commitment to the elections process by providing the basic requirements of the Commission and meeting the needs of the Commission members; an obligation in which it had failed so far. Chief Ikimi stated that the Council of State had agreed to provide the \$500,000 earmarked in the budget for personnel costs and to make available suitable and permanent administrative headquarters for the Commission.
25. The assessment team had left Monrovia confident that the elections process which had begun to show signs of deviating, was back on track. Chief Ikimi repeated that ECOWAS welcomed genuine offers of assistance and hoped that this would be provided in time to be of use to IECOM in the discharge of its responsibilities.
26. The Chairman of the Ministerial Committee informed his colleagues that the report of the assessment team had been submitted to the Chairman of ECOWAS who has held necessary consultations with his peers. The main task before this current ministerial meeting therefore was to recommend to the summit a date for the conduct of the elections since factors beyond the control of ECOWAS had rendered the 30th May, 1997 untenable. Any proposal made must take into consideration the actual time required by IECOM to implement the various stages of the elections process and an unduly long extension should be avoided in order not to lose the momentum and jeopardise the election process.
27. Chief Ikimi concluded his report calling on all concerned to rise to the challenge as the world was watching this test of ECOWAS' resilience and resolve. It therefore behoves us all to show unwavering determination to implement this final phase of the peace process successfully by achieving our ultimate aim of organising free and fair elections and installing a constitutional government in Liberia.
28. Delivering a statement, the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, Ambassador Tuliameni Kalomoh pointed out that this meeting marked a critical stage in the Liberian peace process and every care must therefore be taken not to negate the noble efforts and great sacrifice so far made in the quest for peace.
29. He briefed the meeting of UN preparations for the elections and presented the organisation's

- views on the preparatory arrangements. He informed the Ministers that the UN Security Council had approved the activities envisaged to support the electoral process which included provision of technical assistance and making available UNOMIL's logistics and resources.
30. Ambassador Kalomoh also touched on the joint coordination mechanism which would allow ECOMOG and UNOMIL to jointly carry out the crucial and onerous task of certifying that elections are free and fair. Consultations were in progress between the Chairman of ECOWAS and the UN to formally establish the joint mechanism.
31. The Special Representative stated that UNOMIL had now deployed civilian electoral observers to join the military observers already in the field and they were monitoring the preparatory electoral activities. They have been deployed to all counties where they are monitoring the activities of political parties and refugee movement. UNOMIL had also recruited a professional radio programmer to draw up a coherent public enlightenment programme to educate voters. Ambassador Kalomoh highlighted the activities of various United Nations agencies in Liberia, particularly UNDP and UNHCR. UNDP is providing logistic assistance and has made available a technical adviser.
32. Ambassador Kalomoh reported to the Ministers on measures which the UN had taken pursuant to the decision of the Committee of Nine that refugees wishing to vote must be repatriated. UNHCR had taken measures to facilitate such repatriation and had worked legal framework with Cote d'Ivoire for the repatriation of refugees. The UN agency had also organised visits by representatives of refugees to Liberia and registration of refugees who had indicated their wish to return. In concrete terms, nearly 100 Liberian refugees had returned to Liberia from Sierra Leone.
33. On the crucial issue of the election date, Ambassador Kalomoh stated that the delay in the induction of the Independent Elections Commission had rendered unlikely the date of 31st May, 1997 scheduled in the Abuja Agreement. In this regard, the United Nations recognised that ECOWAS has sole authority to determine a new election date. Consequently, the United Nations had communicated to the Chairman of ECOWAS the relevant information on technical procedures and arrangements to enable ECOWAS reach a decision on the matter.
34. Concluding his address, Ambassador Kalomoh thanked the ECOWAS Chairman and his Special Envoy for their able handling of the delicate negotiations and their extensive consultation on crucial issues related to the preparations for elections.
35. In his statement, at the opening ceremony, Captain Edward Singhatey, the Secretary of State for Presidential Affairs, of the Republic of the Gambia, stated that this meeting was being held to review and reassess latest situation in Liberia in the quest to restore peace and normalcy.
36. He outlined the danger inherent in the collapse of the peace process and called on all parties to redouble their efforts. He stated that considerable progress had been made in the effort to restore peace to Liberia and the seemingly hopeless situation now offered hope that the numerous sacrifices made by the sub-region of ECOWAS could be crowned with success. He urged the meeting to review the date set for elections if necessary bearing in mind the commitment of all concerned to bring this unique collective peace effort to a successful conclusion.
37. Captain Singhatey concluded by praising the Liberian people for their courage and resilience and the international community for their support. He concluded by expressing his appreciation to the Chairman of the Authority for the purposeful manner in which he has directed the affairs of the Community and the Committee of Nine.

IV - OUTCOME OF DELIBERATIONS

38. The meeting deliberated extensively behind closed doors on the issue of a new date for the elections in Liberia.
39. The Chairman of the meeting, Honourable Chief Tom Ikimi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria presented a summary of the activities undertaken and the results obtained with regard to the implementation of the timetable for elections.
40. The Chairman of the Independent Elections Commission, (IECOM), Mr. G. Henry Andrews

also briefed the Ministers on the activities of the Commission.

- 41. Following extensive and frank discussions, the meeting agreed to make recommendations to the Heads of State and Government as follows:

NEED FOR EXTENSION OF TIME FOR THE ELECTIONS

- 42. The meeting agreed that the date of 30th May, 1997 provided in the Revised Schedule to the Abuja Agreement was no longer feasible. The Ministers agreed that although considerable progress had been made by the Independent Elections Commission, (IECOM) with regard to preparations for the elections, a reasonable extension of time was necessary to successfully organise elections that would be free, fair and acceptable to all Liberians and to the international community.
- 43. The above notwithstanding, the meeting cautioned on the dangers posed by an unduly long extension, both to the security of Liberia and the entire ECOWAS peace process.
- 44. The meeting noted that the Independent Elections Commission (IECOM) had proposed a period of 56 days within which to carry out all activities related to the elections. The IECOM had also recommended that the countdown date of the 56 days could commence once the following conditions were fulfilled:
 - 44.1) The electoral package had received formal approval.
 - 44.2) The budgeted financial and logistic requirements had been made available to the IECOM.
- 45. In this connection, the meeting noted that the electoral package had been presented by the IECOM to the Chairman of ECOWAS who has given provisional approval. The Summit may therefore endorse the Special Electoral Laws for the conduct of these special elections.
- 46. The revised budget including financial and logistic requirement presented to the Chairman of ECOWAS, had also received provisional approval. Upon the approval of the Summit of the Committee of Nine, the Independent Elections Commission should immediately start work with

the resources available and be directed to work out a cash flow and material requirement over the period leading up to the elections, in accordance with the resources available within the sub-region and the donor community.

BUDGET FOR THE ELECTIONS

- 47. The Ministers recalled that the elections package as approved envisages a budget of \$4.7m for organisation of elections and \$7,000,000 for personnel costs. To date, a sum of \$500,000 had been pledged by the Government of Liberia and while \$1m had been received from the Taiwanese Government. Some assistance in kind had also been received from the Government of Nigeria. In addition, a number of Member States had signalled their intention to assist by providing items such as ballot boxes, ballot papers etc.
- 48. The above scenario provided a promising start for the Electoral Commission. The meeting strongly advised that it would be unrealistic for the Commission to wait until it receives in its coffers the total amount of resources it requires before commencing its operations. The international community should cooperate with ECOWAS to ensure that the resources required are made available within the limits of the approved budget.
- 49. In order to harness adequate resources within the required time, the Ministers advised that a time frame be given to all donors within which to redeem pledges made.

DATE FOR ELECTIONS

- 50. The Ministers took into consideration all the issues raised above, including the potentially disruptive effect of the rainy season on elections. Moreover, some Member States had signalled their intention to withdraw their troops from ECOMOG and would have to do so if the elections were to be delayed beyond a certain period. The Ministers therefore recommended that elections in Liberia should be held not later than the end of July 1997. The actual dates for the elections and the inauguration of an elected government should be decided by the Heads of State.

EXTENSION OF THE TENURE OF THE LIBERIA NATIONAL TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

51. The postponement of the date of elections from 30th May, 1997 would necessarily entail an extension of the life span of the Liberia National Transitional Government (LNTG) whose tenure was scheduled to terminate on 15th June, 1997. The meeting recommended that the tenure of the LNTG as presently constituted be extended to the new date of inauguration of the elected government.

ANY OTHER BUSINESS

52. No issue was raised under this agenda item.

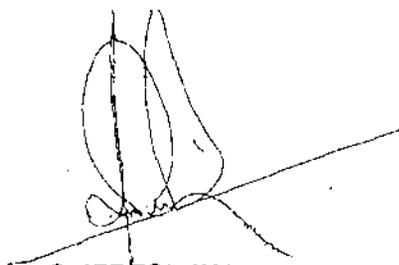
ADOPTION OF REPORT

53. This report was adopted.

VOTE OF THANKS

54. Speaking on behalf of Honourable Ministers, His Excellency, Edward Singhatey, Secretary of State for Presidential Affairs of the Republic of The Gambia congratulated the Chairman for the able manner in which he had conducted the meeting and for his untiring efforts to find a lasting solution to the Liberian crisis.

**DONE AT ABUJA,
THIS 20TH DAY OF MAY, 1997.**



**CHIEF TOM IKIMI,
CHAIRMAN,
FOR THE COMMITTEE OF NINE ON LIBERIA.**

THE FIFTH MEETING OF THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON THE LIBERIAN CRISIS

ABUJA, 21ST MAY, 1997

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. The Fifth meeting of Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia was held at the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat Headquarters in Abuja on 21st May, 1997 under the chairmanship of His Excellency, General Sani ABACHA, Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and current Chairman of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS.
2. The following Heads of State and Government, or their duly accredited representatives, attended the meeting:
 - His Excellency, Mathieu KEREKOU, President of the Republic of BENIN;
 - His Excellency, Blaise COMPAORE, President of BURKINA FASO;
 - His excellency, Flt-Lt (Rtd) Jerry John RAWLINGS, President of the Republic of GHANA;
 - His Excellency, General Lansana CONTE, Head of State, President of the Republic of GUINEA;
 - His Excellency, General Sani ABACHA, Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
 - His Excellency, Mr. Kwassi KLUTSE Prime Minister and Head of Government of the TOGOLESE Republic;
 - Mr. Faustin KOUAME, Minister for Presidential Affairs, representing the President of the Republic of COTE D'IVOIRE;
 - Captain Edward SINGHATEY, Secretary of State for Presidential Affairs, representing the President of THE GAMBIA;

- Mr. Massokhna KANE Minister of African Economic Integration representing the President of the Republic of SENEGAL.
3. Also in attendance as invited guests were:
- Her Excellency, Mrs. Ruth Sando PERRY, Chairman of the Council of State of Liberia;
 - His Excellency, Mr. Alpha Oumar KONARE, Head of State, President of the Islamic Republic of Mali;
 - His Excellency, Brigadier-General Ibrahim Bare MAINASSARA, President of the Republic of NIGER;
 - Honourable Mrs. S.Y. BGUJAMA, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Representing the President of the Republic of SIERRA LEONE.
4. The following personalities were invited as observers:
- The Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU);
 - The Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General in Liberia;
 - The U.S. Special Envoy to Liberia.
5. In attendance were:
- Mr. Mahamadu OUHOUMODOU, Deputy Executive Secretary, representing the ECOWAS Executive Secretary;
 - ECOMOG Force Commander.
6. The fifth meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine was preceded by a meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine on Liberia.
7. Heads of State noted with satisfaction that 13 out of the 14 items in the revised schedule of the Abuja agreement had been successfully implemented, in accordance with the revised schedule of implementation of the Abuja Agreement.
8. They welcomed the restoration of peace to Liberia and consequently commended the efforts made by Member States to redeem their pledges to contribute troops to strengthen the operational capacities of ECOMOG. They expressed their appreciation to the friendly countries which had provided logistic, material and financial support to ECOMOG.
9. Heads of State and Government took note of the dissolution of the Liberian factions, and the replacement of the Members of the Council of State.
10. They commended the successful restructuring of the Supreme Court which will be responsible for adjudicating electoral complaints, by the appointment of new members, in consultation with the judiciary and the Bar Association.
11. They expressed satisfaction at the appointment of the members of the Independent Elections Commission, the appointment of its chairman and the induction of the commission and commended the work they had so far undertaken under difficult circumstances and with meagre resources.
12. Heads of State and Government considered and approved the electoral package governing the conduct of elections, prepared by the Independent Elections Commission and containing the electoral law, a code of conduct, the commission's operational work plan and the budget.

ELECTION BUDGET

13. The Heads of State and Government considered and approved the elections budget of \$700,000 for personnel and administrative costs and \$4.7m for technical aspect of the electoral process as proposed by the Independent Elections Commission. The Heads of State set a target of a minimum sum of \$1.5m to be sourced from the sub-region and established a minimum levy of \$100,000 in cash per Member State. However, Member States who are able to contribute above this amount are encouraged to do so, either in cash or in kind. They called upon the international community, to honour their pledges of assistance to the electoral process and to endeavour to redeem all pledges by the 16th of June, 1997.

- 14. Heads of State expressed the desire for IECOM to be insulated from influence both from within the country and from without. Consequently, they urged the international donor Community to make contributions to IECOM through ECOWAS.
- 15. Furthermore, the Chairman of IECOM was directed to make an inventory list of their requirements to be circulated among ECOWAS Member State so that those who are in a position to assist may have guidance from the list.

DATE OF ELECTIONS

- 16. Desiring to ensure a credible electoral process and organise free and fair elections whose results will be acceptable to the Liberian people and recognised by the international community, Heads of State and Government approved the postponement of elections, as had been recommended by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Independent Elections Commission after consultations with the political parties and the original signatories of the Abuja Agreement.
- 17. Heads of State and Government, decided that elections in Liberia should be held after a period of fifty-six days commencing from the 25th of May, 1997. In which case they approved that the elections day would be Saturday 19h July, 1997 with inauguration of the new government to take place on the 2nd August, 1997. However, in the event of a runoff, elections should be on the 2nd of August, 1997, and inauguration on the 16th of August, 1997.

EXTENSION OF THE TENURE OF THE LIBERIA NATIONAL TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT (LNTG)

- 18. Heads of State and Government approved an extension of the tenure of the Liberia National Transitional Government (LNTG), as presently constituted under the Abuja Agreement. The tenure is hereby extended in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 17 above.

REAFFIRMATION OF ECOWAS COMMITMENT TO A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE LIBERIAN CRISES

- 19. Heads of State and Government reaffirmed the commitment of ECOWAS to a peaceful

resolution of the Liberian crisis through democratic elections, which underpins the ECOWAS Peace Plan and which constitutes the best possible framework for the restoration of peace and stability to Liberia. Consequently, they appealed to the political parties and the Liberian people in general to ensure that the forthcoming campaigns and elections are conducted peacefully. This should be an opportunity for all concerned to learn to work together in the interest of the nation.

- 20. Heads of State and Government expressed gratitude to the OAU and the United Nations for their contribution to the quest for peace in Liberia.

VOTE OF THANKS

- 21. At the end of their deliberations, Heads of State and Government expressed their sincere gratitude to His Excellency, General Sani ABACHA, Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and current Chairman of ECOWAS, and to the Government and people of Nigeria, for the warm and fraternal hospitality extended to them during their stay in Abuja.

**DONE AT ABUJA,
THIS 21ST DAY OF MAY, 1997.**

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA
INDEPENDENT ELECTIONS COMMISSION (IECOM)

SPECIAL ELECTIONS LAW FOR THE 1997 ELECTIONS

SUBMITTED TO ECOWAS
ON 5TH MAY, 1997

AND APPROVED BY ECOWAS
ON 21ST MAY, 1997

SPECIAL ELECTIONS LAW FOR THE 1997 ELECTIONS

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INDEPENDENT ELECTIONS COMMISSION (IECOM)

SPECIAL ELECTIONS LAW FOR THE 1997 LIBERIA DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The basis and authority for the Special Elections Law for the 1997 Liberia Democratic Elections are the successive Liberian Peace Accords, culminating in the Revised Abuja Accord of 1996.

In implementing the Mandate to produce an Electoral Package for the conduct of the 1997 Liberia Democratic Elections, the Independent Elections Commission, was guided by the spirit and intent of the decisions of the ECOWAS Ministerial Committee of Nine and the Liberia Council of State, at their meeting in Liberia in February, 1997, based on the Revised ABUJA ACCORD. In so doing, the IECOM took cognizance of the extra-constitutional responsibilities inherent in that mandate. For, instead of simply implementing the existing Liberian Elections Law for the conduct of the Elections, as would normally have been the case, the IECOM was required to actually formulate a new Elections Law to be complemented and strengthened by pertinent components of the existing laws, specifically with a view to addressing the peculiar needs and imperatives of this first post civil war General Elections. It is likely, therefore, that some people will find in these Elections Law, much that may appear unfamiliar; but they are by no means inimical to their interests, or subversive of the democratic process.

The intent of the innovations which the IECOM has been obliged to make while formulating these Special Elections Law, is informed by, among others, the following considerations:

- i. To initiate a process that will expedite, as well as guarantee, the return of Liberia to full constitutional government; and in so doing, to as much as possible, incorporate the existing Elections Law. There is a palpable desire on the part of the Liberian people, for an early return to Constitutional Government, along the old and familiar routes and procedure. The Commission, we believe, has to the fullest extent possible, responded with responsibility to the wishes and aspirations of the Liberian people within the context of its mandate.
- ii. While in sympathy with the aspirations of

those Liberians who wish to reverse the aberrations of the last seven (7) years, by taking one giant leap to restore the constitutional *status quo, ante bellum*, the IECOM does not see this election process as a once for all panacea, but rather as the beginning of a long process, to heal and bind the nation's wounds, and to begin the difficult task of rebuilding the civil society. Our circumspection should, therefore, not be mistaken for tardiness. A lot of patience, forbearance and tolerance on all sides will be required.

- iii. The IECOM recognizes the rights of all Liberians to participate in shaping, particularly in this post-civil war era, the destiny of their country. This election, though only a part of this regenerative process, is nevertheless an important part, and should therefore, as much as possible, be made all "inclusive", to allow for full participation of as many Liberians as possible.
- iv. To put in place, processes that will not only provide a "level playing field" for all the political parties, but which hopefully, will also change the Liberian People's perception about the electoral process and democratic elections, and hence what they regard as "free" and "fair" elections. Indeed, the objective of the changes introduced by the IECOM for this election, goes beyond merely securing free and fair elections. Ultimately, the aim is that these elections should result in the creation of at least, the perception of a government of "national unity", in which every elected official regards the whole of Liberia as his constituency, with responsibility to unite and work for the healing and reconciliation process of the whole country.

Finally, the Commission wishes to assure all Liberians that in compiling this Special Elections Law, the IECOM drew much strength and inspirations, both from the centripetal elements in the Liberian Constitution, the existing Elections Law and the rich culture of the nation. It is in every sense, therefore, very much a product that is infused with the ethos and cultural heritage of Liberians. It is designed for the edification of the nation, and all who wish to offer Liberia their selfless and dedicated service. But above all else, the vision in this Elections Law, is dedicated to all the Youths of Liberia,

whose lives were blighted by the events of the last seven years, but on whom the future of the nation now so precariously rests.

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS the purpose of the Special Elections are to promote and safeguard peace, to engender an environment of reconciliation and compromise;

TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION that the law, guidelines and Code of Conduct governing these elections shall ensure inclusiveness, accessibility and representativeness;

BEING DESIROUS of creating a government that is transparent and accountable;

CONSIDERING that the Proportional Representation system is applied during this special election because the electoral law of 1996 and the Constitution of Liberia of 1985 are inoperable given the present circumstances;

CONSIDERING that the Proportional Representation system will provide a clear simple and effective method of voting;

BEING AWARE that all votes in the Proportional Representation system will have an equal value and thus encourage the population to vote and to effectively participate in the electoral process;

CONSCIOUS OF THE GREAT EFFORT made by the Member States of ECOWAS to bring, promote and safeguard peace to Liberia;

REALIZING THAT THE INTENTION OF ECOWAS IS TO RETURN LIBERIA To Democratic Governance through these special elections and to recreate the political institutions (House, Senate and Presidency);

MINDFUL that ECOMOG continues to play a crucial role in ensuring peace and safeguarding the security of the electoral process;

NOW THEREFORE the IECOM proposes and ECOWAS approves the electoral law hereunder.

**CHAPTER 1
DEFINITIONS AND GENERAL PROVISIONS**

1.1 Title

The provisions herein shall be entitled and cited as the Special Elections Law for the Republic of Liberia to elect

a President, Vice-President, a House of Representatives and a Senate in 1997.

1.2 Definitions:

Except when the context or a specific provision of law otherwise requires, the following terms, when used in this Law shall have the following meanings ascribed to them.

- (a) "This election" refers to the 1997 Special Elections in Liberia
- (b) "Special Elections" means elections for the offices of the President, Vice President, Senators and Representatives held in 1997 under this Special Elections Law, based on the revised Abuja Agreement and the decisions reached by the ECOWAS Ministerial Committee of Nine and the Council of State of the Republic of Liberia in February 1997.
- (c) "Runoff Election" means an election held following the result of the first ballot where no Presidential candidate obtains an absolute majority.
- (d) "Polling Center" means any approved building or structure within which voters cast their votes during this election.
- (e) "Polling Place or polling station" means any designated place within a polling center in which voters cast their votes during this election.
- (f) "Residence" means a place where a voter lives.
- (g) "Registration Card" means a card issued by the Commission to a voter upon registration which serves to identify the voter on election day.
- (h) "Candidate" means a Liberian citizen who has been certified by the Commission to contest an election.
- (i) "Chairman" shall refer to the Chairman of the Independent Elections Commission.
- (j) "Commissioner" means any person duly appointed to serve on the Independent Elections Commission.

- (k) "Commission" shall refer to the Independent Elections Commission of the Republic of Liberia.
- (l) "Constituency" for the purpose of these Elections means the Republic of Liberia.
- (m) "Domicile" when used in this Law shall refer to the residence of an aspirant or candidate who seeks elective public office in which he lives and pays taxes.
- (n) "Election Writ" means a writ issued by the Independent Elections Commission directing the holding of an election on a specified date.
- (o) "Eligible Voter" means any qualified person registered and who is in possession of a Registration Card and whose name appears on the Voters Registration Roll.
- (p) "IECOM" shall be the abbreviation used to refer to the Independent Elections Commission.
- (q) "Magistrate of Elections" means an elections officer so designed and representing the Independent Elections Commission in the area of his jurisdiction, to perform such duties and functions prescribed in this Law, under the direction and supervision of the Independent Elections Commission.
- (r) "Political Party/Coalition/Alliance" in this context of contesting these elections shall refer to an association with membership of not less than three hundred and fifty (350) eligible voters originating from each of any six (6) counties irrespective of where they live. The activities of a political Party/Coalition/Alliance which has met the minimum registration requirements laid down by the Independent Elections Commission, shall include canvassing for votes on any public issue, or in support of a candidate for elective office.
- (s) "Coalition/Alliance" in the context of contesting these elections shall refer to an association of two or more political parties pursuant to Chapter 9; Section 9.5 of this law.

- (t) "Simple Majority of Votes" means winning an election by a number of votes which exceeds by one of the number of votes cast for the candidate with the next highest vote.

1.3 System of Election:

(a) President and Vice President:

The system of election for the offices of President and Vice President shall be the Majoritarian System and the Candidate who wins an absolute majority of valid votes shall be the winner. In the event, no candidate wins an absolute majority of valid votes a run-off elections shall be held and the candidate with the majority of valid votes shall be declared the winner.

(b) Legislature:

The system of election for the Legislature consisting of the House of Senate and the House of Representative shall be by Proportional Representation with the entire country as a single constituency.

1.4 Security:

ECOMOG peace-keeping force shall provide security to the Commission and for all its activities directly and indirectly for the duration of this special electoral process.

1.5 Effect of Declaration:

Any declaration required to be made under the provisions of this Law, and made before any person authorized by this Law, to receive such declaration, shall have the same force and effect as if such declaration had been made to any official authorized under the laws of the Republic to administer an oath, and in case of false declaration to the same penalty.

1.6 Service of Notice:

Service of any notice required by the provision of this Law, may be made by delivering it personally or if it can be shown that the post office maintains a regular service to such place, by mailing it to the last known residence or usual place of abode within the Republic; and if with due diligence no such delivery can be made, by

affixing the notice to the door of such person's place of business, residence or usual place of abode in the Republic. However, where the notice to be served concerns a person alleged to have been judicially declared an incompetent or of unsound mind, his guardian shall be served in accordance with the provisions of this Law.

1.7 Service by Radio/Newspaper:

when it is impracticable to communicate any election matter by post without occasioning undue delay, any radio or newspaper communication in the ordinary course shall suffice for the purpose of this Law.

1.8 Signature of Person Unable to Write:

Any person required by this Law to sign his name may, upon satisfying an attesting witness that he is unable to write, make a mark which should be witnessed by the attesting witness.

**CHAPTER 2
INDEPENDENT ELECTIONS COMMISSION**

Organization and Administration:

The organization and administration of the Independent Elections Commission of the Republic of Liberia shall function according to the provisions of this chapter.

2.1 Office of the Independent Elections Commission:

The Independent Elections Commission of the Republic of Liberia, is an autonomous public commission composed of ten (10) Members, seven (7) of whom shall be Liberian Citizens with voting rights and three (3) International non-voting members representing the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the United Nations, (UN) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). This Commission is headed by a Chairman, appointed by the Council of State in consultation with the Chairman of ECOWAS.

2.2 Tenure:

The Chairman and other Members of the Elections Commission, shall hold their office for the duration of the Special Elections of 1997 but not more than 30 days after the inauguration. For the duration of these Special Elections, no Commissioner shall be removed from office.

2.3 Replacement of a Commissioner:

In the event of death, incapacitation or resignation that Commissioner shall be replaced by the same process of the initial appointment.

2.4 Quorum and Vote:

Any five (5) Liberian Voting Members plus at least one (1) Non-Voting Member of the Commission, shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business of the Commission, and a majority of four (4) voting members shall be necessary to decide any issue before it, and that decision shall be binding on the Commission.

2.5 Party/Coalition/Alliance Affiliation:

No Commissioner, election officer or any employee of the Commission shall be a member, or an affiliate of any political Party/Coalition/Alliance, or of an association or organization; nor shall any Commissioner, election officer or any employee of the Commission canvas for any elective public office directly or indirectly, during tenure on the Commission.

Before assuming office, each Commissioner, election officer and every employee of the Commission shall solemnly subscribe to an Oath renouncing allegiance to, and severing all connections, affiliation and relationship with his/her own, or any other political Party/Coalition/Alliance during his/her service or tenure with the Commission.

2.6 Remuneration:

Members of the Commission, Elections Officers and all other employees of the Commission, shall each receive legitimate remuneration and benefits as approved in the Budget.

2.7 Seat of the Commission:

The seat of the Commission shall be located in the Nation's Capital and it shall maintain branches in the counties as necessary.

2.8 Security Protection For Members Of The Commission:

Members of the Commission shall be accorded ECOMOG Protection during their tenure.

2.9 Power and Duties:

The Independent Elections Commission, shall have the following powers and duties:

- (a) Formulate and administer the Special Elections Package for the 1997 Elections;
- (b) Organize the office of the Commission in a manner as may be necessary and practicable for the effective operation of the Commission;
- (c) Give accreditation to, and register all, political parties which meet the minimum registration requirements laid down by the Commission;
- (d) Upon objections made by any Party/Coalition/Alliance, the Commission may reject, and if already registered, revoke the certification of accreditation of the Party/Coalition/Alliance against which the objection was made, subject to appeal to the Supreme Court of Liberia. The revocation of the application accreditation as a full-fledged political Party/Coalition/Alliance shall be predicated upon its violation of the Abuja Accord and its Schedule of Implementations and any other act as set out in the present law.
- (e) Revoke the registration and accreditation of an already legal Party/Coalition/Alliance only after a hearing before the Commission, in accordance with due process of Law;
- (f) Restrict participation in these Special Elections, to only registered political parties/coalition/alliance who shall be obliged to nominate a single list of its candidates for all elective posts including the posts of President, Vice President, Senators and Representatives;
- (g) Conduct the 1997 Special Elections for elective public offices and declare the results thereof;
- (h) Formulate and enforce guidelines controlling the conduct of these 1997 Special Elections, which guidelines shall not be inconsistent with this Law;
- (i) Appoint all senior staff and all such officials and employees as may be necessary for the effective performance of the duties and functions of the Commission;
- (j) Appoint elections officers in the political sub-divisions of the country, who shall perform their duties under the direction and supervision of the Commission and in accordance with the provisions of this Law;
- (k) Maintain a register of all qualified voters, which shall be subject to inspection under the provision of this Law;
- (l) Declare the Republic as a single constituency, for the purpose of these Special 1997 Elections, based upon the principle of Proportional Representation for the Legislative Elections.
- (m) Maintain a register of the Constitution, Articles of Incorporation and Rules of all political parties and their organizations and any amendment thereto;
- (n) Screen all candidates for elective public office and accredit their candidacy, and/or reject the candidacy of anyone who is not qualified under this Law.
- (o) Prescribe the kinds of records to be kept by all political parties.
- (p) Examine and audit, or cause to be audited, the financial transactions of all political parties and their organizations.
- (q) Be the only body authorized to announce the official results of these Special 1997 Elections;
- (r) Submit a report to the GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA and ECOWAS on the general operations of the Commission and the conduct of elections within 30 days after inauguration.
- (s) Issue citations for the appearance before it of any political Party/coalition/Alliance or its leaders, or other persons in connection with any complaint recognizable before it; issue subpoenas for the purpose of obtaining witnesses in any hearing, including subpoenas *ad*

testificandum, and *subpoenas duces tecum*; punish for contempt for any obstruction or disobedience of its orders in an amount not less than Five Thousand (\$5000,00) dollars and not more than Twenty-Five Thousand dollars (\$25,000.00);

- (t) Revoke the Certification of Accreditation of any political Party/Coalition/Alliance, or impose a fine after a hearing, the determination of which is appealable to the Supreme Court.
- (u) Perform such other duties and functions as may be provided by law.
- (v) Be the sole judge of all elections results, and the accreditation of all successful candidates who have been duly elected as *President*, Vice President, and members of the National Legislature. Any appeal from the decision of the Commission in these elections contest shall lie before the Supreme Court, taken in accordance with the provisions of this Law in relation to this election contest;
- (w) Contribute towards a "level playing field" so that all the political parties could have a fair chance of presenting their case to the Liberian Electorate. For this purpose, the Commission has determined that equal access to radio broadcasts be made available to all. In this connection, the Commission shall issue Guidelines and Code of conduct to the media.

SUB-CHAPTER A: DUTIES OF CHAIRMAN:

2.10 The Chairman shall:

- (a) Be the official head and spokesman of the Commission;
- (b) Preside over all meetings and hearings of elections disputes;
- (c) Control, supervise and direct the administrative operations of the office of the Commission and its branches, and in consultation with the Commissioners, take such measures, as may be necessary, for the smooth and effective operation of the Commission.

- (d) Designate one of the Commissioners to act in his absence.

SUB-CHAPTER B: LEGAL SECTION:

2.11 Legal Section:

There shall be established in the office of the Commission, a Legal Section, which shall be the legal arm of the Commission.

2.12 Composition:

The Legal Section shall be composed of two (2) lawyers who shall serve as legal counsels to the Commission. Their duties and responsibilities shall be determined by the Commission.

2.13 Qualification:

Anyone appointed Legal Counsel must be a qualified lawyer and a Counsellor-At-Law.

2.14 Duties and Functions:

The Legal Section of the Commission shall have the following functions and duties:

- (a) Represent the Commission before the Supreme Court of Liberia in any elections litigation, or otherwise;
- (b) Advise the Commission on all legal matters when required;
- (c) Submit to the Commission a written legal opinion on any question of legal implication when so required, and
- (d) Perform such other legal duties relating to the administration of the elections laws as may be required by the Commission.

SUB-CHAPTER C: ADMINISTRATION DIVISION:

There is hereby established in the office of the Commission, a Division of Administration to include those sections already provided for in the Law, which shall be subdivided into administrative sections as may be necessary, for the effective performance of the duties and functions of the Commission.

2.15 *Divisional Heads:*

The Executive Director shall be the principal administrative assistant to the Chairman in the overall administrative activities and operation of the office of the Commission. He shall be responsible for the general administration of the office of the Commission, assisted by section heads and staff members. The section heads shall be amenable to the Executive Director for the effective and smooth operation and functions of the Commission.

2.16 *Appointment and Tenure:*

The Executive Director shall be appointed by the Commission and shall serve at the pleasure of the Commission.

2.17 *Qualification:*

A person appointed to the post of Executive Director shall be a Liberian Citizen and a holder of a degree in administration or its equivalent with not less than five (5) years of experience in administration.

2.18 *Duties and functions:*

The Executive Director shall have the following duties and functions:

- (a) Have charge of the general administration supervision of the office of the Independent Elections Commission under the direction of the Chairman;
- (b) Serve as Secretary to the Commission; attend its deliberations and keep minutes of its transaction;
- (c) Keep and preserve the records of the Commission;
- (d) Direct and supervise the work of the administrative sections and local offices of the commission in the Counties and be responsible and accountable to the Commission for the effective and smooth operation of the division; and,
- (e) Perform such other duties and functions as may be required of him by the Commission

SUB-CHAPTER D: ELECTIONS OFFICERS:

2.19 *Appointment of Election Officers:*

Elections Officers shall include Election Magistrates, Clerks of Writs, Registrars, Sheriffs, Poll Clerks, Judges and such other Poll Workers appointed by the Commission in accordance with the relevant provisions of this Law, who shall carry out the duties assigned them by the Commission and by the provision of this Law, in connection with the Registration of Voters and the conduct of these elections.

2.20 *Clerk of Writs:*

A Clerk of Writs and an Assistant Clerk of Wrist shall be appointed by the Commission in accordance with provisions of this Law.

2.21 *Magistrates of Elections:*

In accordance with the provisions of this Law, the Commission shall appoint within each County/District as many Magistrates of Elections as shall be necessary, who shall serve as liaison between the Commission and the County/District they represent in respect of all Election activities within their County of assignment. Each such Magistrate shall comply with all general as well as special instructions issued to him by the Commission

A Magistrate of Elections shall have power and functions within his area of jurisdiction to hear and determine objections of voters registration claims, and to the discontinuation of disqualified voters on the registration rolls, and upon a proper showing, to order the reinstatement on the registration rolls of names of qualified voters struck off by mistake.

Magistrates of Elections shall have power and jurisdiction in the first instance to hear and determine all elections offences in which the penalty provided is not more than Two Thousand dollar (\$2,000.00). In all other offences, the Commission shall have original administrative jurisdiction subject only to judicial review by the Supreme Court of Liberia.

2.22 *Oath of Officers of Elections:*

Each Magistrate, before assuming such office, shall make and subscribe to an oath before the

Chairman of the Commission for the faithful discharge of his duties. Such person appointed as a Registrar of voters, a Sheriff, a Clerk and other Poll Workers, before assuming such office, shall make and subscribe to an oath before the Magistrate of Elections to perform faithfully the duties of such office in accordance with the provisions of this law. Such oath shall be filed in the office of the Commission.

2.23 Ineligibility To Hold Office as Elections Officers:

No candidate and/or persons holding any official position in connection with any political Party/Coalition/Alliance shall be appointed by the Commissioner; any employee who knowingly becomes a candidate, or who is elected, appointed or otherwise becomes an official of any political organization shall be considered to have automatically forfeited his employment and shall be dealt with under the provisions of this Law.

2.24 Compensation of Elections Officers:

Each Elections Officer shall be paid remuneration of such amounts as may be prescribed by budgetary appropriation of the Commission for the duration of the elections for duties actually performed.

2.25 Payment of Elections Officers:

The remuneration of Elections Officers appointed by the Commission and all other public expenses arising from elections, shall upon approval by the Chairman of the Commission, be paid in accordance with standard procedure for disbursement.

2.26 Oaths:

Any Commissioner, Elections Officer or employee of the Elections Commission, before assuming the duties and functions of his office shall subscribe to an oath which shall be filed in the office of the Chairman of the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government in case of a Commissioner, and in the office of the Commission, in case of Elections Officers, officials or employees.

2.27 Immunities:

Commissioners and staff of the Commission,

shall not be held personally liable for acts carried out in the course of their official duties.

**CHAPTER 3
REGISTRATION OF VOTERS**

SUB CHAPTER A: GENERAL PROVISIONS:

3.1 Who May Register:

Every citizen of Liberia who has attained the age of eighteen (18) years or older, may register as a voter except one who has been judicially declared to be incompetent or of unsound mind.

3.2 Place or Center of Registration:

Not later than one (1) week before the date of registration, the Commissioner shall publicly advertise by printed notices in newspapers where feasible, by posters, placards, by radio and television broadcast and by any other available means, the lists of the location of places for registration centres in the local communities involved.

3.3 Time of Registration:

The offices of the Elections Magistrate in each county or place so designated shall be opened for Registration of Voters at a time as may be prescribed by the Commission.

3.4 Observation of Registration:

The process of registration may be observed by agents of registered political parties/coalitions/alliance, organizations or other persons as the commission may approve.

SUB-CHAPTER B: VOTER REGISTRATION ROLL:

3.5 Voter Registration Card:

Each voter after having completed the registration process, shall be given a voter registration card by the Registration Officer. The Registration Card shall contain the family name and given names of the voter and the signature of the Registration Officer. The Voter Registration Card will also bear the County Code, the Center Number and the Voter's Roll Number.

3.6 *Registration Roll:*

Registration Rolls shall be kept in a form prescribed by the Commission and shall contain the family name and given name, address, date of birth and/or age, sex, names of father and mother and roll number of the Voter. The names will be arranged in a sequential order at each Registration Center.

3.7 *Roll to be Kept for Public Inspection:*

A print of the Registration List shall be available for display at those locations deemed appropriate by the Commission. A copy shall be kept at the Commission's head office.

However, no registration roll or other election document, shall be invalidated on the ground that it is not legibly printed or because of any immaterial error made in the making thereof.

3.8 *Public Officers to Furnish Information:*

All public officers in the service of the government and all officers in the service of any local governing body, are hereby authorized and required to furnish the Commission or any Elections Officer, such information as may be required to enable the Commission or any such Elections Officer to prepare to revise the registration roll or elections document.

3.9 *Other Persons From Whom Information May be Required:*

For the purpose of preparing any registration roll or ensuring the registration of any voter on a registration roll, the Commission or a registered or any person authorized for this purpose by the Commission may require any person to answer any question or furnish any returns or fill in and sign any claim with regard to such registration. Any person to whom any question shall be put under this section, shall truthfully and to the best of his/her knowledge and belief, comply with any requirement made of him/her under this section.

3.10 *Claims for Registration:*

(1) A claim is a written application for registration as a voter. New names may be added to the appropriate roll by a registrar of elections pursuant to claim, which shall be made in the prescribed

forms, signed by the claimant in the presence of, and witnessed by, a Registered Voter and filed with the registrar of elections, who keeps the roll on which the claimant seeks to be registered. A claim must contain the surname and the given name, if any, of the claimant, his/her residence, the name of the Registration Center, age, and his/her usual signature or right thumb print if he/she is unable to write.

(2) The Commission shall determine a period of not less than eight (8) days before election day during which:

(a) the registration roll shall be available for inspections at each Registration Center and compared with the Commission's Master Registration Roll to make sure the roll is in order and that the names of deceased registered voters are removed from the roll in accordance with the provision of this chapter; and,

(b) claims for Registration and Objections to Registration may be made. The dates determined by the Commission shall be published in the same manner as is required by Section 3.2 for Notification of Registration Centers.

3.11 *Receipts of Claims:*

Upon the receipt of a claim, the Registrar of Elections shall note thereon the date of its receipt and file the claim provisionally. Claims thus filed by the Registrar of Elections shall be opened for public inspection without fee at the office of such registrar on any working day during the hours the office is opened.

SUB-CHAPTER C: ALTERATION OF REGISTRATION ROLLS:

3.13 *Alteration of Registration Rolls:*

The Commission may alter the Registration Rolls:

(1) Correcting any obvious mistake or omission, but not to the extent of wholly removing a name from the Registration Rolls; and,

- (2) By reinstating a name previously struck off by orders of the Commission resulting from an error of fact.

3.14 *When Registration Roll May Not be Altered:*

No Registration Roll may be altered within the seven (7) days period immediately prior to an election, including election day, except upon an order by the Supreme Court of Liberia on the determination of a manifest error.

3.15 *Alternation of Registration Rolls. How to be Made:*

Alterations of Registration Rolls shall be made in such manner that original writing, or printing shall not be obliterated or altered. The reason for the alteration, the date thereof and such reference to authority, as may be deemed necessary, shall be set against the alteration together with the initials of the person authorized to make the alteration,

**CHAPTER 4
QUALIFICATIONS FOR ELECTIVE OFFICES**

Parties wishing to field candidate in the 1997 elections for any of the elective offices in these elections must ensure their candidates meet the following qualifications for the offices of President, Vice President, Senators and Representatives.

4.1 *Qualification:*

- (1) President:
 - (a) Must be a natural born Liberian Citizen;
 - (b) Must be 35 years of age or above.
- (2) Vice President:
 - (a) Must be a natural born Liberian Citizen;
 - (b) Must be 35 years of age or above.
- (3) Senator:
 - (a) Must be a natural born Liberian Citizen;
 - (b) Must be 30 years of age or above.

(4) Representatives:

- (a) Must be a natural born Liberian Citizen;
- (b) Must be 25 years of age or above.

4.2 *Requirements:*

- (1) In addition to the qualifications enumerated above, if the aspirant is a former government official he/she must have resigned from Government on or before 28th February, 1997 in accordance with the Abuja Accord and Schedule of Implementation.
- (2) Party/Coalition/Alliance's candidates must be resident in Liberia during the convention and campaign period.

4.3 *Period of Permissible Withdrawal:*

Any Party/Coalition/Alliance or candidate may withdraw from contesting an election but, must notify the Commission in writing before the ballot-papers are printed.

**CHAPTER 5
CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS**

5.1 *Polling Places:*

- (1) The Commission shall designate Polling Places as it deems necessary. A change of Polling Place after its due designation, may be made by the Commission, if circumstances warrant it, provided that voters are given reasonable notice.
- (2) Polling Places shall have separate compartments demarcated, so as to protect each voter from observation whilst marking the ballot papers.
- (3) Each polling place shall be provided with a ballot box or boxes, which shall be secured with either a lock and key or security seals and have a cleft for receiving the ballot papers which can also be secured in the closed position,
- (4) The Commission shall make arrangements for the list of polling places to be published not less than ten (10) days before the

election and shall take all necessary steps to ensure that voters are made aware of the location of various polling places before the election.

- (5) Each polling place shall be identified to the public by a suitable notice or other means.
- (6) There shall be a Presiding officer at the Poll appointed to preside at the voting at each polling place who shall be assisted by other subordinate poll officials.

5.2 Election Writs:

- (1) Writs shall be in the prescribed form and shall specify:
 - (a) The date and hours of polling;
 - (b) The last date and hour of nomination of candidates by political parties/ coalitions/alliances; and
 - (c) The date for the return of the Writ indicating thereon: the number of ballot boxes, the number of ballot papers issued, and the number of votes cast. The writ shall be returned along with the signed tally sheets containing the results of the poll and sealed ballot boxes containing the counted ballot papers after the count.
- (2) By the direction of the Chairman of the Commission, the Clerk of Writs shall issue a Writ for the Election, not less than ten (10) days prior to the prescribed time for the election. Such Writ shall direct the Magistrates to conduct the said election in accordance with the provisions of this Law.

5.3 Duty of Magistrate of Elections:

- (1) Subject to the directives of the Commission, Magistrates shall make all necessary arrangements for the holding of the election.
- (2) The Magistrates shall take such steps as are necessary, and in accordance with directives of the Commission, to inform the

political parties and their candidates and voters, of;

- (a) The dates by which specific acts have to be done, nominations made, or as otherwise required by this Law;
- (b) the timetable for the electoral process;
- (c) the general arrangements for taking the poll;
- (d) generally, as to the conduct of the election and the duties of parties and candidates.

- (3) The Magistrate of Elections shall in accordance with any directive from the Commission:

- (a) furnish the approved polling places with ballot box or boxes, ballot papers and other requisite election materials;
- (b) provide each polling place with the necessary ballot papers prepared in the prescribed forms and furnished by the Commission;
- (c) administer the oath to all persons serving at the polls; and
- (d) Arrange for the poll and the counting of votes at each polling station and the conveyance of the sealed ballot boxes containing the counted ballot papers along with the writ and tally sheets at the close of the count.
- (e) Ensure that the security of movement of election materials from one point to another shall be provided by ECOMOG.

5.4 Nomination of Parties/Coalitions/Alliances lists for the Legislature and Candidates for the Presidency:

- (a) Legislative Houses.
- The elections for the Legislature shall be on the basis of Proportional Representation system using the country as a single constituency.

- Each Party/Coalition/Alliance shall provide a Legislative list containing twenty-six (26) names for the Senate and Sixty-four (64) names for the House of Representative:

No Party/Coalition/Alliance shall be allowed to submit a Legislative List that is short of the number of Legislative seats for this election: and

- The allocation of seats won by the parties/coalitions/alliances for the Senate and the House shall be in keeping with the existing structures.

(b) *Presidential Election*

- For the purposes of electing a President during this Special Election in 1997, the whole country shall be regarded as one constituency.
- Each Presidential Candidate shall represent a political Party/Coalition/Alliance.

5.5 *Ballot Papers:*

- (1) Ballot papers shall be in a form prescribed by the Commission.
- (2) The ballot-paper shall include the Party/Coalition/Alliance's acronym, emblem and picture of the Presidential Candidate.

5.6 *The Polls:*

- (1) Polls shall be opened from seven (7) o'clock in the morning to four (4) o'clock in the evening nationwide.
- (2) At the opening of the polls, and before any vote is cast, the ballot box shall be opened and presented to the public, including representatives of political parties, for inspection. After it has been confirmed that the box is completely empty, it will be locked and sealed in open view of the public. The serial number of any ballots issued shall be recorded by the clerk on the Tally sheet. The Commission shall allow the presence of national and international observers during the entire electoral process.

(3) *Election Day Procedure:*

- (a) All voters must carry their voter registration cards.
- (b) Each voter shall present his/her voter registration card to the presiding officer who then shall guide him/her to the appropriate desk - *i.e. the one that has the voter registration roll which contains his name.*
- (c) Upon identification, each voter shall be given by the first poll clerk a ballot paper on which he decides his vote.
- (d) The voter then proceeds to the compartments where he/she mark his/her ballot paper in privacy and without interference. Only physically handicapped persons shall be assisted by a person of their choice in marking their ballot papers.
- (e) The voter folds the ballot paper while in the compartment.
- (f) The voter then casts his/her vote into the ballot box.
- (g) The voter then proceeds to the second poll clerk where he/she presents his/her voter registration card to be punched and is marked by indelible ink at the appropriate place.
- (h) Party/Coalition/Alliance agents, international observers, domestic monitors are entitled to be present at the place where the vote is cast.
- (i) The voter then exits the polling station.
- (j) Polling stations staff shall vote at the end of the day.
- (k) During the entire voting day procedure, ECOMOG shall provide security and maintain complete law and order.

5.7 *Representatives at Polling Place:*

To ensure a fair and impartial democratic election.

- (1) Any registered political Party/Coalition/ Alliance may appoint no more than three representatives to attend any polling center with identification issued by the Commission, provided that only one such Party-Coalition/Alliance representative can be present in the polling station at any given time. Any such appointment, to be notified to the Commission not less than two (2) weeks before the date of election, shall be made in a form prescribed by the Commission.
- (2) The Party / Coalition / Alliance representatives shall not speak to or attempt to influence in any way, any voter. Nor shall the representative attempt to observe how voters mark their ballot papers and shall obey all lawful instructions from a polling official.

5.8 *The following categories of persons may be present at the Polling Centers:*

- (a) Election Officers
- (b) Voters for the purpose of casting their vote;
- (c) A person assisting a physically incapacitated voter;
- (d) Properly appointed and identified Party/ Coalition/Alliance representatives;
- (e) Such other persons as the Commission may approve, including national and international election monitors/observers and the press.

5.9 *National and International Observers:*

The Commission shall allow the presence of National and International Observers during the entire electoral process.

5.10 *Rejected Ballots:*

- (1) A ballot shall be disallowed and included in the number of rejected ballots in the following circumstances;

- (a) If there is no mark in favour of any Party/Coalition/Alliance on the front of the ballot paper;
- (b) If the voter has voted for more than one (1) Party/Coalition/Alliance for the same elective office;
- (c) If there is any writing, signature or words on the ballot paper other than a mark for the Party/Coalition/ Alliance; and
- (d) If the position of the mark for the Party/Coalition/Alliance on the ballot paper is such that it is not clear as for which Party/Coalition/ Alliance the voter intended to vote.

5.11 *Closing Day and Counting Procedure:*

1. At the end of the voting day, the presiding officer and his clerks, in the presence of Party/Coalition/Alliance representatives, shall begin the counting.
2. At each polling station, the presiding officer shall take a ballot paper, announce to whom it was cast, enable Party/Coalition/ Alliance representatives and observers to determine the veracity of the pronouncement and give it to the clerk for deposition in the box of the Party/Coalition/ Alliance for whom the vote was cast. This process shall continue until all the votes are counted.
3. The total of the votes is then inscribed on a tally sheet in duplicates and duly signed by the presiding officers and the Party/ Coalition/Alliance representatives submits it to the Magistrate for the endorsement of the writ. Each duly accredited Party/ Coalition/Alliance representatives shall be given a copy of the tally sheet(s).
4. The presiding Officer will then return the counted ballots into the ballot box and seal same in the presence of the representatives of Parties/Coalitions/ Alliances, Observers and Monitors.
5. The sealed ballot box, along with the signed tally sheet shall be submitted to the Magistrate by the presiding officer

under the escort of ECOMOG, accompanied by representatives of the parties/coalitions/alliances, observers and monitors immediately after the count.

6. The final tally sheet, along with the sealed ballot box, shall be transmitted forthwith to the Commission by the Magistrate, accompanied by the representatives, observers and monitors under the escort of ECOMOG, and the magistrate shall present same to the Chairman with the Commission sitting *en bloc*. In any case, the sealed ballot boxes and the final tally sheets should be forwarded to the Commission within twenty-four (24) hours of the close of poll.
7. The results shall be announced by the Commission through its Chairman not later than 24 hours after receipt of the final tally sheets.
8. The issue of all challenged ballots shall be determined not later than three (3) days after the voting day.
9. Certification of official results shall take three (3) days after the determination of challenged ballots.

5.12 *Elections Results -How Returned:*

- (1) The election of the President, Vice President and members of the Legislature shall be by a single ballot.

(a) *Presidential Elections.*

The winning Presidential party shall be determined, on the basis of having obtained an absolute majority of the valid votes cast. If no candidate obtains an absolute majority, a runoff election shall be organized within a period of 14 days. The two candidates with the highest number of valid votes in the first election will contest the runoff election and the candidate obtaining the highest number of valid votes in the second round shall be declared the winner.

(b) *Legislative Elections.*

Seats for the House of the Senate and members of the House of Representatives shall be allocated to political parties/coalitions/alliances, on the basis of Proportional Representation using the country of Liberia as a single constituency. Each Party/Coalition/Alliance shall be awarded the number of seats in the Senate and the House in proportion to the percentage of valid votes won on the first round. There shall be twenty-six (26) members of the Senate and sixty-four (64) members of the House of Representatives.

(2) *Threshold*

A threshold for representation shall be set as 1.56 per cent for the House of Representative and at 3.84 per cent for the Senate to increase the accessibility and representativeness of these elections.

(3) *Allocation of Seat*

The Commission shall invite political parties/coalitions/alliances, starting with the Party/Coalition/Alliance that have received the highest percentage to select their Senators and Representatives. The selection shall be made on an open list system and limited to the lists presented by the competing parties to the Commission. This list shall have been published by the Commission according to the relevant provisions of this Special Elections Law. Where two (2) or more parties achieve the same percentage the order of the selection of seats shall be determined by lottery.

(4) *Residual Votes*

Residual votes shall be allotted to the Party/Coalition/Alliance that has the highest fraction of seats in the highest ranking order.

5.13 *Preservation of Writs, Ballots and Tally Sheets:*

The Commission shall preserve all writs issued, ballots cast and all Tally Sheets for this election

until the validity of such election and its results are no longer in dispute. The ballot papers may then be destroyed, but not before two (2) years after the day of polling.

**CHAPTER 6
VOTING**

6.1 Who May Vote:

Citizens of Liberia who have attained the age of eighteen (18), have placed their name on a Registration Roll and present their Voter Registration Card at the time of voting.

6.2 Where to Vote:

Voters shall cast their ballots at the same Center where they were registered, on presentation of their Voter Registration Card.

6.3 Leave of Absence to Vote:

An employer shall allow an employee leave of absence, to enable the employee to vote on election day.

6.4 Voting in Person: Identification of Voter:

Every person attending a Polling Center to vote shall produce a Voter Registration Card before being permitted to vote.

6.5 Challenges:

If a registered voter is challenged by an Election Officer at the poll or by a representative of a political Party/Coalition/Alliance appointed to the poll, the said voter shall be permitted to vote only after a positive investigation and upon administration by the Sheriff of the following oath:

1,.....
DO SOLEMNLY SWEAR OR AFFIRM THAT I HAVE NOT VOTED THIS DAY AT THE ELECTION AND THAT I AM TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE CONSTITUTIONALLY AND UNDER THE ELECTIONS LAW, QUALIFIED TO VOTE. SO HELP ME GOD/ ALLAH.

Such oath subscribed to by such a person, shall be filed with election returns and shall be competent evidence against the subscriber upon a prosecution for perjury. Any ballot cast on oath,

shall be placed in an enveloped marked 'CHALLENGED VOTE' before it is placed in a ballot box. The envelope will have provision for the voter's personal details, address, signature, thumb print and the signature of the polling official.

6.6 Casting of Ballot:

Upon receipt of the official ballot paper, the voter, unless he/she comes within the case provided for in section 6.7 of this Chapter following, shall without any delay, retire to an unoccupied voting compartment alone and therein privately mark his or her ballot paper in accordance with the instructions issued by the Commission and according to his choice. The voter shall then fold the ballot paper inwards forthwith, and place the same in the official ballot box. He/she shall then leave the polling place.

6.7 Assistance to the Physically Incapacitated.

A voter who is physically incapacitated may request the assistance of a helper of his/her choice to mark the ballot in the presence of an election officer. The one assisting the voter shall retire with him to an unoccupied compartment along with the election officer and at his direction, help the person in the marking of the ballot paper and return the same properly folded for deposit in the official ballot box.

**CHAPTER 7
CONTESTED ELECTION**

7.1 Filing of Complaint with the Commission:

Any political Party/Coalition/Alliance which has justifiable reasons to believe that the elections were not impartially conducted and not in keeping with these procedures, which resulted in the defeat of the Party/Coalition/Alliance, or the loss of a significant number of votes for the Party/Coalition/Alliance, shall have the right to file a complaint with the Commission; such complaint must be filed not later than three (3) days after the final results of the election are announced.

7.2 Investigation and Decision:

(1) Time schedule:

The Commission upon receipt of the

complaint of the Party/Coalition/Alliance shall, within seven (7) days cite the parties conduct an impartial investigation, and render a determination as provided for in Paragraph 2 of this section. The determination shall be accompanied by a summary of the investigation and the reason for it.

(2) Effect of determination.

The decision of the Commission shall have the following effects:

- (a) If the presidential candidate returned is declared not to be duly elected, but had already assumed such office. He/she shall with immediate effect cease to hold such office;
- (b) If any person not returned is declared duly elected to an office, he/she shall assume such office immediately;
- (c) If any election is declared void, a new election shall be held.

(3) Harmless errors not to vitiate election. No election shall be declared void on account of any delay in nominations; the polling, the return of the writ, or on account of the absence or error of any official which shall be deemed, not to have had any effect on the result of the election.

(4) Bribery; Undue Influence:
- Effect on election.

If at the trial of a contested election result, it is found that a Party/Coalition/Alliance, or candidate from that Party/Coalition/Alliance's list, has committed or attempted to commit bribery or exert undue influence, that Party/Coalition/Alliance or candidate, if such candidate acted on his/her own, the Party/Coalition/Alliance is elected, then the election of the Party/Coalition/Alliance's candidate shall be declared void.

(5) No decision that any person returned was not elected, and no decision that an election is void, shall be made:

- (a) On the grounds of any election

offence committed by a person or persons other than members of the Party/Coalition/Alliance, or the Party/Coalition/Alliance candidate, and without the knowledge of the Party/Coalition/Alliance, or the candidate, or the consent of the Party/Coalition/Alliance or candidature:

- (b) On the ground of any election offence other than bribery or corruption.
- (c) No decision that any Party/Coalition/Alliance was not elected and no decision that an election is void, shall be made on the grounds of any elections offence committed by the Party/Coalition/Alliance with the exception of bribery or corruption.
- (d) No finding at the trial of the contested election shall bar or prejudice any prosecution for any election offence.

7.3 *Right of Appeal to Supreme Court of Liberia by parties or Contestant:*

Any contestant/parties affected by the decision of the Commission, shall have the right to appeal to the Supreme Court of Liberia not later than three (3) days after the decision is rendered.

7.4 *Bill of Exceptions Content:*

- (1) Content. The *Bill of Exceptions* shall:
 - (a) state clearly and distinctly the grounds of exceptions of the facts relied upon to reverse the decision of the Commission;
 - (b) contain a prayer for the relief sought; and;
 - (c) be signed by the appealing contestant.

7.5 *Filing and Service of Bill of Exceptions:*

Within three (3) days after the Commission's determination of a contested result, any

contestant appealing from the determination, shall file his/her Bill of Exceptions with the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court, certified and with the seal of the Supreme Court thereon affixed. A copy shall be furnished to the person apparently elected or in whose favour the Commission has decided; also service shall be made on the Commission through its Chairman. The Commission shall then within seven (7) days of receipt of the Bill of Exceptions, file with the Clerk of the Supreme Court, its return and serve a copy thereof on the contestant.

7.6 *Recognizance:*

the contestant shall enter into a recognizance to the amount of Two Hundred Thousand dollars (\$200,000.00) dollars for the payment of costs incurred on the appeal with respect to the election of a President or Vice President. For all other elections, the amount shall be One Hundred Thousand dollars (\$100,000.00).

7.7 *Hearing and Determination by the Supreme Court.*

Upon filing of briefs by both contestants and the Commission within the time allowed by this Law, the Clerk upon orders of the Court, shall docket the proceeding on a separate docket calendar, thus notifying the parties of the assignment for hearing arguments produced by the Supreme Court *en banc*. Based upon the briefs produced by both parties, the Clerk upon orders of the Court, will notify the parties of the date and time of rendition of final judgement. If the Supreme Court sustains the decision of the Commission, the Commission shall act to effectuate the mandate of the court. If the Supreme Court reverses the decision of the Commission, for whatever reason, the Commission shall within fifteen (15) days, after judgement of the Court, execute the mandate of the Supreme Court accordingly.

**CHAPTER 8
ELECTION EXPENSES**

8.1 *Who May Contribute:*

As herein after provided, any citizen(s), political Party/Coalition/Alliance, association or organization, being of Liberian nationality or

origin, shall have the right to contribute to the funds and election expenses of any political Party/Coalition/Alliance; such contribution shall be accompanied by filing with the Commission such information as the source; the date of the remittance; the amount of such contribution and such other information necessary or required by the Commission.

Notwithstanding the above, no corporate, business organization, religious institution or labour union may contribute to the funds or the election expenses of any political Party/Coalition/Alliance or any candidate, and any contribution made in violation of this provision shall, by the Commission, be declared forfeited. All forfeited funds shall be immediately surrendered to the Commission.

8.2 *Remittance of Funds From Outside Liberia to Political Parties/Coalitions/Alliances; Restriction:*

There shall be no remittance of funds or other assets to any political Party/Coalition/Alliance, organization, or candidate from outside Liberia, unless remitted or sent by Liberian citizens residing abroad, which amount shall be restricted to not more than One Thousand (\$1,000.00) United States Dollars per Liberian Citizen. Any funds or other assets received directly or indirectly in contravention of this restriction, shall be turned over or transferred to the Commission within seven (7) days of receipt to be kept in escrow, in a designated bank. After thorough investigation has been made, such funds shall be turned over to the political Party/Coalition/Alliance or organization or candidate to whom the money was sent if found not in contravening of this restriction. In the event of a determined violation of this provision, the relevant funds shall escheat to the State through the Commission.

8.3 *Limitation of election Expenses; Expenses per Party/Coalition/Alliance:*

Election expenses shall not be incurred or authorized by a Party/Coalition/Alliance in excess of Three Million Five Hundred Thousand United States Dollars (\$3,500,000.00).

8.4 *Account of Political Parties and Requirements for Instruction and Examination:*

Within two weeks after the publication of this

law, all registered political parties/coalitions/alliances in the country shall furnish the Commission with the names of the banking institutions with which they maintain accounts respectively, indicating the dates of the establishment of the banking account; the account number and the names of the Party/Coalition/Alliance officials upon whose signatures funds are withdrawn from the bank.

Sanctions:

Failure to comply with the provision of this Law shall constitute an election offence.

**CHAPTER 9
FORMS OF ASSOCIATION OF POLITICAL
PARTIES**

9.1 Merger and Consolidation:

Registered political parties may be allowed to merge or consolidate as provided by this section.

(1) Procedure:

Registered political parties wishing to merge or consolidate shall each pass a resolution consenting to the merger or consolidation signed by two-thirds of the members of their respective Executive Committees.

(2) Plan of Merger or Consolidation:

The Executive Committee of each registered political Party/Coalition/Alliance proposing to participate in the merger or consolidation shall approve a plan of merger or consolidation setting forth:

- (a) The name of each constituent registered political Party/Coalition/Alliance;
- (b) Terms and conditions of the proposed merger or consolidation;
- (c) In case of merger, a statement of any amendment in articles of incorporation of the surviving registered political Party/Coalition/Alliance to be effected by such merger, and in case of consolidation, all statements required to be included in articles

of incorporation for a political Party/Coalition/Alliance.

3. Approval of Plan of Merger or Consolidation:

The Executive Committee of each constituent political Party/Coalition/Alliance, upon approving the plan of merger or consolidation, shall make a joint submission to IECOM.

9.2 Articles of Merger or Consolidation:

After approval of the plan of merger or consolidation by their respective Executive Committee, the articles of merger or consolidation shall be executed by the Executive Committee of each political Party/Coalition/Alliance and verified by its Chairman, which shall set forth:

- (1) The plan of the merger or consolidation, any statement required to be included in the Articles of Incorporation;
- (2) The date when the Articles of Incorporation of each constituent political Party/Coalition/Alliance were filed with the Commission, probated and registered; and
- (3) The manner in which the merger or consolidation was authorized with respect to each constituent political Party/Coalition/Alliance.

9.3 Filing of Articles of Merger or Articles of Consolidation:

The articles of merger or consolidation shall be filed with the Commission in accordance with guidelines laid down by the Commission, the said articles shall be accompanied by certified copies of the resolution of each constituent Party/Coalition/Alliance consenting to the merger or consolidation, the approved plan to merge or consolidate and the votes taken by each Executive Committee authorizing the merger or consolidation.

9.4 When merger or consolidation Effective:

Upon the filing of the articles of merger or consolidation with the Commission, the Commission shall make sure and be satisfied that each constituent political Party/Coalition/

Alliance participating in the merger or consolidation has complied with these provisions. The participating political parties being cleared of all their obligations and requirements, the Commission shall issue a certificate of accreditation to the merged political Party/Coalition/Alliance under its name and shall exercise franchise granted to a political Party/Coalition/Alliance as if it were originally certificated as such.

9.5 Coalition/Alliance:

Nothing shall preclude the formation of coalitions/alliances by existing political parties, be it on a temporary or long term basis, for the purpose of achieving a commonly shared political objective in these elections. Any two or more Registered Political Parties, shall be allowed to form coalition/alliance as provided for below:

(1) Procedure:

The said political parties organizing to form a coalition/alliance, shall submit to the Commission an Agreement signed by no less than two-thirds of the members of the Executive Committees of each participating registered political Party/Coalition/Alliance.

(2) Plan of Coalition/Alliance:

The Executive Committee of each registered political party proposing to participate in the coalition/alliance shall approve an Agreement of Coalition/Alliance setting forth:

- (a) The name of each constituent registered political Party/Coalition/Alliance;
- (b) The terms and condition of the Agreement of Coalition/Alliance;
- (c) A new acronym;
- (d) A single list of candidates for the positions of President, Vice President and for the Legislature.

(3) Agreement of Coalition/Alliance: Content:

In addition to section 9.5 (2), the said

Agreement shall set forth the following provisions:

- (a) that for the period of these elections each of the contracting parties, though not losing their individual identify, shall cease to function and operate as a separate, independent political party for the purpose of canvassing for votes or engaging in any other electioneering activities for the purpose of these special elections.
- (b) That no member of the Coalition/Alliance or Political Parties so recognized by the Commission, shall be permitted to withdraw from the Coalition/Alliance for the period of these elections.

(4) Approval of Agreement of Coalition/Alliance:

- (1) The Executive Committee of each constituent political party in the Coalition/Alliance, shall affix their signatures over their party seals to the Coalition/Alliance Agreement document.
- (2) The Coalition/Alliance document bearing the signatures of two-thirds of the Executives of each of the Constituent political parties, shall be forwarded to the Commission under cover of a letter from the Coalition/Alliance Presidential candidate, seeking the approval of the Commission to function as a political entity, at least three (3) days before the time limit for the submission of the names of candidates.
- (3) On the receipt by the Commission of the duly executed original of the Agreement of Coalition/Alliance, and upon approval, the Commission shall present the Coalition/Alliance with a certificate, to operate as a recognized political entity in these Special 1997 Presidential and General Elections, and to enjoy the rights and privileges of single entity political parties, as well as incur the obligation to abide by the Elections Law, as set out by the Commission.

**CHAPTER 10
DISSOLUTION OF POLITICAL
PARTY/COALITION/ALLIANCE**

10.1 Dissolution of Political Party/Coalition/Alliance:

A political Party/Coalition/Alliance, which has a perpetual existence according to its Articles of Incorporation or Agreement, shall be dissolved according to the provisions of the Association Laws of Liberia. However, notice of dissolution shall be served on the Commission within ten (10) days after the effective date of dissolution.

**CHAPTER 11
ELECTIONS OFFENCES**

11.1 Acts Constituting Malfeasance:

The following acts committed on elections day within the confines of a polling center, shall constitute elections offences, punishable under this chapter;

- (a) Influencing or attempting to influence the results of the election;
- (b) Omitting or refusing to sign the register or any other document which is required to be signed in connection with the election without just cause;
- (c) Committing or attempting to commit any act designed to affect the intention of the voter;
- (d) Unlawful disclosure of any knowledge officially acquired touching the vote of any voter.

Any election officer, or any person guilty of any of the above, is punishable by a fine of not more than One Hundred Thousand (\$100,000) dollars and/or Imprisonment for not less than one year and not more than five years or both.

11.2 Bribery:

For the purpose of this Law, bribery as an election offence, is where any of the following acts is committed and shall attract a fine of not less than Five Hundred Thousand (\$500,000.00) Dollars or imprisonment for not less than five (5) years or both;

- (a) Any person offering or causing to be offered money or anything of value or benefit or promising to give anything of value with intent to induce or influence any person, election officer or poll worker, in connection with an election which in so doing will tend to affect the true election results.
- (b) Receiving money or any valuable consideration or promise for the purpose of influencing any vote or cancelling or destroying any ballot paper; ballot box; election writ; a signed register with the intent to defeat the purpose of the election, and
- (c) Anyone who offers money or receives money or valuable consideration for the purpose of influencing the voters to vote or not to vote, for a particular Party/Coalition/ Alliance.

11.3 Offences in Relation to Registration Cards:

Any person who does any of the following acts, shall be guilty of an election offence punishable by a fine not less than Five Hundred Thousand (\$500,000) Dollars or one (1) year imprisonment or both;

- (a) Printing or distributing any registration card;
- (b) Altering any registration card;
- (c) Using or attempting to use during this election, a registration card issued to another voter;
- (d) Selling or stealing a registration card;
- (e) Taking or holding another person's Registration Card with the intention of returning it to the elector at the polling place so as to influence his/her vote by intimidation.

11.4 Unlawful Disclosure of Knowledge Relating to the Vote of any Voter:

Any Party/Coalition/Alliance representative or any individual assisting the voter, who discloses any knowledge acquired in his capacity as such relating to the vote of any voter, is guilty of an election offence and punishable by a fine of not more than Two Hundred Thousand (\$200,000)

dollars or by imprisonment of not less than one (1) year or both.

11.5 *Undue Influence:*

Any person who, in connection with this election, commits or attempts to commit any of the following act, is guilty of an election offence and punishable by a fine of not more than One Hundred thousand (\$100,000) dollars or by Imprisonment for not less than one (1) year or both.

- (a) Threatens any person(s) or officer(s), or procures, suggests and uses or causes to be used any violence; or inflicts or causes to be inflicted any injury, corporal punishment, damages, losses or disadvantages to any person, in support of a political Party/Coalition/Alliance or a candidate, or.
- (b) Publishes by spoken, written or printed words, or by signing in whatever form or any matter, intended or tending to prevent any person(s) from the free exercise of his/her franchise or such acts which threaten, or suggest any damage, loss or disadvantage either in the present or in the future, or on account of a political Party/Coalition/Alliance or his political opinion; or
- (c) Publishes or exposes, or causes to be published or exposed to public view, at any time between the issuance of an Election Writ and the close of the Poll thereon, any document written or printed matter containing any untrue statement, defamatory of any Party/Coalition/Alliance or candidate and calculated to influence the vote of any voter.

11.6 *Destruction, Removal or Mutilation of Ballot Papers or Boxes:*

Any person who carries away, destroys, conceals or mutilates, or attempts to carry away, destroy, conceal or mutilate any ballot paper, register, ballot box, election writ, certificate or returns of any official document made in connection with this election for the purpose of invalidating the result of the election, is guilty of an election offence and punishable by a fine of not less than One Hundred Thousand (\$100,000)

but not more than Five Hundred Thousand (\$500,000) Dollars or by imprisonment for a period of not less than one (1) year but not more than five (5) years or both.

11.7 *Incurring Unauthorized Election Expenses:*

Any political Party/Coalition/Alliance which incurs any election expenses in excess of the limitation set by the Commission, is guilty of an election offence and is punishable by a fine of Five Hundred Thousand (\$500,000.00) Dollars or fifty per cent of the excess amount spent or whichever is greater.

11.8 *Ballot Paper Fraud I:*

Any person who impersonates another for the purpose of voting or for the purpose of securing a ballot paper, or who forges any nomination or ballot and/or alters, prints and supplies ballot papers without authority is guilty of an election offence and punishable by a fine of not less than Five Hundred Thousand (\$500,000.00) but not more than One Million (\$1,000,000.00) dollars and by imprisonment not exceeding five (5) years.

11.9 *Ballot Paper Fraud II:*

Any person who fraudulently places any ballot paper or any paper into the official ballot box, or who fraudulently takes any official ballot paper out of any polling place, is guilty of an election offence and punishable by a fine of not less than One Hundred Thousand (\$100,000) but not more than Five Hundred Thousand (\$500,000) Dollars or by imprisonment for not less than one (1) year or both.

11.10 *Plural Voting at this Election:*

Any person who votes or attempts to vote more than once at this election, is guilty of an election offence and is punishable by a fine not exceeding Five Hundred Thousand (\$500,000.00) Dollars or by imprisonment for not less than one (1) year or both.

11.11 *False Statements with regard to registration as eligible voter and objections:*

Any person who wilfully makes a false statement in any objection to a registration claim or to any name being on the registration roll, or who signs as the claimant on a Voter Registration Card in

the name of another person, is guilty of an election offence punishable by a fine of not less than Ten Thousand (\$10,000) and not more than Fifty Thousand (\$50,000) dollars or by imprisonment for not more than six (6) months.

11.12 *Anonymous Publications:*

(1) **Publication and/or Distribution:**

Any person who publishes and/or distributes a handbill, pamphlet, notice or other advertisement relating to this election, which does not include a prominently displayed name at the end or beginning thereof and address of the person authorizing or publishing it, is guilty of an election offence and is punishable by a fine of not more than Fifty Thousand (\$50,000) Dollars or by imprisonment for not less than six (6) months or both.

11.13 *Representatives:*

(1) **Representatives:**

Any Party / Coalition / Alliance representative accredited to the polling place or any person impersonating a representative who violates the provisions of section 5.7(1), is guilty of an election offence and is punishable by a fine of Fifty Thousand (\$50,000) Dollars or by imprisonment for not less than six (6) months.

(2) **Single Offences:**

Any person who fails to obey the lawful direction of the presiding officer or any poll worker in a polling place on election day, or misconduct himself by committing a breach of the peace or threat, is guilty of an election offence and is punishable by a fine of not more than Ten Thousand (\$10,000) Dollars or by imprisonment for not more than thirty (30) days or both, and shall be ordered removed from the polling place by the security forces provided by ECOMOG.

(3) **Re-Entry of Polling Place After Being Removed:**

Any person ordered to be removed from a polling place by the presiding officer on

election day or any person authorized by him for failure to obey the lawful directions of the presiding officer or for misconduct by threat, is guilty of an election offence and punishable by a fine of Fifty Thousand (\$50,000.00) dollars or six (6) months imprisonment.

(4) Any person who, after the official close of campaigning in this election, including Election Day, or any day to which the election is adjourned, canvasses for votes, or solicits the vote of any voter, or induces any voter to vote or not to vote for any particular Party/Coalition/Alliance at the election, is guilty of an election offence and is punishable by a fine of not more than Five Hundred Thousand (\$500,000.00) Dollars or by imprisonment for not less than one (1) year or both. This section also applies to canvassing in both the electronic and print media after the official close of campaigning. **The election campaign shall be officially closed twenty four hours before the start of polling.**

11.14 *Refusal to Serve When Elected:*

Failure to serve in a seat won by a Party/Coalition/Alliance and allocated to a candidate, is a serious election offence by anyone and is punishable by a fine of not more than Two Hundred Thousand (\$200,000.00) Dollars or imprisonment for a period not exceeding five (5) years or both.

11.15 *Freedom of Travel Throughout the Country and the Use of Public Facilities by Political Parties:*

Political parties shall without any let or hindrance whatsoever by any official action, have the right to travel throughout the length and breadth of the country, to canvass for membership or for elective public office, and to hold and conduct orderly meetings and political rallies to raise funds or for any lawful purposes in the free exercise of their political franchise, being responsible for the abuse of such right. They shall be entitled to appropriate security protection by ECOMOG only.

Political parties also have the right to use, and shall not be denied the right to use, any public building or such public facilities necessary and appropriate for their purpose.

Any person or persons using their official power to deny or interfere with the free travel to any part of the country of a political Party/Coalition/Alliance or persons accredited by such Party/Coalition/Alliance to travel to any part of the country, or after a public notice of the holding of an orderly political meeting or rally shall have been given, and after being granted due permit by the Commission, disrupts the holding of any such meeting or rally or deny or refuse to allow the use of any public facility to any political Party/Coalition/Alliance involved, shall be subject to a fine upon a proved complaint of the political Party/Coalition/Alliance affected or involved.

In this election year, and upon declaration of the opening of campaign by the Commission and during such period, any person or persons violating any of the provisions of this section shall be guilty of an election offence punishable by a fine of Fifty Thousand (\$50,000.00) dollars to be paid forthwith. Notwithstanding any such administrative action, should any damage result by the misconduct of any person or persons, the Party/Coalition/Alliance or person so affected shall have a civil remedy under the appropriate provision of the Civil Procedure Law Revised.

11.16 Abusive and Profane Language and Slogan as an Election Offence:

It shall be an election offence punishable by a fine of One Hundred Thousand (\$100,000.00) Dollars for political parties or candidates, when having their political rallies or demonstrations or in radio broadcasts or newspaper articles to abuse another political Party/Coalition/Alliance or its leaders or candidates by the use of profane language or slogans tending to reflect on such Party/Coalition/Alliance or its leaders or a particular ethnic group or groups.

11.7 Unfair Political Practices:

- (1) Under the multi-Party/Coalition/Alliance system provided under the Constitution, every citizen of legal age of this Republic is entitled to join any political Party/Coalition/Alliance of his choice and may resign therefrom for any reason without molestation.
- (2) Administrative officials and para-military personnel or any personnel or any person or persons shall be guilty of an election

offence if they arrest, detain, maltreat, or interfere with any citizen because of the exercise of his political right to join a Party/Coalition/Alliance of his choice or because he refused to join a Party/Coalition/Alliance or because he is seeking membership in another Party/Coalition/Alliance he resigned therefrom in the exercise of his political franchise or being such a member be friends a member of another Party/Coalition/Alliance, supports a particular Party/Coalition/Alliance, shall be guilty of an election offence and punishable by a fine of Two Hundred (\$200,000.00) Dollars.

- (3) In case of a person other than an employee or an official of government and in the case of an official of government, military or paramilitary personnel, he/she or they shall be summarily dismissed from office upon the recommendation of the Commission. Should there be any injury sustained from such misconduct or damage or loss suffered, the affected person or persons shall be entitled to a Civil remedy at law.
- (4) All military and para-military personnel are hereby prohibited from forming political parties, but may participate in political activities by voting for the Party/Coalition/Alliance of their choice during this election.

11.18 Unlawful election Propaganda: Prohibited Acts:

- (1) It shall be an offence against these Elections Laws, for any political Party/Coalition/Alliance to do any of the following:
 - (a) Disseminate propaganda which contains false statements intended to:
 - i) create unrest; disloyalty; rebellion or terrorism among the Liberian people.
 - ii) overthrow, subvert or bring the state authority into disrepute at home or abroad; or
 - (b) Publish anonymous writings affecting or commenting on the conduct of these elections.

- (c) Engage or consent to the engagement of aliens as members or officials of an organized political Party/Coalition/Alliance or candidate.

11.19 Penalty For Any Offences Not Provided:

A violation of any provision of this Law for which no other punishment is provided, is punishable by a fine not less than Fifty Thousand (\$50,000.00) Dollars.

This Special Elections Law shall cease to have legal effect, with the exception of a thirty (30) days period thereafter provided for herein for the continued existence of the Commission, upon taking of Oath of office by the President and Vice President elect.

DONE IN THE CITY OF MONROVIA, REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE INDEPENDENCE ELECTIONS COMMISSION, LOCATED AT THE CORNER OF 17TH STREET AND PAYNE AVENUE, SINKOR,

THIS ----- DAY OF ----- A.D. 1997.

A. NATIONAL VOTING MEMBERS:

- 1. **G. HENRY ANDREWS,
CHAIRMAN**
- 2. **CLLD. GLORIA M. SCOTT,
MEMBER**
- 3. **HON. GBENIMAH B. SLOPADOE,
MEMBER**
- 4. **DR. D. EVELYN S. KANDAKAI,
MEMBER**
- 5. **HON. J. KORMAH BRYEMAH SR.,
MEMBER**
- 6. **ATTY. MORRIS A. KABA,
MEMBER**
- 7. **HON. J. TIAH NAGBE,
MEMBER**

**INDEPENDENT ELECTIONS COMMISSION (IECOM),
REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA**

CODE OF CONDUCT

B. INTERNATIONAL NON-VOTING MEMBERS:

1997 SPECIAL ELECTIONS

1. **AMBASSADOR ISAAC J. SAGAY,
ECOWAS REPRESENTATIVE**

2. **DR. AMARE TEKLE
U.N. REPRESENTATIVE**

3. **MAHMAD ALLY DAHOO
OAU REPRESENTATIVE**

1. The Independent Elections Commission (IECOM), has determined that all officially registered political parties, their leaders, members and supporters, shall abide by this Election Code of Conduct, in the interest of free and fair elections during the 1997 Special Elections in Liberia.

2. The fundamental right of a free and fair election, including the freedom to campaign nationwide, is the prerogative right of all officially recognized political parties and persons which they are entitled to, and shall hereby enjoy, by virtue of this code of conduct.

3. The right and freedom of each and all political parties to campaign and disseminate their political messages, principles and manifestoes without let, fear or hindrance, shall be respected by all rival political parties, and to that end, all contesting parties and their candidates shall obey the following rules:

(a) INTIMIDATION AND COERCION:

All officially registered and recognized political parties are free to function without fear of intimidation or coercion by rival political parties or other vested interests. Accordingly, acts of intimidation or coercion, in whatever form, are hereby prohibited and all participating political parties, shall take appropriate steps to emphasize and reinforce the prohibition of such acts.

(b) WEAPONS BAN:

The existing ban on carrying weapons of any kind is hereby reiterated and shall be strictly enforced. Accordingly, the possession and use of any kind of weapon, or of any instrument capable of use as a weapon, shall be a sanctionable offence, particularly at any political rally, meeting, march or demonstration. Party/Coalition leaders are to sensitize members to this

APPROVED BY:

**CHAIRMAN OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE ECOWAS
HEADS OF STATES AND GOVERNMENT GENERAL
SANI ABACHA.**

prohibition by having it printed and disseminated in their Party/Coalition manuals, instructions and orders.

(c) POLITICAL RALLIES AND MEETINGS:

All parties shall avoid any coincidences, in time or place, of their rallies, meetings and marches with those of other parties. All parties shall, therefore, be required to file with the Commission, and also cause to be published at least 72 hours in advance, details of their public rallies or marches in any particular district or locality. They shall also be expected to liaise and cooperate with the relevant Electoral District Magistrate and shall comply with all orders aimed at avoiding a clash or confrontation.

All Parties, their members and supporters, shall refrain from interfering with or disrupting the meetings, rallies and marches of other parties and to that end, shall in good faith endeavour at all times to avoid in speeches, broadcasts, press statements, posters, etc, the use of offensive or inflammatory language calculated to cause offence or incite to violence.

(d) EQUAL AND FAIR ACCESS:

All political parties, and particularly the leadership, shall scrupulously ensure freedom and equality of access of other parties to all potential voters on public property, in camps or reception centers or wherever such concentration of voters are located. They shall also adhere to guidelines designed to regulate and control access by all parties to all existing public communications facilities.

All political parties should enjoy equal and fair access to radio and all other mass communication media, in order to guarantee a "level playing field" to all election candidates. Accordingly, the Independent Elections Commission shall establish firm guidelines to regulate and control access by the parties, to all existing public communications facilities.

All Parties shall designate their

representatives to attend at least once every week, briefing meetings under the Chairmanship of the Commission to discuss any matters of concern relating to voters registration or campaign. In addition, Party/Coalition leaders shall attend a weekly meeting presided over by the Chairman of the Independent Elections Commission. Emergency meetings can also be held at the instance of the Chairman of the Commission, if such a need arises.

All Parties are expected to behave with responsibility. To this end, parties shall not abuse the right to complain or knowingly and maliciously make false, frivolous or vexatious complaints against their rivals.

(e) SECRET BALLOTS:

All political parties shall consistently emphasize and reinforce to their supporters and to all voters that balloting will be in secret, so there is no fear of victimization. In addition, parties shall constantly remind their supports of the need to observe the Elections Law, this Code of Conduct and all other rules promulgated by the Commission in connection with the conduct of these elections. Parties must, obligatorily, educate their supporters that tampering with ballots cast either by rigging or falsification of any kind is a criminal offence carrying serious and enforceable legal sanctions, whether in the capacity of a perpetrator, an accessory after the fact, accomplice or facilitator.

(f) EXERTING UNDUE INFLUENCE

Political parties shall not, whatever the temptation, procure votes by forcible occupation of polling stations or through other illegal activities at the polling stations.

Parties shall not attempt to influence the outcome of the balloting through monetary inducement in the form of bribery or allurements of election officials. Everyone, including both the giver and the receiver, should be aware that this is a serious electoral offence with enforceable sanctions.

SPECIAL STATEMENT BY IECOM CHAIRMAN, G. HENRY ANDREWS DECLARING CAMPAIGN IN THE "SPECIAL ELECTIONS" IN LIBERIA OFFICIALLY OPEN

15TH JUNE, 1997

(As Transcribed from Radio Broadcast)

According to the revised schedule of activities of the Independent Elections Commission (IECOM), tomorrow, 16th June, 1997 is to mark the official opening of the campaign for duly registered and accredited political parties wishing to contest the 1997, Special Elections. This is an important stage of the electoral process to restore peace, stability and democracy as well as to give hope to our people through the holding of free, fair and transparent elections. Since the beginning of the countdown of the 56 days electoral period on 25th May, 1997, the Independent Elections Commission has worked assiduously with the political parties and all the principal players to fulfil the various targets as set out in the revised work plan.

As of now, IECOM regional offices are being established nationwide, voter registration centres are being identified and are being readied. Magistrates, registrars and thousands of elections workers are being recruited and trained. Voter information and education has begun and the printing of registration materials is in progress under ECOWAS, UN and ECOMOG supervision and control. Moreover, 12 (twelve) political parties have met all the listed requirements and are poised and ready to go. Now therefore, and by authority conferred upon us by ECOWAS, the Independent Elections Commission hereby declares that as of 6.00 am Monday, 16th June, 1997, the campaign for the 1997 Special Elections is officially opened. Beginning now the political landscape is expected to change. Political parties and their supporters will be deeply involved and engaged in a fierce competition not violence, but of ideas, platforms and programmes that would restore our country and heal the nation. And so, we advise all registered and duly accredited political parties and their supporters to exercise the highest degree of maturity, restraint and camaraderie as they go about their campaign. The Commission further calls upon these parties to go out into every part of the country to campaign without fear of harassment and or intimidation. Let violence and other practices that would tend to becloud and infringe upon our love and quest for the democratic process not have any place in our hearts. Let the virtue of our patriotism

and love of country dominate our activities during this campaign seasons. And let all of us advocate and practice the politics of fairness and respect for the rule of law and for the rights of others.

We call upon all political parties, candidates and their sympathizers to observe scrupulously the 1997 Special Elections laws and procedures. In this way, all the political players and all those who have a stake in these elections will be helping the Independent Elections Commission to work effectively and on schedule and, by extension helping themselves. As we declare this campaign officially open, we call upon all Liberians to choose the path of peace and tolerance as we embark upon the crucial process of competing for support in the realm of ideas. Let us so conduct ourselves in this campaign that, win or lose, we can do our country proud and that in the final analysis the ultimate winner will be the Republic of Liberia.

Thank you

**G. HENRY ANDREWS
CHAIRMAN,
INDEPENDENT ELECTIONS COMMISSION
(IECOM)**

**LIST OF POLITICAL PARTIES/ALLIANCE WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
AS THEY APPEARED ON THE BALLOT PAPER**

ITEM #	PARTY/ALLIANCE	PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE	VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE
1.	Progressive People's Party (PPP)	Chea Cheapoo	Philip G. Freeman
2.	National Reformation Party (NRP)	Martins M.N. Sherif	Rev. Samuel S. Tormentie
3.	Free Democratic Party (FDP)	Fayah J. Gbollie	George Q. Pajibo
4.	Liberia National Union (LINU)	Dr. Harry F. Moniba	Thomas Q. Harris
5.	Unity Party (UP)	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf	Peter Bemah
6.	All Liberia Coalition Party (ALCOP)	Alhaji G.V. Kromah	Cecelia N. Goffa-Duoe
7.	National Patriotic Party (NPP)	Charles Ghankay Taylor	Enooh M. Dogolea
8.	Alliance of Political Parties	Cletus Segbe Watorson	Alaric K. Tokpa
9.	Reformation Alliance Party (RAP)	Henry B. Fahnbulleh	Peter L. Naigow
10.	People's Democratic Party of Liberia (PDPL)	George Toe Washington	Esther Hugh
11.	United People's Party (UPP)	Cabriel Bacous Matthews	Dah-Wula Quoikapor II
12.	National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL)	George E.S. Boley Sr.	Gladys G.Y. Beyan
13.	Liberia People's Party (LPP)	Dr. Togba-Nah Tipoteh	Joseph Saye Guannu

INDEPENDENT ELECTIONS COMMISSION (IECOM)

SUMMARY OF POLLING STATIONS PER COUNTY

COUNTY CODE	COUNTY	NO. OF REG. STATIONS	NO OF VOTING STATIONS	PER CENT
001	Bomi	44	44	100.00%
002	Bong	236	236	100.00%
003	Grand Bassa	107	107	100.00%
004	Grand Oape Mount	55	55	100.00%
005	Grand Gedeh	41	41	100.00%
006	Grand Kru	28	28	100.00%
007	Lofa	154	139	90.26%
008	Margibi	106	106	100.00%
009	Maryland	43	43	100.00%
010	Montserrado	783	706	90.17%
011	Nimba	192	181	94.27%
012	Rivercess	26	26	100.00%
013	Sierra Leone	49	49	100.00%
	TOTAL	1846	1761	94.47%

**SPECIAL ADDRESS BY THE ECOMOG FORCE
COMMANDER, MAJ. GEN. SAMUEL VICTOR MALU
TO LIBERIANS ON THE COMMENCEMENT OF
POLITICAL CAMPAIGN AND SOME SECURITY
ISSUES**

I join all Liberians on behalf of officers and men of ECOMOG to welcome the official commencement of the electioneering campaign for the forthcoming 19th July, 1997 general and presidential elections. It is a sign that the dust of conflict and violence of the war times is finally being laid to rest.

As the campaign trail of the political parties goes round the country, I wish to implore all the political aspirants to avoid vexing issues that could further re-open the wounds of the war. The political parties must avoid rekindling issues of hatred and other ills that brought the country to the predicament of the past seven years which has disorganised and ruined the lives of so many innocent citizens of Liberia, and by extension, brought ECOMOG here to help restore peace and order.

I wish to counsel that the political aspirants and their party operatives should concentrate their campaign talks, discussions and efforts on highlighting issues and specific plans and programmes they have to bring improvement to the lives of the Liberian citizenry who have been most tormented by the war. They should talk about plans for reconciliation and recovery of the devastated economy. In the same vein, the political aspirants should avoid engaging in character assassination and such other negative campaign tactics which sadly enough, we have started to note in the conduct of politicking by some of the aspirants even before this official commencement of campaigns.

On our part, ECOMOG wishes to reiterate its assurance of adequate security for all parties and their aspirants. We would be providing maximum security at all campaign venues, while threats to peace in any parts of the country would be decisively neutralised. We implore political parties to furnish ECOMOG Headquarters with their campaign schedules and timings to avoid clashes in the same location and to enable us secure such venues properly to ensure a hitch-free campaign.

Those interested in participating in the electoral process and growth of democracy in Liberia should concentrate their energies and resources on winning the election rather than hatching plans to eliminate and maim political opponents they see as threats to their ambition. In this regard, I wish to inform all Liberians that ECOMOG

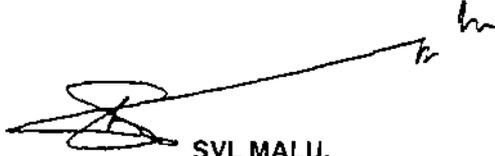
intelligence has unveiled a dastardly plan by some individuals to eliminate their political opponents. These individuals have been identified by ECOMOG intelligence sources and are being closely monitored. I wish to warn these miscreants to desist from such wicked and inhuman plan as ECOMOG is on top of the security situation and will not allow it to happen. Anyone contemplating such acts should abandon it before it leads to their destruction. I wish to state categorically that in the event of any such elimination attempt, ECOMOG will hit the individuals involved so hard that they will be completely crushed. They will be dealt with ruthlessly because we believe that too many lives have already been lost in the course of the seven-year conflict. Anyone or group planning to disrupt the political programme in which the ECOWAS Authorities and Member States have invested so much, truly deserve no mercy from any quarters. ECOMOG shall handle such incident effectively and decisively if the need ever arose. We believe that at this stage of the peace process, anyone seeking the leadership of Liberia, should do so through the electoral process and not through wicked plans to eliminate other people.

I wish to similarly assure Liberians that the ECOMOG efforts to rid Liberia of hidden arms would be intensified and would continue in all parts of the country. The cordon and search operation would continue to be vigorously pursued both during and after the election period. Our aim is to ensure that Liberia is completely arms free by the time ECOMOG complete its assignment in Liberia. I therefore call on Liberians and foreign nationals living in the country to further assist ECOMOG efforts to rid the country of arms by providing the peace-keeping force with information about hidden arms. Similarly, information about individuals or groups planning anything to disrupt the ECOWAS political programme should be promptly reported to ECOMOG. All information will be treated in complete confidence and action taken immediately on receipt of such information.

I also wish to use this opportunity to assure all Liberians that the events in Sierra Leone would not spill over, nor affect the fledging peace and political stability in Liberia. All political aspirants, and indeed liberians, should not allow developments in Sierra Leone to divert their attention from the final goal of installation of democratic rule by 2nd August. The ECOWAS Authorities are working round the clock to bring the ugly event in Sierra Leone to a successful end very soon. Liberians should therefore not feel threatened in any way by the development in Sierra Leone.

In conclusion, I wish to restate the ECOMOG appeal to all parties and aspirants to adhere strictly to the

ECOWAS backed IECOM code of conduct guiding the electioneering campaign. It is our fervent believe that this will not only make the campaign interesting, but would ensure that the campaign is devoid of rancour and bitterness. I wish all political Parties success in their campaign. Thank you all and God bless.



**SVL MALU,
MAJOR-GENERAL, FORCE COMMANDER.**

17TH DAY OF JUNE, 1997.

**PRESS STATEMENT BY CHIEF TOM IKIMI,
CHAIRMAN, ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON
LIBERIAN CRISIS (BEFORE THE 19TH JULY, 1997
SPECIAL ELECTIONS)**

The special elections for the Presidency and Legislative Assembly in Liberia scheduled for Saturday, 19th July, 1997 is the 14th and final item on the Revised Schedule of Implementation of the ECOWAS Abuja Peace Plan designed to restore comprehensive peace to Liberia after more than seven years of civil war.

The Chairman of ECOWAS, His Excellency, General Sani Abacha, Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, on behalf of his Brother Heads of State of the sixteen countries of the West African sub-region, send fraternal greetings and best wishes to the Liberian people on this historic occasion for a successful and hitch-free elections.

Four Ministers of Foreign Affairs of ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia from Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea

and Nigeria have convened in Liberia since 15th July, 1997 and have carried out an assessment of the preparations which have been put in place for the conduct of the elections. They have held detailed consultations with the Independent Elections Commission of Liberia (IECOM) and also acquainted themselves with the details of arrangements made for voting in all locations in the 13 Counties of Liberia. They have assessed the conditions available to all the 13 registered parties to campaign nationwide and to canvass for votes.

The Ministers are now fully satisfied that within the limits of the prevailing circumstances, the preparations which have been put in place throughout the country are adequate. They are also satisfied that all the political parties have enjoyed adequate and unfettered access to the electorate. Consequently, the conditions indeed exist for the holding of free, fair and credible elections.

The Ministers take this opportunity to appeal to all Liberians to ensure that the voting scheduled for tomorrow, 19th July, 1997 is conducted in an atmosphere conducive to the realisation of our objective of free, fair and credible elections.

It is important that the leadership of the Political Parties ensure that their respective members adhere strictly to the rules and regulations which have been put in place to guide these elections on polling day as approved by ECOWAS.

The Ministers also held consultations with the ECOMOG High Command and are satisfied with the steps that have been taken by ECOMOG to guarantee security during the elections. They therefore express their confidence that the ECOMOG forces currently deployed in all the Counties of Liberia are ready and competent to ensure that the atmosphere remains peaceful and secure during and after the conduct of the elections.

A considerable number of election monitors from ECOWAS Member States have been deployed to strategic locations around the country to carry out verification exercises during the elections. They have been fully briefed and inducted with respect to the important tasks they are to perform.

The Ministers wish to extend profound appreciation to members of the international community which heeded the call for assistance to ECOWAS to make this process a reality and success. We take due note of the fact that many nations are presently in Liberia from distant lands with the intention of observing the elections on the 19th

July, 1997. The Ministers appeal to all these countries to cooperate fully with ECOWAS to ensure that they introduce no elements into this procedures approved by ECOWAS.

The Ministers take this opportunity to renew their appeal to all Liberian leaders to accept, in good faith, the outcome of the elections and to extend cooperation to the incoming administration in the discharge of its onerous tasks of reconciliation, reconstruction and rehabilitation.

**CHIEF TOM IKIMI,
CHAIRMAN,
FOR THE COMMITTEE OF NINE ON LIBERIA.**

**PRESS STATEMENT BY CHIEF TOM IKIMI,
CHAIRMAN, ECOWAS COMMITTEE OF NINE ON
LIBERIAN CRISIS (AFTER THE 19TH JULY, 1997
SPECIAL ELECTIONS)**

On behalf of my colleagues, the Foreign Ministers of Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Guinea, representing the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia, I welcome you once again to Nigeria House for this Press Briefing. Only two days ago we addressed you on preparation for the Presidential and Legislative elections which were held yesterday, 19th July, 1997. While we await the outcome of these elections, we have thought it necessary to make public some of our views and observations of the conduct of the elections which represent the last item on the 14-point agenda of the Revised Schedule of Implementation of the Abuja Agreement.

Yesterday, while the elections were in progress, my colleagues and I visited several locations in Monrovia. We also travelled to other parts of the country to see things for ourselves. We witnessed massive voters turnout in all the polling centres that we visited. The

electorate exhibited enthusiasm and eagerness to exercise their franchise. The process was smooth, hitch-free and devoid of rancour. From reports received from other parts of the country that we could not visit, we understand this same trend prevailed.

The officials of the Liberian Independent Elections Commission (IECOM) carried out their tasks with efficiency and effectiveness. Voter registers and other electoral materials were in place in all the locations that we visited. Indeed, in no place was it observed nor were reports received that voters were unable to exercise their franchise due to inability to find their names in the voter register. We take this opportunity to commend IECOM for the excellent performance of their role in this all-important aspect of the electoral process.

We also observed and received reports that there were no incidents of intimidation, harassment and hostility at the various polling stations across the country. This development therefore enabled the electorate to exercise their voting rights without hindrance and molestation. In this regard, we commend the men and women of the West African peace-keeping force, ECOMOG, whose professionalism and commitment made this possible. ECOMOG provided the security personnel and vital logistic requirement for all the polling centres nationwide. Consequently, they ensured total security throughout the elections. They conducted themselves in a friendly manner and made themselves available to all voters as necessary to ensure also a peaceful conduct of the elections.

The 13 registered political parties of Liberia and their followers deserve our congratulations. After seven years of civil war, it would not have been unexpected that differences of perception and ideologies would underpin behaviour among rival political parties. Our experience yesterday showed that Liberians were prepared to put the past behind them and work for peace by participating in the electoral process in a spirit of maturity and accommodation.

Yesterday's Special Elections in Liberia, witnessed the participation of an unprecedented number and variety of international observers and Press from different parts of the world. We thank them for their presence and commend them for their interest as they too must feel satisfied that the process, which has just been concluded, was peaceful, free and fair.

In the same vein, the international donor community, particularly the United States of America, the Netherlands, Germany, Japan and the Taiwanese Governments have supported these ECOWAS led

elections through financial, technical and logistic means to IECOM and ECOMOG. The United Nations (UN), the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), and other members of the international community were equally supportive of our regional efforts. We commend these countries and Organisations for their contributions and confidence in ECOWAS.

We recall that a lot of apprehensions existed that these elections should not be held at this time of the year because of unfavourable weather as this indeed is the rainy season in Liberia. However, our experience yesterday gave us cause to believe that even the elements cooperated with us to make the exercise the tremendous success it was. The rest of the process concerns the retrieval of the materials from the various locations across the country for the results to be collated and processed by IECOM. We wish to appeal to the staff of IECOM responsible for this very crucial aspect of the process to exercise utmost care, efficiency and patriotism.

Now that the results of the elections are being eagerly awaited by the candidates, the people of Liberia, our sub-region and indeed the entire world, we take this opportunity to appeal to the candidates to exercise patience. We understand that the results of these elections will be released progressively. We therefore urge the candidates to continue to act maturely and do nothing that would undermine the electoral process.

Furthermore, we appeal to the candidates, particularly, the Presidential candidates, to accept the results, whenever they are released, in the true spirit of sportsmanship and to extend cooperation to whoever emerges the winner of the elections. Similarly, we expect that the winner would be magnanimous in victory and extend goodwill and understanding to the colleagues in other parties.

Meanwhile, we ask all the citizens of this country to continue to pursue their legitimate interest peacefully, and we give assurance that the officers and men of ECOMOG will continue to ensure that the peace and security now prevailing in the country will not be undermined.

Thank you.

**CHIEF TOM IKIMI,
CHAIRMAN,
FOR THE COMMITTEE OF NINE ON LIBERIA.**

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE INDEPENDENT ELECTIONS COMMISSION CONCERNING THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST OF THE 1997 SPECIAL ELECTIONS - No. ONE

WHEREAS, the Independent Elections Commission was on 2nd April, 1997 mandated by ECOWAS and commissioned by the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) to conduct free and fair elections in Liberia on 30th May, 1997, which date was subsequently changed to 19th July, 1997, and

WHEREAS, the Independent Elections Commission was authorised to formulate and draw up an Election Package containing among other things, a Law and a Code of Conduct specifically for the conduct of these Special Elections, which package was approved by the Heads of State of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia, meeting in Abuja in extraordinary session on 21st May, 1997 the original signed copies of which are in the archives of the Secretariat of ECOWAS; and

WHEREAS, the Commission has fulfilled its mandate as entrusted to it by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and conducted free, fair and transparent elections in all the 13 counties of Liberia on 19th July, 1997; and

WHEREAS, despite the fears, misgivings and doubts in some quarters that the Liberian people were not ready to decide their fate, the people themselves proved the skeptics wrong and participated massively in the exercise; and

WHEREAS, despite justifiable fears of the elections being washed out by inclement weather, even the clouds that were so dreaded, broke with blessing on the land, so that the elements showered on the nation, not floods of rain and cold, but the warmth of a mild sun and cooling temperatures; and

WHEREAS, the vast majority of the hundreds of individuals foreign and national observers spread throughout the country, as well as all of the dozen of international and national organisations observing the electoral process throughout Liberia, including ECOWAS, the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the European Union and Carter Centre, have all been unanimous in their chorus that minor infractions notwithstanding, the 19th July, 1997 Special Elections were peaceful, free, fair and transparent; and

WHEREAS, in keeping with relevant portions of the 1997 Special Elections Law, in particular Chapter 2.9 (g),

Chapter 5.11(7), 5.11(9) and 5.12 (3), the official results of the elections are to be announced, winners certificated and the allocation of seats made by the Commission by and through its Chairman of the Independent Elections Commission; and

WHEREAS, the results of 621,880 valid votes cast on election day (19th July, 1997) show a total of 468,443 valid votes for the National Patriotic Party (NPP), the said figure of 468,443 being more than 50.01 percent of the valid votes cast on 19th July, 1997, which, accordingly meets the requirement of absolute majority required by law determining the winner for Presidential and Vice Presidential contest,

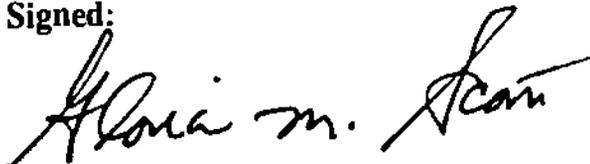
NOW THEREFORE, and in view of the foregoing, the Independent Elections Commission, meeting in full Plenary, on this the 24th day of July, A.D., 1997 in the city of Monrovia, County of Montserrado, Republic of Liberia, by virtue of the powers vested in the Commission by the Economic Community of West African States and the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government, hereby announces, Declares and Resolves as follows:

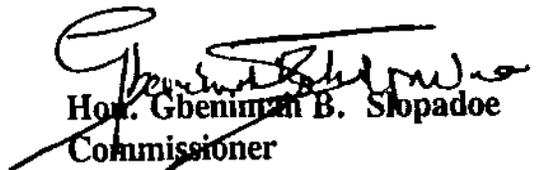
1. That the National Patriotic Party (NPP), having won absolute majority of the valid votes cast in the 1997 Special Elections, the Independent Elections Commission (IECOM) sitting en banc hereby declares the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates of the said Party, Charles Ghankay Taylor and Enoch Mongrue Dogolea respectively, President-elect and Vice President-elect.

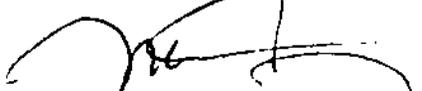
AND IT IS SO ORDERED.

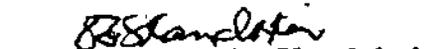
Done at the Headquarters of the Independent Elections Commission, in the city of Monrovia, County of Montserrado, Republic of Liberia, this 24th day of July, A.D., 1997. In testimony whereof the signatures of all ten members of the Commission are hereto affixed, and to be officially embossed by the great seal of the Commission.

Signed:

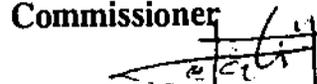

 Cllr. Gloria M. Scott
 Commissioner

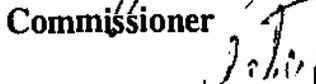

 Hon. Gbenimhan B. Slopadoe
 Commissioner

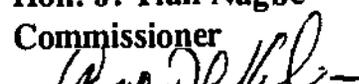

 Atty. Morris A. Kaba
 Commissioner

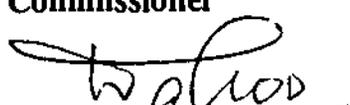

 Dr. D. Evelyn S. Kandakai
 Commissioner

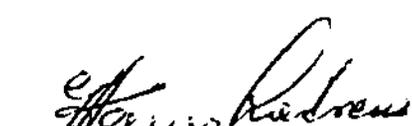

 Hon. J. Kormah Bryemah
 Commissioner


 Hon. J. Tiah Nagbe
 Commissioner


 Amb. Isaac J. Sagay
 Commissioner


 Hon. Amare A. Tekle
 Commissioner


 Hon. M. Ally Dahoo
 Commissioner


 Cllr. G. Henry Andrews
 Chairman

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE INDEPENDENT ELECTIONS COMMISSION CONCERNING THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST OF THE 1997 SPECIAL ELECTIONS - No. TWO

WHEREAS, the Independent Elections Commission was on 2nd April, 1997 mandated by ECOWAS and commissioned by the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) to conduct free and fair elections in Liberia on 30th May, 1997 which date was subsequently changed to 19th July, 1997, and

WHEREAS, the Independent Elections Commission was authorised to formulate and draw up an Election Package containing among other things, a Law and a Code of Conduct specifically for the conduct of these Special Elections, which package was approved by the Heads of State of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia, meeting in Abuja in extraordinary session on 21st May, 1997 the original signed copies of which are in the archives of the Secretariat of ECOWAS; and

WHEREAS, the Commission has fulfilled its mandate as entrusted to it by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and conducted free, fair and transparent elections in all the 13 counties of Liberia on the 19th of July, 1997; and

WHEREAS, the vast majority of the hundreds of individuals foreign and national observers scattered throughout the country, as well as the dozens of international and national organisations observing the electoral process throughout Liberia, including ECOWAS, the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the European Union and Carter Centre, have all been unanimous in their chorus that minor infractions notwithstanding, the 19th July, 1997 Special Elections were peaceful, free, fair and transparent; and

WHEREAS, in keeping with relevant portions of the 1997 Special Elections Law, in particular Chapter 2.9(g), Chapter 5.11(7) and 5.12 (3), the official results of the elections are to be announced, winners certificated and the allocation of seats made by the Chairman of the Independent Elections Commission; and

WHEREAS, the final tabulated results from the 1761 voting stations at which voting was conducted on election day (19th July, 1997) shows a total of 621,880 of which 468,443 votes were cast for the National Patriotic Party, said figure of 468,443 being 75.32691 percent of the total valid votes cast on July 19, 1997;

NOW THEREFORE, and in view of the foregoing, the

Independent Elections Commission, meeting in full Plenary, on this the 24th day of July, A.D., 1997 in the city of Monrovia, County of Montserrado, Republic of Liberia, by virtue of the powers vested in the Commission by the Economic Community of West African States and the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government, hereby announces, Declares and Resolves as follows:

1. That the National Patriotic Party is the WINNER of the 1997 Special Presidential and Legislative Elections with a total valid vote count of 468,443 or 75.32691 percent
2. That confirms its Resolution No One, adopted on 24th July, 1997 declaring the National Patriotic Party's candidates for President and Vice President, Charles Ghankay Taylor and Enoch Mongrue Dogolea respectively duly elected, and
3. That the respective percentages as won by the relevant parties in the 19th July, 1997 Special Elections having been extrapolated unto the total seats for the House of Senate and the House of Representative, the distribution of the seats in both Houses is as follows: (See Annex A)

THAT WHICH THE PEOPLE OF LIBERIA HAVE OVERWHELMINGLY COMMANDED, LET NO MAN, NO WOMAN, NO GROUP, NO ORGANISATION, WITHIN OR WITHOUT THE CONFINES OF LIBERIA, ATTEMPT TO DISOBEY.

AND IT IS SO ORDERED.

Done at the Headquarters of the Independent Elections Commission, in the city of Monrovia, County of Montserrado, Republic of Liberia, this 24th day of July, A.D., 1997. In testimony whereof the signatures of all ten members of the Commission are hereto affixed, and the Seal of the Commission embossed hereon.

Signed.

CLLD. GLORIA M. SCOTT
Commissioner

HON. GBENIMAH B. SLOPADOE
Commissioner

ATTY. MORRIS A. KABA
Commissioner

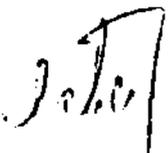


DR. D. EVELYN S. KANDAKAI
Commissioner



HON. J. KORMAH BRYEMAH
Commissioner

HON. J. TIAH NAGBE
Commissioner



AMBASSADOR ISAAC J. SAGAY
Commissioner

DR. AMARE TEKLE
Commissioner



MAHMAD ALLY DAHOO
Commissioner

CLLR. G. HENRY ANDREWS
Chairman

INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION (IECOM) FINAL RESULTS

11:00A.M.

JULY 24, 1997 SUMMARY SHEET

No.	POLITICAL PARTY/ALLIANCE	NO OF VALID VOTES OBTAINED	% OF VALID VOTES OBTAINED
1.	Progressive People's Party (PPP)	2,142	0.344439
2.	National Reformation Party (NRP)	2,965	0.47678
3.	Free Democratic Party (FDP)	2,016	0.324178
4.	Liberia National Union (LINU)	6,708	1.078665
5.	Unity Party (UP)	59,557	9.576928
6.	All Liberia Coalition Party (ALCOP)	25,059	4.029556
7.	National Patriotic Party (NPP)	468,443	75.32691
8.	Alliance of Political Parties	15,969	2.567859
9.	Reformation Alliance Party (RAP)	2,067	0.332379
10.	People's Democratic Party of Liberia (PDPL)	3,497	0.562327
11.	United People's Party (UPP)	15,604	2.509166
12.	National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL)	7,843	1.261176
13.	Liberia People's Party (LPP)	10,010	1.609635
	TOTAL	621,880	100
	NUMBER OF VOTING STATIONS	1761	

(Annex A)

INDEPENDENT ELECTIONS COMMISSION (IECOM) 1997 SPECIAL ELECTIONS ALLOCATION OF SEATS FOR THE LEGISLATURE		
A. SENATE (26 Seats)		
PARTY		NO. OF SEATS
1.	National Patriotic Party (NPP)	21
2.	Unity Party	3
3.	All Liberian Coalition Party (ALCOP)	2
TOTAL		26
B. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (64 Seats)		
PARTY/ALLIANCE		NO. OF SEATS
1.	National Patriotic Party (NPP)	49
2.	Unity Party	7
3.	All Liberian Coalition Party (ALCOP)	3
4.	Alliance of Political Party	2
5.	United People's Party (UPP)	2
6.	Liberian People's Party (LPP)	1
Total		64

**THE TWENTIETH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE
AUTHORITY OF HEADS OF STATE AND
GOVERNMENT OF THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF
WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)**

ABUJA, 28TH AND 29TH JULY, 1997

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. The Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) held its Twentieth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, on 28th and 29th August, 1997 under the Chairmanship of His Excellency General Sani Abacha, Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.
2. Present at the session were the following Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives:
 - His Excellency, Mathieu KEREKOU, President of the Republic of BENIN;
 - His Excellency, Blaise COMPAORE, President of FASO, Chairman of the Council of Ministers BURKINA FASO;
 - His Excellency, Colonel Yahya A.J.J. JAMMEH, President of the Republic The GAMBIA;
 - His Excellency, Fit-Lt Jerry John RAWLINGS (Rtd), President of the Republic of GHANA;
 - His Excellency, General Lansana CONTE, President of the Republic of GUINEA;
 - His Excellency, General Joao Bernardo VIEIRA, President of the Republic of GUINEA BISSAU;
 - His Excellency, Charles Ghankay TAYLOR, President of the Republic of LIBERIA;
 - His Excellency, Alpha Oumar KONARE, President of the Islamic Republic of MALI;
 - His Excellency, General Ibrahim Mainassara BARE, President of the Republic of NIGER;
 - His Excellency, General Sani ABACHA, Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of NIGERIA;
 - His Excellency, Ahmad Tejan KABBAH, President of the Republic of SIERRA LEONE;
 - His Excellency, General Gnassingbe EYADEMA, President of the TOGOLESE Republic;
 - His Excellency, Habib THIAM, Prime Minister of the Republic of SENEGAL;
 - The Honourable Dr. Alexandre MONTEIRO, Secretary of State, Minister of Commerce, Industry & Tourism, representing the Prime Minister and Head of Government of CABO VERDE;
 - The Honourable Amara ESSY, Minister of Foreign Affairs, representing the President of COTE D'IVOIRE;
 - The Honourable Abdellahi Ould NEM, Minister of Commerce, Handicraft and Tourism, representing the President of the Islamic Republic of MAURITANIA;
3. Attending the Twentieth Session as observers were:
 - The Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU);
 - The Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, representing the Secretary-General of the United Nations;
 - The Chairman of the Committee of Governors of Central Banks of West Africa;
 - The Director General of the West African Monetary Agency (WAMA);
 - The President of the West African Development Bank (BOAD);
 - The President of ECOBANK Transnational Incorporated (ETI);
 - The President of the Federation of West

- African Chambers of Commerce (FWACC);
- The Secretary-General of the West African Women's Association (WAWA);
- The Deputy Governor of the Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO);
- The Director General of FAGACE;
- The representative of the Economic and Monetary Union of West Africa (UEMOA);
- The Representative of West African Rice Development Association (WARDA);
- The Representative of the African Development Bank (ADB);
- The Representative of the Pan-African News Agency (PANA);
- The Representative of the African Centre for Monetary Studies (ACMS);
- The Representative of the World Bank;
- The Representative of the International Monetary Fund (IMF);
- The Representative of the European Union (EU);
- The Representative of the Islamic Development Bank (IDB);
- The Representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP);
- The Representative of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO);
- The Representative of the United Nations Organisation for Industrial Development (UNIDO);
- The Representative of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD);
- The Representative of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO);
- The Representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR);
- The Representative of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL);
- The representative of the United Nations Drug Control Programme (UNDCP);
- And a large number of High Commissioners and Ambassadors accredited to the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

REGIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

4. Heads of State and Government reaffirmed their determination to create within West Africa, a peaceful and stable environment necessary for sustained development and regional integration. The Authority commended the Liberian people for putting behind them the traumatic experience of the civil war and conducting peaceful election on multi-party basis. Heads of State and Government recognising the need to sustain peace and development in Liberia, urged the people of the Republic of Liberia, Member States of ECOWAS, and the international community as a whole to support Liberia's post-war needs in the areas of repatriation and resettlement of refugees and internally displaced persons, re-integration, reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction.
5. The Authority congratulated His Excellency President Charles Ghankay Taylor on his election and encouraged him to continue his policy of reconciliation and national unity. Following the free and democratic election in Liberia, the Authority lifted all sanctions and embargos on Liberia and requested the international community to do the same.
6. The Authority expressed its deep appreciation to all those who contributed to the successful implementation of the ECOWAS Peace Plan for Liberia on the regional front. Special recognition was given to the immense and unstinted contribution of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine, the Member States contributing troops to the ECOWAS peace-keeping force (ECOMOG), and the gallant officers and men of ECOMOG. Similarly the Authority expressed grateful thanks to the OAU, the UN, the EU and countries in the international community which made notable

contributions to the peace effort. A minute's silence and prayer was observed in memory of all those who lost their lives in the Liberian civil war.

7. The Authority stressed that the restoration of peace to Liberia had convincingly demonstrated West African solidarity and its ability to resolve regional problems through mutual trust, tolerance, self-sacrifice and strong leadership. Heads of State and Government made a strong appeal for continued support from both within and outside West Africa for rebuilding Liberia. In this regard, the Authority expressed its willingness to extend, upon the request of the Government of Liberia, the stay of ECOMOG in Liberia for an extra period to be mutually agreed. The ECOWAS Executive Secretary was directed to negotiate appropriate protocols with the Government of Liberia to legalise further ECOWAS military/security assistance package to Liberia through ECOMOG. The financing of this operation will be borne by the Liberian government. However, the Authority appealed to other ECOWAS Member States and the international community to assist in this effort. The Executive Secretariat was directed to participate in the formulation and monitoring of the implementation of a reconstruction programme for Liberia.

Abacha was particularly commended for the personal concern he showed over the Liberian crisis and the invaluable political, financial, human and material assistance that Nigeria extended over the past seven years in support of the successful ECOWAS peace plan for Liberia.

**DONE AT ABUJA,
THIS 27TH DAY OF JULY, 1997.**

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN

8. Heads of State and Government unanimously elected the Federal Republic of Nigeria as Chairman of the Community for the 1997-1998 period.

DATE AND VENUE OF NEXT SUMMIT

9. At the invitation of the Head of State of the Federal Republic of NIGERIA, the Authority decided to hold its twenty-first session at Abuja in July 1998.

VOTE OF THANKS

10. Heads of State and Government expressed sincere appreciation and gratitude to the Chairman of the Authority, His Excellency General Sani Abacha, Head of State, and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria for the exemplary leadership he has consistently provided in the promotion of West African integration. General