Recommendations contained on pages 3 & 4

global witness

The Usual Suspects

Liberia's Weapons and Mercenaries in Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone

Why it's Still Possible, How it Works and How to Break the Trend

A Report by Global Witness. March 2003



1 Table of Contents

1 *Recommendations* 3

2 *Acronyms* 5

3 *Executive Summary* 6

4 *Introduction* 7

5 *Infringements against the UN Resolution on Liberia by the Liberian Government* 9

6 *Cast of Characters* 12

Liberia's Security Apparatus 15

PART ONE: Everything you wanted to know about the Liberian Arms Trade but were too afraid to ask 16

7 **How**: *Logistics and Financing of Liberia's Arms Trade* 17

7.1 Economics of Liberia's war machine 17

7.2 President Charles Taylor's Bank Accounts 18

The Smokescreen of Swiss Bank Accounts 18

The Arm's Traffickers Best Friend: Secrecy and Logging fund estimates 19

Insecurity of Container Shipments 20

A Failed Audit 25

8 **Who:** *Players in the Illegal Arms Trade to Liberia* 20

Murder and Intrigue in the Logging Industry 21

OTC's Chain of Custody 23

9 **What**: *Types of weapons entering Liberia* 24

10 **When**: *Regular Delivery of Illegal Weapons in 2002 and 2003* 26

11 **Where**: *Points of Entry for illegal arms* 26

12 **Why**: *Liberia's appetite for weapons* 27

PART TWO: Rebels Without a Cause: Liberian Government Mercenaries in Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone 28

13 *The Liberian Government in Côte d'Ivoire* 29

13.1 Recruitment and Deployment 30

13.2 Weapons Supplies and Logistics 31

14 *Plotting ahead: The Liberian Government's plans for Sierra Leone* 31

14.1 Tapping old sources: Liberia's Recruitment and Deployment of soldiers in Sierra Leone 32

14.2 Weapons supplies 33

15 *Conclusion* 33

16 *Annexes* 36

Annex I: *A Regional Analysis* 36

Annex II: *Humanitarian Disaster and the Liberian Logging Industry* 44

Annex III: *Comparison of the Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo Expert Panel Reports* 45

Annex IV: *Violations of International Humanitarian Law* 46

Annex V: *List of weapons shipments from Yugoslavia to Liberia, from June to August 2002* 49

Annex VI: *Swiss Banks and High-Risk Relationships* 50

Annex VII: *Environmental Crimes* 50

Annex VIII: *President Charles Taylor and Possible Links to Terrorism* 51

Annex IX: *UN Security Council Resolution 1458 (2003)* 52

Annex X: *UN Security Council Resolution 1408 (2002)* 53



2 Recommendations

The UN Security Council should:

- Immediately impose a complete embargo on the export and transport of Liberian timber, and its import into other countries. Such an embargo should remain in place until it can be demonstrated that the trade does not contribute to any armed groups, including the Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP) and Ivorian Popular Movement of the Great West (MPIGO) rebels in Côte d'Ivoire, former Revolutionary United Front (RUF) combatants and Liberian logging company militias.
- Pass a new resolution on Liberia that takes a comprehensive approach on the role of Liberia as a threat to international peace and security. This resolution should specifically incorporate the Liberian Government's actions in supporting the MPIGO and MJP rebel groups, ex-RUF members in Côte d'Ivoire, and any other armed groups supported by the Liberian Government.
- Instruct the Secretary-General to mandate any further Panel of Experts on Liberia to conduct detailed investigations into the role of the Liberian logging industry in fuelling national and regional destabilization, to enable the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and other members of the international community to gain a comprehensive understanding of the role of this industry. The UNSC should ensure that a panel member with extensive knowledge of the logging industry be employed to partake in investigations. Any further Panel of Experts on Liberia should also conduct detailed investigations into any other Liberian industries that constitute a threat to international peace and security.
- Expand the mandate of the United Nations Office in Liberia (UNOL) to include more robust investigations of the Liberian Government's involvement in illegal arms imports, activities in neighbouring countries, and human rights abuses. UNOL should also me mandated to play a bigger role in organising and overseeing the upcoming October 2003 elections.
- Instruct, via the Liberia Sanctions Committee or other means, global financial institutions, and in particular Swiss banks and the Swiss Attorney-General, to investigate suspicious bank accounts with links to Liberia, and in particular accounts linked to those persons subject to the UN Travel Ban.
- Recognize the significant role that timber plays in funding conflicts, and agree on a definition of conflict timber and how conflict timber is exploited as a war commodity, just as diamonds and oil. The trade in conflict timber should be prohibited under international law.

The UN Secretary-General should:

- Ensure that a new study on possible humanitarian effects of timber sanctions in Liberia be carried out. Such a study should incorporate the negative consequences of the timber industry upon the Liberian population. The Secretary-General should ensure that the information is independently verifiable and from non-biased sources.

The International Community should:

- Ensure that all arms-trading countries refrain from selling weapons to West Africa[a] in accordance with the Moratorium on the Import, Export and Manufacture of Small Arms and Light Weapons of the Economic Community of West African States, and from providing any support to armed rebel groups, including the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone.
- Increase humanitarian aid to Liberia as a matter of urgency, channeled through UN agencies and Non-Government Organizations (NGOs). The donor community should ensure that citizens of Liberia are aided until their country returns to active peace and security.
- Emphasise the importance that countries target arms traders and brokers, by imposing stringent arms-trading laws targeted at preventing the illegal trade in weapons.

[a] Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo

The European Commission should:

- Adopt the Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament which proposes the Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT) Action Plan and then bring in a Regulation banning the importation of illegally-sourced and conflict timber into the EU, as soon as is practicably possible.

The Banks of Switzerland should, under the guidelines of the Swiss Federal Banking Commission:

- Fully investigate the activities of all bank accounts with links to Liberia, and in particular to those persons subject to the UN Travel Ban, in accordance with Swiss federal anti-money laundering legislation. Banks should report any suspicious accounts to the Swiss anti-money laundering authorities and the Swiss state attorney general for further investigation and legal prosecution. Accounts should emain frozen until such a time that it can be shown that the Liberian Government is no longer plundering state resources and that funds are not the proceeds of crime or corruption.

The Government of Sierra Leone should:

- Take a leadership role in lobbying for the Kimberley Process to have a regular, independent monitoring mechanism, to ensure that the process is working and not open to abuse. The Government of Sierra Leone should also strengthen its own diamond certification system by introducing a credential licensing system for diamond-buying middlemen, and increasing the capacity and coordination of government agencies involved in the diamond trade to prevent conflict diamonds from entering the legitimate diamond trade.
- Exact effective controls and photographic registration of all combatants entering the country.

The Special Court should:

- Prosecute individuals who aided and abetted in the planning, preparation or execution of a crime by providing funds, weapons and logistics to rebel groups, in particular the RUF, through the pillaging of natural resources. Specifically, the Special Court should recognise the role of the Liberian timber industry in financing and facilitating illegal diamond and weapons deals during the conflict. Those responsible should be prosecuted under the mandate of the Special Court.

The Liberian Government should:

- Immediately recall and cease sending rebels into Côte d'Ivoire and providing logistic and material support.
- Ensure that logging companies operating in Liberia, particularly the Oriental Timber Company (OTC) and Maryland Wood Processing Industries (MWPI), immediately halt illicit arms import into, and transport within, Liberia and neighbouring countries.
- Ensure that logging companies operating in the country do not employ armed militias, and that they immediately halt all human rights abuses committed upon the Liberian population.
- Ensure that the country's timber industry is run according to the best international standards of sustainable forest management, and that all timber revenues due to the State are directed to the Central Bank of Liberia, and not to the extra-budgetary expenditures of the Executive Mansion.
- Fulfill its obligations under UN resolutions to undertake a full and internationally verifiable audit of revenue generated by its timber industry and shipping and corporate registries.

The logging companies operating in Liberia and companies importing Liberian timber should:

- Disclose aggregate information about taxes, royalties, fees and other transactions with the Liberian Government and/or public sector entities, in order to create transparency.

Acronyms

Armed groups

AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council – Sierra Leone rebel group led by Johnny Paul Koroma.
ATU	Anti-Terrorist Unit – Notoriously brutal security force; the Liberian Government's primary fighters
CDF	Civil Defence Force – Pro-Kabbah government force active during Sierra Leone civil war.
LURD	Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy – Guinea-supported Liberian rebel group fighting against President Charles Taylor.
MJP	Movement for Justice and Peace – "Ivorian" rebel group active in Western Côte d'Ivoire; organised and funded by the Liberian Government, and staffed by Liberian and Sierra Leonean mercenaries
MPIGO	Popular Movement of the Ivorian Great West– "Ivorian" rebel group active in Western Côte d'Ivoire; organised and funded by the Liberian Government, and staffed by Liberian and Sierra Leonean mercenaries
NPFL	National Patriotic Front for Liberia – President Charles Taylor's former rebel group.
OTC Militia	Oriental Timber Company Militia – A brutal 2,500-strong fighting force organised and armed by the OTC, and fights on behalf of President Charles Taylor.
PMC	Private Military Companies –Mercenaries organised to provide military training and armed support for governments.
PSS	Private Security Services – Mercenaries organised to provide military training and armed support for governments.
RSLAF	Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces – New, reconstituted army of Sierra Leone.
RUF	Revolutionary United Front – Sierra Leone rebel group supported by President Charles Taylor.
SLA	Sierra Leone Army – Former armed forces of Sierra Leone, replaced with RSLAF.
SOD	Special Operations Division – Liberian security force.
SSS	Special Security Services – Liberian security force.

Timber industry

CTC	Cavalla Timber Company
ETC	Evergreen Trading Corporation – Alternative export name for OTC
GTC	Global Timber Corporation – Major timber processor in mainland China, with same investor as OTC and Global Star (Asia) Trading
ILC	Inland Logging Company – Run by Maurice and Oscar
LLWPC	Liberia Logging and Wood Processing Corporation – logging company allegedly set up by Taylor.
MGC	Mohammed Group of Companies – Owned by Mohammed Salamé and run by Cocoo Dennis
MWPI	Maryland Wood Processing Industries – Owned by the Fawaz family and involved in illegal arms imports.
OTC	Oriental Timber Corporation – Involved in illegal arms imports and abusive militias, run by Gus Kouwenhouen.
RTC	Royal Timber Corporation – sister company of OTC, also run by Gus Kouwenhouen.
ULC	United Logging Company

Financial

BIB	Banque Internationale du Burkina
BCEAO	Central Bank of West African States
DTT	Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu – parent company of auditing firm Deloitte & Touche
LISCR	Liberian International Ship and Corporate Registry

Other

CATIC	China National Aero-Technology Import and Export Corporation – Chinese state firm linked to arms deal with Leonid Minin, who has been linked with Ukrainian organised crime.
NPP	National Patriotic Party – President Charles Taylor's ruling party.
RIA	Robertsfield International Airport – Liberia's international airport and site of illegal arms imports.
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone – UN's large military and humanitarian presence in Sierra Leone.
UNSC	United Nation Security Council

3 Executive Summary

This report documents the involvement of the Liberian Government in the international markets for illegal arms and mercenaries, and how its access to these outlets has permitted Liberian President Charles Taylor and his associates to launch and maintain a mercenary attack in Côte d'Ivoire, and begin implementing an incursion into Sierra Leone.

In Côte d'Ivoire, President Charles Taylor has used his illegal arms imports and ties to groups of ex-combatants to organise, arm and deploy the two Western Ivorian[b] rebel groups: the Popular Movement for the Ivorian Great West (MPIGO)[c] and the Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP)[d]. The Liberian Government's aim is to destabilise the current Ivorian Government and install a leader more amenable to the Liberian Government.

In Sierra Leone, the Liberian Government has planned a two-pronged attack, activating cells of well-armed, Liberian paid operatives already within Sierra Leone, which will be joined by an external force of Anti-Terrorist Unit (ATU) fighters attacking from Liberia. Fearing prosecution for war crimes by the Special Court in Sierra Leone, President Charles Taylor and his closest associates plan to disrupt the Court's proceedings, release ex-RUF leader Foday Sankoh, and regain full access to Sierra Leone's lucrative diamond resources. The Liberian Government's cross-border strategies, combined with the UN's continued withdrawal from Sierra Leone, are setting the stage for regional turmoil.



Members of the Navy Rangers. 2003.

Liberia's continued access to illegal arms and mercenaries is due to the availability of funds and logistics provided by the Liberian timber industry. The omission of timber sanctions in *Resolution 1343 (2001) Adopted by the Security Council at its 4287th meeting, on 7 March 2001*[e] *and Resolution 1408 (2002) Adopted by the Security Council at its 4526th meeting, on 6 May 2002*[f] has allowed Liberia to maintain regular imports of arms and cash to pay both its domestic security forces and the mercenaries recruited for Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone.

The information contained in this report results from extensive Global Witness investigative interviews and research trips conducted across four continents. The key findings are:

- The Liberian Government continues to import illegal weapons on a regular basis, which come primarily from Eastern Europe but transit through Libya, Nigeria, and France. Most weapons are delivered by ship to Buchanan and Harper ports, with shipments coming in two or three times per month. Additional deliveries are made by air to Robertsfield International airport (see When: Regular Delivery of Illegal Weapons in 2002 and 2003, page 26). Liberian logging companies remain actively involved in facilitating illegal arms shipments, both for the government's forces within Liberia and for the mercenaries fighting in Côte d'Ivoire. MWPI, based at Harper port, receives weapons at Harper port and ships them to its River Gbeh bush camp, where they are stored for use by the MPIGO and MJP rebels groups (see Where: Points of Entry for illegal arms, page 26).
- The Liberian Government is directly involved in the Côte d'Ivoire conflict through its control of the two western Ivorian rebel groups, MPIGO and MJP. President Charles Taylor's goal is to maintain a land-route to Burkina Faso, destabilise the Gbagbo regime, install one more favourable to Liberia, and create an escape route should he be threatened by the situation in Liberia.
- The MPIGO and MJP forces are comprised

[b] "Ivorian", when used in this document with regard to MPIGO and MJP, is used to define area of operation and not the nationality of combatants. Approximately 90% of MPIGO and MJP forces are paid mercenaries from Liberia and Sierra Leone.

[c] Mouvement Populaire Ivorian du Grand Ouest.

[d] Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix.

[e] Referred to in the remainder of this document as UNSC Resolution 1343 (2001).

[f] Referred to in the remainder of this document as UNSC Resolution 1408 (2002) and available in Annex X.

of 90% Liberian and Sierra Leonean mercenaries, many ex-RUF, which were assembled in Liberia and sent across in the months prior to their initial attack on 28 November 2002, under the command of Cucoo Dennis and Benjamin Yeaton. President Charles Taylor continues to maintain ties with ex-RUF forces, including Sam "Maskita" Bockarie, who commands 1,000 mercenaries fighting for Taylor in Côte d'Ivoire (see The Liberian Government in Côte d'Ivoire, page 29)

- The Liberian Government has begun implementing a plan to destabilise Sierra Leone using cells of ex-RUF, ex-Sierra Leone Army (SLA), and ex-junta[g] fighters inserted into the country. There are four cells, one based in Freetown, with additional sub-cells within the army and police forces. A second invasion force plans to attack from Liberia near the border with Foya-Kamala. President Charles Taylor's primary goal is to disrupt the functioning of the Special Court, by which he and many close associates expect to be indicted (see Plotting ahead: The Liberian Government's plans for Sierra Leone, page 31). The Liberian Government is delivering small amounts of weapons for these cells into Sierra Leone two or three times per week by small boats.
- The Liberian Government is hiding large sums of embezzled money in bank accounts in Switzerland, Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire. Liberian deposits in Swiss accounts are more than either Nigeria or South Africa, and are, at a minimum, approximately US$3.8 billion.
- The Oriental Timber Company and its importer to China, Global Star (Asia) Trading, have been directly linked to the large mainland Chinese timber processor Global Timber Corporation, which has very close ties to the Chinese government. All three, through a complex network of off shore companies and registrations, have a common investor.

The Liberian Government's access to the international arms and mercenary market is largely dependent on the Liberian timber industry, and the financial and logistical support it provides to this end. In order to restrict the Liberian Government's ability to engage in such aggressive, cross-border activities, Global Witness calls upon the United Nations to recognise the facilitative role the timber industry plays with this regard, and impose sanctions on timber exports.

4 Introduction

The illicit trade in arms and the employment of mercenaries is a worldwide problem that is growing. Brokers who deal in illicit weaponry are feeding an insatiable market in impoverished and fragile states, usually to rogue governments and rebel groups, while mercenaries roam from one conflict to another. In the case of Liberia, the arms trade spans from President Charles Taylor, timber companies, shipping agents, and brokers from Eastern Europe and Hong Kong, to facilitators in Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Libya. The result is a country and region that is deeply embedded in conflict.

Liberia has been the greatest threat to West African peace and stability for over a decade; its own civil wars spill over into neighbouring countries, and calculated moves by Liberian President Charles Taylor and his associates undermine peace and security in the region for political and economic gain (see Annex I: A Regional Analysis, page 36).

Liberian President Charles Taylor began his National Patriotic Front for Liberia (NPFL) rebellion from Côte d'Ivoire in 1989, with the aid of then president Houphouet-Boigny and future president General Robert Guei[1]. This fractious civil war eventually claimed more than 250,000 lives and displaced half the country's population[2], lasting almost a decade. Rebel leader Charles Taylor very quickly began making deals with timber companies to exploit the territory under his control, in exchange for cash and weapons.[3] The timber industry was both lucrative financially and helpful logistically, and has become even more so since Charles Taylor became President of Liberia in 1997.

President Charles Taylor was also personally involved in facilitating the Sierra Leone civil war in the 1990s through his support of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels[4], a group infamous for its use of child soldiers, amputation and mutilation

Targeted Sanctions

"[Targeted sanctions] are directed against significant national decision-makers (political leaders and key supporters or a particular regime) and resources that are essential for their rule" From: Making Targeted Sanctions Effective: Guidelines for the Implementation of UN Policy Option, p iii.

[g] This includes Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), and pro-Taylor militias.

of its victims.[5] Again, the Liberian timber industry was instrumental in the provision of logistic and materiel support to the RUF.[6]

In 2002 President Charles Taylor again threw the region into chaos through his organisation of an armed invasion of Côte d'Ivoire, staffed with Liberian and Sierra Leonean mercenaries in the guise of two Ivorian rebel groups: the Popular Movement for the Ivorian Great West (MPIGO)[h] and the Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP)[i]. Plans are to destabilise Côte d'Ivoire and see the Gbagbo regime replaced to secure an escape route should domestic developments turn against President Charles Taylor. He and his most trusted associates also have plans to destabilise Sierra Leone, and to disrupt the Special Court that may indict them for war crimes committed in aiding and abetting the RUF. Several key figures in the Sierra Leone war have already been indicted.[j]

President Charles Taylor is able to conduct destabilising activities because of the financial and logistical support provided by the Liberian timber, shipping and diamond industries. Since the introduction of diamond sanctions, contained in UNSC Resolution 1343, the timber industry has become the pillar of arms trafficking, state fraud, and paramilitary activity. Sanctions on Liberia's timber industry are essential if any progress is to be made in ending the active and violent destabilisation implemented by the Liberian government onto the region.

Such action would be justified under Article 41, Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. This article allows for the United Nations Security Council to impose sanctions on a country when it is deemed to pose a threat to international peace and security[k]. Not only is Liberia such a threat, it has gone beyond this and actively engaged in violent destabilization in the region.

Due to the sensitive nature of sanctions and their possible humanitarian consequences, several international initiatives have arisen to address how to make sanctions "targeted." The first of these processes, the Interlaken Process, focused on financial sanctions; the second, the Bonn-Berlin Process, focused on arms embargoes, travel bans and aviation sanctions. The third process focused on the implementation of targeted sanctions and was called the Stockholm Process. These processes are aimed at leading to "smart sanctions."

In 1992, Liberia was sanctioned under Article 41, Chapter VII[7] but sanctions were not properly targeted and arms continued to flood into Liberia. With the help of the diamond and timber industries,[8] President Charles Taylor managed to provide logistic, monetary and training support to the RUF rebels in Sierra Leone. As a result, the United Nations imposed new sanctions against Liberia on 6 May 2001 through UNSC Resolution 1343 (2001). Having determined that Liberia was still in violation of the sanctions regime, the Security Council extended sanctions on 6 May 2002 through UNSC Resolution 1408. However, despite evidence on the continued arms imports provided by the UN's own Panels of Experts for Liberia, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and investigative news-reports,[9] the current sanctions regime has not fully addressed the role of natural resources. Targeted sanctions on the Liberian timber industry, specifically a ban on timber exports, would improve the situation, as it is the timber industry itself that is causing a humanitarian crisis in Liberia (see Annex IV: Violations of International Humanitarian Law, page 46).

Although the UN Panel of Experts on Liberia was mandated in 2001[l] to investigate the role of natural resources in fuelling regional conflict, the Security Council failed to include a timber industry trade expert as part of its core group of investigators. The subsequent Panels of Experts

Conflict Timber

"Conflict timber is timber that has been traded at some point in the chain of custody by armed groups, be they rebel factions or regular soldiers or by a civilian administration involved in armed conflict – either to perpetuate conflict or take advantage of conflict situations for personal gain". (Global Witness definition)

[h] Known also in French as Mouvement Populaire Ivoirien du Grand Ouest.

[i] Known also in French as Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix.

[j] On 10 March 2003, the following people were indicted by the Special Court: RUF leader Foday Sankoh, PLP parliamentarian and former AFRC junta leader Johnny Paul Koroma, former RUF battlefield commander Sam "Mosquito" Bockarie, RUF interim leader Issa Hassan Sesay, former AFRC member Alex Tamba Brima alias "Gulit", former RUF commander Morris Kallon alias "Bilai Karim," and Interior Minister and CDF National Coordinator Sam Hinga Norman; as found at http://www.sierra-leone.org/slnews.html.

[k] Article 41 under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations reads, "The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations".

on Liberia were not mandated to examine the role of natural resources whatsoever[m].

As a result, neither Panel of Experts reports has incorporated comprehensive investigations or reporting into the industry that drives Liberia's war machine. Compared with the expansive and resourceful Security Council mandate and subsequent Report of the Panel of Experts on natural resource exploitation in the Democratic Republic of Congo[n], the mandate for the Liberia panel fails to call for a thorough investigation of what is the principal gateway by which Liberia accesses the international network of illegal arms dealers and mercenaries[o].

The Liberian Government has a wide range of resources available with which to contravene the UN arms embargo. This ultimately enables President Charles Taylor to purchase and import illicit weaponry, and to arm and pay mercenaries, both within Liberia and in neighbouring countries. To restrict the Liberian Government's ability to drive war and insecurity, the UN must address the structures and resources that make it possible. If it fails to do to, Liberia will remain a war-ridden country with cross-border ambitions – the ideal customer for arms brokers and mercenaries.

Resolutions on Liberia

While the sanctions regime imposed on Liberia is not specifically contingent on Liberia's support for the RUF in Sierra Leone, and thus both UNSC Resolutions 1343 (2001) and 1408 (2002) apply to the Liberian Government's current activities in Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone, it is important for the Security Council to draft a new Resolution, which specifically declares The Liberian involvement in the ongoing civil war in Côte d'Ivoire and the planned attacks on Sierra Leone a threat to international peace and security. This new Resolution should again be comprehensive in scope, including a ban on arms imports to Liberia, and an embargo on any support by UN member states for any armed rebel movement in the region, including LURD, MPCI, MPIGO and MJP.

5 Infringements against the UN Resolution on Liberia by the Liberian Government

On 6 May 2002 the Security Council judged that Liberia had not complied with its previous demands and was actively violating legislation passed against it. The Security Council extended the sanctions regime against Liberia for another twelve months by passing UNSC Resolution 1408 (2002). Since then, the Liberian Government has continued to violate sanctions and commit gross human rights abuses against its citizens (see Annex IV: Violations of International Humanitarian Law, page 46). Moreover, the Liberian logging industry continues to aid the government in violating the UN sanctions, through their facilitation of illegal arms imports and support for pro-government paramilitary forces (see PART ONE: Everything You Wanted to Know About the Liberian Arms Trade But Were Too Afraid to Ask, page 16).

Paragraph 5 of UNSC Resolution 1343 (2001):

"All States shall take necessary measures to prevent the sale or supply to Liberia, by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircraft, of arms and related materiel of all types; including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary equipment and spare parts for the aforementioned, whether or not originating in their territories."

- On 16 February 2003, an arms shipment arrived aboard a Boeing 707, which left Kinshasa in DR Congo at 0740 hours, arriving at Robertsfield International Airport at 1921 hours. (see When: Regular Delivery of Illegal Weapons in 2002 and 2003, page 26)

[l] See Resolution 1343 (2001) Adopted by the Security Council at its 4287th meeting on 7 March 2001. This resolution is hereafter referred to as Security Council Resolution 1343 (2001).

[m] See Resolution 1408 (2002) Adopted by the Security Council at its 4526th meeting on 6 May 2002. This resolution is hereafter referred to as Security Council Resolution 1408 (2002). See also the mandate for the latest UN Panel of Experts on Liberia, as contained in Security Council Resolution 1458 (2003) Adopted by the Security Council at its 4693rd meeting on 28 January 2003. The full version can be found in Annex IX.

[n] The Final Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Hereafter this report will be referred to as the UN Expert Panel Report on DRC (2001).

[o] See Annex III: Comparison of the Liberia/Sierra Leone and DRC Expert Panel Reports.

- On 05 February 2003, an Antonov aircraft departed Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso at 0358 hours, eventually arriving at Robertsfield at 0032 on 06 February 2003, with a consignment of weapons. The plane was reported to have the tailfin label "Congo-003" (see When: Regular Delivery of Illegal Weapons in 2002 and 2003, page 26)
- On 19 December 2002, an arms shipment by the logging ship MV Posen was docked at Harper Port. The consignment consisted of 19 camouflaged trucks, each loaded with containers of weaponry. Once off-loaded, the trucks and weapons were taken to the River Gbeh bush camp of the Maryland Wood Processing Industries (MWPI), which is located close to the border with Côte d'Ivoire. These weapons were then distributed to forces heading into Côte d'Ivoire to fight (see When: Regular Delivery of Illegal Weapons in 2002 and 2003, page 26).
- In October and December 2002, the Liberian coastguard gunboat VB2 made regular trips between Harper port and a vessel stationed at high seas that was off-loading weapons and ammunition. (see When: Regular Delivery of Illegal Weapons in 2002 and 2003, page 26).
- In July 2002, a 15-ton weapons shipment was delivered to Harper Port loaded mainly with ammunition. The shipment originated in Bulgaria and made a stop in Nice. (see When: Regular Delivery of Illegal Weapons in 2002 and 2003, page 26).
- In May 2002, a 30-ton weapons shipment was delivered to Harper Port on the Arktis Fighter vessel. The shipment originated in Bulgaria and made a stop in Nice. (see When: Regular Delivery of Illegal Weapons in 2002 and 2003, page 26).
- In the first two weeks of September, a vessel coming from Libya with a consignment of several hundred tonnes of rice, reportedly docked at Buchanan Port. While the shipment did contain rice, it also allegedly contained a consignment of weapons and ammunition. (see When: Regular Delivery of Illegal Weapons in 2002 and 2003, page 26).
- Shipments of arms from Nigeria, a prime source of weapons for Liberia, are delivered to Buchanan Port approximately every two weeks under the guise of shipping food and non-sanctioned supplies[10] (see When: Regular Delivery of Illegal Weapons in 2002 and 2003, page 26).
- The UN Expert Panel Report on Liberia (October 2002) documented six flights that brought in arms to Robertsfield International Airport, just outside Monrovia.

Paragraph 2 of Resolution 1343 (2001):

"Demands that the Government of Liberia immediately cease its support for the RUF in Sierra Leone and for other armed rebel groups in the region, and in particular take the following concrete steps: (a) expel all RUF members from Liberia…prohibit all RUF activities on its territory…(b) cease all financial and…military support to the RUF, including all transfers of arms and ammunition, all military training and the provision of logistical and communications support, and take steps to ensure that no such support is provided from the territory of Liberia or by its nationals".

- The Liberian Government continues to have close ties with RUF figures who are still active in Liberia and surrounding countries, such as Sam "Maskita" Bockarie (see Tapping old sources: Liberia's Recruitment and Deployment of soldiers in Sierra Leone, page 32).
- Sam "Maskita" Bockarie, a close confidant of President Taylor, is currently involved in leading mostly Liberian troops into Côte d'Ivoire, under the direction of the Liberian Government (see The Liberian Government in Côte d'Ivoire, page 29)

Paragraph 4 of Resolution 1343 (2001):

"Demands that all States in the region take action to prevent armed individuals and groups from using their territory to prepare and commit attacks on neighbouring countries and refrain from any action that might contribute to further destabilization of the situation on the borders between Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone."

- The Liberian government is amassing and then sending fighting forces to Côte d'Ivoire. This is an ongoing operation. The Liberian Government's plan to destabilise Sierra Leone, disrupt the functioning of the Special Court and attempt to free Foday Sankoh, is currently being implemented, though the initial, catalytic outbreak of violence has yet to occur. Cells of ex-RUF fighters have been assembling in Sierra Leone for some time, and it appears that the latest group of "AFL" soldiers who retreated into Sierra Leone may indeed have been ATU operatives planted by the Liberian Government, to link up with these cells in the near future (see Tapping old

sources: Liberia's Recruitment and Deployment of soldiers in Sierra Leone, page 32).

Guinea is also in violation of this section of the resolution, as it continues to support rebel Liberians United for Reconciliation Democracy (LURD) and allows LURD forces to operate freely out of Guinea's southern border region with Liberia. Moreover, the Guinean government does little to stop the abuse of Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees crossing over to seek safety in Guinea, allowing LURD to abuse them, use them as porters, and forcibly conscript them (see Annex I: A Regional Analysis, page 36).

Paragraph 6 of UNSC Resolution 1343 (2001):

"All States shall take the necessary measures to prevent the direct or indirect import of all rough diamonds from Liberia, whether or not such diamonds originated in Liberia"

- Although trade in rough diamonds is sanctioned, Liberian stones continue to be smuggled into Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea and the Gambia. Liberia has no diamond cutting or polishing capacity. All diamonds exported from Liberia are rough and thus illegal[11].
- Diamond mining companies are being used as covers for illicit arms imports, as documented by the Panel of Experts with regard to two arms flights, mentioned above, that occurred in August 2002. The consignee was designated Astra Mining Company, with Minel Engineering, a Yugoslavian company, described on the manifest as delivering diamond mining equipment; the shipments instead contained consignments of weapons. However, the Liberian Government had no official knowledge of any Astra Mining, and the Ivorian end-user certificate for the shipment turned up in the room of a diamond buyer arrested by Belgian police, who was a partner of Ibrahim Bah, a Senegalese diamond dealer[12] and key middleman between the RUF and Liberia[13], and was in an envelope addressed to Mohammed Salamé, the Liberian Ambassador-at-Large and owner of the timber company Bureaux Ivorian Ngorian (BIN), whose compound is being used by Ivorian rebels as a staging area[14].

Paragraph 7 of UNSC Resolution 1343 (2001):

"All States shall take necessary measures to prevent the entry into or transit through their territories of senior members of the Government of Liberia and its armed forces and their spouses and any other individuals providing financial and military support to armed rebel groups in countries neighbouring Liberia, in particular the RUF in Sierra Leone."

- The international travel ban continues to be violated by the parties under its jurisdiction, primarily through the international airport in Abidjan, which has always been lax on enforcement of the ban. According to the *Report of the Panel of Experts Appointed Pursuant to Security Council resolution 1408 (2002), paragraph 16, concerning Liberia*[p], unnamed individuals travelled from Monrovia to as far as North America, Europe, the Middle East and other destinations in Africa.

- *Report of the Panel of Experts Appointed Pursuant to Security Council resolution 1395 (2002), paragraph 4, in relation to Liberia*[q] noted the prominence of false Liberian passports, both ordinary and diplomatic. The Liberian Government has so far refused to supply the Panel of Experts with a list of its diplomatic passport holders, citing "security grounds"[15].



Cestos River, Liberia. January 2003.

[p] Referred to in the remainder of this document as Expert Panel Report on Liberia (October 2002).

[q] Referred to in the remainder of this document as Expert Panel Report on Liberia (May 2002).

6 Cast of Characters

This list is comprehensive though not exhaustive. It includes the names behind the logistics and the finances of the arms trade. Sources and further information on the activities of individuals mentioned herein are contained in Parts One and Two of this document.


Courtesy of Global Policy

Charles Taylor – President of Liberia, and former NPFL warlord. Supported the RUF rebels in Sierra Leone during 1990s, and is currently behind the two splinter groups MJP and MPIGO in Côte d'Ivoire, while planning another destabilisation of Sierra Leone. Imports arms in contravention of UN sanctions, with the aid of timber companies, in which he has large, personal financial stakes.


Courtesy of Agence France Presse

Sam Bockarie (aka Maskita) – Former RUF commander who had been hiding in Burkina Faso until returning to Côte d'Ivoire[16] and Liberia to carry out Charles Taylor's orders. He receives orders from Taylor through Benjamin Yeaton, and commands approximately 1,000 troops in Côte d'Ivoire.


Courtesy of All About Liberia

Daniel Chea – Minister of Defence in Liberia and was active in Taylor's NPFL rebel incursion. He set up the Anti-Terrorist Unit (ATU) and is in charge of its recruitment. He also oversees the remnants of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL).


Courtesy of All About Liberia

Moussa Cisse – Chief of Protocol for the Executive Mansion. He runs the Mohammed Group of Companies (MGC), which is owned by Mohammed Salamé and involved in importing illegal weaponry[17]. He is a businessman whose association with Taylor goes back to the NPFL rebel incursion in 1989. His brother, Jebbah Cisse, is the Liberian Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, and Moussa uses his brother to make contacts there. Moussa Cisse was living in Côte d'Ivoire, where he has been in charge of logistics for the Liberian-backed rebels. He is on the UN travel ban and used to handle the Taylor-Guei connection[18].

Maurice Cooper , Oscar Cooper – Run the Inland Logging Company (ILC) and were involved in a US$2.5 million timber deal with Limad AG, a company owned by Leonid Minin who has been linked to Ukrainian organised crime. Maurice is also on the UN travel ban, having been implicated in providing financial or military support to the RUF[19].

Cucoo Dennis (aka Captain Marvel) – Executive of the Salami Molawi Logging Company (part of the Mohammed Group of Companies), and head of a large militia that has incorporated several of the logging company militias. He is commanding rebel troops in Côte d'Ivoire[20], has a history of recruiting and training troops for President Charles Taylor.

Gabriel Doe – Owner and manager of the Cavalla Timber Company (CTC) operating in Grand Gedeh and River Gee Counties. Doe is also a government official and on the UN travel ban. Before the Ivorian conflict started he was sighted in Côte d'Ivoire several times in violation of the UN travel ban.


Courtesy of All About Liberia

Roland Duo – Head of the National Port Authority[21], and has direct control over all the security forces in Liberian ports.

George Dwanah (aka Jack the Rebel) – Oversees Liberian mercenary forces fighting as MPIGO and MJP rebel in Côte d'Ivoire.

Talal El-Ndine – Handles President Charles Taylor's international finances for both diamond and timber deals. He is on the UN travel ban for his role as paymaster of the RUF. His offices are in Monrovia, on 13th street, Sinkor.

Abbas Fawaz – President and chief shareholder of Maryland Wood Processing Industries (MWPI)[22] and a close associate of President Charles Taylor. Fawaz helps oversee the importation of weaponry into Liberia through Harper Port, which is under the management of MWPI. He brought weapons in last year that were destined for use by Liberian-backed rebels in Côte d'Ivoire.

Major Andrew Guei (aka Junior) – Affiliated with MPIGO and MJP troops. He is the son of former Ivorian President General Robert Guei. Major Andrew Guei has taken over his father's relationship with President Charles Taylor, who knew Guei from his days as army commander under Houphouet-Boigny's government. When Robert Guei staged a bloodless coup against President Bedie in 1999, Taylor supported him.

General Guei was one of Taylor's key supporters during the rise of the NPFL.

Philip Kibbo – Largely unknown beyond Liberia's borders. He was in the NPFL Special Forces and one of Charles Taylor's numerous business managers since 1990. OTC pays Kibbo, who then pays the ATU.

General Koffee – Head of OTC's militia forces.



Gus Kouwenhoven – Managing Director of the OTC, the largest logging company in Liberia, and runs RTC and other smaller logging companies. He is very close to President Charles Taylor, and an integral player in the illegal arms trade. The OTC currently maintains a militia in excess of 2,500 armed fighters. OTC also manages Buchanan Port, a principal entry point for illegal arms into Liberia.



Courtesy of Liberian Orbit

Grace Minor – Senator and current Senate President Pro-tempore, as well as very close associate of President Charles Taylor [23]. She opened a bank account for President Charles Taylor in Switzerland in 1993, which is used for hiding embezzled funds.

Aziz Nassour – Lebanese diamond merchant implicated in trading for Al Qaeda via Liberia[24]. Nassour was involved in the May 2002 shipment of arms from Bulgaria to Liberia. In the past, Nassour would pay for arms that were brought in for Sam "Maskita" Bockarie, a senior RUF rebel.

Sanjivin Ruprah – Arms dealer for Africa, he was involved in logging before the OTC came in, and then turned his focus to diamonds. The Panel of Experts on Liberia cited a transfer of $500,000 by OTC's parent company in Singapore, Borneo Jaya Pte Ltd to San Air, an arms trafficking company owned by Ruprah. He had an office at the Executive Mansion on the same floor as President Charles Taylor's office.

General Sackie – Mobilised in Bong County for actions in Côte d'Ivoire. He is one of President Charles Taylor's closest operatives through his marriage with Taylor's cousin, Leilan Neufuille Sackie. He is part of the National Bureau of Intelligence (NBI), which deals with state security matters and is known for its brutality.

Fatu Sankoh – Former RUF-leader Foday Sankoh's wife, who is currently in Côte d'Ivoire, where the RUF had their first bases[25]. She is reported to be in Côte d'Ivoire with Johnny Paul Koroma's sister, and has been in charge of running ex-RUF and other combatants from there. The RUF were originally based in Danane but were forced out by Ivorian President Gbagbo. Fatu and Koroma's sister remain active in Abidjan, where their primary role is to secure more funds for the RUF and to gain the release of Foday Sankoh. The network that is being set up in Côte d'Ivoire is designed to be at the disposal of President Charles Taylor should he go into exile. Fatu Sankoh is trying to restructure the RUF from the outside, with the help of Bockarie and President Charles Taylor.

William Sumo – Chairman of the Joint Security in the southeast and liaison between the MWPI management and Charles Taylor in Maryland County. Sumo also set up a training base for the rebels in Côte d'Ivoire.

Bob Taylor – President Charles Taylor's brother, who serves on the Board of the Forestry Development Authority (FDA).

Charles Taylor, Jr. (aka Chuckie) – Son of President Charles Taylor and head of ATU. As head of the ATU, he has been implicated in numerous human rights abuses, including summary execution and torture[26].

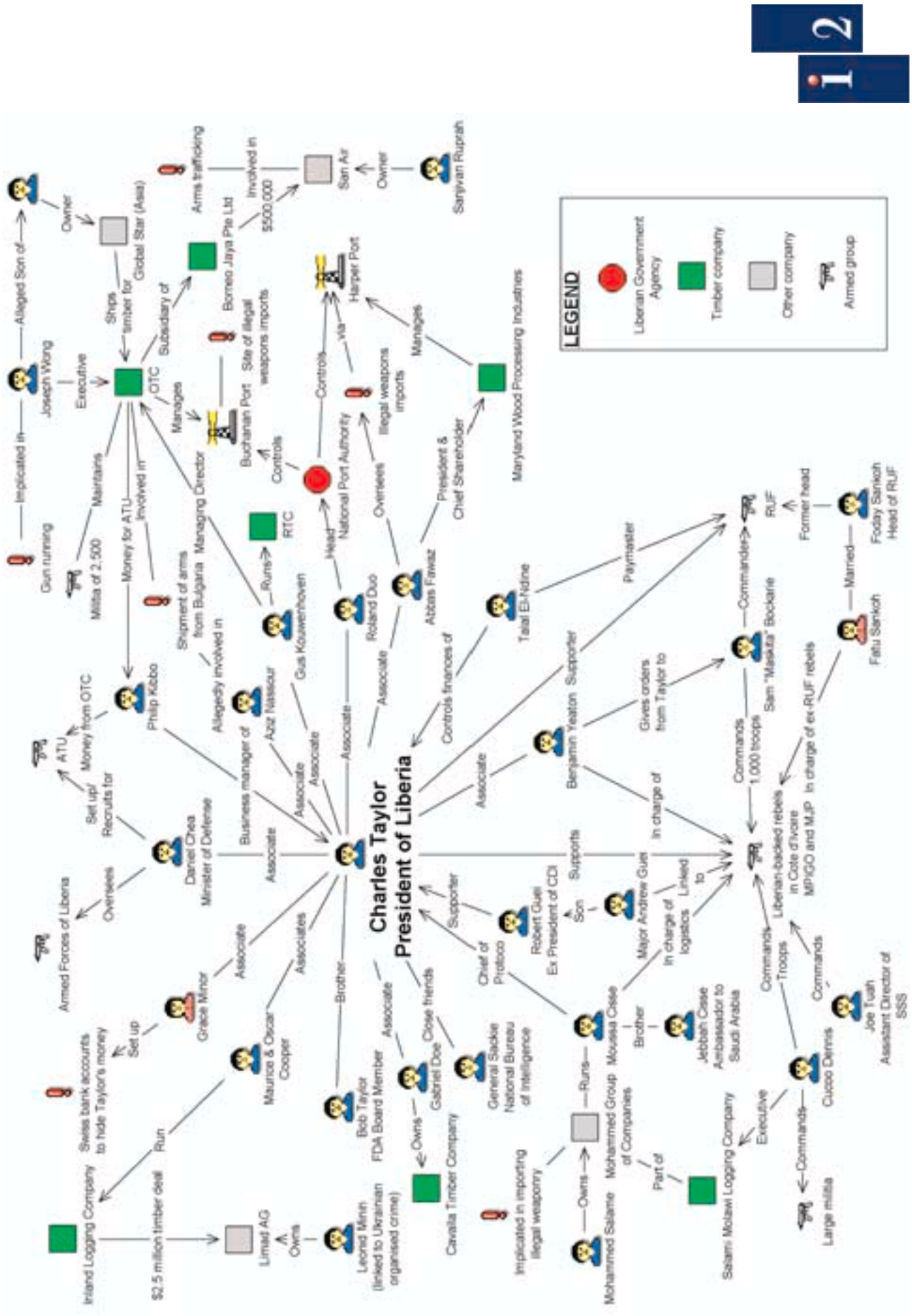
Joe Tuah – Assistant Director of the Special Security Services and personally manages the unloading of weapons upon arrival into port. He is involved in importing illegal weaponry [27], as well as commanding troops in Côte d'Ivoire.

Joseph Wong – Executive of the OTC, suspected gunrunner, and alleged son of Global Star (Asia) Group owner. He moved to Liberia at the same time as OTC operations began. He is on the UN travel ban as the UN determined that he was involved in providing financial and military support to armed rebel groups in the region[28].



Courtesy of All About Liberia

Benjamin Yeaton – President Charles Taylor's most trusted security commander and Military General in charge of operations in Côte d'Ivoire, although he maintains a presence in Liberia. He is involved in importing illegal weaponry,[29] and serves as the liaison between President Charles Taylor and Sam "Maskita" Bockarie. He has been involved in the deployment of the rebels in Côte d'Ivoire[30], and is a senior figure in MPIGO and MJP acting on President Charles Taylor's behalf.


Charles Taylor
President of Liberia
LEGEND
Liberian Government Agency
Timber company
Other company
Armed group
Joseph Wong
Executive
OTC
Global Star (Asia)
Borneo Jaya Pte Ltd
San Air
Sanjivan Ruprah
Harper Port
Buchanan Port
RTC
National Port Authority
Maryland Wood Processing Industries
Philip Kibbo
Daniel Chea
Minister of Defense
Armed Forces of Liberia
Gus Kouwenhoven
Roland Duo
Abbas Fawaz
Talal El-Hindine
Benjamin Yeaton
Sam "Maskita" Bockarie
Fatu Sankoh
Foday Sankoh
Head of RUF
Former head
RUF
Married
Commands
1,000 troops
Liberian-backed rebels in Cote d'Ivoire MPIGO and MJP
In charge of ex-RUF rebels
Paymaster
Supporter
Associate
Controls finances of
Gives orders from Taylor to
In charge of
Commands
Troops
Robert Gueï
Ex President of CDI
Major Andrew Gueï
In charge of logistics
Linked to
Son
Supports
Chief of Protocol
General Sackie
National Bureau of Intelligence
Implicated in importing illegal weaponry
Mohammed Group of Companies
Mousa Cisse
Mohammed Salame
Jebbah Cisse
Ambassador to Saudi Arabia
Brother
Part of
Saami Motawi Logging Company
Executive
Commands
Cucoo Dennis
Large militia
Joe Tuah
Assistant Director of SSS
Maurice & Oscar Cooper
Associates
Associate
Brother
Close friends
Gabriel Doe
Cavalla Timber Company
Owns
Bob Taylor
FDA Board Member
Leonid Minin
(linked to Ukrainian organised crime)
Limlad AG
Owns
$2.5 million timber deal
Run
Inland Logging Company
Swiss bank accounts to hide Taylor's money
Set up
Gracie Minor
Associate
Set up/ Recruits for
ATU
Money from OTC
Business manager of
Azar Nassour
Associate
Associate
Associate
Shipment of arms from Bulgaria
Allegedly involved in
Money for ATU
Involved in
Maintains
Militia of 2,500
Gun running
Implicated in
Alleged Son of
Owner
Ships timber for
Subsidiary of
Arms trafficking
Involved in $500,000
Owner
Manages
Site of illegal weapons imports
Controls
Via
Illegal weapons imports
Oversees
Head
Runs
Controls
Managing Director
President & Chief Shareholder
Manages

Liberia's Security Apparatus[a]

The Liberian government has a large security apparatus, though this number fluctuates as logging company militias are often seconded into various government forces. OTC, for example, has a private militia of 2,500 troops, and is headed by General Koffee while MWPI has 500 troops. Both groups were trained by top ATU officials. Benjamin Yeaton, Director of the Special Security Services (SSS), acts as battle front commander for Liberia. Other commanders such as Roland Duo and Cocoo Dennis command their own troops and also have equal access to Liberia's President. Each of these commanders coordinates with the others but may not necessarily be subjected to the others' instructions.

Armed Forces of Liberia:
Headed by Daniel Chea, Minister of Defence. Largely disbanded since 1996, and replaced by the ATU and other affiliated security services.

Special Operations Division (SOD):
Overseen by Paul Mulbah. Officially part of the Liberian National Police, and made up mainly of ex-NPFL fighters.

Anti-Terrorist Unit (ATU):
Commanded by Chuckie Taylor, President Charles Taylor's son. However, a Sierra Leonean called Momo Jibba from Kailahun District was reported to be head of ATU last March 2002. The ATU was created by President Charles Taylor in 1997, is notorious for its brutality, and is President Charles Taylor's most trusted security apparatus. It is comprised of approximately 90% Sierra Leonean ex-RUF combatants.

Navy Rangers
Commanded by Roland Duo, who is head of the National Port Authority and, as such, Chief of Security for all Liberian Ports. The Navy Rangers are a large fighting force, the bulk of whose personnel is comprised of logging company militias. They can be identified by their yellow t-shirts with "Navy Ranger" printed on the front. The group was originally referred to as the Bush Marines.

The Marine Division
Commanded by George Dwanah, aka Jack the Rebel. The Marine Division used to be called the "Strike Force Marines" during the NPFL insurgency. Following Taylor's election in 1997, they were disbanded but have recently being reinstated. They are made up of approximately 6,700 men and are one of the largest militia units. They used to be headed by Melvin Sogbani, who is now Minister of Post and Telecommunications

Special Security Service (SSS)
Commanded by Benjamin Yeaton, who also acts as head of all militias and field-commander of the war in Liberia. The SSS was created by Taylor in 1997, but is used only rarely, and particularly when foreign diplomats visit.

Delta Force
Commanded by Major Sam Cheplay. They are based in Fasama, in lower Lofa. They comprise 150 troops in total.

Wild Geese
Commanded by Major Sam Cheplay. They are a reconnaissance team of about 75 men, operating in different parts of Lofa.

Man Moving Man Dropping
Commanded by Major General Samuel Varney who is also the Chief of Staff of the AFL. They comprise 300 men and operate on the highway between Lofa and Gbarnga, where Cucoo Dennis heads the operation.

Lofa Defence Force
Commanded by George Dwanah, aka Jack the Rebel. It is made up mainly of child soldiers from Lofa, but the exact size is unknown. Massaquoi used to head the force until his death in 2000, when he was reportedly shot in the back by General Momo Gebah, Aide-de-Camp to Liberian President Charles Taylor, and former head of the ATU.


Part One

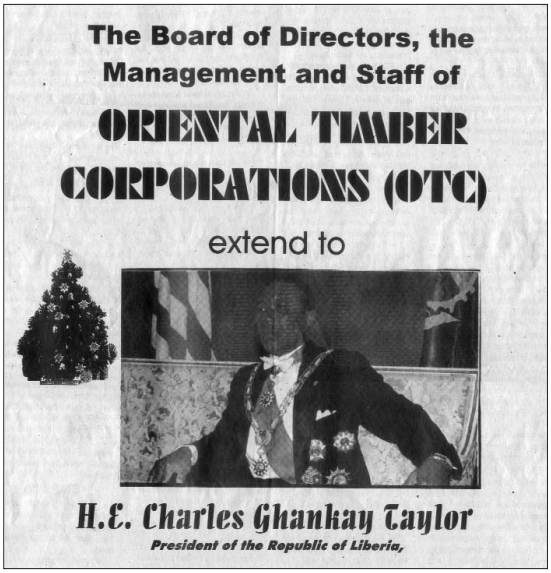
PART ONE: Everything You Wanted to Know About the Liberian Arms Trade But Were Too Afraid to Ask

Despite the natural wealth of sub-Saharan Africa, half the population lives in severe poverty and one fifth is affected by armed conflict[36]. In 1997, West Africa alone harboured 7 million firearms,[37] a figure that is likely to be much higher today.

An estimated 40-50% of the world's trade in small arms is illegal, but this figure is undoubtedly higher as a significant proportion of the legal trade in arms will be passed on to the illicit arms market[38]. Because no customs or taxes are paid in illicit arms transactions, the return for arms dealers is particularly high and also makes weapons inexpensive for prospective buyers.

Conflict-commodity sales, coupled with illicit arms trade, are the springboard for the dire situation in many sub-Saharan countries , and Liberia is no exception. Liberia's timber industry is the building block for arms trafficking and violent conflict, housing people such as Leonid Minin, linked to Ukrainian organised crime, and arms-smuggler Victor Bout, aka "the Merchant of Death"[39]. The illicit arms trade in Liberia would face severe, if not entirely crippling, effects without the timber industry to provide funds and logistics.

This section explains the pillars of the Liberian arms trade; covering "Who", "What", "When", "Where," "Why", and "How."



Christmas Greetings from OTC to President Taylor, *The News (Monrovia)* 16 December 2002



MWPI Head Office and alleged arms storage. August 2002.

History Repeats itself

In the early 1990s, money from sales of timber was "deposited into two bank accounts at the Banque Internationale du Burkina in the Burkina Faso Capital of Ouagadougou, and was then used to pay for shipments of fuel, ammunition and arms. The timber is shipped out of ports under NPFL control, such as Buchanan, Harper and Sinoe. Logs are sometimes taken overland to the Ivory Coast port of San Pedro, where Mr Taylor's business operations have been based." Official trade statistics for 1990-1994 show that the value of exported natural resources reached some US$ 421 million annually, and there is a possibility that some US$ 75 million of this reached Charles Taylor. By 1992, France was listed as the main importer of Liberian timber, importing a staggering 68 percent of Liberian exports in timber.[31] Actual figures are likely to be significantly higher due to considerable unrecorded trade.

7 How: Logistics and Financing of Liberia's Arms Trade

Due to the obscure nature of the shipping industry under maritime "flags of convenience" (FoC)[t] shipping by boat is the superlative route for arms traders[40]. Further complicating the tracking of weapons shipments is the fact that many vessels do not register their arrival at all ports. Larger ports, which have Lloyd's List agents present, register the arrival and departure of ships[u]. However, this practice is not universal and is simply not practiced in many of the smaller ports, such as those in West Africa. Some ships go missing for months, before they dock at a port that will register their arrival and departure. Some ships also off-load offshore to disguise their presence. This is a technique used by the Liberian Government when transferring weapons from Nigerian ships to its own navy boat for delivery to the ports at Harper or Buchanan (see When: Regular Delivery of Illegal Weapons in 2002 and 2003, page 26).

The UN Expert Panel on Liberia (October 2002) uncovered flights that brought in arms shipments on six occasions in 2002[v] and also claimed that "air transportation is the sanctions busters preference" However, Global Witness investigations have uncovered that shipments by sea are far more regular. In fact, arms Shipments to Liberia by sea are frequent, occurring at least



Abou 1 in Harper Port. May 2001.



Undersized logs on OTC log pond in the port of Buchanan. December 2002.

2-3 times every month (see When: Regular Delivery of Illegal Weapons in 2002 and 2003, page 26). With larger carrying capacity, shipments by sea are almost certainly more important to President Charles Taylor than shipments by air or road. This system is carefully managed and monitored by the Liberian Government and timber industry: from arms brokering and delivery to payment. Outside Liberia, finances are kept tightly protected in foreign bank accounts. Inside Liberia, all timber-for-arms activities are closely controlled.

7.1 Economics of Liberia's war machine

Payments from timber and diamonds made to President Charles Taylor are regular and frequent[41] as he continues to exploit the connections that he has maintained since before UN sanctions on Liberia took effect[42]. Taylor has never had trouble finding people who are willing to overlook international laws. One such person was a well-connected Frenchman, who brokered a Sierra Leone diamond deal between Sierra Leone rebel leader Johnny Paul Koroma, Liberian President Charles Taylor and an unknown French buyer[43]. Today, President Charles Taylor still purchases a large quantity of Sierra Leonean diamonds smuggled into Liberia. He buys on the local market for prices he sets and if the seller refuses, that seller is reported and faces intimidation and/or detention[44]. President Charles Taylor also has agents buying for him in Kono, Sierra Leone[45]. Money from timber and diamond deals are kept both on hand in cash and deposited in foreign bank accounts.

[t] A Flag of Convenience (FoC) also known as an "open register" is the practice of effectively renting ones country's flag to ship owners of any nationality guaranteeing the absolute minimum of rules, regulations and taxes (see Global Witness and the International Transport Workers' Federation "Taylor-made – The Pivotal Role of Liberia's Forests and Flag of Convenience in Regional Conflict", page 30).

[u] The primary duty of a Lloyd's list agent is to provide shipping and casualty information offered to the worldwide marine insurance market. This data, which includes the arrival and departure dates, as well as intended destinations, is then collated and published. See http://www.lloydsagency.com.

[v] These flights were on 1 June, 7 June, 29 June, 5 July, 23 August and 25 August 2002.



7.2 President Charles Taylor's Bank Accounts

Payment for timber is often brought into Liberia in-kind and/or in cash. A frequent method of payment is 50% in monetary funds and 50% in weaponry. For example, in the case of OTC, a portion of cash income from these payments is passed from OTC management to Philip Kibbo, who is one of President Charles Taylor's business managers. Kibbo then acts as paymaster of the largely ex-RUF manned ATU. While a large proportion of funds to the Liberian Government are made in cash, some funds are kept in overseas accounts.[46]

Philip Kibbo, who collects OTC's money, is junior to Talal En-Ndine, who controls President Charles Taylor's overseas accounts in Burkina Faso and in Zurich, Switzerland. Liberian Senator Grace Minor set up the Swiss bank account in 1993. Money from the logging industry will go to the Swiss bank account and will then be transferred into the Burkinabé accounts.[47] Funds in Burkina Faso are kept in two banks, the Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO) and Burkina Faso's Banque Internationale du Burkina (BIB)[48]. Both accounts were opened under the name of Jean-Paul Some.[49] The BIB account was opened in 1990; with then-warlord Charles Taylor receiving Libyan funds into this account for his rebel insurgency; The BCEAO account was opened in 1987[50]. Moussa Cisse, of the Mohammed Group of Companies (MGC) logging company, would withdraw cash for President Charles Taylor and also issue checks from this account on his behalf. Funds from both diamonds and timber go through him.[51]



MWPI logging truck near Harper Port. August 2002.



Kono diamond field. Spring 2003.

The Smokescreen of Swiss Bank Accounts

The humanitarian situation in Liberia is calamitous: half its population is undernourished[21]; there is no running water or electricity in the capital Monrovia; illiteracy and unemployment stands at 80%, and the average income is US$83 per year. Yet somehow Liberian investments in Switzerland are higher than both those of South Africa and Nigeria, and Liberian funds account for about 25% of all African funds in Swiss accounts[22].

Official figures of the Swiss National Bank for 2002 showed, conservatively rounded downward, that Africa in total had CHF 19 billion (approximately US$14.3 billion) deposited in Swiss banks. Liberia had CHF 5.1 billion (approximately US$3.8 billion), while South Africa had CHF 3.2 billion (approximately US$2.4 billion) and Nigeria had CHF 1.1 billion (approximately US$900 million)[23]. The overall figure for Liberian assets in Swiss banks is significantly higher, as figures stated here are only from the one type of account for which the Swiss government allows statistics to be released publicly[24].

It is obvious that money from the lucrative timber industry is not benefiting the Liberian population. Global Witness' report "Taylor-made"[25], showed that the timber industry in Liberia was worth a total of US$186 million in 2000, of which only an estimated US$6.5 million went to the national budget. The total value of the industry was likely much higher at the time due to significant unrecorded income, and industry revenue figures are also likely to be much higher today.

The large-scale deposits from Liberia are most likely the result of government asset and revenue diversion, which is funding illegal arms purchases and contributing to the humanitarian catastrophe in Liberia. Swiss banks have the option to freeze Liberian bank accounts in Switzerland and should do so, as they did following the Expert Panel report on the Democratic Republic of Congo[26].

Logging Fund Estimates

The Value of the Liberian Timber Industry[b]

Given the opacity of Liberian logging company operations and that of its European and Asian importers, and the fact that the Liberian government documents, when released, are highly inaccurate[11], it is very difficult to ascertain the overall value of the Liberian logging industry. Exporters will understate the amount of timber shipped, to escape Liberian government taxes, as well as hide the amount of money taken for extra-budgetary purchases and corruption. Some importers will also understate imports, to avoid paying domestic import duties on logs brought in. Moreover, the Liberian Government, to hide its extra-budgetary spending and corruption, does not widely disseminate any documents dealing with the timber industry that might show the extent of revenue that has gone missing[c]. However, through investigations, the use of official trade statistics, and through communication with those knowledgeable about the global timber trade, Global Witness has made efforts to determine how much revenue the industry produces for the country, and just how much of that money is never seen by the people of Liberia in the form of economic and social development.

Of all countries, China is the largest importing country for Liberian timber. According to Global Witness investigations, which focus on the OTC's Buchanan Port and are thus limited, for the seven months from January to July 2002 China imported 600,000m^3 of timber from Liberia, for a conservative FOB value[d] of approximately US$60 million[e]. This evidence contradicts the full January to December official trade statistics for China (including Hong Kong) as provided by the World Trade Atlas[f]. According to the World Trade Atlas, China imported 672,000 m3 of Liberian timber for the whole of 2002, for a total CIF value[g] of about US$64 million[12]. That would imply that only 73,500m3 of timber was imported into China for the five months of August through December 2002. However, the average size of shipments to China is 24,000m^3, meaning only three additional deliveries would have been made in final five months of the year. Given that OTC ships to China an average of two to three times per month, it does not follow that only three more shipments were made in the span of five months[13]. Moreover, the five months in question do not all fall in the rainy season, so there is no environmental reason why log shipping would not have continued at its previous pace. Therefore, it is apparent that China is understating its imports of conflict timber from Liberia, and probably by a significant amount, given that five months of data were unavailable to Global Witness investigators.

As for the rest of the world, the World Trade Atlas states that the total amount of Liberian timber imported by its 37 reporting countries totalled US$152 million. Of that, the European Union as a whole imported US$72.6 million of Liberian timber in 2002[14], with France importing US$35 million. Turkey, which is a major destination for timber ordered by Danish company DLH-Nordisk[15], imported US$10.4 million. Given the evidence that China has underestimated its imports for 2002, it is expected that this would continue across all countries, making the World Trade Atlas' statistics, which are limited in their scope to begin with, inaccurate. The US$152 million figure is certainly understated; even so, it is disturbing that so much revenue is generated by the industry, with much of it available to the Liberian Government but used to wage war against neighbouring countries and against Liberian citizens, and not for the "legitimate social, humanitarian and development purposes" as called for by the Security Council[16].



Bundles of Sipo sawn timber at Harper Port packed for Hull, UK. August 2002.


Part One

8 Who: Players in the Illegal Arms Trade to Liberia

During the Cold War many third-world countries became the battleground for proxy conflicts between the United States, the Soviet Union and their allies. This structure became the breeding ground for non-state arms dealers who would, in cooperation with state security agencies, sell weaponry to either foreign heads of state or foreign rebel movements, depending on which side was favoured. With the end of the Cold War this system fell apart and arms dealers were unchained from any unofficial controls that existed. Without proper mechanisms aimed at these brokers and agents, trading in illegal arms remained attractive and relatively risk-free for those taking advantage of international agreements that made unregulated cross-border trade easier.[52] As of 2002, only six countries had measures targeted specifically at these agents.[53] Such legislation is at the centre of addressing arms deals that go through third countries – the procedure for many importing arms into Liberia.

Although improvements to arms trading laws have been made[54], Eastern European countries remain at the forefront of this industry. Investigations into illicit arms trading have implicated Bulgaria, Romania, Moldova and Slovakia and also the Central European countries of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan as well as individuals from the Ukraine, Yugoslavia, and Russia.[55] In 2002, allegations even arose that the Ukrainian president had been involved in an arms deal with Iraq.[56] In the case of Liberia, the majority of weapons originate from eastern European countries and are transhipped through third countries such as Libya and Nigeria.[57]

The Arms Trafficker's Best Friend: The Secrecy and Insecurity of Container Shipments

"You never really know what you have in there [the containers]…at least oil tankers know what they are carrying is dangerous," Sailor aboard an American-registered container ship[17].

As the world has moved to containerised shipping, which are loaded and sealed at the point of production and often go unopened until their final destination, it has become increasingly difficult to be certain of just what is being transported. The manifests are created upon packing the container, and shippers often have no way of knowing if what they are handling is truly what is listed on the manifest. Port and customs authorities have little more luck, even with high-tech container-screening devices, as many ships will hold between 5,000 and 7,000 containers. Thus, it is all but impossible for customs to find illicit weaponry hidden within a consignment unless tipped off ahead of time. Moreover, as a member of the shipping industry stated, customs officers are more interested in finding illegal drugs than weapons, because weapons smuggling usually involves politics, and that is usually left alone[18].

Hong Kong container port, the largest in the world in terms of containers moved at over 18 million per year, has had some high profile cases of illegally shipped armaments being seized by port authorities[19]. Such finds are rare, however, and at such large ports, with their myriad of shipping, shipping management and logistics companies, it is quite possible that illegal weapons or other contraband could be loaded onto a container ship without notice. This is disconcerting when one considers the ongoing war against terrorism, as the ability to move weapons unhindered via container ship is a serious threat. This sense of threat is heightened in Hong Kong, given the recent arrest of three men who have been implicated in attempting to buy anti-aircraft missiles for al Qaeda, in exchange for drugs[20].


Hong Kong container port. January 2003.



Eastern Europe:
Liberia's history with Eastern European arms dealers goes back to when Charles Taylor was heading the NPFL rebel incursion. Taylor would make money by granting logging concessions to foreign businessmen, receive payments from them and then purchase arms from Warsaw Pact[w] countries and store funds in bank accounts held in Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and other countries.[58]

The Expert Panel Report on Liberia (October, 2002), as part of its investigation of the 200 tonnes of illegal arms shipped from Belgrade to Monrovia between May and August 2002, met with Mr Slobodan Tezic, director of the Belgrade-based Temex company, and Mr Orhan Dragas, President of the Board of MDO System Company. Temex was responsible for organising the contracts to send the arms, which consisted mainly of old military equipment from Yugoslavian army stocks.[59] The cargo documents shown to the Panel had stamps from the Nigerian receiver, Aruna Import, Lagos airport and the Nigerian Ministry of Defence, confirming that the cargo had been shipped to and arrived in Lagos, Nigeria; however, as the documents had been mailed to Belgrade more than two months after the flights had occurred, physical inspection of the cargo by the Nigerians would have been impossible. Moreover, the Panel later discovered that the two Nigerian End User Certification (EUCs) were false.[60] Mr Dragas, an associate of Mr Tezic, insisted that he only dealt in timber and cocoa, despite his business card indicating that he traded in military equipment. Mr Dragas admitted that he had travelled to Liberia in April 2002 to work on timber and cocoa deals, he denied visiting Nigeria.[61]

China and Taiwan:
On 17 February 1977, the Chinese government established diplomatic relations with Liberia.[62] When Liberia established diplomatic relations with Taiwan twelve years later, the Chinese government suspended relations with Liberia. The relationships between Liberia, China and Taiwan continued to pivot depending on the stance of the Liberian Government towards Taiwan. Today, diplomatic relations between China and Liberia have not resumed. However, dubious business deals between Liberian timber companies and China's state firm China National Aero-Technology Import and Export Corporation (CATIC)[x] appeared nonetheless.[63] Furthermore, there has also been a marked increase in the amount of Chinese-made weapons in Liberia.[64] This can be attributed to links maintained by Liberia's largest logging company, Oriental Timber Company (OTC), with alleged arms

[w] The Warsaw Pact, signed in Poland on 14 May 1955, was an alliance formed to repel any anticipated threats from the Nato alliance. The signatories were Albania, Bulgaria, former Czechoslovakia, former East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the former Soviet Union.

Murder and Intrigue in the Logging Industry

In the early 1990s, an American citizen named Bob Hope, also known as "Redhead", set up the Interior Timber Incorporated (ITI) logging company and began operations on the Sierra Leone/Liberia border in the Bella Yella area. ITI also began operations in Rivercess County, shipping logs from both areas from Monrovia Port. An opportunist, Hope would do business with whomever seemed to have the upper hand in the conflict and so, when he met Charles Taylor, an agreement was reached: Hope could keep logging as long as he abided by Taylor's rules. Soon thereafter the concession hosted an NPFL and RUF training camp. The concession also hosted a maximum-security airstrip for the import of supplies.

But it appeared that Hope committed a fatal mistake. In January 1994, he allegedly excluded Taylor from a deal with a man named George Bailey for a logging concession in Sinoe County. On his way back from a sales trip in Rivercess, Bob Hope and everyone travelling with him were killed during an ambush carried out by the NPFL. The only person who survived the ambush was a man dating one of Taylor's daughters at the time.

With Hope dead, NPFL General Cucoo Dennis took over the equipment and moved the operation to Grand Gedeh. The ITI name was eventually changed to GAS in 1997 and is now owned by Charles Taylor and managed by Cucoo Dennis, who also runs the ILC logging company in Rivercess. Taylor also gave a portion of the old ITI concession to Mohammed Salame of the Salame Logging Company (SLC) whose interests also include illegal arms and diamond deals[33].

"Regarding security, there are reports from River Cess County, concerning the ITI logging company concession, of some 450 former child combatants being used for gold mining. They are under the reported control of a General Roland Duo, the former NPFL chief of staff for River Cess County." UN Liberia Humanitarian Situation Report June 30 1997[h].

brokers in Hong Kong and mainland China (See Murder and Intrigue in the Logging Industry OTC's Chain of Custody, page 20).



Joseph Wong, Director of OTC and subject to the UN travel ban for his role in supporting armed rebel groups in region[65], is alleged to have used connections with Hong Kong and mainland China to procure weapons for shipment from the Freeport of Hong Kong on behalf of OTC[66]. The use of Hong Kong Freeport is not unusual in arms smuggling. According to an investigative report in July 2002, China's two largest arms factories, Norinco and Poly Technology, provided weaponry to underground arms brokers[67]. Goods were then shipped in crates and sometimes by cargo ship from Hong Kong to destination ports.

Nigeria:

There has been an increase in arms and ammunition being shipped from Nigeria to Liberia[68]. Whether or not this is state-sanctioned is uncertain. However, evidence points to a several indicators that some government knowledge may indeed exist.

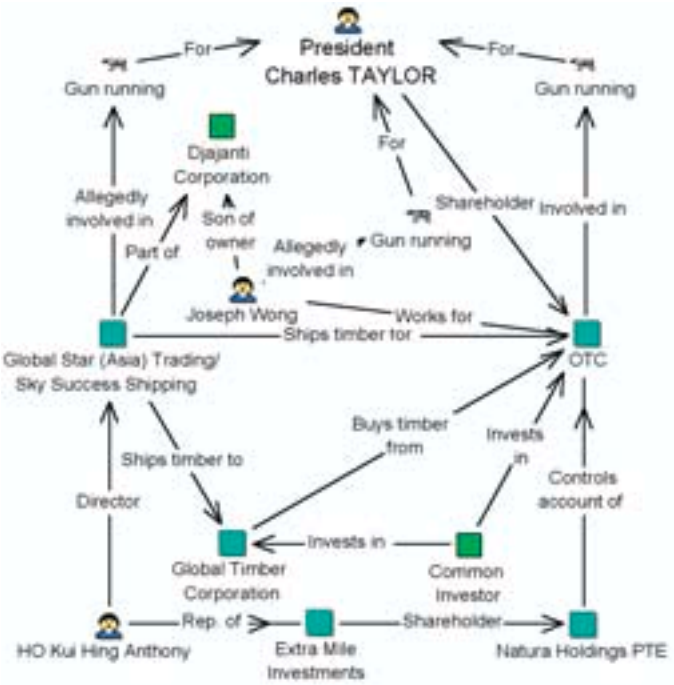
A Nigerian diplomat in Monrovia arranges shipments to Liberia from Nigeria. He currently coordinates the arms transfers between the Nigerian and Liberian Governments. In September 2002, he was staying at the Metropolitan Hotel, Broad Street, Monrovia, in room 308[69]. President Charles Taylor has since arranged a house for him in Congo town.[70]

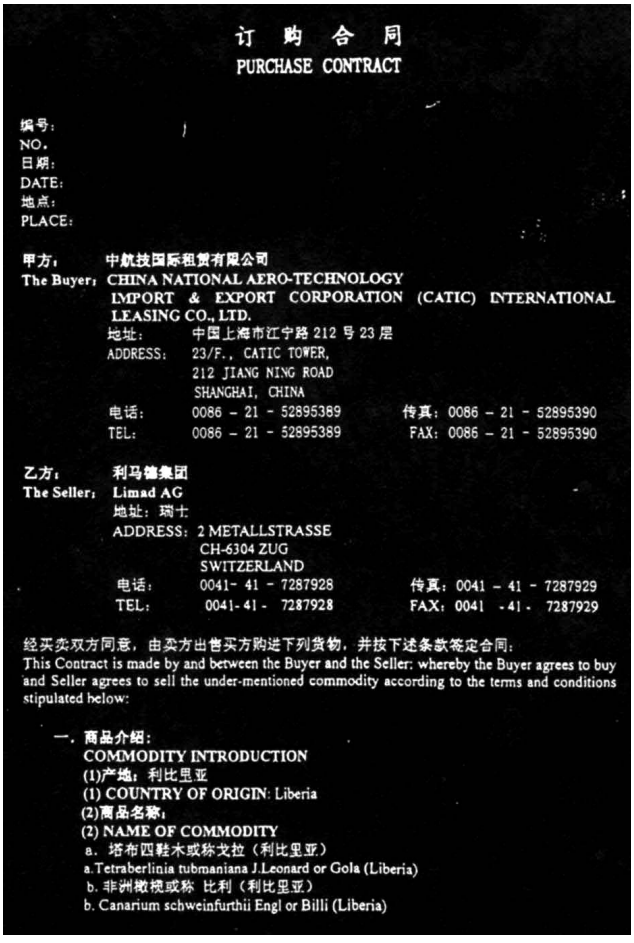
Significant arms shipments from Nigeria to Liberia are delivered by sea. Arms are first shipped or flown into Nigeria, then transferred in containers to smaller cargo boats, which sail disguised as supplies[71]. Arms are also transferred to smaller fishing boats on the high seas to avoid detection[72]. The Nigerian government is also involved in arms-shipments to Sierra Leone for the Liberian Government[73] (see Plotting ahead: The Liberian Government's plans for Sierra Leone, page 31).

Libya and Burkina Faso:

Taylor went to Libya in the late 1980s, where he was trained by Libyan leader Colonel Ghaddafi to launch a rebellion against the government of then-Liberian president Samuel Doe. It was through the support of Ghaddafi that Taylor organised his National Patriotic Front for Liberia (NPFL). Taylor had been introduced to Ghaddafi through Blaise Campaore, President of Burkina Faso and who was then an officer in the Burkina Faso army[74]. It was in Libya that Taylor met Ibrahim Bah, the Senegalese soldier of fortune who would become Taylor's main fixer of illegal diamond and arms deals[75]. Today, both Burkina Faso and Libya act as transhipment points for arms destined for Liberia[76].

[x] A company that deals in various types of weaponry from aviation engines to infrared missiles.





订 购 合 同

PURCHASE CONTRACT

编号:
NO.
日期:
DATE:
地点:
PLACE:

甲方, 中航技国际租赁有限公司
The Buyer, CHINA NATIONAL AERO-TECHNOLOGY IMPORT & EXPORT CORPORATION (CATIC) INTERNATIONAL LEASING CO., LTD.
地址: 中国上海市江宁路 212 号 23 层
ADDRESS: 23/F., CATIC TOWER, 212 JIANG NING ROAD SHANGHAI, CHINA
电话: 0086 - 21 - 52895389 传真: 0086 - 21 - 52895390
TEL: 0086 - 21 - 52895389 FAX: 0086 - 21 - 52895390

乙方, 利马德集团
The Seller, Limad AG
地址: 瑞士
ADDRESS: 2 METALLSTRASSE CH-6304 ZUG SWITZERLAND
电话: 0041- 41 - 7287928 传真: 0041 - 41 - 7287929
TEL: 0041- 41 - 7287928 FAX: 0041 - 41 - 7287929

经买卖双方同意, 由卖方出售买方购进下列货物, 并按下述条款签定合同:
This Contract is made by and between the Buyer and the Seller; whereby the Buyer agrees to buy and Seller agrees to sell the under-mentioned commodity according to the terms and conditions stipulated below:

一. 商品介绍:
COMMODITY INTRODUCTION
(1)产地: 利比里亚
(1) COUNTRY OF ORIGIN: Liberia
(2)商品名称:
(2) NAME OF COMMODITY
a. 塔布四鞋木或称戈拉 (利比里亚)
a.Tetraberlinia tubmaniana J.Leonard or Gola (Liberia)
b. 非洲橄榄或称 比利 (利比里亚)
b. Canarium schweinfurthii Engl or Billi (Liberia)

Timber deal between Chinese government-owned company and Limad AG, owned by arms dealer Leonid Minin. 1999.

OTC's Chain of Custody

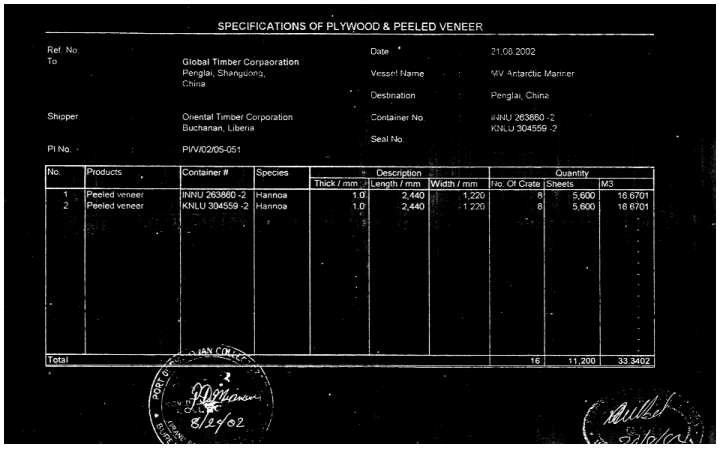
The Liberia-based Oriental Timber Company is related to the Global Star (Asia) group, which is the sole importer of Liberian logs to China, and which operates a number of logging ships[34]. What happened to OTC timber upon reaching China had previously been unclear, until recent Global Witness investigations in China linked OTC and Global Star to a major wood processing facility in mainland China, Global Timber Corporation (GTC).

Global Timber Corporation (GTC) is located in the Penglai Industrial Zone, Shandong Province, near one of the ports listed on most OTC/Global Star shipping invoices. GTC was incorporated on 31 January 2000 and is now one of the largest timber processors in mainland China, designed to produce over 480,000 cubic metres of product. As GTC does not use domestic Chinese wood sources, it must import almost 900,000 cubic metres of logs annually, much of it from West Africa and Liberia in particular. GTC has a long-term agreement to import from OTC, which, while being a separate business entity, has the same investor as GTC[35].

In order to launch such a huge investment, GTC received significant help from the Chinese national government. First, Global Timber was allowed to be set up as a Wholly Foreign Owned Enterprise (WFOE). Moreover, in addition to the tax breaks and other economic incentives provided to such a company operating in a special economic zone, the Chinese government undertook a large and expensive dredging operation to deepen Penglai's port to 14 metres, specifically for use by GTC to import logs on larger logging ships[36].

Given that OTC is also related to the Global Star (Asia) family of companies, it becomes clear that a common investor ties OTC, Global Star and GTC together under one corporate structure[37]. The end result is a conflict timber chain of custody starting from the felling of trees in Liberia, through transhipment to China, and ending at a processing facility in Penglai, China.

From GTC's factory, timber exports reportedly go to Japan (specifically Osaka), Korea, and the US; much is also sold on the domestic Chinese market. While designed to export some 480,000 cubic metres of product every year, the factory is currently running at 80% capacity, owing to global market downturns[38].



SPECIFICATIONS OF PLYWOOD & PEELED VENEER

Ref. No.
To: Global Timber Corpaoration, Penglai, Shangdong, China
Date: 21.06.2002
Vessel Name: MV Antarctic Mariner
Destination: Penglai, China
Shipper: Oriental Timber Corporation, Buchanan, Liberia
Container No.: INNU 263680 -2, KNLU 304559 -2
Seal No.
PI No.: PIV/02/05-051

No.	Products	Container #	Species	Description			Quantity		
				Thick / mm	Length / mm	Width / mm	No. Of Crate	Sheets	M3
1	Peeled veneer	INNU 263680 -2	Hannoa	1.0	2,440	1,220	8	5,600	16.6701
2	Peeled veneer	KNLU 304559 -2	Hannoa	1.0	2,440	1,220	8	5,600	16.6701
Total							16	11,200	33.3402

8/24/02

Invoice for OTC timber, as ordered by Global Timber Corporation and delivered by Global Star (Asia) Trading. 21 June 2002.

Hide and Seek

OTC and Global Star both have a history of changing their names and obscuring their corporate structures, in an attempt to hide their illegal activities. OTC, having come under pressure from European importers, was concerned about their image abroad and took to calling itself Evergreen Trading Company, a ruse quickly uncovered. OTC has also shipped its logs under the name of its sister company Royal Timber Company. OTC also ships to European timber agents, who then sell onwards to the major processors and distributors, thus distancing the product from OTC. Most recently, OTC and other Liberian timber companies have begun to mark their logs with a series of coloured dots, as opposed to the more recognisable corporate insignias previously painted on exported logs[39].

The Global Star (Asia) family of companies, which is the sole importer of Liberian conflict timber to the Asian market, has also attempted to hide its identity through deregistering and opening up again in the name of Sky Success Shipping Limited[40]. However, on export documents from Liberia, Global Star's name is still in use. It now appears that Sky Success is going to change its name again, thus continuing the charade.

Unhealthy relationship with WWF and possibly Ikea

Global Timber was, ironically, a founding member of the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) China Corporate Club[41]. The illegal activities of OTC are well documented and widely known, and yet WWF, an environmental organisation, still maintains Global Timber as one of its very public donors.

According to WWF's own Corporate Club webpage, WWF does not work with companies that "give rise to irreconcilable ethical and environmental conflicts"[42]. However, GTC's continuous importing of conflict timber from OTC in Liberia, which is taking an active role in a conflict and is importing illicit arms against UN sanctions, is clearly a violation of this key principle. No matter how successful GTC may be, nor how "environmentally friendly" their processing facilities may be, the fact that their timber sources are integrally involved in regional conflict makes their membership of WWF's Corporate Club untenable.

Global Witness investigations also uncovered that GTC and a Finnish merchant that supplies Ikea were in exploratory talks to undertake a joint venture. While the nature of the joint venture was not discussed, Global Witness cautions Ikea to scrutinise the buying policies of its suppliers, and cease buying from any that have relations with Global Timber Corporation.



Part One

Strategic Commodities

President Charles Taylor does his best to obscure company ownership, making tracing difficult, if not impossible. He ensures maximum hold on the logging industry by having stakes in every logging company operating in Liberia. The most important of these companies is the Oriental Timber Company (OTC)[r], which has President Charles Taylor as 50% stakeholder.[32] While OTC has been listed as logging 43% of concessionable forest[33], the actual proportion is significantly larger than this at approximately 70%.[34] Gus Kouwenhoven, the managing director of OTC, gets Liberians to start up logging companies that are in fact run by him, due to the fact that it costs 1,000 Liberian dollars for a Liberian to set up a company whereas the cost for an expatriate amounts to 100,000 Liberian dollars. In addition to timber interests, OTC is also currently in the process of gaining exploration rights for oil deposits reportedly discovered off Liberia's coast. Gus Kouwenhoven has also disguised his ownership of LoneStar Communications and DataTech, an internet service provider. OTC is also expected to embark on a large fishery and other marine business.[35] It is highly likely that some OTC militias have been absorbed into the rebel groups in Côte d'Ivoire. Such transfers of men are common within Liberia's security apparatus, but especially so with OTC's large amount of troops (2,500). OTC also has very close ties to BIN and was sending BIN timber through Danane for export out of San Pedro.

9 What: Types of weapons entering Liberia

Infantry Weapons:
Global Witness investigations noted an increase in the imports of heavy weaponry into Liberia late last year. This would probably be designated for Côte d'Ivoire where larger machinery is easier to manoeuvre and targets such as roads and towns would be less fluid than in areas in Liberia where the government is fighting rebels. The following is a list of types of weaponry used in Liberia.

- Weapons entering Liberia are mainly small arms and light weaponry[y], chiefly Chinese-made AK47s, Machine Guns and Rocket Propelled Grenades (RPGs)[77].
- AFL troops in northern Liberia use old Universal Machine Guns (UMGs), General Purpose Machine Guns (GPMGs), Chinese-made AK47s and RPGs[78]. Newer and high-calibre weaponry is reserved for use by the ATU and OTC's logging company militias[79].
- OTC militia, numbering approximately 2,500, uses mainly Chinese-made weapons including AK47s, RPG-7s (Rocket-propelled grenade-launcher, an anti-armour weapon), GPMGs and BZT (Armour Piercing Incendiary Tracer) rounds[80].
- Global Witness research and investigations have shown that LURD rebels in Lofa County have General Purpose Machine

[y] UN definition: Small arms are weapons designed for personal use, while light weapons are designed for use by several persons serving as a crew.

[r] According to a Global Witness interview with an anonymous source, President Charles Taylor also set up ILC, MGC and owns ULC, LLWPC and MLC.

[s] This is a global occurrence, as the battle for lucrative natural resources fuels both international and domestic wars. The following list of countries and the resources in question, while not exhaustive, demonstrates the global nature of this phenomenon and the problem resource wars present to international peace and security. Resources listed include those directly involved in the conflict, as well as those prospective resources that belligerents expected to exploit upon taking power: Afghanistan (Opium/heroin, emeralds, natural gas and oil routes); Algeria (oil); Angola (oil, diamonds, timber, ivory, uranium); Burma (timber, rubies, heroin, oil); Cambodia (timber, rubies, oil); Chad (oil, uranium); Colombia (oil, heroin, cocaine, gold, emeralds, coal); DR Congo (copper, cobalt, diamonds, gold, timber, uranium, oil, minerals); East Timor (oil); Indonesia-Aceh (oil); Indonesia-West Papua (timber, copper, oil, hydropower); Iraq-Kuwait (oil); Liberia (timber, diamonds, iron, rubber, drugs); Mozambique (timber, hydropower, shrimps, ivory, gas); Papua New Guinea-Bougainville (copper); Peru (cocaine); Philippines (timber, marijuana); Senegal-Casamance (marijuana); Sierra Leone (diamonds, rutile, bauxite); Sudan (oil, timber, gold); Turkey-Kurdistan (heroin); Western Sahara (phosphates, oil); [taken from Philippe Le Billon article "The Political economy of resource wars", as appears in the book "Angola's War Economy: the Role of oil and diamonds" Jakkie Cilliers and Christian Dietrich (editors) 2000].

Guns (GPMs), sub-machine guns (SMGs), RPGs, as well as BZTs, M-16 rifles and PKM machine guns. The majority of weapons for LURD come from Guinea, some are also taken from the AFL when LURD rebels learn that the AFL has been re-supplied[81].

- The UN Panel of Experts also listed weaponry including hand grenades, automatic and long range rifles and ammunition (see Annex V: List, page 49)

Helicopters:

There are currently four operational helicopters in Liberia, including one owned by OTC. The government has three – two can go from Monrovia up to the Lofa/Foya area without stopping to refuel. One of these is a police helicopter, and marked "Police", the other is marked "ATU 003", and is an MI8 helicopter. One of the government's helicopters is painted in camouflage.

Recent reports have mentioned the existence of a helicopter gunship owned by the Liberian Government[82]. This could either be true, explaining the recent increase in imports of heavy-weaponry; or it could be a case of mistaken identity, confusing it with one of the helicopters mentioned above that does in fact exist with a Multi-Purpose Machine Gun (MPMG)[83] mounted onto it. OTC currently has a small MI2 helicopter, based at Gus Kouwenhoven's Hotel Africa compound in Monrovia. It is used to fly supplies up to the Lofa/Foya area. Ukrainian pilots who fly the helicopters stay in Hotel Komoma on 24th street in Sinkor. The Komoma Hotel is owned by Ms Kadiatu Diarra, one of President Charles Taylor's business managers[84].



Members of Navy Rangers, including child soldier, using illegally imported weapons. 2003.

A Failed Audit

In UN Resolution 1408 (2002) the Security Council, highlighting concerns over the misappropriation of revenue from the logging industry and shipping and corporate registries, called upon the Liberian government "to take urgent steps, including through the establishment of transparent and internationally verifiable audit regimes, to ensure that revenue derived by the Government of Liberia from the Liberian Shipping Registry and the Liberian timber industry is used for legitimate social, humanitarian and development purposes, and is not used in violation of this resolution". The Government of Liberia was ordered to respond within three months, by 7 August 2002.

What has ensued is a year of stalling and attempts to pass off substandard submissions to the Council as compliance. The Government of Liberia did not respond to the initial demand until mid September, and that submission was unanimously dismissed by the Security Council as unacceptable[27]. In response, the government of Liberia offered up a tender to international auditing firms to do the work, and very quickly chose Deloitte & Touche's Ghana office[28].

However, the deal was rife with conflicts of interest, raising legitimate doubts about the accuracy and validity of any end product. First, the Liberian government chose the small Ghanaian country office of Deloitte & Touche, to be staffed by an audit team of mainly Liberians and Ghanaians. Moreover, while Deloitte & Touche Ghana was to act as official auditor, and thus bring the international credibility the Liberian government desired, the real auditing work was in fact sub-contracted to a small, Monrovia-based firm called Voscon, which is personally owned by the Deloitte team's lead auditor, a Liberian named George Fonderson[29]. Moreover, the draft terms of reference were chiefly a systems audit of procedures, and not a retrospective review of funds received and/or missing[30].

In response, Global Witness and others expressed their concerns to the parent company Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu over a period of months from October 2002[31]. Eventually, on 13 December, Global Witness received word from Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu CEO James Copeland that the contract had been terminated with immediate effect, thus ending another attempt by the Liberian government to deceive the Security Council and international community. No other reputable auditing firm has signed an agreement with the Government of Liberia to perform the audit, although according to the Secretary-General's report from February 2003, "Viscon" is proceeding with implementation of temporary measures[32].



Part One

10 When: Regular Delivery of Illegal Weapons in 2002 and 2003

The importation of weapons to Liberia is frequent and regular. The mode of transport is mainly by sea and by air. Imports by air are flown into Robertsfield International Airport (RIA) usually in the early hours of the morning before sunrise to avoid attracting attention. Imports by ship happen on average of 2-3 times per month and depend on the timber industry. The following list of shipments of arms came to Liberia in 2002 and 2003, and is not exhaustive.

- On 16 February, an arms shipment aboard a Boeing 707 left Kinshasa in DR Congo at 07:40 hours, arriving at Robertfield at 1921 hours[85].
- On 05 February 2003, an Antonov aircraft departed Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso at 0358 hours, eventually arriving at Robertsfield at 00:32 on 06 February 2003, with a consignment of weapons[86].
- On the 19 December 2002, the MV Posen brought illicit arms to Harper Port for the use of the MPIGO and MJP rebels in Côte d'Ivoire. It unloaded 19 camouflaged trucks; all had sealed containers on board loaded with arms and ammunitions[87].
- In October and December 2002, the Liberian coastguard gunboat VB2, also called 467 by local security forces, made regular trips to Harper under the pretence of bringing food supplies for forces in the southeast. Following a tip off, Global Witness investigators began to closely monitor activities in the port while the vessel was docked there. It was discovered that the vessel was there to transfer arms and ammunitions from a vessel stationed at high seas. Several containers carrying arms and ammunitions were delivered by the gun boat to the Harper port and then temporarily housed in the MWPI warehouse before being transferred to the MWPI bush camp at River Gbeh for storage. River Gbeh now serves as the nerve centre for the operations of the rebel groups[88].
- As mentioned above, in September 2002 food aid was given to Liberia from Libya. Global Witness investigations have found that the consignment of rice in fact accompanied a weapons shipment from Libya. The vessel was docked at Buchanan port for two weeks[89].
- In July 2002, there was a 15-ton weapons shipment that was organised in the same way and by the same people as the shipment in May. Most of the cargo was ammunition, shipped in containers painted navy blue and grey. Upon docking, the containers were loaded by ATU members onto commercial trucks and driven to Gbarnga via Zwedru for use in Lofa. As in May, Joe Tuah oversaw the offloading of weapons[90].
- In May 2002 a 30-ton weapons-shipment was sent from Bulgaria via Nice on the Arktis Fighter, a logging ship. Logistics were handled in Nice by a French arms broker. OTC provided the vessel, and the shipment was unloaded at Harper port, managed by Maryland Wood Processing Industries (MWPI), with the offloading overseen by Joe Tuah and staffed by ATU members. The broker has been involved in shipping weapons from Bulgaria to Liberia since 1991 and has strong ties in both countries. He stopped shipping weapons in 1998, and the May 2002 shipment marked his return as a supplier to Liberia. Aziz Nassour paid for the shipment, which consisted mainly of AK47s and RPGs and GLOCK machine guns that were given to President Charles Taylor's top commanders, including Benjamin Yeaton[91].

11 Where: Points of Entry for illegal arms

The imports of weapons come by air, land and sea. Robertsfield International Airport (RIA) is the primary point of import for weapons shipped by air. Weapons imported by land used to enter via Man and Danane in Côte d'Ivoire, however, with the change in regime from Guei to Gbagbo, and given the present hostilities, the overland route is not used as often. Liberia has four major seaports. They are the Buchanan Port, operated by the OTC; Harper Port, run by the MWPI; Greenville Port, run by ILC; and the Freeport of Monrovia. When an arms shipment is made, port-security is heightened and overseen by Joe Tuah, Assistant Director of the Special Security Service (SSS), while Roland Duo, head of all port security, handles security logistics. When weapons shipments arrive receipts are made

that have neither stamps nor signatures[92]. After weapons are unloaded they are stored near the ports in Buchanan and Harper before being moved to Monrovia, Gbarnga or other destinations[93].

While weapons continue to come into Buchanan port, imports to Harper Port have increased. The following are details of the logistics of imports by sea.

Buchanan Port: As this port remains under the management of the OTC, so are the logistics of illicit arms imports into this location. This port has been the primary location for arms imports by sea and is overseen by Gus Kouwenhoven.

Harper Port: Remains under the management of MWPI. Weapons are entering this port with increasing regularity. The management and logistics are conducted by MWPI on behalf of OTC, which arranges the actual arms deals. Upon arrival, General William Sumo handles the local logistical aspects of supervising offloading, temporary storage in the MWPI warehouse, and onward land transport to River Gbeh from where the arms are transported to other parts of Liberia and into Côte d'Ivoire for the use by the MPIGO and MJP rebel groups (see The Liberian Government in Côte d'Ivoire, page 29).

12 Why: Liberia's appetite for weapons



President Taylor continues to import arms because he constantly needs to fuel his expanding involvement in the region's instabilities. The more widespread his involvement, the more crucial his weapons re-supplies via logging ships and airplanes become. Taylor effectively leverages the lucrative logging concessions that he controls as head of state, to ensure logging companies provide not only a steady supply of illicit weapons and militia fighters to fuel his regional ambitions, but also supply money with which to finance his military operations and his own corruption. His use of logging ships by which to import arms is also a convenience, as the ships are tied to the logging industry and thus their regular arrival and departure does not raise much notice. As mentioned previously, it is extremely difficulty to track the route of ships internationally should one wish to investigate.

The institutionalised structures that make the arms trade with Liberia possible have sustained conflict in Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire, threatened peace in Sierra Leone and perpetuated the build-up of Liberian mercenaries in the region.



Navy Rangers and other pro-Liberian Government fighters. 2003.



Part Two

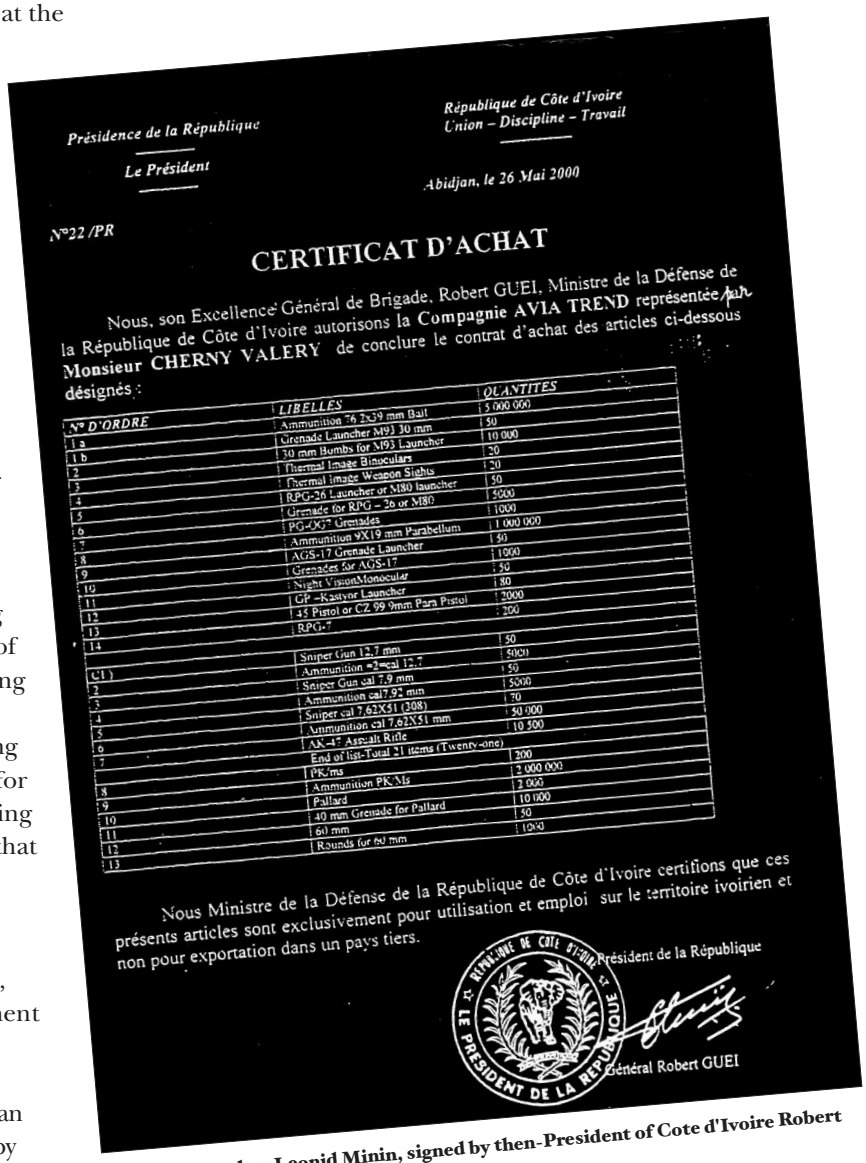
PART TWO: Rebels without a Cause: Liberian Government Mercenaries in Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone

The region encompassing Sierra Leone, Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia is one of the most problematic and violent in the world, and at the core of this is the Liberian Government. The international community has placed sanctions on Liberia for its role in fuelling regional conflict. However, these sanctions have not been comprehensive enough and have not contributed to lasting peace in the region.

Liberian President Charles Taylor continues to finance the training of militias and continued import of illegal arms and ammunition. In essence, the Security Council's failure to sanction timber has allowed for the continuation of cross-border activities and regional destabilisation led by Liberia's government and the build-up of forces.

The Liberian Government has a strong security apparatus, many of the members of which have been designated for the ongoing insurgency in Côte d'Ivoire and planned destabilisation of Sierra Leone (see Plotting ahead: The Liberian Government's plans for Sierra Leone, page 31). The fact that logging companies have their own militias means that the number of fighters available to the government increases significantly. The Oriental Timber Company (OTC), for example, has a force of 2,500 militiamen[94], many of whom are absorbed into government security groups, such as the ATU, when required[95].

A significant contingent of Sierra Leonean ATU and other militia forces were ordered by Benjamin Yeaton to report to Camp Base in Gbarnga for a military briefing[96]. The meeting, held on 17 October 2002, was led by Sam "Maskita" Bockarie who briefed those assembled about the operations designed for both Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire. Approximately 2,000 men were designated to fight, split equally between the operations in both countries. The group destined for Côte d'Ivoire was to return, upon successful completion of their aims, to reinforce the troops designated for Sierra Leone[97]. This section details the actions planned for both countries.



Présidence de la République

Le Président

N°22 /PR

République de Côte d'Ivoire
Union – Discipline – Travail

Abidjan, le 26 Mai 2000

CERTIFICAT D'ACHAT

Nous, son Excellence Général de Brigade, Robert GUEI, Ministre de la Défense de la République de Côte d'Ivoire autorisons la Compagnie AVIA TREND représentée par Monsieur CHERNY VALERY de conclure le contrat d'achat des articles ci-dessous désignés :

N° D'ORDRE	LIBELLES	QUANTITES
1	Ammunition 7,6 2x39 mm Ball	5 000 000
1 a	Grenade Launcher M93 30 mm	50
1 b	30 mm Bombs for M93 Launcher	10 000
2	Thermal Image Binoculars	20
3	Thermal Image Weapon Sights	50
4	RPG-26 Launcher or M80 launcher	5000
5	Grenade for RPG – 26 or M80	1000
6	PG-OG7 Grenades	1 000 000
7	Ammunition 9X19 mm Parabellum	50
8	AGS-17 Grenade Launcher	1000
9	Grenades for AGS-17	50
10	Night VisionMonocular	80
11	GP –Kasiyor Launcher	2000
12	45 Pistol or CZ 99 9mm Para Pistol	200
13	RPG-7	
14		
C1)	Sniper Gun 12,7 mm	50
2	Ammunition =2=cal 12,7	5000
3	Sniper Gun cal 7,9 mm	50
4	Ammunition cal7,92 mm	5000
5	Sniper cal 7,62X51 (308)	70
6	Ammunition cal 7,62X51 mm	50 000
7	AK-47 Assault Rifle	10 500
	End of list-Total 21 items (Twenty-one)	200
8	PK/ms	2 000 000
9	Ammunition PK/Ms	2 000
10	Pallard	10 000
11	40 mm Grenade for Pallard	50
12	60 mm	1000
13	Rounds for 60 mm	

Nous Ministre de la Défense de la République de Côte d'Ivoire certifions que ces présents articles sont exclusivement pour utilisation et emploi sur le territoire ivoirien et non pour exportation dans un pays tiers.

Président de la République

Général Robert GUEI

Arms list found on Leonid Minin, signed by then-President of Cote d'Ivoire Robert Guei. 2000.

President Charles Taylor and his days at NPFL

With Libyan, Burkinabé and Ivorian support, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) massed its troops in Côte d'Ivoire , and entered Liberia on Christmas Eve 1989. The ensuing civil war, which saw the involvement of ECOMOG forces and various rebel groups, was marked by its excesses of human rights abuses committed by all sides, with particularly brutal tactics employed by the NPFL. The war ended officially with the signing of a peace accord on August 19, 1995 and the creation of an interim government. In July 1997, Charles Taylor was elected as head of state.[43]

13 The Liberian Government in Côte d'Ivoire

19 September 2002 marked the sudden emergence of the Patriotic Movement of Côte d'Ivoire (MPCI), a group of mainly northern anti-government forces, originally organised by a cadre of 700 ex-Ivorian military officers. The officers, brought into the military under former leader General Robert Guei, were angry at government plans to demobilise them. Their demands emphasised the ousting of Côte d'Ivoire's president Laurent Gbagbo, in addition to a rectification of perceived anti-northern and anti-Muslim bias by the government[99]. The movement quickly established control over the northern half of the country, and while there was fighting in Abidjan, it was quickly dispelled by loyalist forces. Controversial peace agreements and ceasefires were signed by the MPCI and Gbagbo's government, including two signed in October 2002[100], with the French assisting to create a buffer zone between the warring parties.

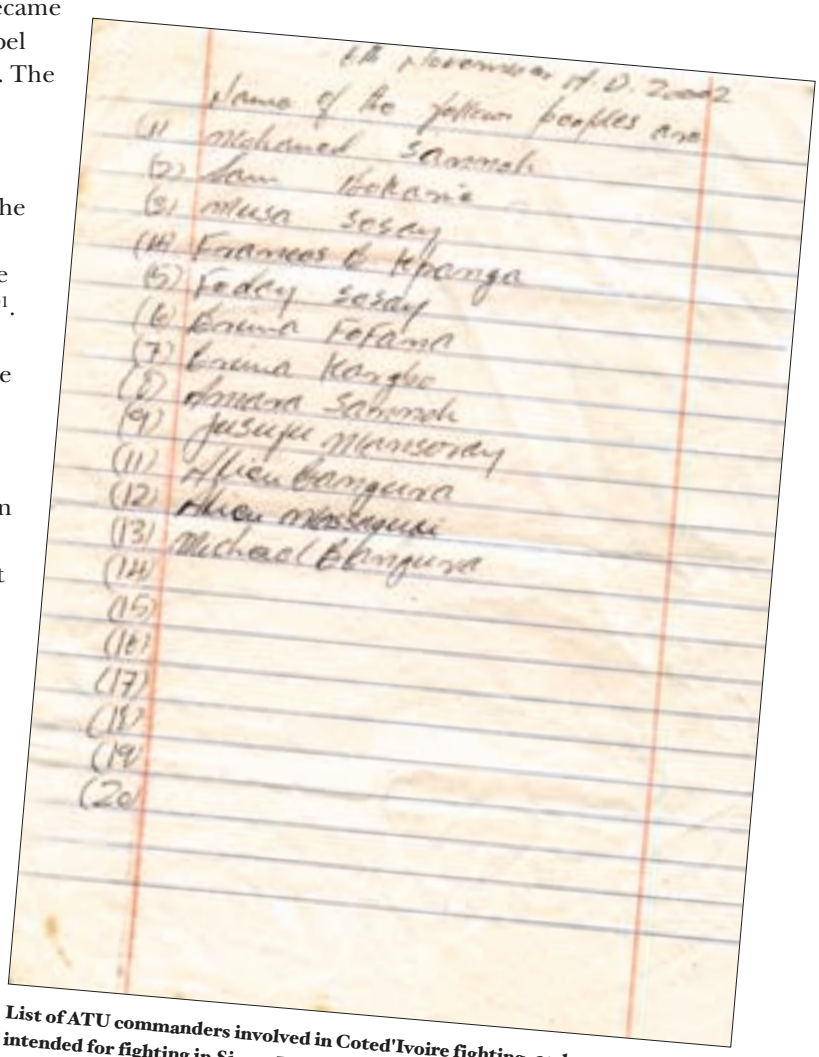
On 28 November 2002, the situation became much more complicated when two new rebel groups emerged in the west of the country. The two new groups, Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP) and the Ivorian Popular Movement of the Great West (MPIGO), attacked Danane, just 20 kilometres from the Liberian border. The MJP then went on to attack the regional capital of Man while the MPIGO moved south to attack Toulepleu[101]. Both Man and Danane were two RUF and NPFL strongholds. Like the MPCI, both the MJP and the MPIGO called for President Gbagbo to resign[102].

The Liberian Government has insisted that it has no active role in the introduction or escalation of conflict in Côte d'Ivoire[103]. However, those in the Danane area say that about 90% of the rebels in that town are Liberian security, Liberian ATU or former National Patriotic Front (NPFL) combatants[104]. Global Witness investigations have revealed that in truth the Liberian Government is the driving force behind both the MJP and the MPIGO[105]. This is not a new phenomenon for the Liberian government: it is eerily identical to Liberia's involvement in Sierra Leone's conflict during the 1990s.

The two rebel groups that emerged in November were launched from Liberia, and both have President Charles Taylor as mastermind and backer. The Liberian Government has entrusted its closest and most experienced operatives for the insurgency in Côte d'Ivoire. These are individuals, such as Sam "Maskita" Bockarie, and logging companies, such as Maryland Wood Processing Industries (MWPI). They have been involved in planning, implementing and overseeing the operations[106]. The following is a list obtained by Global Witness explained as the "Commanders of the ATU of Liberia for Côte d'Ivoire and possibly for Sierra Leone as well":

1) Mohamed Sammoh
2) Sam Bockarie
3) Musa Sesay
4) Frances B. Kpanga
5) Foday Sesay
6) Brima Fofama
7) Brima Kargbo
8) Amara Sammoh
9) Jusufu Mansaray
10) Alieu Massaqiou
11) Michael Bangura

Both Burkina Faso and Libya[107] have been named as backers of the Liberia-organised MJP



List of ATU commanders involved in Coted'Ivoire fighting, and possibly intended for fighting in Sierra Leone.2003.

and MPIGO[108]. This section further details the people behind the planning and execution of Liberia's push into Côte d'Ivoire.



Part Two

13.1 Recruitment and Deployment

In late 2002, Taylor ordered one of his former NPFL Generals, Aloysius Sackie, to mobilise men for the incursion into the Côte d'Ivoire. 750 troops were gathered from the Sierra Leonean battalion within the ATU, and from various Liberian militias. The troops were assembled at General Sackie's residence outside Gbarnga on the Gbarnga – Ganta highway in an area commonly know as the VP Gate. News of the recruitment and mobilization was commonly known in Gbarnga even up to the point of departure[109]. Felix Doh, official leader of the MPIGO and MJP, was reportedly in Liberia being trained at Sheffield Barracks before the attacks on Man and Danane[110]. There are multiple reports of Sam Bockarie being seen fighting with the rebels in Côte d'Ivoire[111].

At the same time, William Sumo was already setting up a training base and a transit point for troops in River Gbeh, River Gee County. River Gee County is strategically situated on the Liberian border with Côte d'Ivoire, in the remote and forested Webbo District and has several unofficial border crossing points[112]. The camp at River Gbeh hosts a mix of Liberians, Sierra Leoneans, and other nationals. An Ivorian referred to as General Guei's son frequents the camp and is said to be the leader of MPIGO while the base is under the command of general William Sumo and assisted by the Deputy Commander of the ATU in the region Shadrach Demeh[113].

The Liberian government also began moving the ATU troops to border towns claiming that the LURD was planning an attack from Danane and possibly Toulepleu. In fact, the ATU completely replaced the regular border guards to have them in readiness for the attacks in Côte d'Ivoire. In the months leading up to the attacks small groups of three to four Liberian combatants began arriving daily in Danane. Houses were rented by Moussa Cisse, of the MGC logging company, in Danane, Houphouetville and Belleville to host the troops while they were waiting for instructions. The majority of these fighters boasted of pending attacks on the town. In the days leading up to the attacks, several fighters even warned friends in the town to leave[114].

Dateline of deployment[115]

22 and 23 November 2002: Troops were moved from Gbarnga to the northern town of Yekepa, which lies strategically near the borders of Guinea and the Côte d'Ivoire. It is likely that this area was selected because an incursion from there into Côte d'Ivoire could easily be confused with an attack from Guinea.

27 November 2002: Troops moved at night across the border at two crossing points: Theo, near the Guinean border, and Dulay, north of Yekepa. These groups then moved rapidly away from the border and later split up with one moving towards Man and the other towards Danane.

28 November 2002: MPIGO emerged in Danane where they met almost no resistance as the Ivorian military had mostly already fled the town. The group that headed towards Man captured some parts of the city and began calling themselves the MJP.

12 December 2002: at 21:00 hours, a reinforcement of 350 combatants left Vomoma House, a military camp in Liberia, to head for Côte d'Ivoire[116].

Liberian refugees still in Danane at the time of rebel entry began fleeing the town, with most of them moving towards the border points at Logatuo and Kenlay, both in Nimba County, where Ivorian border guards had also fled ahead of the rebel advances. The Ivorian border guards crossed into Liberia and turned themselves over to Liberian ATU units by then heavily deployed in these border towns[117].

Liberian returnees arriving in Liberia since then have confirmed that large numbers of Liberian fighters were infiltrated into Danane in the day ahead of the attacks and assembled at houses rented for the purpose by Moussa Cisse. Several people returning to Monrovia from Man and Danane reported having seen Cucoo Dennis, Sam "Maskita" Bockarie, Joe Tuah and George Dwanah, aka Jack the Rebel[118]. Many returnees and refugees also reported that most of the attackers were Liberians and Sierra Leoneans. Also, Liberians in Côte d'Ivoire trapped in the fighting had decided to join the rebels apparently for fear of harassment and intimidation[119].

The following few days saw MPIGO consolidate their hold on Danane before moving towards Toulepleu via Zongway. By this time, another group of Liberian militias, mobilised by a Special Operations Division (SOD) commander referred to as "Zee Man," was ready and on standby to move into action. He and his troops had been staying in the logging company BIN worker's camp while awaiting instructions.

After a failed attempt to convince troops loyal to Gbagbo to join them, Zee Man launched an attack on the Ivorian border guards. BIN was subsequently the scene of the fiercest fighting for control of Toulepleu as it was then the only exit point for the loyalist forces that had retreated from central Toulepleu towards the border with Liberia[120].

The surviving elements of the loyalist forces escaped over the border into other villages

around Toe Town and surrendered to Liberian military units stationed in Toe Town. Zee Man and his units then successfully linked up with their counterparts in Toulepleu[121]. In just over a week a previously unknown rebel group had wreaked significant havoc.

13.2 Weapons Supplies and Logistics

Prior to escalation in Côte d'Ivoire, MWPI's River Gbeh camp hosted 200-300 workers. The base is now the logistical hub of MPIGO and MJP, under the command of general William Sumo and assisted by the Deputy Commander of the ATU in the region, Shadrach Demeh. When space was needed to house soldiers, the MWPI facility was extended to host approximately 1,000 new recruits while others were accommodated outside the camp. This camp is now used as an operational centre for MPIGO in Maryland and River Gee counties. Weapons from Harper port that go River Gbeh cross into Côte d'Ivoire across the river by boat and also by road across a bridge to Garbo, which was repaired by the MWPI for this purpose.

Liberian President Charles Taylor most likely chose Man and Danane as starting points for the incursion because he used them as transit points for the NPFL and RUF during his own violent uprising in the 1990s. He has maintained his ties there as they are both strategically located for transporting weaponry from Burkina Faso to Liberia.

The MPIGO and MJP are reportedly aiming to take San Pedro Port in Côte d'Ivoire as it would provide them with vital access a major seaport. This is likely to happen soon since early February saw the border guards in Prollo, Côte d'Ivoire and the Cavalla crossing point already abandoning their posts and leaving mercenaries in charge. Liberian refugees returning to Harper have already confirmed that the regular Ivorian border guards have abandoned their post at Prollo and other crossing points along the Cavalla River.

Harper Port and the MWPI bush camp at River Gbeh now serve as storage facilities for looted cars and motorcycles from the Côte d'Ivoire. The militiamen are seen driving around in some of these cars and often sell household items such as videos, TVs, stereos, etc. looted from the Côte d'Ivoire. General William Sumo himself now drives a new Peugeot still carrying Ivorian plates. Meanwhile, some Ivorian transport buses looted and brought across the border are being hidden outside Greenville[122].

[z] Unless otherwise stated information is from Global Witness research and investigations.

14 Plotting ahead: The Liberian Government's plans for Sierra Leone[z]

On 18 January 2003, Sierra Leone entered into its second year of peace since a brutal civil war engulfed the country in 1991. The conflict resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands of people and displaced approximately one third of the country's population[123]. In an effort to restore peace to Sierra Leone, the country saw the arrival of the largest UN military operation in the world followed by United Nations sanctions on the principal driver behind the Sierra Leonean conflict: its neighbour Liberia[124].

Today, Sierra Leoneans are living in relative peace, but the country is fragile and still largely dependent on the international community for its stability. The lack of comprehensive sanctions on Liberia allowed the Liberian Government to continue its reach beyond its borders.

In early 2002 the Sierra Leone Special Court was formed and mandated to try the main perpetrators of war crimes committed during the country's conflict. The Special Court's statute denies immunity to anyone, including heads of state[125]. Given the principal role played by Liberia's Charles Taylor and some of his closest allies in this brutal war, the likelihood of seeing him indicted is high. For this reason, he has an interest in disrupting Court proceedings in order to delay actions and aid his closest supporters in Sierra Leone[126]. One plan, allegedly discussed in Burkina Faso in June 2002 by Ibrahim Bah, Sam "Maskita" Bockarie, and representatives of President Charles Taylor and Blaise Campaore of Burkina Faso, was to shoot down a UN helicopter



Pademba Road Prison, Freetown, Sierra Leone. February 2003.



or plane in Sierra Leone. It was thought the ensuing security concerns would disrupt the functioning of the Special Court; however, the plan was never carried out[127].

President Charles Taylor's interest in Sierra Leone is also economic. President Charles Taylor has been closely planning the resurgence of the RUF and illicit diamond deals with Foday Sankoh's wife, Fatu Sankoh, who is currently in Côte d'Ivoire[128]. In September 2002, Global Witness investigations uncovered that Fatu Sankoh had been trying to set up a meeting with President Charles Taylor and Sam "Maskita" Bockarie. Bockarie was allegedly hesitant to meet because of misgivings he had towards Fatu Sankoh[129]. This meeting reportedly took place in August in Burkina Faso. Present were the wives of President Charles Taylor and Fatu Sankoh and Sam "Maskita" Bockarie. The meeting mandated Sam "Maskita" Bockarie to conduct work between Burkina Faso and eastern Sierra Leone[130].

14.1 Tapping old sources: Liberia's Recruitment and Deployment of soldiers in Sierra Leone

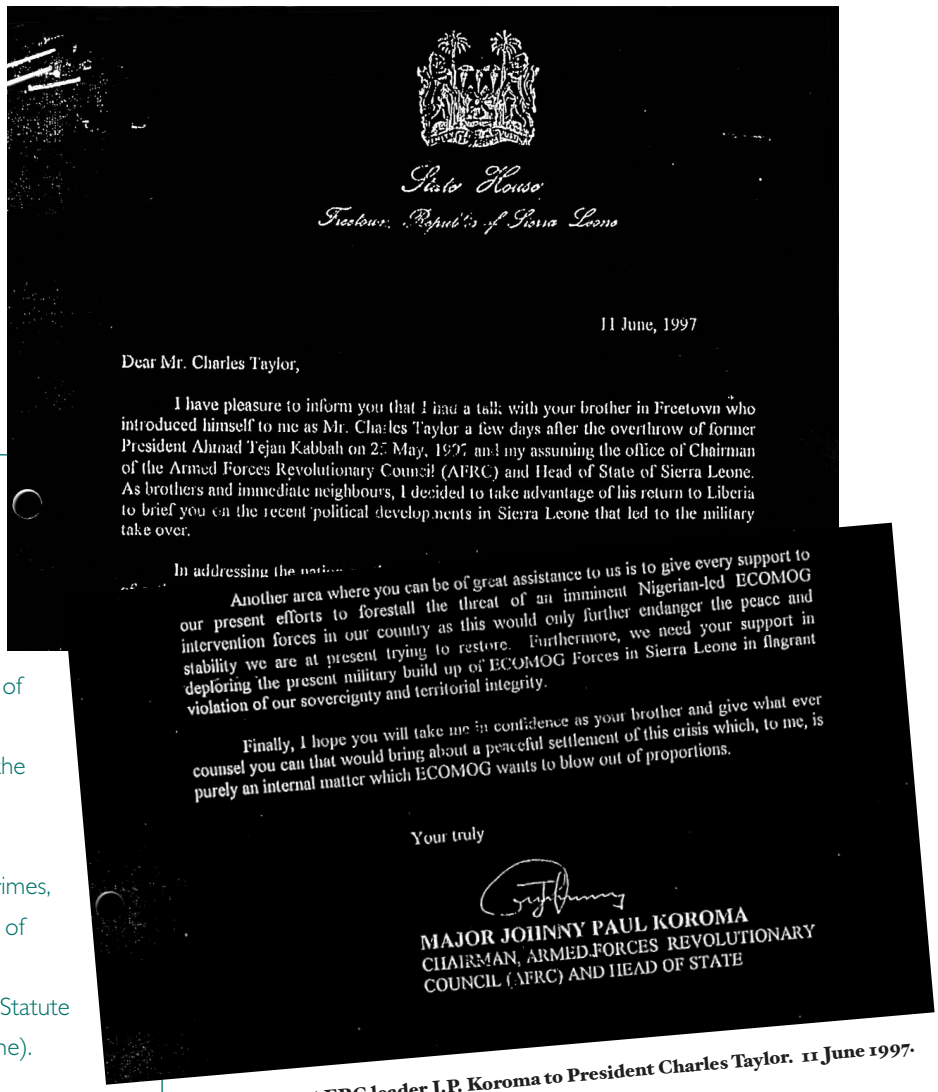
President Charles Taylor maintains close ties with people with whom he navigated the rise of the RUF and with whom he plotted his own violent rise to power. When the RUF was disbanded, President Charles Taylor absorbed a sizeable amount of Sierra Leonean ex-RUF, ex-SLA and ex-AFRC military into his own security forces, most notably into the ATU. These forces now provide Taylor with troops who have invaluable knowledge of Sierra Leonean terrain and also contacts in Sierra Leone. Given the fears of Taylor and his entourage about indictment by the Special Court for war crimes, the Liberian Government plans to destabilise Sierra Leone starting from two points, the capital Freetown and from the border between Liberia and Sierra Leone:

- On 17 October 2002 troops were amassed in Liberia for destabilisation attempts in Sierra Leone. They were gathered at Gbarnga and briefed by Sam "Maskita" Bockarie. They were to enter Sierra Leone at Koindu and Bomaru in Kailahun district when called upon to do so[132]. These troops would then

> The official position of any accused persons, whether as Head of State or Government or as a responsible government official, shall not relieve such person of criminal responsibility nor mitigate punishment (from the Statute of the Special Court of Sierra Leone).

The Special Court

The Special Court shall have the power to prosecute persons who bear the greatest responsibility for serious violations of international humanitarian law and Sierra Leonean law committed in the territory of Sierra Leone since 30 November 1996, including those leaders who, in committing such crimes, have threatened the establishment of and implementation of the peace process in Sierra Leone (from the Statute of the Special Court of Sierra Leone).



State House
Freetown, Republic of Sierra Leone

11 June, 1997

Dear Mr. Charles Taylor,

I have pleasure to inform you that I had a talk with your brother in Freetown who introduced himself to me as Mr. Charles Taylor a few days after the overthrow of former President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah on 25 May, 1997 and my assuming the office of Chairman of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) and Head of State of Sierra Leone. As brothers and immediate neighbours, I decided to take advantage of his return to Liberia to brief you on the recent political developments in Sierra Leone that led to the military take over.

In addressing the nation ...

Another area where you can be of great assistance to us is to give every support to our present efforts to forestall the threat of an imminent Nigerian-led ECOMOG intervention forces in our country as this would only further endanger the peace and stability we are at present trying to restore. Furthermore, we need your support in deploring the present military build up of ECOMOG Forces in Sierra Leone in flagrant violation of our sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Finally, I hope you will take me in confidence as your brother and give what ever counsel you can that would bring about a peaceful settlement of this crisis which, to me, is purely an internal matter which ECOMOG wants to blow out of proportions.

Your truly

MAJOR JOHNNY PAUL KOROMA
CHAIRMAN, ARMED FORCES REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (AFRC) AND HEAD OF STATE

Letter from AFRC leader J.P. Koroma to President Charles Taylor. 11 June 1997.



be joined by ex-combatants in Sierra Leone that are currently idle and ready to fight[133].

- The Liberian Government's recruiting process for Sierra Leone is not a difficult one as ATU forces maintain close links with ex-combatants in Sierra Leone and a lucrative line to them[134].

In May 2002, Global Witness reported the presence of two Liberians in Sierra Leone who were actively engaged as agents for Liberia's President Charles Taylor[135]. One was Sam Kolleh, aka Sam Koroma, who was in direct communication with President Charles Taylor using satellite equipment not handed over by the RUF in the DDR process, which was aimed at disarming and reintegrating ex-combatants into Sierra Leonean society. The other was Sam Kerfalla, a close ally of President Charles Taylor who would recruit boys and young men from refugee camps in Liberia and was most likely doing the same in Sierra Leone[136].

The Liberian Government currently has four cells in Sierra Leone[137]. They are comprised mainly of idle young ex-combatants who are willing to fight again. They are located in:

1) Freetown, Sierra Leone's capital
   This cell includes two sub-cells that are within the Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF) and the Sierra Leone Police (SLP)
2) Kenema
3) Makeni
4) Kailahun district

Johnny Paul Koroma, a former army officer, purportedly oversees these cells. Koroma, former leader of the brutal Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) that headed a coup against the Sierra Leone government in 1997, was indicted by the Special Court on 10 March 2003[138].

After the 1997 coup, Koroma quickly allied himself with the RUF and cemented his relations with Liberia's president Charles Taylor. The two men quickly started negotiating diamond deals. During this time, Johnny Paul Koroma deposited a lot of his money in the Bank of Liberia and also the Bank of Ghana. When Kabbah was reinstated as president, Koroma began his own political party, the Peace and Liberation Party. In the May 2002 elections a significant percentage of the RSLAF voted for Koroma[139].

In January 2003, Wellington Barracks in Freetown was attacked[140]. Global Witness sources have shown that this was organised by Johnny Paul Koroma and was to be the beginning of the insurgence in Sierra Leone and the disruption of the Special Court. The plan was to seize weapons held in the barracks and to free prisoners at Pademba road prison[141]. However, the RSLAF managed to get the situation under control before the weapons-storage area could be opened. Johnny Paul Koroma was arrested in connection with this event but then 'escaped' police custody[142] and is still on the run. This escape was in fact a release by one of Koroma's supporters[143].

Following the failed attack on Wellington Barracks, the proposed insurgency was postponed until May or June 2003[144].

14.2 Weapons supplies

While the import of arms into Sierra Leone is nowhere near the scale of imports to Liberia, arms are entering the country and are intended for its destabilisation[145]. Global Witness research and investigations have shown that arms are often transferred at sea from larger boats onto smaller ones that are then brought into a Sierra Leone port. These boats will also travel in at night via smaller Mano River boats run by ex-RUF combatants, or sailed up the mouth of the river. Arms are also brought over by land as the border is so porous[146].

However, due to the fragility of Sierra Leone's peace, it is important to note that any moves towards violence and conflict by Liberia's government would not require significant numbers of troops or arms (see Annex I: A Regional Analysis, page 36).

15 Conclusion

Because the international community, especially the United Nations Security Council, has failed to effectively address the role of Liberia in regional conflict and insecurity in the past, significant parts of Côte d'Ivoire is now under occupation by Liberian forces with direct ties to President Charles Taylor, and Sierra Leone faces a very real threat from Liberian operatives already within its borders and those stationed in Foya-Kamala. Many of the cast of characters involved in the invasion of Cote d'Ivoire and the planned attacks on Sierra Leone were similar to those involved in the RUF and NPFL rebel attacks on Sierra Leone in the 1990s. Sam "Maskita" Bockarie acts as head of field operations in Cote d'Ivoire on orders from the

> "My first meeting with Foday Sankoh was successful because of the diplomacy showed by President Charles Taylor." Personal Statement by AFRC rebel leader Lt. Col. J.P. Koroma on 01 October 1999.



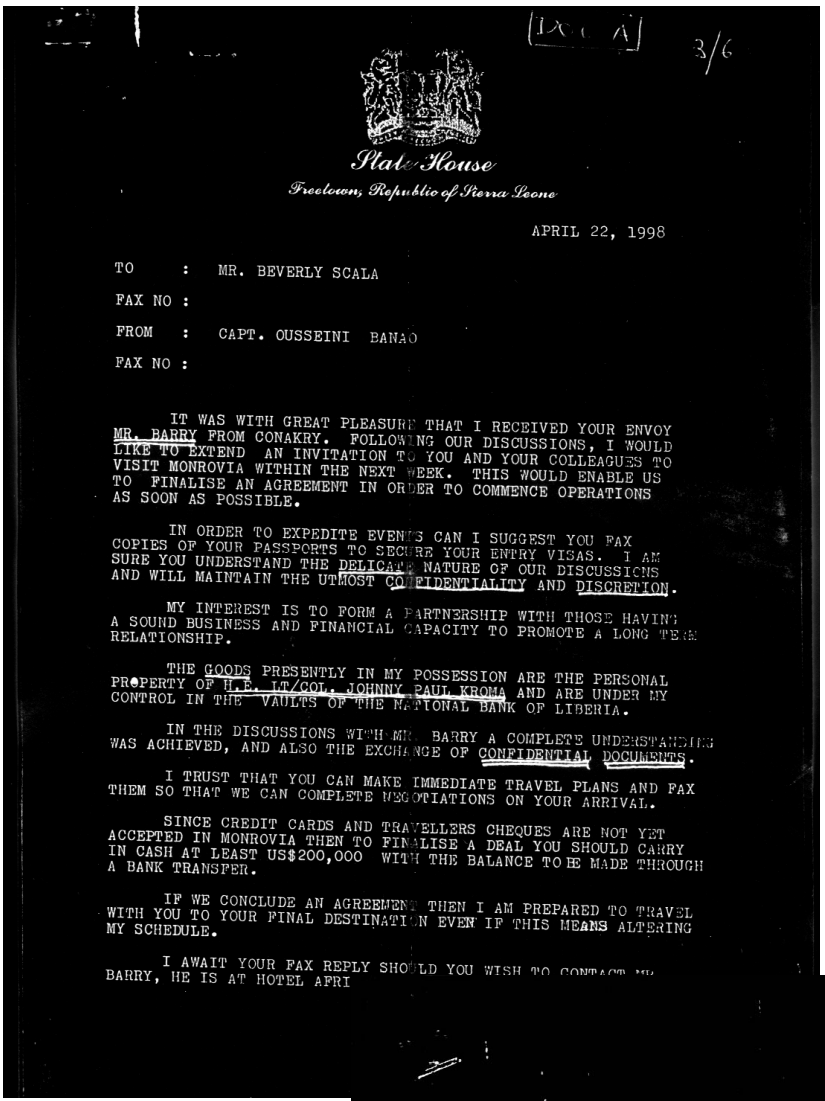
Part Two

Liberian government , and President Charles Taylor is manipulating all parties concerned from the Executive Mansion. As has previously been seen, the Liberian Government has found many ways of importing illegal weaponry from Eastern Europe and elsewhere, as the route of smuggled weapons to Liberia is well trodden, particularly by sea. With weapons flowing in via Nigeria, and Libya overland, by air and the high seas, the government's fighters against LURD and in Côte d'Ivoire have been well supplied, despite the arms embargo.

By invading Côte d'Ivoire with armed mercenaries, and planning to destabilise Sierra Leone with elements of the former RUF, President Charles Taylor and his government have yet again proven themselves not only unreliable and indignant at the UN Security Council's authority, but adept at violating Security Council sanctions to the highest degree by organising the invasion of a neighbouring state using illegally imported weapons.

However, the Liberian Government has been able to violate the UN sanctions against illegal arms imports and funding of rebel groups because the timber industry, which finances their illegal activities, has not been touched by the Security Council. Had the Security Council heeded the warnings of its own Expert Panels on Sierra Leone and Liberia and mandated more recent investigations to look thoroughly at the role of the Liberian timber industry, perhaps the capacity of the industry to import weapons, and the government's ability to finance the arms sales, could have been reduced. Had sanctions been placed on the timber industry, until which point revenue could be properly accounted for and used "for legitimate social, humanitarian and development purposes"[147], then perhaps the oppressive violence committed by the Liberian Government against its own people, and now against those in Côte d'Ivoire, would not have taken place.

There is a real opportunity for the Security Council to meet the current crisis head on, recognising the role that Liberia plays in destabilising Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone, and most importantly acknowledging that the Liberian conflict timber industry is the principal financier and facilitator of the illicit arms that are being imported for use both in Liberia and in Côte d'Ivoire. Moreover, the Council must realise that the Liberian logging industry



State House
Freetown, Republic of Sierra Leone

APRIL 22, 1998

TO : MR. BEVERLY SCALA

FAX NO :

FROM : CAPT. OUSSEINI BANAO

FAX NO :

IT WAS WITH GREAT PLEASURE THAT I RECEIVED YOUR ENVOY MR. BARRY FROM CONAKRY. FOLLOWING OUR DISCUSSIONS, I WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND AN INVITATION TO YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES TO VISIT MONROVIA WITHIN THE NEXT WEEK. THIS WOULD ENABLE US TO FINALISE AN AGREEMENT IN ORDER TO COMMENCE OPERATIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

IN ORDER TO EXPEDITE EVENTS CAN I SUGGEST YOU FAX COPIES OF YOUR PASSPORTS TO SECURE YOUR ENTRY VISAS. I AM SURE YOU UNDERSTAND THE DELICATE NATURE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS AND WILL MAINTAIN THE UTMOST CONFIDENTIALITY AND DISCRETION.

MY INTEREST IS TO FORM A PARTNERSHIP WITH THOSE HAVING A SOUND BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL CAPACITY TO PROMOTE A LONG TERM RELATIONSHIP.

THE GOODS PRESENTLY IN MY POSSESSION ARE THE PERSONAL PROPERTY OF H.E. LT/COL. JOHNNY PAUL KROMA AND ARE UNDER MY CONTROL IN THE VAULTS OF THE NATIONAL BANK OF LIBERIA.

IN THE DISCUSSIONS WITH MR. BARRY A COMPLETE UNDERSTANDING WAS ACHIEVED, AND ALSO THE EXCHANGE OF CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS.

I TRUST THAT YOU CAN MAKE IMMEDIATE TRAVEL PLANS AND FAX THEM SO THAT WE CAN COMPLETE NEGOTIATIONS ON YOUR ARRIVAL.

SINCE CREDIT CARDS AND TRAVELLERS CHEQUES ARE NOT YET ACCEPTED IN MONROVIA THEN TO FINALISE A DEAL YOU SHOULD CARRY IN CASH AT LEAST US$200,000 WITH THE BALANCE TO BE MADE THROUGH A BANK TRANSFER.

IF WE CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT THEN I AM PREPARED TO TRAVEL WITH YOU TO YOUR FINAL DESTINATION EVEN IF THIS MEANS ALTERING MY SCHEDULE.

I AWAIT YOUR FAX REPLY SHOULD YOU WISH TO CONTACT MR. BARRY, HE IS AT HOTEL AFRI

R. R. CONSULTANTS, OLD ROAD, SINKOR
MONROVIA, LIBERIA

A parcel of diamonds, the property of Captain Ousseini Banao, was submitted to me for appraisal with the following analysis:

TOTAL CARATS 5,081.3

ESTIMATED VALUE $12,411,300.-
TOTAL STONES..... 1,088

Colour D					
No.	Size (ct)	Value ($)	No.	Size (ct)	Value ($)

Diamond deal between J.P. Koroma and well-connected Frenchman, through Liberian President Charles Taylor. 22 April 1998.



Mape internment camp, Sierra Leone. February 2003.

does not benefit the people of Liberia, as witnessed by the logging industry's abuse of its workers, and active role in organising, arming and training human rights-abusing paramilitary forces for use in Liberia and abroad. The Security Council must invoke sanctions against the Liberian timber industry, to remove the principal source of funds and logistics for the Liberian Government's continued regional destabilising activities, and to begin making any progress toward bringing peace, security, and a future free of war to the people of West Africa.

Mape – A serious concern for Sierra Leone

There is serious cause for concern at increased number of Liberian combatants entering Sierra Leone, claiming to be fleeing from fighting on the other side of the border. As of late February 2003, a total of 251 combatants claiming to be Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) were located at an internment camp at Mape, just outside of Freetown[44]. Global Witness investigations have revealed that these troops are not AFL, as the combatants claimed[45], but are in fact Anti-Terrorist Unit (ATU) combatants specially chosen for the Liberian government's covert mission into Sierra Leone[46].

Information provided by sources reveal that approximately 95% of the internees present at Mape are in reality Sierra Leonean ATU fighters who, having been fighting for the Liberian government for so long, are able to pass themselves off as Liberians[47]. Providing a false name is not a difficult endeavour, as there is no easy way of checking, and most have learned to speak a local dialect of Liberian English. The presence of a senior ATU intelligence official was also noted among the internees[48].

The number of ex-combatant internees present in Sierra Leone is likely to be higher now, as more Liberian government fighters were crossing over during February 2003. All are scheduled to be processed through Kenema and then taken to the same internment camp at Mape[49]. Massing so many recent ex-combatants in one location, and so near the capital Freetown, is a potentially dangerous decision, considering the plans of President Charles Taylor to infiltrate Sierra Leone with paid operatives, with whom this group would presumably collaborate.

16 Annexes

Annex I: A Regional Analysis

The fates of the four countries focused on in this report, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire, are closely tied, and the effect that the stability or instability of one can have on another is significant, as witnessed by the effect of Liberia on the region. To determine how each will respond to potential treats, it is important to be aware of the domestic situations of each. Below is an analysis of each country, its current domestic situation, and the threats it poses or faces.

Guinea

Guinea is tenuously holding on to its internal and external stability. However, there are three interrelated issues that will serve to destabilise Guinea if not addressed properly.

Guinean support for LURD

The Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), has been waging its battle against the Taylor regime since 1999. Made up of disaffected parties left over from the Liberian civil war, primarily from the ULIMO groups, LURD has waged a guerrilla campaign based officially from its offices in Liberia's border town of Voinjama, though it barracks many of its troops and logistical operations in southern Guinea, with the support of the Guinean government and military. According to Human Rights Watch, Guinean military officials are operating closely with LURD forces, allowing LURD to operate freely on Guinean territory and transit through Guinean border towns unhindered[148].

To many Guineans, it may seem that the LURD presence does provide some additional border security, as it keeps the AFL, ATU and other pro-Liberian militias coming from the border with Guinea and within Liberia. However, LURD's presence in Guinea, and in particular its activities throughout the border region, are a threat to the region's stability. LURD has militarised the entire area, flooding it with combatants and ex-combatants and therefore making Guinea a potential military target for the anti-LURD, pro-Liberian Government forces.

This militarisation has coincided with an increase in the abuses of refugees and Guinean civilians by LURD forces, namely through forced labour, extortion, sexual abuse, forced conscription and refusal to allow refugees across what should be an open border into Guinea[149]. The presence of LURD combatants and commanders in refugee camps within Guinea is also dangerous, as it is again making refugee camps potential military targets, in violation of international law. The Security Council has consistently called for a ban on all weapons and military support to all militias and armed groups in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea through resolutions 1343 (2001) and 1408 (2002).

Peaceful Transition of Political Control

Second of the threats to Guinean stability is the health and future succession of President Lansana Conteh. President Conteh, who has been ill for some time, has no clear successor, which in the event of his incapacitation could seriously jeopardize the government in Conakry, with knock-on effects toward the border with Liberia and Sierra Leone.

Conteh's abrupt return from a state trip in 2002 raised serious doubts about his abilities to remain an active head of state[150]. Since the beginning of 2003, Conteh has rarely appeared in public, choosing to spend a large portion of his time in his home village. As a long-serving former military man, Conteh has left no clear political successor and there are serious doubts as to the chances for a proper and peaceful Constitutional handover of power. However, to Guinea's credit, when news of Conteh's hasty return from his state trip sparked rumours of his demise, the public remained calm and under control, partly because Conteh quickly made a public appearance to allay any fears as to his abilities.

Any degradation of internal political stability in Guinea would certainly affect the larger region, specifically given Guinea's support for LURD. If a new government was not as keen to support LURD as Conteh's regime has been, several scenarios could play out. LURD could, if it finds a military victory over President Taylor impossible, opt for a negotiated settlement with Monrovia. However, signs of weakness by LURD could also spark a fresh and more concerted offensive by Liberia to push LURD back into Guinea; fighting which would send thousands of combatants and refugees streaming into Guinea, Sierra Leone, and Côte d'Ivoire. Such an introduction of armed combatants would further seriously destabilise all countries concerned, creating a situation ripe to be exploited by other armed groups in the area. The RSLAF, having already failed its first big test with the cross border attack at Mandovulahun on 10 January 2003, and facing further reduction in United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) ground troops, would likely be unable handle such an influx of combatants and refugees.

Also, given the current Liberian Government's record of involving itself, either directly or by proxy, in the affairs of his neighbouring states, it is likely that any instability



Sierra Leone and Liberia border at Mano River Bridge, July 2002.

in Guinea would be exploited to either help install a regime more hospitable to Liberia or to manipulate a breakdown in security and gain access to Guinea's mineral resources, namely diamonds.

Refugee Inflows from Côte d'Ivoire
Currently, the influx of refugees from Côte d'Ivoire does not seem to be having a serious effect on Guinean internal stability. Most of those fleeing into Guinea are transiting third-party nationals, mainly Malians and Burkinabés, who had been working and living in Côte d'Ivoire and are returning to their home countries. There are also many Ivorians seeking to return to Abidjan, but who find it safer to transit back via Conakry.

Although the current situation finds the majority of refugees in the region transiting through, rather than staying in, Guinea, should the fighting increase again in Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea could see an influx of armed combatants and refugees seeking assistance and housing in Guinea. This influx of disaffected parties, perhaps armed ex-combatants, would serve as a further destabilising force in an area already highly militarised by LURD.

Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone, despite having returned officially to peace on 18 January 2002, is still a nation under threat, both from within and without. The UN's planned withdrawal is not helping confidence, particularly in light of recent attacks upon places in the "Parrot's Beak" area near the border with Liberia. However, the United Kingdom sent 300 Ghurkhas to Sierra Leone on 21 February 2003, to further the rapid reaction capabilities of the British military, in case something should happen[151].

The Domestic Economy and Reintegration
Domestically, there has been progress in bringing Sierra Leone's shattered population and economy back towards normalcy. The international community's ex-combatant reintegration programmes has progressed, a peaceful election was held in May 2002, the retraining of the military and police forces is proceeding according to the preset timetable, and UNAMSIL's plans for downscaling are moving forward, ostensibly a sign that things are progressing according to plan. However, the economy is not growing enough, and unemployment and rampant poverty are still readily seen all over the country. Reintegration of former RUF and CDF combatants has missed many as the programme was voluntary, and many of those who were disarmed and who have received some vocational training are still unemployed and disaffected.

Diamonds and Domestic Security Issues
Moreover, the government has still not effectively extended its control over the country as a whole. Of particular concern is its lack of presence in the major diamond mining regions in the eastern provinces. The government, which is desperately in need of revenue, is not effectively implementing its diamond licensing and certification scheme. With local officials underpaid, the resultant corruption is significant. Many of those local monitors and police who are not corrupt choose not to report illegal dealings, rather than take on powerful diamond miners without the necessary backing of the government in Freetown. While the scale of illegal mining and smuggling is difficult to ascertain, it is well known that significant amounts of stones are leaving the country unregistered[152]. While the loss of such government revenue is problematic, it is the likelihood that diamond money is going back to fuel the Liberian Government's attempts to destabilise Sierra Leone that is most disturbing.

[aa] Led by the forces from the United Kingdom, IMATT is an international force of military officers, charged with providing advice and training to assist the government of Sierra Leone in rebuilding and retraining the Republic of Sierra Leone Armed Forces (RSLAF).

Taylor had strong connections to the Kono diamond fields and world markets when he was smuggling diamonds with the RUF. Those ties are likely to have been maintained, and it is highly plausible that he derives present income from the continued lawlessness of the Sierra Leonean diamond fields[153].

Filling this vacuum of state power are numerous "youth councils", self-styled community policing groups that are instead protection rackets with dangerous ties to diamond mining and ex-RUF elements. While careful to perform local good works as part of their public relations campaigns, these groups are involved in intimidation of local communities, illegal mining, and the refusal to allow mining by those with legitimate licenses. Of particular concern are MOCKY, based in Kono District, and the Lower Bambara Youth Council (LBYC), based in Lower Bambara. MOCKY has a fleet of 25-50 motorcycles, with which it is suspected to be smuggling diamonds across the border into Guinea. The LBYC, which is reported to have satellite phones and other expensive communications equipment, is also reported to have made a deal with the former RUF combatants of the area to incorporate them into their structures for mutual economic gain. LBYC has also been accused of refusing legitimate license holders from operating in their territory[154].

Cross-border Attacks

Sierra Leone is also still victimised because of the porosity of its frontiers, as seen in the numerous cross-border raids and attacks that take place along its border with Liberia. Cross-border incursions were more prevalent in the summer of 2002, when food was scarcer and the fighting between LURD and the Liberian Government forces more intense[155]. At that time, attacks were mixed between LURD and Liberian Government forces, often coming as food raids, combined with the forced recruitment of local villagers who were used as human porters to carry supplies across the border into Liberia. At the time of writing, LURD had extended its control to the southwest along the Sierra Leonean border, all the way to the Mano River Bridge at Bo Waterside. The cross border attacks have become increasingly cited as the work of LURD; however, with the border area full of armed combatants, it is often difficult to assign blame[156].

Any cross-border incursion is a serious affair, however, as it highlights the difficulty in properly ensuring the frontier security of Sierra Leone, particularly along the eastern borders of the Kailahun district, the traditional stronghold of the RUF. The most serious for some time occurred on 10 January 2002[157], when an armed force came across at Mandovulahun and took numerous villagers hostage. The RSLAF contingent there, which was charged with ensuring border security, and which has been undergoing retraining by the International Military Advisory and Training Team (IMATT)[aa], failed to defend the village. Not even bothering to retreat in an orderly fashion or alert their superiors, the RSLAF soldiers dropped their weapons, communications equipment and supplies, which were then taken by the attackers. While nobody was killed, the blow to national confidence in the military and in the security of its borders was significant[158].

While it is wholly understandable that it will take years to fully retrain the RSLAF into an effective, professional fighting and defensive force, the planned complete withdrawal of UNAMSIL by mid 2004 does little to boost confidence in Sierra Leone's ability to keep potential invaders at bay.

Recruitment for Liberian fighting

A persistent concern for Sierra Leone and the entire region is the recruitment of ex-combatants and other disaffected people for fighting in the Liberian and Ivorian conflicts. While hard evidence is scarce to come by, there is significant anecdotal and circumstantial evidence to suggest that there has been recruiting within Sierra Leone's refugee and IDP camps[159]. The recruitment of ex-combatants represents a viable threat to the region as more people return to a life of making war instead of gainful employment, exacerbating the cycle of violence.

The Yenga Issue

The Guinean military is still holding its position in the area of Yenga, on what the Sierra Leonean government maintains is their territory. While the situation seems to have been inflamed for political purposes, the true nature of Guinea's presence in the area is unknown. The Guinean government disputes the ownership of the area, but there is also speculation that the Guineans are positioning themselves for diamond mining, as well as attempting to establish an additional security posting to prevent advancement from Liberia[160].

Côte d'Ivoire

Côte d'Ivoire currently suffers from an internal crisis that stretches back to the attempted coup of 19 September 2002 by a group of disaffected northern former military officers, calling themselves the Mouvement Patriotique de Côte d'Ivoire (MPCI). However, the situation has been further complicated by the entrance of two new

rebel groups, backed by mercenaries from Liberia and Sierra Leone[161], as well as with the direct assistance of the Liberian Government, who are now fighting for control of western Côte d'Ivoire.

The first of three groups to launch a rebellion, MPCI, took territory in northern Côte d'Ivoire, including Korhogo and Bouaké, briefly holding Daloa. There was some related fighting in Abidjan, though government soldiers brought that quickly under control. The MPCI is comprised largely of northern Ivorians, and military soldiers who had been brought into the military by former leader Robert Guei, and who resisted to the Gbagbo government's plan to demobilise them.

The other two rebel groups, the Popular Movement of the Ivorian Great West (MPIGO) and the Movement for Justice and Peace (MJP) emerged on 28 November 2002, having crossed over from their staging facilities in Liberia. The introduction of these groups further complicated the situation in Côte d'Ivoire, and increased fighting in an area highly populated by Liberian refugees, who have been forced to flee back into Liberia through this new fighting[162]. These groups, funded and organised on behalf of President Taylor, are actively seeking to destabilise Côte d'Ivoire, while participating in the ongoing peace negotiations, as they fight the French, ECOWAS and Ivorian forces holding them back from advancing[163].

The government, to counter the three rebel groups, has joined forces with the French, and other West African ECOWAS soldiers, and has employed private European and South African mercenaries to supplement the Ivorian army's capacity. Moreover, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' office reports that the Ivorian military has taken to employing Liberian refugees as fighters, further complicating the situation and blurring the lines between rebel, loyalist, and non-combatant refugees[164].

History of Ethnic Conflict and Opportunism

The conflict is a result of numerous external and internal forces, and springs from a recent history of ethnic divide and bias on the part of the government. During the Houphouet- Boigny regime, millions of foreign workers were invited into Côte d'Ivoire to provide labour for the ever-growing economy, specifically the plantation labour needed to run the important cocoa industry. Since Boigny's death, however, and with a downturn in the economy[165], foreigners have become an easy scapegoat for domestic problems, and in recent years the rhetoric has become quite heated. This is problematic, as almost half of the country's 16.8 million people are immigrants or the children of immigrants[166]. Houpouet-Boigny was replaced by Konan Bedie, who quickly blamed the country's economic woes on foreigners as well as northern Ivorians, who are Muslim like many of the immigrant workers he was also targeting[167].

During the last presidential election, held in October 2000, a leading opposition candidate, Alasanne Ouattara, was prohibited from running on the basis that one of his parents might not have been true Ivorian. After the election this decision was overturned, but the outrage at the exclusion of a major opposition figure on dubious grounds of parental nationality, combined with the undertones of anti-Muslim bias, resulted in widespread anti-government riots[168].

Death Squads and Other Human Rights Violations

The current situation in Abidjan, the commercial capital of the country, is tenuous. Anti-immigrant and anti-opposition violence has been widespread and serious. So-called "death squads" are in operation, and as reported by Bertram Ramcharan, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, these death squads have been involved in the murders of dozens of opposition politicians. Most worrying, these groups have links to some government officials[169].

In fact, attacks by government and pro-government forces began right away on 19 September 2002, and very quickly former military leader Robert Guei was killed, along with his wife and some family members at their home in Abidjan. Minister of the Interior Emile Boga Doudou was also killed, and opposition leader Alasanne Dramane Ouattara went into hiding, eventually ending up at the French Embassy.

The situation was inflamed by rhetoric from President Gbagbo and his government. Fervour was whipped up against immigrants, and Burkinabés in particular, as Burkina Faso was quickly pointed to as a backer of the northern MPCI rebels. Nationalistic fervour was encouraged in the public media, and members of parliament called for Ivorians to "go and find Ouattara in his hiding place…"[170]. Gbagbo later tempered his rhetoric through a speech delivered on 8 October 2002, which called for people to support the government without breaking the law; however, the damage was already done and the anti-immigrant and anti-opposition violence continues.

The anti-immigrant violence has taken a particularly anti-Muslim bent, demonstrated by the activities of government forces in Daloa around 15 October 2002, when Colonel Jules Yao Yao, armed forces spokesperson, announced a policy of killing suspected "assailants" in Daloa on the evening news. Anyone seen to be violating the curfew, with the exception of security forces,

would be killed[171]. Following this announcement, dozens of civilians with Muslim names were extra-judicially killed by people wearing military uniforms. Independent sources have reported that the government forces were responsible[172]. A mass grave 30 metres long and two metres deep was found by French soldiers, 70 km from Daloa, with Government forces implicated in the killing. The UN Human Rights Commissioner, Sergio Viera de Mello, has warned both sides to abide by international conventions on behaviour in war or face trial before an international criminal court[173].

For its part, the MPCI has also been accused of committing gross human rights violations against those under its control. Amnesty International reported that the MPCI executed dozens of paramilitary policemen and some of their children in Bouake in October 2002. Amnesty stated that the group, totalling 60 adults and 50 children, had been detained by the MPCI on 6 October 2002. Some were forced to dig a mass grave in which to bury their colleagues, and then they themselves were shot on the site. MPCI also reportedly held locals for ransom, ranging from US$1,250 to US$1,670[174].

Political Instability

The Linas-Marcoussis peace agreement was signed by the three rebel groups and the Ivorian government on 24 January 2003, and further agreed to by a meeting of the heads of African states on 16 January[175]. The agreement, which was designed to give rise to a government of national reconciliation, would have had President Gbagbo cede much power to a new transitional Prime Minister, northern moderate Muslim Seydou Elimane Diarra, and include rebel factions in key government posts, in particular defence. There was to be a "parallel regrouping" of military forces, whereby French and West African troops would ensure the security and disarmament of combatants, and create a new army, which would include some of the present combatants. There would be an amnesty for anti-state offences, but not for "serious violations of human rights", whose authors were to be charged before "international criminal justice." The government also promised to prosecute the "hate media" so responsible for much of the anti-immigrant violence as of late, address the status of non-Ivorians and their access to property ownership, and hold new elections in 2005.

After months of negotiations following the signing of the Linas-Marcoussis agreement, the Gbagbo government and representatives from the opposition and three rebel groups agreed to a new national government of reconciliation. Many details remain to be worked out, specifically which parties would head two key cabinet ministries of Defence and Interior. While the debate over these two positions has delayed the forming of a government, a compromise seems to have been reached with the decision to form a National Security Council, comprising representatives of all parties concerned, which would then nominate the heads of the two ministries[176]. This agreement led to Seydou Elimane Diarra being officially sworn in as Prime Minister on 10 March 2003, a position he had been nominated for over a month before[177]. Despite this progress, the situation is quite unsettled, and representatives of the major opposition party and from the three rebel groups did not show up for the unveiling of the new reconciliation government, held in Yamoussoukro on 13 March 2003[178].

The Role of France and government sponsored anti-French violence

The French government, which had troops stationed in Côte d'Ivoire already, has reinforced its presence, bringing its total troop deployment to approximately 3000, including elements of the prestigious Foreign Legion[179]. In addition to protecting the interests of 200-plus French-owned businesses and remnants of the formerly 25,000-strong French national presence in the country[180], the French are helping the government hold its line against the three rebel groups. While French helicopter gunships were recently used in an offensive capacity against the western rebels, resulting in the deaths of some 400 rebel fighters, there is disagreement with the Gbagbo government which expected full offensive assistance in destroying all rebel capacity.

France, having been reticent to help the Ivorian government whole-heartedly at the beginning of the conflict, and having sheltered opposition leader (and suspected coup sympathiser Alassane Ouattara), has often been seen as the oppressive former colonial ruler and accordingly suffered anti-French violence, much of it sponsored by the government. Attacks on French targets and rallies at the French embassy are generally accepted to have been organised by the Gbagbo government, before the peace agreement was even signed. Desperate to spoil the peace agreement, which has him cede power to the prime minister and share power with rebel representatives, Gbagbo organised pro-government student leaders to buy off thousands of out-of-work protestors with beer, rice and cash, and even bussed them to the city centre. These are the groups that inflicted the most violent protests against French targets in Abidjan, beginning the day after the peace accord was signed and ending

abruptly two weeks later when Gbagbo asked the nation to accept the agreement. Government police did little if anything to stop the violence[181]. Some, including the Ivorian Ambassador to the US, place blame for the conflict squarely on France and French economic interests, saying that the war is economic, because the Gbagbo government wanted to open up major sectors of the market to competition, thereby eroding the monopoly or near monopoly status enjoyed by French companies[182].

Threat posed to the region

The instability if Côte d'Ivoire, besides being caused by regional actors, namely President Charles Taylor of Liberia, is a massive threat to the region in every sense. Côte d'Ivoire was home to over 135,000 Liberian refugees[183], and more than 2 million Burkinabes migrants[184]. Following the outbreak of violence in September 2002, and its continued spread to the west of the country, thousands of refugees and third country returnees have headed for Guinea, Liberia, Burkina Faso, Ghana, and Sierra Leone. These movements have put a strain on governments and humanitarian aid providers alike. As of 24 January, 20,000 Ivorians and 70,000 Liberian refugees had also fled[185].

Economically, Côte d'Ivoire was the transit point through which much of West Africa's trade was sent out to the wider world. Domestically, the cocoa and coffee industries provided jobs for hundreds of thousands of foreign workers, and the country was also a source of petroleum products and oil refining for much of West Africa. Burkina Faso and Mali are suffering particularly badly, as gold and cotton from those countries is shipped to Ivorian ports by rail for export, but the railroad has stopped running through rebel-held northern Côte d'Ivoire. Burkina Faso estimates that it has lost nearly $30 million in revenues and customs duties between September and December 2002, and sending exports from Mali through Burkina Faso to Ghana for export will cost an additional $130 million to an already struggling economy. Plus, the burden on Burkina Faso to handle thousands of refugees leaving Côte d'Ivoire who are out of work, have no heath care and shelter, is adding a massive strain on government budgets[186].

A Country Disintegrates: Liberia's Domestic Situation

The fight for control of Liberia between pro-government forces and the LURD rebels is a continuous ebb and flow of control, with the government and rebels repeatedly taking and retaking positions. Despite Taylor's arms re-supplies, he has lost significant ground to LURD, having pushed the rebels back almost all the way to the border with Guinea in September 2002. There are suggestions that this loss of ground could be either a deliberate policy on the part of Taylor, or it might also be due to the financial troubles within the ATU, which has seen its members angered by salary cuts, from US$200 down to approximately US$ 50 every three months[187]. At the point of publication, LURD had again pushed all the way down the north-western border with Sierra Leone to Bo Waterside, site of the Mano River Bridge, a strategically important crossing point[188]. More worrying for the government is that on 4 February 2003, it appeared as though LURD had come within eight miles of the outskirts of Monrovia, near the Po River Bridge. However, as with previous LURD offensives, the rebel supply lines have been over-extended, reducing their ability to hold territory. It remains to be seen if this will prove true again.

Despite the recent advances southward by LURD, the government continues to hold the Foya-Kamala area in Lofa County. This stronghold has undergone sustained bombardment by LURD artillery and regular weapons, but has not fallen[189]. It seems that the government is determined to maintain this foothold in the north, and according to Global Witness investigations this is because Foya-Kamala is the site of a forward group of pro-government, ex-RUF forces, ready to cross over into Sierra Leone as part of the ongoing destabilisation plot described earlier (see Plotting ahead: The Liberian Government's plans for Sierra Leone, page 31).

Determining who is truly winning the larger war is a difficult enterprise, as is it difficult even to ascertain who is behind a particular attack. Reported attacks by LURD are often ruses by ATU and other militias. Some western diplomats say that Liberian forces occasionally fake attacks to give themselves a chance to loot, blaming the affair on LURD[190]. So unfortunately for the people of Liberia, the LURD rebels are not the only force to be fought in Liberia, but also the government and its myriad of human rights-abusing security forces active in those areas not under LURD control.

It works in Taylor's favour to keep the country in a perpetual state of insecurity. Letting LURD continue its fight for Monrovia, but never allowing it to take the capital, allows Taylor to act weaker than he is, to play up to sympathies while the sanctions against him are under review, in the hopes that the embargoes against diamond sales, international travel, and arms imports will be lifted. Moreover, it also gives him an excuse for the continued deployment of various paramilitary forces and his elite ATU at all times, harassing

citizens and opposition figures under the guise of anti-terrorism and the rooting out of LURD operatives. And, should particularly draconian law enforcement be required, the continued insecurity gives Taylor a reason to declare another state of emergency, which he did on 8 February 2002, and only rescinded on 14 September 2002. The last time Taylor declared a state of emergency, LURD was also knocking on the door to Monrovia, as they seem to be now. This would play well into Taylor's hands, as a state of emergency conveniently bans unapproved public gatherings, most certainly including opposition rallies, severely hampers what little free press remains, and would indefinitely postpone the elections scheduled for October 2003.

Recently, as an additional tool to control who enters and exits the country, the government reintroduced an official exit visa. The scheme requires the traveller to provide proof that they do not owe the government or, in some cases, others any money from taxes or unpaid bills[191]. This is highly likely to be used against opposition figures, who may desire to leave the country for fund-raising or personal safety reasons.

Liberian Elections

National elections have been officially scheduled to take place on 14 October 2003, with the electoral campaign to begin in June. This will be the first time that Taylor faces re-election since coming to power in 1997, at which point a majority of Liberians gave Taylor the presidency in the hopes that it would quench the thirst for unbridled power he showed when leading the brutal NPFL rebellion. However, in the intervening six years, it has become apparent that Taylor had no intention of using his power and influence for the betterment of the average Liberian, and has shown continual disregard for even the most basic tenets of human rights and good governance. Unfortunately for the people of Liberia and surrounding countries, it looks unlikely that elections will actually take place in any meaningful way, if they occur at all.

While the announcement of elections is a welcome change, the government's behaviour has not changed in a way that will help the elections run fairly. In fact, the government's preparations for the elections, and indeed its ability to provide even basic security for opposition figures and any semblance of free assembly of opposition supporters, have been derided as inadequate. US Ambassador John Blaney, citing harassment of opposition members and restrictions on presidential candidates, has said that "preparations for the 2003 elections were inadequate, and that necessary conditions do not yet exist to permit free and fair elections", adding "the United States wants to see a free and fair election and will not support, nor recognise, the results of any fraudulent one"[192].

Intimidation of the Opposition and their followers

Liberia's opposition is fractured and disarrayed at present, with multiple personalities vying for the presidency and little success, as of yet, of uniting behind one candidate who can mount a concerted opposition to Taylor. This is not helped by the many opposition groups that have effectively been bought off by Taylor, such as the TWP, NDLP and ALCOP, which reportedly serve as mouthpieces for the ruling NPP to support the government's faulty electoral plans[193]. The truth remains that if any true opposition party is to take action it will have to fight against the growing intimidation and harassment that opposition figures face in the current domestic situation.

The government is also involved in an attempt to abuse the Constitution to exclude major opposition figures from running on technical grounds. Taylor is playing up an interpretation of the Liberian constitution, Article 52C, which holds that presidential aspirants must have been residents in the country for the ten years before the election. This is highly contentious, given that ten years ago the country was still in civil war with many having fled the fighting, and that since then many opposition leaders have had to flee the country after crossing Taylor. A legal challenge has been brought against the interpretation, and will be taken up by the Elections Committee and, if needed, by the Supreme Court. Unfortunately, both of these bodies are stacked with ruling NPP supporters, so any chance of a fair decision is slim. In the words of opposition leader Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, "if you [President Taylor] are going to be the judge and jury, if you're going to deprive people of their rights, if you're going to ignore the fact that the Constitution requirement under the conditions we have is not applicable, then Mr. Taylor go crown yourself king."[194]

International Stabilisation force: The way forward?

It is widely accepted that an external stabilisation force will be needed before, during, and after the election to ensure any semblance of it being free and fair, and to allow for any campaigning and freedom of movement. If the Liberian people cannot trust their own security services, then it has been suggested that the United Nations, perhaps with the involvement of ECOWAS, constitute the supervisory force. Moreover, it is also agreed by parties from all sides that there must be some resolution to the fighting with LURD, as in its current state the situation in Lofa,

Article 47. Mercenaries

1. A mercenary shall not have the right to be a combatant or prisoner of war.
2. A mercenary is any person who:

a. Is specially recruited locally or abroad in order to fight in an armed conflict;

b. Does, in fact, take a direct part in the hostilities;

c. Is motivated to take part in the hostilities essentially by the desire for private gain and, in fact, is promised, by or on behalf of a Party to the conflict, material compensation substantially in excess of that promised or paid to combatants of similar ranks and functions in the armed forces of that Party;

d. Is neither a national of a Party to the conflict nor a resident of territory controlled by a Party to the conflict;

e. Is not a member of the armed forces of a Party to the conflict; and

f. Has not been sent by a State which is not a Party to the conflict on official duty as a member of its armed forces.

–Taken from the "Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I)".



Sierra Leone and Liberia border at Mano River Bridge. July 2002.

Mercenaries in the Mano River Union

The forces backed by Liberia and fighting in western Côte d'Ivoire are a mixture of Sierra Leonean, Liberian and other West African mercenaries, and not the domestic Ivorian opposition they purport to be[1]. Côte d'Ivoire itself recently employed many mercenaries, including a group of about 50 South Africans and Europeans, to battle against the three rebel groups[2]. The Ivorian government's mercenaries came well equipped, as ex-Soviet pilots were reported to be operating heavily armoured Mi-24s on behalf of the government[3], and were offered US$6,000 per month in wages. Having been deployed on 22 October 2002, the group was asked to leave after the French came in and the peace accord was signed in January 2003. President Gbagbo stated publicly that those mercenaries were to be sent away[4]; however, a small number of French, South African and British helicopter pilots remain employed there still[5].

There are numerous active mercenary groups in West Africa. In the Expert Panel Report on Liberia (November 2002), the Panel stressed the volatility of the entire West Africa region, and the continued proliferation of bandits, rebel groups, mercenaries, uncontrolled police and militias wreaking havoc on the region. The panel received numerous accounts of groups of mercenaries from Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea, the Gambia, Ghana and Burkina Faso offering their services to the various warring groups in the region, serving to the highest bidder. The Budumburam refugee camp in Ghana, which houses tens of thousands of Liberians, was recently raided by the Ghanaian government on suspicion of mercenary recruitment, a charge that turned out to be true[6]. One mercenary reported that he had been offered US$10,000 by Liberia to fight against the British troops in Sierra Leone[7].

A mercenary is someone who fights for financial gain in armed conflicts alien to their own nationality[8], are officially outlawed under Article 47 of the Geneva Convention[9], and are hired because of their superior training, armaments and perceived loyalty. In addition to the related phenomena of private security services and private military companies, which are not banned by the Geneva Conventions, the mercenary industry is leading the privatisation of conflict in Africa and throughout the world. This has created an industry that generated over US$45 billion per year by the late 1990s[10]. The significance of mercenary forces in armed conflict has grown in recent years, especially in West Africa, where there is a large market of disaffected, trained ex-combatants from which to recruit, and many failing or failed countries in which to seek out business.

Grand Cape Mount and Bong Counties are too volatile for any election to take place. The stabilisation force would also have to be part of a much larger, holistic approach to settling the situation in the country, including a peace agreement with LURD and the disarmament and demobilisation of the many private security forces and militias that are active in destabilising the country. Not surprisingly, the Liberian Government is not in favour of external electoral monitors. Chairman of the national electoral commission, Mr. Paul Guah, stated "No foreign laws shall prevail in the electoral process, and there shall be no foreign supervision". Apparently Taylor has, however, requested that a unit of peacekeepers from Sierra Leone come to Liberia to help guarantee security during election time[195]. However, one unit of peacekeepers would not be sufficient to enforce Liberian security, could easily end up being used as a scapegoat for violence should they be unable to repel an uprising, and would detract from the security necessary to adequately protect Sierra Leone, perhaps further playing into Taylor's ambitions there.

Annex II: Humanitarian Disaster and the Logging Industry in Liberia

Global Witness has repeatedly substantiated that the Liberian logging industry is perpetuating the humanitarian crisis in Liberia, not helping avert it. Beyond supplying arms for pro-government forces and the rebel groups in Cote d'Ivoire, logging companies employ their own armed private militias, which are involved in widespread human rights abuses against local populations. Also, there are significant extra-budgetary expenditures and millions of dollars in revenue go missing between government ministries[196]. Concern over this missing revenue prompted the Security Council to insist the Liberian government perform an internationally verifiable audit of the revenue derived from the timber, shipping and corporate registry industries[197].

The result of this corruption and extra-budgetary spending is that Liberian citizens do not receive much if any economic benefit from the revenue generated by the timber industry, despite arguments by the industry and the Liberian Government to the contrary. Much misinformation was spread by the errant OCHA report, *Report of the Secretary-General in pursuance of paragraph 13(a) of resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia*, submitted by the Secretary-General to the Security Council in October 2001. The OCHA/Secretary-General report was, as it admits, based upon statistics provided by the Liberian Government and Liberian timber industry representatives. Not surprisingly, the figures regarding employment and benefits to the local population were overstated.

Global Witness countered these erroneous statistics in its last report on Liberia, "Logging Off" of September 2002, as well as in a briefing document presented to UNSC members in April 2002[198]. However, it is important to counter these arguments again, as they continue to be used as an excuse not to impose sanctions on Liberian timber exports[bb].

- The OCHA report stated, in Section 3, paragraph 16, that "Twenty-six timber companies now employ an estimated 10,000 people". As of March 2003, the industry employed only about 3,639 Liberians and 1,039 expatriates. Most positions held by Liberians are low paid and high risk. This Liberian labour pool is made up mostly of single, ex-combatants with no dependents, who are then paid minimal amounts for their work, if paid at all. Contracts, when signed, are not respected and summary dismissals are common.
- The OCHA report also stated, in Section 3 paragraph 16, that Liberia's timber exports earned US$50 million during 2000". Global Witness research shows that in 2000, the industry was actually worth US$186 million in total, of which only an estimated US$6.6 million went to the national budget. Timber revenues are routinely siphoned off for extra-budgetary expenditures by the government, and are not channelled through the central bank to be spent on legitimate development. Logging companies, if and when they pay duties to the government, routinely do so as a mixed percentage of cash and illicit weapons, thereby remilitarising the country and increasing the proliferation of armed combatants.
- OCHA alleged, in Section A, paragraph 39, that "Timber companies provide health care education services to their employees, their families and the local communities in which they operate". In reality, logging companies are putting workers' health at risk, through lack of training on the safe use of heavy machinery, and through the spread of disease caused by poor living conditions. Moreover, health coverage is usually ended with a worker's contract, which themselves are often cancelled without notice. Medical care provided by

[bb] Unless otherwise stated, information in this section is from Global Witness research and investigations, 2002.(RSLAF).

logging company hospitals, when available, is more expensive than would be found elsewhere.

- Finally, as mentioned in this report, many logging companies, especially OTC, are taking an active role in the destabilisation of Liberia and its neighbours, through the import of weapons and creation and maintenance of human rights abusing militias. These militias are creating a humanitarian disaster, and threatening the stability of the entire region, in addition to causing acute human suffering in Liberia.

Since Global Witness' first report on Liberia, "Taylor-made", was published in September 2001, the Liberian Government has been slow in coming out with its quarterly and annual reports on the timber industry, making the business of determining missing revenue much more difficult. Even when those reports are published, only a dozen or so copies are made and distributed, meaning that even this unreliable information is closely guarded, further hindering any attempts at transparency[199]. As of this publication, the government had not published its annual report for 2002.

Annex III: Comparison of the Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo Expert Panel Reports

In June 2000 the Security Council requested the Secretary General to establish a Panel of Experts to investigate the illegal exploitation of natural resources and other forms of wealth in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The DRC panel's mandate specifically covered the collection of information on all activities of illegal exploitation of natural resources, and to research and analyse the links between the exploitation of resources and the continuation of conflict in the DRC.

In contrast, the mandate of the Panel of Experts on Liberia was given a more narrowly defined mandate. The Panel was appointed pursuant to UN Resolution 1343 (2001) with a mandate to investigate the violation of the arms embargo on Liberia, the travel ban, the ban on the export of Liberian diamonds, and the illegal activities of individuals mentioned in the Sierra Leone Expert Panel Report (2000).

The Liberia Panel was given a mandate to examine "possible links between the exploitation of natural resources and other forms of economic activity in Liberia, and the fuelling of the conflict in Sierra Leone and neighbouring countries". This clause provided the Liberia Expert Panel with ample scope to investigate the relationship between conflict and the exploitation of timber and diamonds (among other resources). The clause was also very similar to the broad mandate given to the DRC Expert Panel report, yet in comparison to the DRC reports, the Liberia Panel reports are limited in their analysis of the role of natural resource exploitation in regional and national conflict. Rather, discussion of diamonds is limited to reference to the ban on Liberian diamonds; and analysis on timber is generally subsumed under broader analysis of the Liberian Government's revenue and expenditure in relation to sanctions busting.

Part of the differences in the approach of the Liberia Expert Panel could be explained by the way the Liberia panel was given its mandate. By tying investigations to the situation in Sierra Leone, it could be that each panel is obliged to devote far more attention to tracking down RUF in Liberia and finding evidence of sanctions busting rather than devoting more time to exploring the conflict/natural resource nexus. A way forward would be for the Security Council to instruct the Secretary General to appoint a new Expert Panel on Liberia with a fresh mandate based on the role of Liberia in continuing national and regional instability, with particular emphasis on the role of natural resource exploitation in this instability.

Approach and coverage

Each of the three DRC Panel Reports differed in their approach (perhaps as a reflection of the different composition of each Panel), but all went to considerable lengths in exposing the extensive illegal networks established and maintained by Uganda, Rwanda and Zimbabwe, amongst others, to profit from the ongoing conflict in (eastern) DRC. The Panel examined a wide range of natural resources: coltan, diamonds, timber, gold, coffee, ivory and copper were all discussed. Each report analysed the structures facilitating the illegal exploitation of resources, including the financial/commercial links and transport networks, and examined the different methods and processes used by occupying forces and their rebel counterparts. The clear conclusion from each report was that the conflict in eastern DRC was self-financing – that each party had a commercial interest in the conflict continuing. The exploitation of natural resources in the DRC was identified as being inextricably linked to other serious problems in the Great Lakes region. Over 100 individuals and corporations (Congolese and

[cc] As part of the fall out of the First Report, demand for Congolese coltan dropped dramatically.

[dd] Sabena, De Beers, Citibank and Barclays have all come under fire due to the Reports.

international) were "named and shamed" for their complicit or explicit role in the continued conflict and illegal exploitation of resources.

In contrast, the Liberia Panel spent a great deal of time documenting the details of particular instances of sanctions busting (especially in relation to the arms embargo and the travel ban), with limited time and effort being given to exploring how the exploitation of natural resources may be linked with continued conflict. Natural resources (diamonds and timber) were discussed, but in comparison to the DRC Reports this was limited. In particular, the last two Liberia reports have devoted very little space to timber.

Like the DRC Reports, the Liberia reports "name and shame" some government officials and well-known international criminals such as Leonid Minin. However, given that the focus of these reports is not on natural resource exploitation, the reports fail to properly investigate whether there are "elite networks" controlling the illegal exploitation of resources in Liberia.

Recommendations

The recommendations put forward by each DRC Panel report were far comprehensive than were the natural-resource-related recommendations contained in each Liberia report. For instance, the DRC Panel recommendations included:

- sanctions against countries and individuals involved in illegal activities[200].
- review and renegotiation of all concessions and commercial agreements under the auspices of a body created by the Security Council[201].
- Critical analysis by the World Bank by the IMF and other donors critically analyse their assistance and influence in maintaining the status quo[202].
- A temporary moratorium banning the purchase and import of resources originating from areas occupied by foreign or rebel troops[203].
- development of agreements to address the economic dimension of conflict within the Lusaka peace process[204].
- reforms of the mining and forestry sectors[205].
- travel bans on selected individuals[206].
- enforcement of OECD Guidelines on Multinational Enterprises against individuals and companies named in the report[207].
- freezing of assets of persons involved in illegal exploitation[208].
- barring of selected companies and individuals from accessing financial institutions and from receiving funding[209].
- assisting African regional trade organisations to improve their customs and trade monitoring mechanisms[210].

Follow-up

The Security Council has failed to implement the vast majority of recommendations in the DRC reports. Nevertheless, the very existence of the Expert Panel Reports has affected the illegal exploitation of resources in the DRC[cc] and forced many multinational corporations and international banks to re-think their actions in the country[dd]. The Government of Joseph Kabila has also appeared to be active in responding to the reports, and many government officials named in the last report were suspended. Assets have been frozen, and the international level of awareness of the intrinsic role of resource exploitation in the DRC conflict is high. The Security Council has just announced that the mandate of the panel has been extended by a further six months.

Natural resource exploitation in Liberia on the other hand continues to be overlooked. Beyond imposing an embargo against Liberian diamonds and a brief discussion of the involvement of some timber companies in sanctions busting, little has been done to address the natural resource dimension of conflict in Liberia and the involvement of surrounding countries.

Annex IV: Violations of International Humanitarian Law

Violations by Liberian Government and Pro-government Forces

The Liberian Government's military forces and other pro-government militias have been continually engaged in a wide array of human rights abuses, ranging from summary execution to torture and incommunicado detention for months on end. The conflict with LURD is abused by the government as a blanket excuse to hold persons without charge and without the due process prescribed in the Liberian Constitution. As Liberia considers the LURD movement a terrorist group, the government has since adopted the United States' anti-terrorist terminology "illegal non-combatant" and applied it to anyone they want to hold incommunicado and without bail.

It is important to note that both the Liberian Government and opposition LURD rebels have been guilty of committing serious human rights abuses, which have been catalogued by Human Rights Watch[211] and Amnesty International[212]. For its part, LURD has been implicated in summary executions of government collaborators, rape, forced recruitment, use of child soldiers, restricting refugees' movements, and abducting refugees who have recently

crossed into Guinea for use as porters[213], often shooting them in the foot if they slow or tire[214].

According to Global Witness investigations, pro-government militias were involved in the following incidents of human rights abuses:

- In August 2002, over 20 militiamen under the command of General Perry Farley, aka Black Cat, carried out an hour-long random shooting in Sinoe County. The panic that ensued saw over 100 people flee, with two drowning while trying to cross the Sinoe River. General Perry "Black Cat" Farley is now army commander for Sinoe County[215].
- In May 2002, a militia raided Sinoe High School and raped female students, flogging and jailing male students[216].
- On 22 January 2002, Sinoe High School Teacher Sylvester Taylor (no relation to President Charles Taylor) was severely beaten by militia men for refusing to join the militia[217].

In addition, reports by Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International report that Liberian Government and pro-government forces are involved in the following human rights abuses:

- Summary executions[218]
- Arbitrary killings[219]
- Burning civilians alive[220]
- Abductions, often for forced labour[221]
- Torture[222]
- Incommunicado Detention[223]
- Rape, Sexual Abuse and Sexual Slavery[224]
- Forced Labour[225]
- Forced conscription of refugees and IDPs seeking safety abroad[226]
- Forced conscription of child soldiers[227], who are often sent to the battlefront with little or no training, and instructed to commit human rights abuses[228]
- Blocking access of refugees and IDPs to safe havens and exit routes[229]
- Extortion of refugees and IDPs seeking safety[230]
- Systematic looting and burning of villages[231]
- Harassment of independent media, human rights supporters and political opposition[232]
- Ethnic discrimination[233]

As noted in the Secretary-General's report of March 2003[234], the concerns over Liberia's human rights situation relate primarily to the Anti-Terrorist Unit (ATU) and the National Police, which are continuously implicated in a host of human rights violations, including arbitrary arrests and detentions on unfounded charges. The torture of various human rights activists and independent journalists highlights what the Secretary-General's report calls a "pervasive culture of impunity"[235].

The human rights abuses stretch to all corners of the country, and incorporate abuses committed in the course of the battles against LURD, in the fighting in Cote d'Ivoire, and in the ongoing war of terror committed by the government against its own people. When assessing which international laws have been broken, the conflict with LURD is neither easily defined as international (given its ties to Guinea) nor, for that matter, wholly internal. However, the non-international treaty legislation to that effect is the most applicable. In particular, Article 3, common to all four Geneva Conventions, delineates the many responsibilities related to non-international conflicts. According to Article 3, all non-combatants are to "be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth, or any other similar criteria"[236]. Moreover, violence against the person, in particular murder, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture are outlawed, as are summary sentencing and execution. The Liberian Government is also in clear violation of no less than 24 of the 30 articles of the UN Declaration of Human Rights,[237] and shows a pattern of flagrant disregard for international humanitarian law, and for the basic human rights held by all Liberians.

Intimidation of Opposition Figures

The Liberian government has also been involved in intimidating opposition figures. For example, in late January 2003, Charles Brumskine, former president of the Liberian Senate and former member of Taylor's ruling National Patriotic Party, who fled to the US and has recently returned as opposition figure to campaign for president, had planned to travel to his hometown of Buchanan to greet his supporters. However, the Liberian Government, seizing on this information, organised for pro-government security forces to be deployed all along the route, certainly with the intention of intimidating Brumskine and his entourage, and possibly with the intention of harassing them further, arresting them, or worse. Defence Minister Daniel Chea issued a public statement to warn off Brumskine's supporters in Buchanan, stating that going out into the streets of Buchanan to welcome Brumskine would be done at their peril, and without guarantee of government security. Brumskine chose instead to cancel his visit[238].

Though on a lesser scale, Charles Clark, Chairman of the Unity Party, of which Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf is a member, apparently had his home searched by security officers on 7 November 2002[239], and local leaders of

opposition groups have also been arrested. These anecdotes are in addition to the dozens of cases of politically-motivated arrests and abuses committed by the Liberian Government, and as documented by Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International.

Threats to Independent Media

In the lead up to the scheduled October 2003 elections, the role of an independent media will be critical. However, the independent press in Liberia continues to come under attack by the government and pro-government forces. The most prominent incident of government torture is that of independent newspaper editor Hassan Bility, who was arrested on 24 June 2002 along with three colleagues. As an outspoken critic of the government as editor of "The Analyst" newspaper, Bility had been targeted for harassment previously. In this instance, Bility was arrested for allegedly operating a LURD cell in Monrovia, was labelled an "unlawful combatant" and ordered held incommunicado[240]. According to Bility's own testimony, he was held for almost six months in various prisons across Liberia, suffering intense physical and mental torture. He was beaten repeatedly throughout his ordeal by members of the Special Operations Division (SOD), and at one point during the rainy season he was held for weeks in an underground cell three feet high, and filled with one foot of water, making it impossible to stand or sit. Bility was also placed in an underground "toilet cell", in addition to receiving electric shocks to the genitals[241]. Upon his release, due to intense diplomatic pressure from the United States and others, Bility fled to the United States.

Targeting of Human Rights Campaigners

President Charles Taylor's regime is also involved in targeting human rights campaigners. Aloysius Toe, member of the National Human Rights Centre of Liberia, Secretary General of the Liberia Coalition of Human Rights Defenders, and executive director of the Movement for the Defence of Human Rights, was originally arrested on 28 March 2002, but released several days later without charge, only to be recharged with "criminal malevolence" soon after. As this a charge for which one can post bail, Toe was released. However, he was then arrested again on 4 November and charged with treason, which is not a bailable offence, and has been held ever since[242].

Sheikh K.M. Sackor, executive director of Humanist Watch, has been held incommunicado since 25 July 2002[243]. Tiawon Gongloe, arrested without charge on 24 April 2002, was beaten so severely he could not stand and had to be hospitalised. Under political pressure he was released and is now in the United States[244].

Abuses by Logging Company Militias

Global Witness's previous report, "Logging Off", catalogued a series of abuses by logging company militias against the Liberian public, including torture, sexual exploitation, arbitrary arrest, and destruction of private property without compensation[246].

Global Witness investigations have revealed new information on other human rights abuses committed by logging company militias. Staff at the Inland Logging Company (ILC), on orders of one of its managers, attacked, stripped and beat with a rubber whip a high school principal that had come to collect a donation promised by ILC for his school. After being severely beaten, ILC staff removed him from the property by dragging him on the ground.

Ethnic Discrimination

The Government and its supporters have accused members of the ethnic Mandingo, Krahn and Gbandi groups of being supporters of the LURD. Members of these ethnic groups face growing discrimination, in the form of arbitrary arrests and violence. The government's incorrect, blanket assertion is based on evidence that many LURD fighters, who are drawn from the ULIMO factions that fought against the NPFL during Liberia's civil war, are of Mandingo and Krahn descent[245].

Annex V: List of weapons shipments from Yugoslavia to Liberia, from June to August 2002, as found in UN Expert Panel Report on Liberia (October 2002).

	Items on board	Weight	Date of Landing in Liberia
Flight 1	1000 automatic rifles 7.62x39mm 498960 cartridges 7.62x39mm M67 2000 hand grenades M75	21 tonnes	1 June 2002
Flight 2	1000 automatic rifles 7.62x39mm 1260000 cartridges 7.62x39mm M67 2496 hand grenades M75	40 tonnes	7 June 2002
Flight 3	1500 automatic rifles 7.62x39mm 1165500 cartridges 7.62x39mm M67	40 tonnes	29 June 2002
Flight 4	120000 ammunition 7.62mm for M84 11250 ammunition 9mm NATO 75000 ammunition 7.65mm 100 missile launcher RB M57 4500 mines for RB M57 60 automatic pistols M84, 7.65mm 20 Pistol CZ 99, 9 mm 10 Black Arrow long range rifles M93, 12.7mm 5 machine guns M84, 7.64mm	33 tonnes	5 July 2002
Flight 5	100 missile launchers RB M57 1000 mines for rB M57 50 machine guns M84, 7.62mm 1500 automatic rifles 7.62x39mm 17 Pistols CZ 99, 9mm 92400 ammunition 7.62x54mm 526680 ammunition 7.62x39mm 6000 ammunition 7.65mm 9 hunting rifles	38 tonnes	23 August 2002
Flight 6	152 missile launchers 1000 mines for RB M57 10 Automatic pistols M84, 7.65mm 5200 ammunition for Black Arrow long range rifle M93, 12.7mm 183600 ammunition 7.62x54mm 999180 ammunition 7.62x39mm 2 sets of rubber pipelines 3 propellers 1 rotor head 17 pistol holders	38.5 tonnes	25 August 2002



OTC road construction site in Sinoe County. 2002.

Annex: VI: Swiss Banks and High-Risk Relationships

Moves made by the Swiss Federal Banking Commission (SFBC)[ee] earlier this year will hopefully make money-laundering difficult for individuals, companies, and corrupt governments to veil anything from arms trafficking and state-looting.

On 17 January 2003, SFBC issued a money laundering ordinance targeting "higher-risk business relationships," which included "politically exposed persons" including foreign heads of state or senior officials. This ordinance includes the following key points that adhere to Liberia and its conflict timber:

- In the case of higher risk business relationships, the ordinance prescribes additional investigations, such as those relating to the origin of the funds. As a result, financial intermediaries must first define risk criteria for their particular business activity and use them to identify and flag all existing and new higher risk business relationships internally.
- It remains prohibited to accept any assets which the financial intermediary knows, or has reason to suspect, are the proceeds of crime. This includes in particular funds stemming from corruption or the misuse of public funds within or outside Switzerland.
- If there are doubts about a business relationship, particularly where the relationships involve a significant volume of assets, financial intermediaries must seriously consider whether to make use of their right to report such doubts to the Money Laundering Reporting Office.

Given the abundant information contained in this and other reports, Liberian assets in Swiss bank accounts should be thoroughly investigated.

Annex VII: Environmental Crimes

In 2001, to much international acclaim, the Liberian Government signed a deal with Conservation International, an environmental NGO, to set aside some 30% of the national forest cover for permanent protection[ff]. Among those areas listed for conservation was an extension to the Sapo National Park, an area of rich biodiversity and home to numerous endangered species[247]. However, while the extension has been approved by all relevant government agencies and the idea publicised, it appears the bill has yet to receive final authority from President Taylor. Taylor, with the dubious passage of the Strategic Commodities Act of 2001, assumed final, personal say over all matters related to Liberian natural resources, including the distribution and maintenance of logging concessions, a position he uses to lever the allegiances of business interests.

While the agreement for the park extension has been stalled on Taylor's desk, the Royal Timber Company (RTC), sister company to the OTC, began logging in the proposed extension in November 2002[248]. OTC owns the concessions to the area concerned, as well as concessions to the west, north and east of Sapo National Park. However, OTC had previously stated that it was willing to give up logging in that area, to make way for the extension.

Around 15 November 2002, RTC upgraded the road that leads to Sapo Park Headquarters in Jalay's Town from the Greenville-Zwedru highway, which is the key artery to Greenville Port where logs are exported. In addition, RTC constructed two roads into the proposed western extension of the Park, going all the way to the Sinoe River, and RTC logging trucks have been seen bringing timber down to Greenville Port.

This breach of trust by the government and RTC has not gone unnoticed or unreported by the Liberian public, given that the area was highly publicised as becoming an extension of

[ee] Swiss Federal Banking Commission is a "supervisory authority of wide areas of the financial sector in Switzerland".

[ff] "Memorandum of Understanding", signed by Conservation International and the Liberian Government, 17 January 2002.

Sapo National Park and the government had made much noise about its alleged conservation efforts. The Forestry Development Authority's (FDA) response was that it cannot be expected to properly monitor the logging situation in Liberia, given its lack of finances and logistics. However, it is difficult to believe that the FDA did not know about the RTC logging operations, because to log in the area RTC would have needed its sub-contracting agreement from OTC approved by the FDA, as well as having to provide the FDA with a plan indicating that the area has been prospected.

Because it appears President Charles Taylor has not signed the official legislation to create the extension, OTC and RTC seem to be within their legal rights. However, given the public relations boost and international kudos that the government received for agreeing to set aside such significant acreage for conservation, this appears to be yet another move by the Liberian Government to seize upon international goodwill, only to renege on the agreement. While keeping with the Liberian Government's previous pattern of duplicitous behaviour, the situation with the Sapo National Park extension does not lend much confidence for future plans to set aside land for other areas. In particular, it casts serious doubt on the Liberian Government's intent to follow through with the agreement signed with Conservation International. Given the large acreage involved, limited accessibility to these areas, and the Liberian Government's willingness to let logging continue in areas earmarked for protection, it remains to be seen whether any real progress in conserving Liberia's forests will occur.

Annex VIII: President Charles Taylor and Possible Links to Terrorism

The links between President Taylor and the al Qaeda terrorist network, as reported over the last two years, cast an extremely worrying shadow over the destructive reach of the Liberian government, and the complicit role it may play in global terrorism.

Since 1993, al Qaeda has been buying diamonds for a number of reasons: to make money, as well as to "commodify" its assets, shifting them away from traditional bank accounts that are subject to constant surveillance by financial authorities and under threat of being frozen, to less traceable commodities such as diamonds[250]. This shift in the way al Qaeda safeguards its money comes after the freezing of some US$240 million of terrorist assets following the simultaneous attacks on US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in 1998[251].

Recent investigations carried out by



Entrance to headquarters of Sapo National Park. 2003.



numerous international law enforcement agencies and Global Witness concluded that Liberian President Charles Taylor received a US$1 million payment for arranging to harbour two al Qaeda operatives who were in Liberia soon after the September 11 terrorist attacks. The men, Ahmed Khalfan Ghailani and Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, both of whom are on the FBI's Most Wanted List of terrorists, were hidden at an elite Liberian government military camp[252] in Gbatala[253]. Blaise Campaore, President of Burkina Faso and a long-time associate of Taylor, has also been implicated in housing the same two operatives at a presidential compound in Ouagadougou[254].

Al Qaeda's interest in Liberia and Sierra Leone goes back to the late 1990s, when the Taylor-backed RUF rebels were in control of the lucrative diamond fields of Sierra Leone[255]. In 1998, soon after the attacks on US missions in Africa, a senior al Qaeda financial officer, Abdullah Ahmed Abdullah, arrived in Monrovia. He was introduced to RUF leaders, including Sam "Maskita" Bockarie, by Ibrahim Bah, a Senegalese diamond broker, arms trafficker and Libyan-trained guerrilla who was the main weapons buyer and diamond dealer for Charles Taylor and the RUF. Bah knew Taylor and RUF-head Foday Sankoh from when they were being housed by Ghaddafi in Libya during the late 1980s[256].

In March 1999, the same two al Qaeda operatives travelled to Liberia in order to establish a diamonds for arms deal[257], and spent a few days scouting the RUF diamond fields in Sierra Leone, as well as meeting with Bockarie and giving him US$100,000 in cash for a parcel of diamonds[258]. By January 2001, employees of Aziz Nassour, who is associated with the Antwerp-based diamond trading company ASA Diam, had established control over RUF diamonds in exchange for arms, and this control continued

until November 2001[259]. Nassour, along with his business associate and cousin Samih Osailly[260], have been named in ongoing international criminal investigations as being involved in dealing in diamonds for al Qaeda; all three men deny the allegations.

Nassour, though denying any illegal wrongdoing, admits to being involved in the diamond trade in Sierra Leone and elsewhere, and also admitted to attempting to do other business deals with President Taylor. In fact, Nassour and Taylor are quite well acquainted. Eyewitnesses put Nassour and Taylor together for a July 2001 meeting at Harper Port, in Maryland County near the border with Cote d'Ivoire, where much of Liberia's illicit weaponry arrives. There Nassour allegedly gave Taylor US$200,000 to ensure his support for the ongoing diamond dealing[261].

Annex IX: Resolution 1458 (2003), Adopted by the Security Council on 28 January 2003.

Security Council Press Release:
Security Council Re-establishes
Panel Investigating Compliance with Liberia Sanctions for Further Three Months Resolution 1458 (2003)

The Security Council, deeply concerned by the situation in Liberia and neighbouring countries, especially in Côte d'Ivoire, today re-established for a further three months the Panel of Experts investigating compliance with the sanctions imposed on the Liberian Government, including an arms embargo, travel ban for officials, and a ban on the import of its rough diamonds.

Unanimously adopting resolution 1458 (2003), the Council asked the Expert Panel to conduct a follow-up assessment mission to the region, in order to investigate any violations of the measures against Liberia, including any involving rebel movements, and to review the audits by the Liberian Government to ensure that revenue derived from the Liberia Shipping Registry and the Liberian timber industry was used for legitimate social, humanitarian and development purposes.

The Secretary-General was asked to appoint up to five experts to the Panel and to make the necessary financial arrangements to support its work. The Panel will commence its work not later than 10 February and will report to the Council by 16 April.

Under Security Council resolution 1408 of 6 May 2002, sanctions against Liberia, originally imposed in 2001, were extended for another year, the Council deciding that Liberia had not fully complied with demands that it halt its support for the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and other armed rebel groups in the region. The Council also asked the Secretary-General to establish, within three months, a panel of experts, and it called on the Liberian Government to establish transparent and internationally verifiable audit regimes.

Resolution 1458:
Re-establishing the Panel of Experts for a further period of three months; request the Panel to conduct a follow-up assessment mission to Liberia and neighbouring States.

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its resolution 1408 (2002) of 6 May 2002,

Noting that the next six-monthly review by the Security Council of the measures imposed by paragraphs 5 to 7 of resolution 1343 (2001), and extended by paragraph 5 of resolution 1408 (2002), is scheduled to take place on or before 6 May 2003,

Deeply concerned by the situation in Liberia and neighbouring countries, especially in Côte d'Ivoire,

Recognizing the importance of monitoring the implementation of the provisions of resolutions 1343 (2001) and 1408 (2002),

1. *Takes note* of the report of the Panel of Experts on Liberia dated 25 October 2002 (S/2002/1115) submitted pursuant to paragraph 16 of resolution 1408 (2002);

2. *Expresses* its intention to continue to give full consideration to the report;

3. *Decides* to re-establish the Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to paragraph 16 of resolution 1408 (2002) for a further period of three months commencing no later than 10 February 2003;

4. *Requests* the Panel of Experts to conduct a follow-up assessment mission to Liberia and neighbouring States, in order to investigate and compile a report on the Liberian Government's compliance with the demands referred to in paragraph 2 of resolution 1343 (2001), and of any violations of the measures referred to in paragraph 5 of resolution 1408 (2002), including any involving rebel movements, to conduct a review of the audits referred to in paragraph 10 of resolution 1408 (2002), and to report to the Council through the Committee established by paragraph 14 of resolution 1343 (2001) ('the Committee') no later than 16 April 2003 with the Panel's observations and recommendations in relation to the tasks set out herein;

5. *Requests* the Panel of Experts, as far as possible, to bring any relevant information collected in the course of its investigations conducted in accordance with its mandate to the

attention of the States concerned for prompt and thorough investigation and, where appropriate, corrective action, and to allow them the right of reply;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General, upon the adoption of this resolution and acting in consultation with the Committee, to appoint no more than five experts, with the range of expertise necessary to fulfil the Panel's mandate referred to in paragraph 4 above, drawing as much as possible and as appropriate on the expertise of the members of the Panel of Experts appointed pursuant to paragraph 16 of resolution 1408 (2002), and further requests the Secretary-General to make the necessary financial arrangements to support the work of the Panel;

7. *Urges* all States, relevant United Nations bodies and, as appropriate, other organizations and interested parties to cooperate fully with the Committee and Panel of Experts, including by supplying information on possible violations of the measures imposed by paragraphs 5 to 7 of resolution 1343 (2001);

8. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Annex X: Resolution 1408 (2002)

Adopted by the Security Council on 6 May 2002

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1132 (1997) of 8 October 1997, 1171 (1998) of 5 June 1998, 1306 (2000) of 5 July 2000, 1343 (2001) of 7 March 2001, 1385 (2001) of 19 December 2001, 1395 (2002) of 27 February 2002, 1400 (2002) of 28 March 2002 and its other resolutions and statements of its President on the situation in the region,

Taking note of the Secretary-General's report of 29 April 2002 (S/2002/494*),

Taking note of the reports of the United Nations Panel of Experts on Liberia dated 26 October 2001 (S/2001/1015) and 19 April 2002 (S/2002/470) submitted pursuant to paragraph 19 of resolution 1343 (2001) and paragraph 4 of resolution 1395 (2002) respectively,

Expressing serious concern at the findings of the Panel of Experts about the actions of the Liberian Government, including the evidence that the Liberian Government continues to breach the measures imposed by resolution 1343 (2001), particularly through the acquisition of arms,

Welcoming General Assembly resolution 56/263 of 13 March 2002, looking forward to the full implementation of the international certification scheme proposed by the Kimberley Process as soon as possible and recalling its concern at the role played by the illicit trade in diamonds in the conflict in the region,

Welcoming the meeting of the Presidents of the Mano River Union in Rabat on 27 February 2002 at the invitation of His Majesty the King of Morocco, and the continued efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to work towards the restoration of peace and stability in the region,

Welcoming the conference sponsored by ECOWAS on political dialogue in Liberia held in Abuja on 14 March 2002, in particular the involvement of civil society, and encouraging the participation of all Liberian parties in the proposed Liberian National Reconciliation Conference to be held in Monrovia in July 2002, as a means of promoting the conditions for free, fair, transparent and inclusive elections in 2003,

Encouraging civil society initiatives in the region, including those of the Mano River Union Women's Peace Network, to continue their contribution towards regional peace,

Calling on the Liberian Government to cooperate fully with the Special Court for Sierra Leone when it is established,

Recalling the ECOWAS Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of Small Arms and Light Weapons in West Africa adopted in Abuja on 31 October 1998 (S/1998/1194, annex), and its extension from 5 July 2001 (S/2001/700),

Determining that the active support provided by the Liberian Government to armed rebel groups in the region, in particular to former Revolutionary United Front (RUF) combatants who continue to destabilise the region, constitutes a threat to international peace and security in the region,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Decides* that the Liberian Government has not complied fully with the demands in paragraph 2 (a) to (d) of resolution 1343 (2001);

2. *Notes* with satisfaction the updated information provided by the Liberian Government to the Panel of Experts concerning the registration and ownership of each aircraft registered in Liberia (S/2001/1015) and the steps taken by the Liberian Government to update its register of aircraft pursuant to Annex VII to the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation of 1944 in compliance with the demand in paragraph 2 (e) of resolution 1343 (2001);

3. *Stresses* that the demands referred to in paragraph 1 above are intended to lead to consolidation of the peace process in Sierra Leone and to further progress in the peace process in the Mano River Union, and, in that

regard, calls upon the President of Liberia to continue to participate in the meetings of the Presidents of the Mano River Union and to implement fully his commitments to building regional peace and security, as set out in the communiqué of the Mano River Union summit of 27 February 2002;

4. *Demands* that all States in the region cease military support for armed groups in neighbouring countries, take action to prevent armed individuals and groups from using their territory to prepare and commit attacks on neighbouring countries and refrain from any actions that might contribute to further destabilization of the situation on the borders between Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone;

5. *Decides* that the measures imposed by paragraphs 5 to 7 of resolution 1343 (2001) shall remain in force for a further period of 12 months from 00:01 Eastern Daylight Time on 7 May 2002, and that, at the end of this period, the Council will decide whether the Liberian Government has complied with the demands referred to in paragraph 1 above, and, accordingly, whether to extend these measures for a further period with the same conditions;

6. *Decides* that the measures referred to in paragraph 5 above shall be terminated immediately if the Council, taking into account, inter alia, the reports of the Panel of Experts referred to in paragraph 16 below and of the Secretary-General referred to in paragraph 11 below, inputs from ECOWAS, any relevant information provided by the Committee established pursuant to paragraph 14 of resolution 1343 (2001) ("the Committee") and the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1132 (1997) and any other relevant information, determines that the Liberian Government has complied with the demands referred to in paragraph 1 above;

7. *Reiterates* its call upon the Liberian Government to establish an effective Certificate of Origin regime for Liberian rough diamonds that is transparent and internationally verifiable, bearing in mind the plans for the international certification scheme under the Kimberley Process, and to provide the Committee with a detailed description of the proposed regime;

8. *Notwithstanding* paragraph 15 of resolution 1343 (2001), decides that rough diamonds controlled by the Liberian Government through the Certificate of Origin regime shall be exempt from the measures imposed by paragraph 6 of resolution 1343 (2001) when the Committee has reported to the Council, taking into account expert advice obtained through the Secretary-General, that an effective and internationally verifiable regime is ready to become fully operational;

9. *Calls* again upon States, relevant international organizations and other bodies in a position to do so to offer assistance to the Liberian Government and other diamond exporting countries in West Africa with their Certificate of Origin regimes;

10. *Calls upon* the Liberian Government to take urgent steps, including through the establishment of transparent and internationally verifiable audit regimes, to ensure that revenue derived by the Liberian Government from the Liberia Shipping Registry and the Liberian timber industry is used for legitimate social, humanitarian and development purposes, and is not used in violation of this resolution, and to report back to the Committee on the steps taken and results of such audits not later than three months after the date of adoption of this resolution;

11. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Council by 21 October 2002 and thereafter at six-monthly intervals from that date, drawing on information from all relevant sources, including the United Nations Office in Liberia, the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) and ECOWAS, on whether Liberia has complied with the demands referred to in paragraph 1 above, and calls on the Liberian Government to support United Nations efforts to verify all information on compliance which is brought to the United Nations notice;

12. *Invites* ECOWAS to report regularly to the Committee on all activities undertaken by its members pursuant to paragraph 5 above and in the implementation of this resolution;

13. *Requests* the Committee to carry out the tasks set out in this resolution and to continue with its mandate as set out in paragraph 14 (a) to (h) of resolution 1343 (2001);

14. *Further requests* the Committee to consider and take appropriate action on information brought to its attention concerning any alleged violations of the measures imposed by paragraph 8 of resolution 788 (1992) while that resolution was in force;

15. Requests all States who have not reported pursuant to paragraph 18 of resolution 1343 (2001) to report to the Committee within 90 days on the steps they have taken to implement the measures referred to in paragraph 5 above;

16. *Requests* the Secretary-General to establish, within three months from the date of adoption of this resolution, in consultation with the Committee, for a period of three months, a Panel of Experts consisting of no more than five members, drawing, as much as possible and as appropriate, on the expertise of the members of the Panel of Experts established pursuant to

resolution 1343 (2001), to conduct a follow-up assessment mission to Liberia and neighbouring States, in order to investigate and compile a report on the Liberian Government's compliance with the demands referred to in paragraph 1 above, on the potential economic, humanitarian and social impact on the Liberian population of the measures referred to in paragraph 5 above, and on any violations of the measures referred to in paragraph 5 above, including any involving rebel movements, and to report to the Council through the Committee no later than 7 October 2002 with observations and recommendations, and further requests the Secretary-General to provide the necessary resources;

17. *Requests* the Panel of Experts referred to in paragraph 16 above, as far as possible, to bring any relevant information collected in the course of its investigations conducted in accordance with its mandate to the attention of the States concerned for prompt and thorough investigation and, where appropriate, corrective action, and to allow them the right of reply;

18. *Calls upon* all States to take appropriate measures to ensure that individuals and companies in their jurisdiction, in particular those referred to in the reports of the Panel of Experts established pursuant to resolutions 1343 (2001) and 1395 (2002), act in conformity with United Nations embargoes, in particular those established by resolutions 1171 (1998), 1306 (2000) and 1343 (2001), and, as appropriate, to take the necessary judicial and administrative action to end any illegal activities by those individuals and companies;

19. *Requests* all States, in particular arms exporting countries, to exercise the highest degree of responsibility in small arms and light weapons transactions to prevent illegal diversion and re-export, so as to stem the leakage of legal weapons to illegal markets in the region, in line with the statement of its President of 31 August 2001 (S/PRST/2001/21) and the United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects;

20. *Decides* to conduct reviews of the measures referred to in paragraph 5 above before 7 November 2002, and every six months thereafter;

21. *Urges* all States, relevant United Nations bodies and, as appropriate, other organizations and interested parties to cooperate fully with the Committee and Panel of Experts referred to in paragraph 16 above, including by supplying information on possible violations of the measures referred to in paragraph 5 above;

22. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

Endnotes for Boxes

1 'Côte d'Ivoire: Who are the rebels?', *BBC news*, 30 November 2002.
2 James Astill, 'British Mercenaries find a new ferocity in Ivory Coast', *The Guardian*, 22 February 2003.
3 'Côte d'Ivoire: UN expert says mercenaries guard Gbagbo; rebel seek missiles', *Radio France International*, 13 November 2002.
4 Austin Merrill, 'Ivory Coast President Pledges to Cease Hostilities, send home mercenaries', *The Associated Press*, 3 January 2003.
5 James Astill, 'British Mercenaries find a new ferocity in Ivory Coast', *The Guardian*, 22 February 2003.
6 'Refugee camp in Ghana raided – thought to be recruiting base for guerrillas', *Voice of America*, 25 February 2003.
7 James Astill, 'British Mercenaries find a new ferocity in Ivory Coast', *The Guardian*, 22 February 2003. The date of this offer is unknown.
8 'A Submission by International Alert to the 56th session of the united nations commission on human rights', *International Alert*, March 2000.
9 'Privatizing Combat, the new World Order', *International Consortium of Investigative Journalists*, 2002.
10 James Astill, 'British Mercenaries find a new ferocity in Ivory Coast', *The Guardian*, 22 February 2003.
11 'Logging Off: How the Liberian Timber Industry Fuels Liberia's Humanitarian Disaster and Threatens Sierra Leone', *Global Witness*, September 2002, pp 19-20.
12 World Trade Atlas statistics, 2002.
13 Global Witness research and investigations.
14 World Trade Atlas statistics, 2002.
15 Global Witness research and investigations.
16 UN Security Council Resolution 1408 (2002), operative clause 10.
17 Global Witness interview with personnel aboard American-registered container vessel, Hong Kong 2003.
18 Global Witness interview with Captain Y.C. Yu, Administrator, Merchant Navy Officers' Guild – Hong Kong, 2003.
19 Kwok-fung Tsang and Ryan Law, 'Discovering the Hong Kong Ammunition Smuggler', *The Eastweek (Hong Kong)* , Issue #304.
20 'Hong Kong plays down terror threat after al-Qaeda missile plot', *Agence France-Presse*, 6 November 2002.
21 'The World in 2003', *The Economist*.
22 UNICEF donor update on Liberia , 28 June 2001.
23 'Where has all your money gone? A fact sheet on Swiss banks and tax evasion', Berne Declaration, 26 June 2002.
24 Global Witness interview with Andreas Missbach, Private Finance Program, Berne Declaration, 14 March 2003.
25 'Taylor made: the pivotal role of Liberia's forests and flag of convenience in regional conflict', Global Witness and the International Transport Worker's Federation (ITF), September 2001.
26 'Rebel Accounts Frozen', *Allafrica.com*, 2 December 2002.
27 Global Witness interview with representative of UN Sanctions Committee member state.
28 'Government Explains Selection of Deloitte & Touche Signs Audit Contract,' *The News (Monrovia)*, 1 October 2002.
29 'Government Explains Selection of Deloitte & Touche Signs Audit Contract,' *The News (Monrovia)*, 1 October 2002.
30 *UN Expert Panel Report on Liberia (October 2002)*, Annex VII.
31 'Secretive Deloitte audit in Liberia raises allegations of irresponsible corporate behaviour and conflict of interest', Global Witness press release, 29 November 2002; 'Open Letter to Deloitte & Touche', Global Witness open letter, 29 November 2002; "Open Letter, RE: Termination of Deloitte & Touche Ghana Contract with Government of Liberia," Global Witness open letter, 12 December 2002; 'Global Witness welcomes Deloitte & Touche Ghana's contract cancellation and strengthens call to United Nations for complete and transparent revenue audit' Global Witness press release, 16 December 2002.
32 'Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Liberia', 6 February 2003.
33 UN Expert Panel on Liberia Report (October 2001).
34 'Logging Off', Global Witness, September 2002.
35 Global Witness interview with Global Timber Corporation executive.

Endnotes for Boxes (continued)

[36] Global Witness interview with Global Timber Corporation executive.
[37] Global Witness interview with Global Timber Corporation executive.
[38] Global Witness interview with Global Timber Corporation executive.
[39] Global Witness research and investigations, 2002 and 2003.
[40] Global Witness research and investigations, 2003.
[41] 'Corporate Alliance: Look who's helping', World Wildlife Fund (WWF) China, as found at http://www.wwfchina.org/english/loca.php?loca=42.
[42] 'Corporate Alliance: Can your company work with WWF?', World Wildlife Fund (WWF) China, as found at http://www.wwfchina.org/english/sub_loca.php?loca=50&sub=43.
[43] 'Liberia – History', *Cartage*.
[44] Global Witness interview with RSLAF personnel, Sierra Leone 2003.
[45] Global Witness interviews with AFL/ATU combatants, Sierra Leone 2003.
[46] Global Witness interview with anonymous source.
[47] Global Witness interview with RSLAF personnel, Sierra Leone 2003.
[48] Global Witness interview with RSLAF personnel, Sierra Leone 2003.
[49] Global Witness interview with RSLAF personnel, Sierra Leone 2003.

[a] Unless otherwise noted, information contained is the result of Global Witness research and investigations.
[b] Please note that statistical figures have been rounded for reading clarity.
[c] Such discrepancies are plentiful, as in 2001 over US$8.6 million went missing just within the Ministry of Finance. An additional US$10.5 million of OTC exports, just one of 32 companies active in Liberia during 2001, went uncalculated by the Ministry of Finance.
[d] Freight On Board (FOB) values do not include shipping and insurance costs.
[e] Global Witness calculates the average cost per cubic metre at US$100, taken as an average of the costs per cubic metre of Liberian timber species.
[f] The World Trade Atlas is a compilation of official trade statistics from 37 countries, as found at http://www.tradepartners.co.uk.
[g] Cost + Insurance + Freight (CIF) values include the total costs of buying the timber, including insurance and shipping costs. All World Trade Atlas figures quoted are CIF values.
[h] All information here is from Global Witness research and investigations.

[1] 'Ivory Coast: National crisis and the sub regional interplay vis a vis the Mano River Union matter', *African Analysis*.
[2] CNN, 'Liberia torn by long civil war', 30 April 1996.
[3] 'EC countries, including Britain, have been helping indirectly to finance the bloodshed in Liberia's three-year-old civil war, by importing Liberian timber', *The Independent*, 22 November 1992; 'Liberia: civil war and transnational profit making', *World Rainforest Movement bulletin Nº 33*, April 2000.
[4] Report of the Panel of Experts pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1343 (2001), paragraph 19, concerning Liberia *(S/2001/1015)*
[5] 'Sierra Leone: Getting away with murder, mutilation, rape', *Human Rights Watch Vol. 11 No. 3(A)*, July 1999.
[6] *UN Expert Panel Report 1306 December (2000)*.
[7] *United Nations Security Council Resolution 788 (1992) Adopted by the Security Council at its 3138th meeting on 19 November 1992*
[8] 'EC countries, including Britain, have been helping indirectly to finance the bloodshed in Liberia's three-year-old civil war, by importing Liberian timber', *The Independent*, 22 November 1992; 'Liberia: civil war and transnational profit making', *World Rainforest Movement bulletin Nº 33*, April 2000.
[9] 'Logging Off: How the Liberian Timber Industry Fuels Liberia's Humanitarian Disaster and Threatens Sierra Leone', *Global Witness*, September 2002; 'Taylor-made: The Pivotal Role of Liberia's Forests and Flag of Convenience in Regional Conflict', *Global Witness*, September 2001; *UN Panel of Experts on Liberia reports S/2000/1195, S/2001/1015, S/2002/470, S/2002/1115*; 'Plunder: The Silent Destruction of the Liberian Forests', *Save My Future Foundation (SAMFU)*, September 2002; 'Forest Destruction Fuels

Regional Conflicts', Greenpeace March 2002; 'DLH: A partner in Forest Crime', Greenpeace March 2002; Antony Barnett, 'Liberian timber trade fuels regional insecurity', April 2002; 'Bloody Logs of war linked to English idyll', *The Observer*, 14 April 2002; Ken Silverstein; Comrades in Arms: Meet the former Soviet mobsters who sell terrorists their guns January/February 2002; Andrew Brackenbury, 'Liberian logs fuel war', *Geographical magazine*, August 2002.

10 Global Witness interview with anonymous source.

11 *Letter dated 24 October 2002 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1343 (2001) concerning Liberia addressed to the President of the Security Council transmitting the report of Panel of Experts on Liberia in accordance with paragraph 16 of resolution 1408 (2002), page 29.*

12 Douglas Farah, 'Al Qaeda cash tied to diamond trade', *The Washington Post*, 2 November 2001.

13 *UN Expert Panel Report on Liberia (April 2002).*

14 *UN Expert Panel Report on Liberia (October 2002).*

15 *UN Expert Panel Report on Liberia (October 2002).*

16 'Former Sierra Leone rebel commander fighting in Ivory Coast', Deutsche *Presse-Agentur*, 14 January 2003.

17 Report to Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs by H. John Manley, P.C., M.P., David Pratt, M.P., Nepean-Carleton, Special Envoy to Sierra Leone, Sierra Leone: Danger and Opportunity in a RegionaI Conflict, 27 July 2001.

18 'Liberia's Mercenary Virus in Ivory Coast', *The Perspective*, October 30, 2002.

19 'Revised list of persons subject to travel restrictions pursuant to Resolution 1343 (2001) on Liberia', *United Nations Security Council*, as updated on 4 December 2002.

20 'Charles Taylor's son on the rampage again', *Allafrica.com*, 23 December 2002; Global Witness research and investigations

21 'Back to the brink: war crimes by Liberian government and rebels', Human Rights Watch, May 2002.

22 See Abbas Fawaz letter to the UN Secretary-General, December 2001.

23 Global Witness interview with anonymous source.

24 'Bin Laden's US$20 million African "Blood Diamond" Deals', *The Observer*, 20 October 2002.

25 Global Witness interview with anonymous source.

26 'Back to the Brink: War Crimes by the Liberian Government and Rebels', *Human Rights Watch*, May 2002.

27 Report to Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs by H. John Manley, P.C., M.P., David Pratt, M.P., Nepean-Carleton, Special Envoy to Sierra Leone, Sierra Leone: Danger and Opportunity in a RegionaI Conflict, 27 July 2001.

28 'Revised list of persons subject to travel restrictions pursuant to Resolution 1343 (2001) on Liberia', *United Nations Security Council*, as updated on 4 December 2002.

29 Report to Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs by H. John Manley, P.C., M.P., David Pratt, M.P., Nepean-Carleton, Special Envoy to Sierra Leone, Sierra Leone: Danger and Opportunity in a RegionaI Conflict, 27 July 2001.

30 Charles Taylor's son on the rampage again', *Allafrica.com*, 23 December 2002; Global Witness research and investigations

31 'EC countries, including Britain, have been helping indirectly to finance the bloodshed in Liberia's three-year-old civil war, by importing Liberian timber', *The Independent*, 22 November 1992.

32 Interview with close associate of President Charles Taylor, September 2002.

33 'Taylor made: The Pivotal Role of Liberia's Forests and Flag of Convenience in Regional Conflict', Global Witness report, September 2001.

34 Interview with close associate of President Charles Taylor, September 2002.

35 Global Witness interview with anonymous source, 2003.

36 'G8 ignores role of arms trade in Africa', Amnesty International, June 2002.

37 United Nations Small Arms Brochure; Stephen Ellis, *Mask of Anarchy* pg 180.

38 United Nations Small Arms Brochure

39 UN Expert Panel Report on Liberia (October, 2001).

40 Global Witness interview with Captain Y.C.Yu, Administrator, Merchant Navy Officers' Guild-Hong Kong (MNOG), 18 January 2003; 'The Future of Maritime Activities' United States Coast Guard Report.

41 Global Witness interview with anonymous source, 2002.

42 Interview with close associate to President Charles Taylor, September 2002 ; Douglas Farah, 'African diamonds finance Al Qaeda', *The Toronto Star*, 29 December 2002; Douglas Farah, 'Al Qaeda cash tied to diamond trade,' *Washington Post* 2 November 2001; Douglas Farah, 'Liberian Leader Again Finds Means to Hang on,' *Washington Post*, 4 June 2002.

43 Global Witness interview with anonymous

source, 2002

44 Global Witness research and investigations.

45 Global Witness interview with anonymous source, February 2003.

46 Interview with close associate of President Charles Taylor, September 2002.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Brian Wood and Johan Peleman, *The Arms Fixers: Controlling the Brokers and Shipping Agents*

53 Ibid.

54 'Central and Easter Europe Remains Important Source and Transit Route for Arms', *Saferworld*

55 *UN Expert Panel Reports for Liberia (October 2001, May 2002, October 2002); UN Expert Panel Report for Sierra Leone (December 2000); UN Expert Panel Report for Angola (March 2000); DR Congo (October 2002); UN Expert Panel Report for Somalia (July 2002)*

56 'Kuchma's Iraqi Arms Deal Approval Draws Fire from Helsinki Commission Leaders' *Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe*, 28 October 2002.

57 Global Witness interview with anonymous source, February 2003.

58 Stephen Ellis, *The Mask of Anarchy*, page 90.

59 *UN Expert Panel Report on Liberia (October 2002).*

60 *UN Expert Panel Report on Liberia (October 2002).*

61 *UN Expert Panel Report on Liberia (October 2002).*

62 *Ministry of Foreign Affaires of the People's Republic of China.*

63 Global Witness research and investigations.

64 Global Witness research and investigations.

65 'Revised list of persons subject to travel restrictions pursuant to Resolution 1343 (2001) on Liberia', *United Nations Security Council*, as updated on 4 December 2002.

66 Interview with close associate of President Charles Taylor, September 2002.

67 'International Crime Alert', *United States Customs Service*, as found at http://www.ibb.gov/fugitives/gunchica.htm

68 Global Witness interview with an anonymous source.

69 Global Witness interview with an anonymous source.

70 Interview with close associate of President Charles Taylor, September 2002.

71 Global Witness interview with an anonymous source.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid.

74 Douglas Farah, 'An "axis" connected to Gaddafi', *The Washington Post*, 02 November 2001.

75 Douglas Farah, 'African diamonds finance al Qaeda', *The Washington Post*, 29 December 2002.

76 Global Witness research and investigations.

77 Global Witness research and investigations.

78 Global Witness interviews with AFL combatants, April 2002; and Global Witness interviews with AFL, ATU and LURD combatants, February 2003.

79 Global Witness interviews with AFL, ATU and LURD combatants, February 2003.

80 Interview with close associate of President Charles Taylor, September 2002.

81 Global Witness interview with AFL, ATU and LURD combatants, February 2003.

82 Voice of America Radio; LURD and Liberian gunships.

83 Global Witness research and investigations.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid.

90 Interview with close associate of President Charles Taylor, September 2002.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid.

94 Ibid.

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.

97 Global Witness interview with an anonymous source.

98 UN News, 'Situation deteriorating in 'no-go' area of western Cote d'Ivoire, UN envoy says', 12 February 2003.

99 BBC News 'Ivory Coast: Who are the rebels?', 15 January 2003.

100 BBC news, 'Timeline: Ivory Coast', 5 February 2003.

101 Global Witness research and investigations

102 Baba Doudou, 'Solving the Ivorian puzzle', *World Press Review*, 10 December 2002.

103 'Ivory Coast peace talks go down to the wire', *The Washington Post*, 23 January 2003.

104 Charles Taylor's son on the rampage again', *Allafrica.com*, 23 December 2002; Global Witness research and investigations.

105 Global Witness research and investigations.

106 Global Witness interview with an anonymous source.

107 'Moammar Ghadaffi Unleashes His African Ambitions Backed by Guns and Money', *Associated Press*, 16 December 2002.

[108] 'Chaotic Conflict Deepens as Government Troops Fight to Recover Lost Territory In Ivory Coast,' *Allafrica.com*, 3 December 2002.
[109] Global Witness research and investigations.
[110] 'Taylor et la Rebellion Ivorianne', *Fraternite Matin*, 29 December 2002.
[111] 'Former Sierra Leone rebel commander fighting in Ivory Coast', *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, 14 January 2003; "'General Mosquito' in Cote d'Ivoire, Ivorian Consul General discloses", *The News (Monrovia)*, 15 January 2003; and Global Witness research and investigations.
[112] Global Witness research and investigations.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] 'Taylor et la Rebellion Ivorianne', *Fraternite Matin*, 29 December 2002.
[117] Global Witness research and investigations.
[118] 'Taylor et la Rebellion Ivorianne', Fraternite Matin, 29 December 2002.
[119] Global Witness research and investigations.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] CIA World Fact book on Sierra Leone, 2002.
[124] *United Nations Resolutions 1343 (2001) and 1408 (2002).*
[125] *'Statute for the Special Court, 16 January 2002, as amended'* as found at http://www.specialcourt.org/documents/Statute.html
[126] Global Witness interview with an anonymous source.
[127] Interview with close associate of President Charles Taylor, September 2002.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.
[130] 'The Wives of Taylor Sankoh meet Maskita,' *The Guinea Independent*, August 2002.
[131] Global Witness interview with an anonymous source.
[132] Global Witness research and investigations.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Global Witness research and investigations, Sierra Leone, 2002 and 2003.
[135] 'The Logs of War: Underpinning Conflict', *Global Witness*, May 2002.
[136] Global Witness research and investigations.
[137] Global Witness interview with an anonymous source.
[138] 'Sierra Leone Indictments Welcomed', Human Rights Watch, 11 March 2003.
[139] Global Witness research and investigations, Global Witness interview with anonymous source.
[140] Christo Johnson, 'Sierra Leone coup leader on the run', *The Guardian*, 20 January 2003
[141] Global Witness interview with an anonymous source.
[142] Christo Johnson, 'Sierra Leone coup leader on the run', *The Guardian*, 20 January 2003
[143] Global Witness interview with an anonymous source.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.
[147] *United Nations Resolution 1408 (2002).*
[148] 'Liberian Refugees in Guinea: Refoulement, Militarization of Camps, and other Protection Concerns,' *Human Rights Watch* Nov 2002, Vol 14, No. 6; page 2.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Global Witness research and investigations.
[151] Abdul Kuyateh, 'Beefing up security…Britain deploys 300 Ghurkhas', 26 February 2003.
[152] 'Sierra Leone Diamond Policy Study', DFID, January 2002.
[153] Global Witness interview with UN personnel.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid.
[157] 'Attackers from Liberia hit Sierra Leone village in cross-border raid', *Associated Press*, 14 January 2003.
[158] Global Witness research and investigations.
[159] Global Witness investigations and interview with UN personnel.
[160] Global Witness interview with UN personnel.
[161] 'Cote d'Ivoire', *Africa Confidential*, Vol. 44 No.2, 24 January 2003.
[162] 'Fighting escalates in Cote d'Ivoire with new rebel group', *The News (Monrovia)*, 2 December 2002.
[163] Somini Sengupta, 'As peace accord is fleshed out, Ivory Coast fighting resumes', *The New York Times*, 9 March 2003.
[164] Raymond Thibodeaux, 'Conflict dividing Ivory Coast; role of Liberians complicates war', *Newsday*, 14 January 2003.
[165] Emily Wax, 'Out of Business in the Ivory Coast', *The Washington Post*, 22 February 2003
[166] Emily Wax, 'Ivorians confront an identity crisis', *The Washington Post*, 21 February 2003
[167] Ibid.
[168] Amba Dadson, 'Street Violence Flares in Abidjan', *Associated Press*, December 2000.
[169] Emily Wax, 'Assassinations in ivory coast overshadowed by civil war,' *The Washington Post*, 09 Feb 2003.
[170] 'Liberian Refugees in Guinea: Refoulement, Militarization of Camps, and other Protection Concerns', *Human Rights Watch*, November 2002, Vol. 14, No 8 (A), page 5.
[171] 'Liberian Refugees in Guinea: Refoulement, Militarization of Camps, and other Protection Concerns', *Human Rights Watch*, November

2002, Vol. 14, No 8 (A), page 6.

172 'Cote d'Ivoire: Daloa massacres recall the spectre of Youpougon', Amnesty International, 28 October 2002.

173 'Mass grave found in Ivory Coast', *Agence France Presse*, 5 December 2002.

174 'Amnesty exposes rebel atrocities, calls for end to impunity', *UN Integrated Regional Information Networks*, 3 March 2003.

175 Ibrahim Seaga Shaw, 'Peace deal for Cote d'Ivoire', *West Africa* 03-09 February 2003, Issue 4361, page 8.

176 'New Government Formed in Absence of Rebels, Opposition Party', *UN Integrated Regional Information Networks*, 13 March 2003.

177 'Consensus Prime Minister Sworn In', *UN Integrated Regional Information Networks*, 11 March 2003.

178 'New Government Formed in Absence of Rebels, Opposition Party', *UN Integrated Regional Information Networks*, 13 March 2003.

179 'Pledging peace, Creating Chaos', *The Washington Post*, 16 February 2003

180 Ibrahim Seaga Shaw, 'Winners and Losers', *West Africa*, 03-09 February 2003, Issue 4361, page 10.

181 'Pledging peace, Creating Chaos', *The Washington Post*, 16 February 2003.

182 Larry Luxner and Tom Mbakwe, 'Cote d'Ivoire: 'This is an economic war', *The New African*, March 2003.

183 'Cote d'Ivoire: Government, UNHCR to conduct refugee census', UNHCR, 10 May 2002.

184 'Cote d'Ivoire: Government abuses in response to army revolt', *Human Rights Watch*, November 2002, Vol. 14, No 9 (A).

185 'U.S. Contributes an Additional $8.4 Million for Urgent Refugee Needs in West Africa and Angola', *US Department of State*, 24 January 2003.

186 Emily Wax,'Out of Business in the Ivory Coast', *The Washington Post*, 22 February 2003.

187 Global Witness research and investigations.

188 Alphonso Toweh for *Reuters*, 'Liberia calls up all troops as rebels near capital', 4 February 2003.

189 Global Witness interview with UN personnel.

190 Alphonso Toweh for *Reuters* 'Liberia Calls up all troops as rebels near capital', 4 February 2003.

191 BBC news, 'Exit visas alarm Liberians', 24 February 2003.

192 BBC news 'US condemns Liberia election plans', 03 January 2003.

193 'Can Taylor Preside over free and fair democratic elections in Liberia?', *The Perspective*, 03 March 2003.

194 'For Free and Fair Election, we need international supervision – says Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf', *The Perspective*, 28 February 2003

195 BBC news, 'US condemns Liberia election plans' 03 January 2003.

196 'Logging Off: How the Liberian Timber Industry Fuels Liberia's Humanitarian Disaster and Threatens Sierra Leone', *Global Witness*, September 2002.

197 *Security Council Resolution 1408 (2002).*

198 'Logs of War: Underpinning Conflict', Global Witness Press Release, May 2002.

199 Global Witness research and investigations 2003.

200 'Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2001/357)', 12 April 2001.

201 'Addendum to the report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of DR Congo (S/2001/1072)', 13 November 2001.

202 Ibid.

203 Ibid.

204 Final Report of the UN Expert Panel on Natural Resource Exploitation in DR Congo (October 2002)

205 Ibid.

206 Ibid.

207 Ibid.

208 Ibid.

209 Ibid.

210 Ibid.

211 'Liberia World Report 2003', *Human Rights Watch*.

212 'Liberia: Civilians face human rights abuses at home and across borders', Amnesty International, 1 October 2002.

213 'Liberia World Report 2003', *Human Rights Watch*.

214 'Liberia: New Accounts Detail Abuses', *Human Rights Watch*, March 2003.

215 Global Witness interview with anonymous source.

216 Ibid.

217 Ibid.

218 'Liberia World Report 2003', *Human Rights Watch*; 'Liberia: Civilians face human rights abuses at home and across borders', Amnesty International, 1 October 2002.

219 'Liberia: Civilians face human rights abuses at home and across borders', Amnesty International, 1 October 2002.

220 'Liberia World Report 2003', *Human Rights Watch*.

221 'Liberia: Civilians face human rights abuses at home and across borders', Amnesty International, 1 October 2002.

222 'Liberia World Report 2003', *Human Rights*

Watch; 'Liberia: Civilians face human rights abuses at home and across borders', Amnesty International, 1 October 2002.

223 'Liberia World Report 2003', *Human Rights Watch*; 'Liberia: Civilians face human rights abuses at home and across borders', Amnesty International, 1 October 2002.

224 'Liberia World Report 2003', *Human Rights Watch*; 'Liberia: Civilians face human rights abuses at home and across borders', Amnesty International, 1 October 2002.

225 'Liberia: Civilians face human rights abuses at home and across borders', Amnesty International, 1 October 2002.

226 'Liberia World Report 2003', *Human Rights Watch*.

227 'Liberia World Report 2003', *Human Rights Watch*; 'Liberia: Civilians face human rights abuses at home and across borders', Amnesty International, 1 October 2002.

228 'Liberia World Report 2003', *Human Rights Watch*.

229 Ibid.

230 'Liberia: Civilians face human rights abuses at home and across borders', Amnesty International, 1 October 2002.

231 'Liberia World Report 2003', *Human Rights Watch*.

232 'Liberia World Report 2003', *Human Rights Watch*; 'Liberia: Civilians face human rights abuses at home and across borders', Amnesty International, 1 October 2002.

233 'Liberia World Report 2003', *Human Rights Watch*; 'Liberia: Civilians face human rights abuses at home and across borders', Amnesty International, 1 October 2002.

234 Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Liberia, pursuant to the letter dated 29 November 2002 (S/2002/1305) from the President of the Security Council, 26 February 2003.

235 Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Liberia, pursuant to the letter dated 29 November 2002 (S/2002/1305) from the President of the Security Council, 26 February 2003.

236 'International Humanitarian Law', International Committee of the Red Cross publication.

237 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights', United Nations.

238 'Alleged Plot to Ambush Cllr. Brumskine', *The Perspective*, 30 January 2003.

239 'Harassment and intimidation continue', *The Perspective*, 08 November 2003.

240 'Liberia: Civilians face human rights abuses at home and across borders', Amnesty International, 1 October 2002.

241 'Tortured journalist Hassan Bility speaks out', *The Perspective*, 03 February 2003.

242 'Human Rights Watch World Report 2003 – Liberia'

243 Ibid.

244 Ibid.

245 Ibid.

246 'Logging Off: How the Liberian Timber Industry Fuels Liberia's Humanitarian Disaster and Threatens Sierra Leone', Global Witness, September 2002.

247 *'Plunder: the silent destruction of Liberia's Forests'*, Save My Future Foundation.

248 Global Witness research and investigations.

249 'Memorandum of Understanding', signed 17 January 2002.

250 Global Witness research and investigations.

251 European law enforcement intelligence report as seen by Global Witness.

252 Douglas Farah, 'Al Qaeda cash tied to diamond trade', *The Washington Post*, 2 November 2001.

253 Global Witness research and investigations.

254 Douglas Farah, 'African diamonds finance Al Qaeda', *The Washington Post*, 29 December 2002.

255 Douglas Farah, 'Al Qaeda cash tied to diamond trade', *The Washington Post*, 2 November 2001.

256 Douglas Farah, 'Al Qaeda cash tied to diamond trade', *The Washington Post*, 2 November 2001.

257 Global Witness research and investigations.

258 Douglas Farah, 'Al Qaeda cash tied to diamond trade', *The Washington Post*, 2 November 2001; and Global Witness research and investigations.

259 Global Witness research and investigations.

260 'Bin Laden's $20 million African 'blood diamond' deals', *The Observer*, 20 October 2002.

261 'Bin Laden's $20 million African 'blood diamond' deals', *The Observer*, 20 October 2002.



global witness

Global Witness' previous publications

also available on our website: http://www.globalwitness.org

"Logging Off – How the Liberian Timber Industry Fuels Liberia's Humanitarian Disaster and Threatens Sierra Leone"
published September 2002

"Deforestation without limits – How the Cambodian government failed to tackle the untouchables"
published July 2002

"All the Presidents' Men – The Devastating Story of Oil and Banking in Angola's Privatised War"
published March 2002

"Branching Out – Zimbabwe's Resource Colonialism in Democratic Republic of Congo"
published February 2002

"Can Controls Work? – A Review of the Angolan Diamond Control System"
published December 2001

"Taylor-made – The Pivotal Role of Liberia's Forests and Flag of Convenience in Regional Conflict"
published September 2001

"The Credibility Gap – and the Need to Bridge It Increasing the pace of forestry reform"
published May 2001

"Review of the Sierra Leone Diamond Certification System and Proposals and Recommendations for the Kimberley Process for a Fully Integrated Certification System (FICS)"
published April 2001

"Conflict Diamonds – Possibilities for the Identification, Certification and Control of Diamonds"
published June 2000

"Chainsaws Speak Louder Than Words"
published May 2000

"Timber Takeaway – Japanese Over-consumption – the Forgotten Campaign"
published March 2000

"The Untouchables – Forest crimes and the concessionaires – can Cambodia afford to keep them?"
published December 1999

"A Crude Awakening – The Role of the Oil and Banking Industries in Angola's Civil War and the Plundering of State Assets"
published December 1999

"Made in Vietnam – Cut in Cambodia How the garden furniture trade is destroying rainforests"
published April 1999

"Crackdown or Pause – A Chance for Forestry Reform in Cambodia?"
published February 1999

"A Rough Trade – The Role of Companies and Governments in the Angolan Conflict"
published December 1998

"Going Places – Cambodia's Future on the Move"
published March 1998

"Just Deserts for Cambodia – Deforestation & the Co-Prime Ministers' Legacy to the Country"
published June 1997

"A Tug of War – the Struggle to Protect Cambodia's Forests"
published March 1997

"Cambodia, Where Money Grows on Trees – Continuing Abuses of Cambodia's Forest Policy"
published October 1996

"RGC Forest Policy & Practice – the Case for Positive Conditionality"
published May 1996

"Corruption, War & Forest Policy – the Unsustainable Exploitation of Cambodia's Forests"
published February 1996

"Thai-Khmer Rouge Links & the Illegal Trade in Cambodia's Timber"
published July 1995

"Forests, Famine & War – the Key to Cambodia's Future"
published March 1995

Global Witness Ltd
P O Box 6042
London
N19 5WP
United Kingdom

telephone: + 44 (0)20 7272 6731
fax: + 44 (0)20 7272 9425

e-mail: mail@globalwitness.org
http://www.globalwitness.org/

Global Witness is a British based non-governmental organisation which focuses on the links between environmental and human rights abuses, especially the impacts of natural resource exploitation upon countries and their people. Using pioneering investigative techniques Global Witness compiles information and evidence to be used in lobbying and to raise awareness. Global Witness' information is used to brief governments, inter-governmental organisations, NGOs and the media. Global Witness receives no funding for this project from any government or public funds.
Global Witness has no political affiliation.

Acknowledgements

This report would not have been possible without the support of many courageous Liberian colleagues and contributors, both inside and outside Liberia. Thanks are also due to Global Witness' voluteers and staff, many anonymous helpers, Greenpeace International and to the International Transport Workers Federation.

This report is the copyright of Global Witness and may not be reproduced in any form without the written permission of the organisation, except by those who wish to use it to further the protection of human rights and the environment.

Design by The Plumbers.
Photos © Global Witness, unless otherwise noted.

The conclusions in this report are based on results from Global Witness'use of i2 Limited's award-winning software, which is used as standard by enforcement and intelligence agencies worldwide. The software allows organisations to undertake complex investigations involving huge and varied datasets, providing visualisation and analysis tools which are used by 1500 organisations in 90 countries. i2 Limited has very generously supplied this software to Global Witness, along with intensive support and consultancy.

1992 "Timber is not just another commodity in Liberia; it is the fuel that fires the war machine of the Liberian rebel leader, Charles Taylor. Cash from sales of timber and minerals, and kickbacks from concessions awarded to foreign logging companies, have been used to purchase arms for the rebels since at least 1991". [1]

1997 "Regarding security, there are reports from River Cess County, concerning the ITI logging company concession, of some 450 former child combatants being used for gold mining. They are under the reported control of a General Roland Duo, the former NPFL chief of staff for River Cess County." UN Liberia Humanitarian Situation Report, June 30 1997

2001 "To save this country, I think we need an embargo on timber export. This is immoral. We are destroying our country and making a desert land for the future. And what benefits are we really getting? Even if we were this is obscene. This will denude the whole country." Archbishop Michael Francis of Liberia's Roman Catholic Church

2001 "The students however maintained that while sanctions may have problems, Liberians are not benefiting from the revenue intakes on timber, diamonds, the sanctions are to affect… They said operations of foreign-owned logging companies such as the Oriental Timber Corporation, mentioned in the UN Panel of Experts report as a cover for arms smuggling and payment of Taylor's personal security, must be investigated by the Legislature." [2]

2002 "You know, we're putting together this series of mechanisms where you ring-fence the revenues of the ship registry or of the timber, in particular. What does Liberia do with these timber proceeds? Where are these timber proceeds going?" US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Walter Kansteiner, 18 November 2002.

2003 "We regret that the Government of Liberia have not yet established an audit regime, and we remain concerned that revenues derived from logging activities are used to purchase arms in breach of UN sanctions." Response from representative of UK Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 9 January 2003.

[1] 'EC countries, including Britain, have been helping indirectly to finance the bloodshed in Liberia's three-year-old civil war, by importing Liberian timber', The Independent, 22 November 1992.
[2] 'Students Want UN Report Published', Perspective, 21 February, 2001.



global witness

Global Witness Ltd
P O Box 6042
London
N19 5WP
United Kingdom

telephone: + 44 (0)20 7272 6731
fax: + 44 (0)20 7272 9425
e-mail: mail@globalwitness.org
http://www.globalwitness.org/

ISBN 1 903304 10 5